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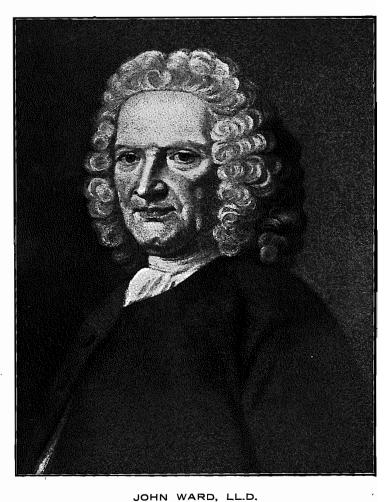
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1679-1758.

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AT GRESHAM COLLEGE,
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY,
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES,
TRUSTEE OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery. Photographed by Emery Walker, Limited.

Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

John Ward, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.

OHN WARD, the founder of the Trust which preserves his name, was born in London in or about the year 1679, and remained a Londoner all his lifetime. He was the son of a Baptist minister, also named John, who lived to the age of 81, dying in 1717. His epitaph, composed by his son, describes him as one who "had suffered much for the sake of integrity and religion, and borne it with a valiant and lofty spirit." The mother, Constancy Rayner, was known as a woman "of extraordinary piety and excellence of temper." Out of a family of fourteen children only two survived their father, John and Abigail, the sister keeping house for the brother, and dying some years before him. The Wards seem to have had a close association with the village of Tysoe in Warwickshire. John Ward, the father, was buried there: and a tablet fixed against a pillar in the Parish Church still bears the names of Thomas Ward, who died in 1710, his wife Abigail, and their son and daughter, Isaiah and Abigail. Thomas must have been brother to the older John, for we find Isaiah in correspondence with the younger John, and addressed by him as cousin.

From his boyhood the subject of this notice was known as a lover of learning. His Latin letters, copies of which have been preserved, begin with some written to his cousin at Tysoe when he was eighteen, and though the style is rather stilted, the writer is master of the language. The substance of the letters is in-Isaiah has written words of friendly adteresting. monition to John, who was very much his junior, begging him, while still strong and well, to set his heart on things unseen and eternal. Soon after, John fell ill, and in his illness his cousin's warning came to mind, "aegre," for he had neglected it. Illness he found a bad time for religious exercise. But in the happy days of convalescence he wrote, with a real desire to become a servant of Christ: and presently, on the eve of a visit to Tysoe, he wrote again, as one "prepared to yield willingly to the Will of God, who best knows how to turn all things to our good." The glimpse is of more value, because in the later correspondence there is so little reference to the subject of personal religion.

At the time of writing those letters, Ward was a clerk in the Navy Office, having received his early education at a private school. He remained in the Office till 1710; but his evenings were devoted to study, under the direction of a certain John Ker, M.D., who kept an academy at Highgate, and afterwards in St. John's Square, Clerkenwell. He became an excellent classical scholar, with a special taste for Greek and Roman antiquities. Then, finding himself qualified to take his place as a teacher of others, he quitted his business life, and set up a school for boys in Tenter Alley, Moorfields, preferring, as he said, "to converse with boys on the subjects of literature rather than transact the ordinary affairs of life among men." A letter dated twenty-five years later to a schoolmaster who asked advice shows some of the

principles on which he worked in his own academy. 'A proper discipline is necessary, managed with authority rather than severity." "The great thing is to make them understand what they are about." "I am inclined to apply this maxim to the case, Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora." One hint has a gleam of humour: "Obliging them to speak Latin or be silent has the advantage of preventing much noise in school, which is of equal service to children and master." The school gained a high reputation: eminent names are found among the pupils, and some of them won honours at the Northern Universities. The name of John Ward became known, and his learning appreciated. As early as 1712 he was admitted a member of a Society, chiefly composed of lawyers and divines, who met to discuss questions of Civil and International Law. His way was thus opened to positions of still higher importance, and in 1720 he was appointed Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College. In 1725 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; later, he served on its Council and became one of its vice-presidents. In 1735 the Society of Antiquaries also made him a Fellow. In 1751 the University of Edinburgh conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Perhaps the best proof of the estimation in which he was held is in the fact that, when the British Museum was projected a few years before his death, Dr. Ward's name appears among the list of original trustees. He must have proved a treasure to his colleagues, of whom not a few were distinguished rather by their rank than by their learning. In a manuscript volume of their proceedings preserved among his papers he is constantly in evidence. His handwriting, small and cramped, but clearly legible, may frequently be traced. friend, Dr. Birch, mentions that "he was singularly useful in settling the rules and forming the new

institution by his assiduous attendance, advice, and assistance." His whole career was one of extra-Besides his regular duties ordinary industry. Professor and the preparation of his own books, he was the trusted referee of a large literary circle, rich himself in learning and experience, and generous in sharing his treasures with others. He lived to the ripe age of 79, steadily at work to the end.

To such a man life in London during those eventful years must have been full of interest. The City still lay enclosed within its walls and gates, ill paved, ill lighted, and unvexed by sanitary rules: but on every side were marks of progress and prosperity. Splendid buildings were rising. Ward was still a boy when the new St. Paul's was completed; he witnessed the opening of the Bank of England and the Mansion House, and the British Museum was in building when he died. If he was too young to understand the excitement of the citizens over the flight of James II. and the landing of William, he would join in their satisfaction at the Hanoverian succession; he would see Marlborough returned victorious from Blenheim and Ramillies; and, as an old man, he would watch with alarm the advance of the Pretender and his Highland host, and rejoice in their retreat and final overthrow. In more peaceful days there was no lack of sensations in the City. Ward was just entering on his duties at Gresham College when the South Sea Bubble burst, and the crowds of ruined speculators must have been seen passing the very doors. Not far away, in Spitalfields, the French Protestant refugees were settling into their English life, free from the cruel grasp of persecution. Wesley and Whitefield were preaching in Moorfields or on Kennington Common at seven in the morning to attentive thousands. Audiences another kind gathered round the masters of the natural sciences within the walls of the College itself, where

the Royal Society had found a temporary home. With such men of learning Ward would be on terms of friendly acquaintance. In their social assemblies he would converse with philosophers and men of science. lawyers and divines, statesmen and nobles, and command their respect. Sir Isaac Newton was President of the Royal Society when Ward was admitted as a Fellow. Dr. Thomas Birch, its Secretary, was an intimate friend. Benson and Lardner, the famous Dutch scholar Gronovius, and other learned men were his frequent correspondents. But perhaps he found equal pleasure in the companionship of his Baptist brethren, like Benjamin Avery, the first named of his Trustees, and the two Stennetts, father and son, men not only devout but able and accomplished, and in full sympathy with his scholarly interests and pursuits.

II.

Gresham College, where Ward was to find for eight-and-thirty years his home, as well as his Professor's Chair, had a notable origin. Its founder, as the name denotes, was that famous merchant-prince of Queen Elizabeth's time, who built the Royal Exchange, and entertained his sovereign and her distinguished visitors at his own spacious house in Bishopsgate. Among the provisions of his will, written with his own hand and sealed with his famous crest of the grasshopper, was embraced a scheme in which he endowed a College for the City of London, to be open to all comers, without charge and without con-The endowment was to be furnished by the rents from the Exchange, and the Trust was to be administered by a two-fold authority, the Lord Mayor and his Council on the one side and the Mercers' Company on the other. Between them they were to arrange for the appointment of seven Lecturers or Readers, and see to the payment of their salaries. They were also to fix the order of the classes. Lord Mayor and Council were to appoint to the four Chairs of Divinity, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry, the Mercers to those of Law, Physic, and Rhetoric. The salaries, "meete for men sufficiently learned" were to be "to every one of the said Readers Fifty Pounds yearly of lawful money of England, to be paid by equal portions at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin and at that of St. Michael." Further, the testator bequeathed his own dwelling-house with the gardens, the stables, and all appurtenances for the purposes of the Trust. The Lecture Rooms were to be found in its galleries: in the smaller rooms the lecturers were to be accommodated with suitable lodgings "to inhabit, study, and daily to read the said Lectures." They would thus be close at hand for their work, and the provision, considering the lightness of the duty, and the value of money in those days, was not inadequate. Another stringent clause followed: "And my Will is that none shall be chosen so long as he shall be married, nor suffered to read any of the said Lectures after that he shall be married, neither receive any fee or stipend" (obviously outside the Trust) "for the reading of the said Lectures." It was thought necessary to ratify these provisions by an Act of Parliament, passed in 1581.

The Trust Funds did not become available till Lady Gresham's death in 1597. The appointed authorities then proceeded to lay down a series of "Rules and Ordinances for the good government of Gresham College." It is plain that they took their duties very seriously. They and their successors kept a heavy hand on the Professors. Perhaps they were scarcely fitted to deal with learned and sensitive men. By the time that Ward was elected to his Chair the relations between the two bodies were extremely

strained. The rents from the Exchange had fallen off, and the College buildings were in bad need of repair. There was much friction and dissatisfaction on both sides. Some of the Professors began to neglect their classes, and indignant citizens complained of their irregularity and indifference. The classes, which seem at first to have done useful work, dwindled away, till sometimes there was no audience at all. Dr. Johnson looked in now and then, and remarked to Boswell that "the Lecturer contrived to have no scholars" and that the fault lay in making the admission gratuitous; no motive was given for exertion. The issue was that in Besant's words, "a foundation destined by Sir Thomas Gresham to become a rival to Trinity at Cambridge or Christchurch at Oxford was reduced to the level of a Lecture Institute." The curious visitor may still find the Rhetoric Professor reading his course of Lectures during one week in every term in the Hall of the new Gresham College, at the corner of Basinghall Street, opened by the Lord Mayor with some ceremony in December 1913.

III.

We shall find that John Ward had his full share of the disadvantages of the position. Yet a Professorship in the College must have been regarded as a desirable post for a literary man, for there were seven candidates when, in 1720, the office fell vacant. The election lay with the Committee of the Mercers' Company, and a copy of the minutes has been preserved. Each applicant had sent in his "petition," with recommendations attached, and these were now read at full length in the hearing of the rest. Then the stringent Rules of the Trust were also read, and all had to signify their consent; a rather superfluous demand in the case of the unsuccessful six. The

minutes continue: "The Committee proceeding to election, the choice fell on Mr. John Ward, who has recommended himself to the learned world by the accurate and useful works which he has published in the Latin tongue, as appears by the testimonials attached to his petition. And to the said John Ward is ordered to read the said Rhetorick Lectures, to receive the salary, and to enjoy the lodging thereto belonging from Michaelmas 1720." The Committee exacted from Mr. Ward a bond that he would faithfully discharge the obligations of his office, and made him find a surety to the extent of £500 to secure obedience.

The Duties of the newly-appointed Professor were hardly to be called exhausting. Under the original order in 1597 he would have been required to read "thrice every week in the term time on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, by the space of one whole hour, in the Latin tongue, with a brief recapitulation for one quarter of an hour in the English tongue, between the hours of ten and eleven in the forenoon." The conditions had been somewhat relaxed. Two Lectures in the week were now deemed to enough. These were fixed for the same day, Friday; one, in Latin, to be given at nine in the forenoon, and one, in English, at three in the afternoon. The strain of the work would obviously come at the The preparation of a course of forty beginning. Lectures, both in Latin and English, even on a subject so comparatively simple as Rhetoric, and for a teacher so accomplished as Ward, would involve an immense amount of reading, reflection, and orderly arrangement; and a perusal of his published discourses proves that he spared no pains in their production. But this initial labour once completed, the work of necessary revision would be light, and all that remained was the regular and faithful delivery. The engagement left the Professor with a generous margin of leisure, and a man of Ward's untiring energy would have found thirty-eight years of such a life intolerable, unless he had been free to seek ampler occupation in more varied and stirring scenes. Gresham College was his home for all that length of days, but it was only the centre of a strenuous, fruitful, and intensely interesting life.

Rhetoric was still a recognised department of study when Sir Thomas Gresham founded his College. Sir Henry Wotton, Provost of Eton in the following century, bade his scholars "not neglect Rhetoric, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon, and none despise eloquence but such dull souls as are not capable of it." But when Ward came to his Chair, the subject was no longer popular in England, and no crowded Lecture Room awaited him. There were days when he had to address an audience of three or four; days when the janitor came with the announcement, that there was "no company."

The Lectures remain, and may be read in the form in which they were delivered. They were found, at the author's death, prepared for publication, and came out the next year in two volumes, under the title, "A System of Oratory." A prefatory note states that they formed "his regular course, revised from time to time during the space of thirty-eight years, in which he punctually discharged the duties of his Professorship, having been elected to it on September 1, 1720 and dying on October 17, 1758."

The work begins with a Latin Oration "de usu et praestantia artis dicendi," which formed the introduction to the course and was no doubt attended by the members of the Committee and the other Professors. All the Lectures, as we saw, were given both in Latin and English, and to the author they

were equally familiar; but in the book we have only the English. Excellent English it is, with no strain or false emphasis, easy, expressive, transparent, and a good example of the art which he was teaching. In his treatment of the subject, the writer is careful to acknowledge, there is nothing novel. Perhaps he is most interesting in his detailed counsels about Voice and Gesture. Not the hands and the arms only but the head, the eyes, the shoulders, the feet, are shown to have a part to play in the speaker's art. student is advised to maintain usually "a calm and sedate voice," while avoiding monotony, and to "let the gradations be gentle and regular." He should not "exceed the natural key of the voice or drop it at the end of a sentence." With all their simplicity, such hints lay a wholesome emphasis on the need for that Voice Culture which is almost all that remains of the ancient Rhetoric.

In the main divisions of his theme Ward is content to follow his three chosen authorities, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. What they do not teach, he does not think worth notice. His illustrations are almost all from the Latin or Greek. He has the Classics at his fingers' end, and Homer or Virgil, Livy or Tacitus, and above all his favourite Cicero are drawn into the service. One longs for some allusions to the great English writers who must have been familiar to so cultured a man, but with the exception of Addison, the English Bible is the one quarry for quotation. The Bible references may be traced in all parts of the book: they are not frequent, but they are always to the point, and show that he knew it well.

IV.

The larger part of John Ward's activities lay outside his Gresham Lectureship. Not only his books,

but his letters, his manuscripts, his memoranda, show a man ardent and unremitting in the literary pursuits which had been his delight from his youth. Two of his early productions survive, one of poetry, "Carmina Puerilia," another of Essays, "Oratiuncula." The latter are mainly on moral subjects, such as "the lust for money" and "the triumphs of the constant mind," but one paper raises the question of Peter's residence in Rome, and another treats of "the use and dignity of the art of speaking," the very title of his inaugural Oration as Professor in the time to come. Early in his career we find him communicating to the Society of Antiquaries important notes on the Roman inscriptions and antiquities found in Britain, with special reference to the buried city of Silchester. In 1725 he is engaged in a spirited controversy with Dr. Convers Middleton on the status of medical men among the ancient Romans. In the "Philosophical Transactions" from 1730 to 1753 may be found numerous contributions from him on ancient dates over windows and doorways, and on all manner of Roman remains and inscriptions. A warm acknowledgment in the Preface to Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary of assistance rendered in its preparation shows the kind of service which Ward was constantly rendering to authors and publishers. A splendid volume, with plates of 700 English coins, gold and silver, from the time of William the Conqueror. brought out by the Society of Antiquaries after Dr. Ward's death, owed to him the elaborate descriptions attached to the various specimens. His great work, "The Lives of the Gresham Professors," prefaced by a sketch of the College history, came out in 1740. The care which he bestowed on it is shown by the interleaved copy preserved in the Museum Library with copious manuscript notes of alterations and additions to be made in a subsequent edition.

small manuscript note-books, "Miscellaneous Collections relating to Gresham College," and nine more, "Memoirs relating to Gresham College," comprise a multitude of interesting details, public and private, recorded in the most exact and painstaking manner. The third volume of the "Memoirs" contains a printed copy of the Will of Sir Thomas Gresham, with his directions in full with respect to the College and its government.

Two of Dr. Ward's published works may receive a special word of notice. The first is of interest from the circumstance that it was prepared for the press by the author during the last year of his life, when laid aside from more active duties. It is entitled, "Four Essays on the English Language," and it deals with its Orthography, the Division of Syllables, the Use of the Article, and the Formation of the Verbs. These Essays had been written for private use, but friends, who had themselves profited by the perusal, urged their publication. In the Preface occurs the personal explanation, "Having been confined at home by a long and painful disorder this last winter, which disabled me from my duty elsewhere, I determined to follow my friends' advice, that I might not wholly answer the character given to a useless person,

"Mancus et extinctae corpus non utile dextrae." The Preface is dated, "Gresham College, May 24, 1758." The writer died in the October of the same

year.

The other book did not appear till after the author's death, but he left it ready for the press. It is his "Dissertations on Several Passages of the Sacred Scriptures." From his note-books it is clear that Ward had his Bible always at his side. In his ordinary reading he looks for illustrations of it, and records them. Questions occur to him as he reads, "Joshua x. 12. Did the sun stand still?" "John

xix. 37. Was this to be in repentance or in despair?" There are notes on varied points, on Usury, on Messianic Prophecy in the Psalms, on the state of the Hebrew printed Text of the Old Testament, on a various reading in Romans vii. 25. A paper on "The manner of St. Paul's two Imprisonments at Rome contrasted" was printed by Dr. Benson in his Notes on six Epistles of St. Paul. Another, "The Case of our Saviour's Crucifixion," in which Ward contends, against Bishop Sherlock, that He was crucified as by the death of a slave, was warmly praised by the same high authority. The "Dissertations" were thus the outcome of years of thought and enquiry. book was of sufficient importance to receive some "friendly observations" from the pen of Dr. Lardner. It deals with the criticisms of such writers as Toland, Bolingbroke, and Middleton. Dr. Ward accepts, as we should expect, the historical character of the Pentateuch and of the miracles both in the Old Testament and the New. He is by no means rigidly conservative in his views, and there is a fine candour and frankness in his interpretations. It is of interest to read what a learned and devout Baptist of the eighteenth century wrote on Scripture passages, and a few specimens may be offered.

Genesis ix. 25. "Cursed be Canaan." "The verb is not expressed in the Hebrew or the Septuagint, and may be supplied in the future, "Cursed will be Canaan," a prediction of what would befall the posterity of Canaan." A similar rendering is suggested in 2 Kings i. 10 and 2 Tim. iv. 14: also in certain Psalms, where "several passages which seem to be revengeful imprecations are really prophetical denunciations and predictions."

Joshua xxi. 43. How is this statement to be reconciled with such passages as Joshua xvii.

11-13 and Judges i. 27-28? "The Septuagint uses the word which means: They had the right of possession. None of the tribes were then put in possession of their whole share west of Jordan, but each had a considerable part, with a right to subdue the rest."

Ezekiel xx. 25. "I gave them statutes that were not good." Dr. Ward explains, "I permitted them to follow the customs of the heathen"; and he adds, "The Jewish Law was weak,

but it is never said to be not good."

Matthew viii. 32 (The destruction of the swine). "The swine belonged in part to Jews, living in Gadara, complying with heathen customs, and perhaps eating swines-flesh. It was a just reward for their unfaithfulness."

Matthew xi. 2. "It is scarce probable that John made that enquiry on his own account; most likely he sent his disciples for their own satisfaction. And it appears that the errand was very well suited to answer such a design, for they became the disciples of the Saviour after their master's death."

Matthew xxi. 19. The withering of the fig-tree. "The tree, being on the road, was probably no man's property. An innocent miracle, to teach the efficacy of strong and lively faith."

Luke iv. 33-36. The demoniac in the synagogue. "The name 'demoniac' may in some places in the New Testament be applied to natural disorders, become inveterate."

Acts ix. 7, as compared with Acts xxii. 9. "The two accounts are easily reconciled by the double sense of the Greek word and of our English "voice," which signifies either an indistinct sound of words in general or a distinct human voice or speech. So the

companions of Saul heard a voice, but not in so clear a manner as to understand what was said."

- I Corinthians x. 2. "Here is a plain allusion to the original form of Christian baptism by immersion. The analogy is evident. As the Israelites were under the cloud, and encompassed on each side by the sea, they were in a manner immersed in water."
- I Corinthians xv. 29. "What shall they do that are baptized for the dead?" Dr. Ward paraphrases the text thus: "Besides, what advantage is it to be laid in the water like dead bodies when you are baptized? If dead bodies are not to be raised again, why are you baptised after the similitude of dead bodies? The ceremony has no meaning unless it prefigures the resurrection of the body." He claims Chrysostom as supporting this explanation.

Revelation ii. 17. "I will give him a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it." "This seems to allude," says Dr. Ward, "to a custom among the Romans by which they cultivated and preserved a lasting friendship between particular persons and their families. The method was by a small piece of bone or ivory, or sometimes of stone, shaped in the form of an oblong, which they called 'tessera.' This they divided lengthwise into two equal parts, on each of which one of the parties wrote his name, and interchanged it with the other. This gave a mutual claim to reception and kind treatment. The faithful in Pergamos should hereafter be acknowledged by Christ and received into his favour and perpetual friendship. The name was only known to the possessor, the stone being kept privately and with great care, and its benefits designed only for himself and his family."

A manuscript note may be added, on 2 Corinthians v. 10, "It cannot be supposed that all the actions and words of each particular person will then be recounted. For every one, as I suppose, must know his doom at the time of his death."

\mathbf{V} .

When we turn to Ward's personal life, the first enquiry is as to the rooms in the College, where he made his home. The College, as already mentioned, had been Sir Thomas Gresham's own mansion-house, and stood, as described in his Will, "in the Parish of St. Helen Bishopgate and St. Peter-le-Peor." fronted Bishopsgate, and with its gardens, stables and outbuildings covered a large area of ground stretching back to Broad Street. The house was in the form of a quadrangle, with a grass court in the middle. A plan of it in 1739 is given in the Lives of the Gresham Professors and is copied in Besant's "London." It contained, beside its spacious Galleries and Reception Rooms, suites of apartments sufficiently numerous and commodious to lodge all the seven Professors. The rooms of the Rhetoric Professor looked out into the court. They were on two floors: on the ground floor a paved passage led to a parlour, and above were a kitchen, two bedchambers, a diningroom, and a study. The provision was adequate; but in Ward's days the drawbacks were serious; and his journals show how much of the learned man's time and thought was taken up by vexatious details and appeals, often disregarded, to the civic authorities.

After the Great Fire in 1666 the College had been

placed, with the ready consent of the Professors, at the disposal of the Lord Mayor and his Council. The Lord Mayor made his home in the rooms of the Divinity Professor; the other officials occupied the remainder; and the merchants used the quadrangle as their Exchange. The Royal Society subsequently held its meetings in the College. These engagements were temporary, and the building reverted to its proper tenants; but attention had been drawn to the extensive accommodation which it offered, and unwelcome visitors arrived. The Professors were horrified in May 1723 to find placards posted on the College front announcing that the notorious South Sea Company was opening a Transfer Office in one of the rooms, and inviting the attendance of the public. It took some months to get the Company ejected, and involved the greatest interruption and annoyance. On another occasion a company of the City Militia was quartered on the College, with the consent of the inmates; but the men behaved so badly, and left the place so filthy as to justify the most forcible expressions of disgust in the journals of the time. The open square became a source of disquiet. It formed a convenient thoroughfare between Bishopsgate and Broad Street, and tradesmen were constantly passing to and fro with their burdens. Orders had been issued that the gates should be closed at sunset, and the janitor had been instructed to remove any noisy children or disorderly intruders. But the janitor must have grown remiss, for in 1751 we find Mr. Ward himself and his neighbour, Mr. Machin, lodging a serious complaint with the Committee. The Committee meet, and record on their Minutes that "poor people and other idle persons resort to the quadrangle, and sit upon the bench there; and that both men and boys make it a place of rendezvous for fighting matches; and nurses with children daily frequent it

almost from morning to night, and by the screaming of children and other noises disturb Mr. Ward and Mr. Machin in their studies." Most exasperating for studious men! Surely the natural remedy would have been to close the court, as being private property. All that could be drawn from the unsympathising authorities was a rebuke administered to the janitor for his neglect and a caution to take better care. Another grievance, the unseasonable noise made by the city waits under the study windows, was more sternly dealt with, and the nuisance was promptly stopped. But the Governing Body remained as stiff and unreasonable as ever. Throughout the years 1752—1754, Dr. Ward seems to have been in the thick of the fight with them, always courteous and considerate but showing a fine esprit-de-corps and a manifest sense that he and his colleagues were harshly and unfairly treated.

He had ground for complaint on his private account. The whole building had grown sadly out of repair, and the Committee, being short of funds. were very slow to act. Ward had perpetual trouble with them. Now we find him sighing over the broken pavement at the door; now the water-pipe is stopped up and there is no supply in the kitchen; presently the floor of the garret is sinking; worst of all, part of the tiling has fallen away and the study itself lies open to the weather. "I remonstrated," says the sufferer, "but the inconvenience continued." Eventually he has to do the repairs at his own cost. One summer he had to pay £8 4s. $3\frac{1}{4}$ d. to the builders, a large slice out of a small income. The Mercers, who ought to have taken better care of their ablest Professor, remained obstinate. At last, in January 1749, a visit is recorded: "The Sub-Committee viewed the outer door of my lodgings, and found it old and decayed, and the jambs so weak and rotten, unsafe and not

sufficient to secure me from the attempts of robbers." They had the grace to order a new door, but even a Christian philosopher must have found it hard to bear with equanimity the annoyances to which he so long remained exposed.

A number of curious little memoranda show us something of the man, as he was in his College rooms. Here is a list of prints and drawings, lying in his drawers or hung on the walls of one room and another. Here a note of the exact length of the three rooms, study, dining-room, and chamber-"116 feet, forward and backward." Evidently he is in the habit of walking the distance to and fro. Then we have dealings with his book-binder, Mr. Cooke, and consultations with Mr. Marlow "about disposing of my agate stud," and with some one else "about the repair of my tortoise-shell trunk." He reminds himself to order "a pair of leathern goloss-shoes." "Very large and uncommon lights seen in the sky" is the note for August 15, 1750. "Papists at Shrewsbury report" so runs another entry, 'that Dr. Doddridge died at Lisbon in their communion." With all his devotion to learning, he was no recluse. We see him in company with his colleagues dining at the "Rummer" Tavern and elsewhere. He is punctual at the assemblies of the great Societies of which he was such an ornament. He has much to do in choosing books for the College Library and making rules for its management. The death of friends is carefully recorded, and he is punctilious in attending their funerals: "we had rings, scarfs, hatbands, and gloves" he notes on more than one occasion. On September 10, 1745, occurs the entry, pathetic in its simplicity, "My sister, Mrs. Abigail Ward, departed this life about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, at my apartments in the College." On the 24th of the following February with equal precision runs the notice, "This morning, about I o'clock,

died Mary Fossiter, my servant, at her sister's house in Tower Street." Mr. Ward was much in request as a writer of inscriptions. A Collection of them evidently made by himself, some in Latin, some in English, shows the taste and skill with which he responded to such appeals. Most of the inscriptions were for memorial tablets or gravestones, as, for instance, that in the church at Cardington in memory of "the antient family of Whitbread," and that to Dr. Joseph Stennett in Bunhill Fields. But some were engraved below the statues of famous men, on William Harvey's in the College of Surgeons, on that of William III. in the Bank of England, and on that of Edward VI. in Guy's Hospital. It is a curious sign of the variety of Ward's accomplishments that when fireworks were being prepared to celebrate the General Peace of 1748 he had some considerable share in suggesting the appropriate Figures and Inscriptions.

The traces of travel are not numerous, but whereever this man went, it was with eyes wide open. Thus at Warwick, "there yet remained" he writes, "in August 1746, when I saw it, the statue of Guy, about nine feet high in a room cut out of the rock near the river, now turned into a laundry." And again, "cut on a rock in a field on the left hand of the road leading from Warwick to Kenilworth is the inscription, Richard Gaveston. Earl of Cornwall. beheaded here." One remarkably interesting Journal remains of an "Excursion through the province of Holland and part of Flanders to Paris with the adjacent country and back to London between the 28th August and 12th October following in the year MDCCXXXIII." So runs the heading, and on the flyleaf is a carefully drawn table of the Dutch and French coinage with the English equivalents. The party was one of four, Ward himself, a Mr. Buckley,

and two unnamed gentlemen. They took the coach to Colchester, slept there, went on next day to Harwich, and sailed at 7 o'clock in the evening. They had to pay 12s. 6d. each for "King's duty," and a guinea each to secure a cabin to themselves. The voyage was the one exception to the enjoyment of the holiday. So boisterous was the wind that the sails were all taken in and the ship allowed to drive: one sailor had his leg broken; and for some hours the danger was extreme. In the morning the storm abated, and Helvoetsluys was reached at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The party travelled in comfort, and were looked on as persons of importance. At The Hague the British Ambassador entertained them and introduced them to the Prince of Orange. At Paris they dined with Earl Waldegrave and were invited to accompany him to Fontainebleau, where the French King and his court were in residence. Ward himself made friends with Catholic priests, and interviewed the keepers of libraries and the governors of prisons; he met lively fellow-travellers, who "talked very cheerfully and sang several pleasant songs"; he worshipped gladly with congregations of the English Church; and he seems to have felt no scruple about travelling on Sunday, when circumstances required it. At Abbeville, on the way home, "he wants a pipe," and seeks to borrow one from the innkeeper, who produced one, "very foul and black," and when her guest demurred to using it, reassured him: "several gentlemen have had it," said she.

Everything in those foreign lands has an interest for this observant traveller. He has eyes for the storks' nests on the roofs of the Dutch houses, for the demolished harbour works at Dunkirk, for the cleanliness in Holland, for the poverty in France, for the funerals, for the natural scenery, for the general condition of the various peoples. At Amsterdam he

finds the Jews, a strong community numbering forty thousand, celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles, with booths set up in the open streets. There also he examines with much care the torture instruments in use to compel criminals to confess their guilt, and the bars with which they were beaten to death. The churches everywhere are visited. At Antwerp, after the Cathedral and Rubens's pictures have been examined, he describes a procession of the Host through the streets and copies an inscription from over the altar at the High Cross, "Senatus populusque Antwerpiensis Deo homini crucifixo." Above all he is attracted by the great libraries, and in the congenial company of their custodians he pores over manuscripts, miniature paintings, and antiquities of every kind. The scholar is manifest on every page. As he crosses the Channel on his homeward way, he first contests Shakespeare's correctness in his description of Dover Cliffs, in "King Lear": and he then enters into calculations to show that Cæsar, in his invasion of Britain, must have sailed from the neighbourhood of Boulogne. He travels up to town with his friend Mr. Buckley, through the autumn beauties of the Kentish woods, looking joyfully forward to resume his College life and to meet his old acquaintances. They arrive safely, but a shadow falls over the sunshine. The journal concludes: "I had no sooner entered the College than a gentleman met me, and acquainted me with the death of my much esteemed and learned friend, Mr. Morland."

"Rebus in humanis miscentur tristia laetis."

VI.

There is a portrait of Dr. Ward in the National Portrait Gallery, once in the British Museum, painted at the expence of Thomas Hollis, who had been one of his scholars in the Tenter Alley days. The dress

is quite plain: a large wig, a black coat buttoned across the chest, and a white lawn cravat about the neck. The forehead is square and strong, the eyes grey, the expression one of quiet dignity, firm purpose, and cheerful kindness. From all that can be gathered the likeness must be a true representation of the man. He must have been marked by precise and even punctilious habits, abhorring disorder and with an immense appetite for details. One imagines him unhasting, unresting, always engaged in acquiring knowledge or imparting it. He could unbend, as the diaries show, and there is at least a trace of humour in the placid features; but no liberties would be possible with this polite and dignified scholar. His patience, judging from his behaviour toward his colleagues and the governing Committee of the College, must have been exemplary. The charm which his friends found in him is expressed in his biographer's words: "his modesty was equal to his learning, and his readiness contribute to every work of literature, distinguished as his abilities to do so." He must have had access, as we have seen, to the best circles, but he remained a simple, plain-living man, finding ample satisfaction in his own pursuits, walking in the old paths, and blest with the childlike spirit.

The same simplicity and breadth seem to have marked his religious and ecclesiastical convictions. "His piety," to quote again from Dr. Birch, "was sincere and unaffected; and his profession as a Christian was that of a Protestant Dissenter, with a candour and moderation which recommended him to the esteem of those members of the Established Church who had the pleasure of his acquaintance and friendship." Dr. Lardner also bears testimony to his sincere piety. He was sparing in the expression of personal experience. There is no reference to it in his later correspondence. The only letter which we find to Dr.

Stennett is on a passage in "Paradise Lost," and a reference to it by Addison in the "Spectator," and the only one from Dr. Stennett concerns certain recent antiquarian discoveries at Bath. These good men did not wear their hearts upon their sleeves. part compensates for the silence of the letters is the witness borne to Ward's devotional habits by a little manuscript book in his own handwriting containing an order of private prayer, dated 1757, the year before his death. The plan, as indicated, embraced five divisions, Invocation, Confession, Petition, Thanksgiving, and Conclusion; but it is only worked out as far as "Petition." There is nothing novel in the theology of this little manual. The spirit of it is one of profound humility; the style perhaps a little too formal and elaborate. Two extracts may be given. The first is from "Confession." After acknowledging "innumerable offences, aggravated by Thy offers of love and help," the prayer goes on to plead the divine promises of grace and forgiveness, and, in particular, "the appointment of Thine own Son as Saviour and Redeemer, who assumed our nature, and by His perfect obedience has procured pardon and forgiveness for all who by sincere repentance and faith in Him through the assistance of Thy grace shall endeavour to amend their ways and conform their lives and actions agreeably to Thy holy and righteous precepts." The second quotation is from "Petition." Prayers are made for deliverance from the power and guilt of sin, "that we may die more and more to sin, and live to the honour of Him who died for us," for the continued sanctification of our souls, and then, "as to the concerns of this life, that we may endeavour to keep a conscience void of offence towards all men, so conducting ourselves towards them with all justice and righteousness as to be unblemished and unspotted from the world." The prayer concludes, "in all

things giving thanks for Thy continued favour to us, and relying on Thy kind providence for everything necessary for our passage through this short and uncertain state of time, and making it our chief concern to secure an interest in Thy favour, and prepare us for that blessed state to which we are daily approaching." Coming as they do from one accustomed to order his thoughts and weigh his words so carefully, these utterances, and those of which they are a part, constitute an adequate Confession of Faith. They are certainly an expression of settled and matured conviction.

Dr. Ward's Trust is the standing memorial of his interest in ecclesiastical affairs. Dissenters in his day were still subject to painful disabilities. In the Little Wild Street Church an instance occurred in 1754, the year in which the Trust was founded; and the coincidence may be more than accidental. Mr. Allen Evans, a member of that church, a merchant of good standing in the City, was chosen one of the Sheriffs for the year. Acceptance of the office involved taking the Sacrament according to the form of the Established Church, and Mr. Evans declined to serve. The authorities took him to law for his refusal, and he was fined £600. He appealed to the House of Lords: and there the Chancellor, Lord Mansfield, in a famous judgment, pronounced in his favour. We would like to know what Dr. Ward thought about the trial, and about the whole Nonconformist position at the time. His natural caution and reserve would disincline him from taking part in ecclesiastical controversy. On the other hand, the memory of his father's sufferings, and the exclusion from the English Universities of many of his own most promising scholars, must have carried the sense of injustice home to him with peculiar force. If he did not speak, he acted. For from that feeling must have sprung the purpose to secure out of his own modest property to some among the coming aspirants to the Baptist ministry opportunities for "improving in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and other studies suited to the Profession of Divinity."

The Deed of Trust is dated July 11, 1754. Five Trustees are named: Benjamin Avery, LL.D., a Trustee of Dr. Williams's Library and Secretary of the newly-formed Body of Dissenting Deputies, Thomas Watson, a wealthy calico printer, a member of the Baptist church at Curriers' Hall, and a hospitable friend to Nonconformist ministers, Dr. Joseph Stennett, Nathanael Neal, "of Million Bank, London, Gentleman," and John Ward, bookseller in Cornhill. Trustees are to choose, within one year of Dr. Ward's death, two young men, between the age of 14 and 18, whose parents must be Protestant Dissenters, resident in England. Preference is to be given to Baptists. The scholars must have made a good proficiency in Latin and Greek. They shall continue in some good Grammar School for two years or less, improving in Latin and Greek, and beginning Hebrew. They shall then proceed to a Scottish University, Edinburgh being preferred. There they shall remain for four vears, to furnish themselves for their future work as ministers or tutors of Divinity. They cease to enjoy the benefits of the Trust if they marry, if they are expelled from the University, or if they fail to satisfy After their terms at the University the Trustees. have expired, the grant may be continued for another vear, to afford them further time for preparation. Any occasional surplus is to be used for the students' travelling expenses, or to their further encouragement. All working expenses are to be allowed for, and the sum of five and twenty shillings may be spent on an annual Dinner by the Trustees.

In 1863 the Charity Commissioners took the Trust in hand, and completed a revised Scheme for

its administration. The value of the Stock bequeathed by Dr. Ward had considerably increased: and now as many scholars may be appointed as the funds will allow. The number is usually five. The age for election is fixed at between 14 and 21: at 25 the Scholar ceases to enjoy the benefits of the Trust, nor can they be retained for more than six years. The Trustees may make use of any established University or other Educational Institution in the United Kingdom. The Dinner has disappeared.

The Trust has fully answered the founder's intention. It has enabled, and still enables, men of scholarly ability and ambition to prosecute studies which, without such assistance, would have been beyond their reach. "Some of the most eminent of the Baptist ministers" wrote Ivimey in 1830, "have been indebted to this bounty." It is intended to publish as complete a list as possible of the Ward Scholars. Here it may be enough to mention that out of the present Principals and Professors in the Baptist Colleges, at home and abroad, eight were in their student days among the number.

Dr. Ward seems to have continued to deliver his Rhetoric Lectures till within a year of his death. The winter before, as we learn from the Preface to his "Essays on the English Language," he was confined to his rooms but still able to make good use of his pen. In May 1758 on a circular summoning a meeting of the British Museum Trustees is a note in his own handwriting, "I was ill at home." He must have declined in strength quite gradually; his friends were not alarmed about him, and the end came unexpectedly. "He had gone well to bed," says his biographer, "but he waked between 3 and 4 in the morning, complaining of coldness in the head, and soon after expired." It was the 17th October 1758, and he was in his 80th year.

The grave had been already acquired in the Bunhill Fields Ground. Abigail Ward had been laid there some years before. We are not told who carried her brother to his burial. Samuel Stennett preached the funeral sermon, having succeeded his father in the pastorate at Little Wild Street, after his death in the previous February. The epitaph was prepared: Dr. Ward had himself composed it in his favourite Latin: and now his friend Dr. Chandler added the date, and the fitting words of appreciation. There is no trace left of the monument or of the grave; the whole inscription ran as follows:

Hic requiescit
Quod mortale fuit
Johannis Ward LL.D.

In Collegio Greshamensi Per annos XXXVIII Rhetorices Professoris Obiit anno salutis humanae MDCCLVIII

Bonus, ut melior vir

aut doctior non alius quisquam imbutusque anima qualem neque candidiorem terra habet

Dilectae ejus sororis Abigailis Ward

THE LITERARY WORKS OF JOHN WARD.

*Manuscript in the British Museum.

^{*}Carmina Puerilia. "Additional Manuscript 6242."

^{*}Oratiunculæ. 6242.

^{*}Copies of Latin correspondence, 1697-1755 A.D. 6224-5.

^{*}Copies of English correspondence on literary subjects. 6226-7.

^{*}Various letters to and from him. 6181b.

^{*}List of persons educated under him. 6181c.

^{*}Synopsis Heerebordi Collegii Ethici. 6238.

^{1712.} De ordine, sine de venusta et eleganti, tum vocabulorum, tum membrorum sententiæ collocatione.

^{1719.} De asse et partibus ejus, commentarius (anonymous).

- *Case of John Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, with Sir Dudley Rider's opinion, 1721 A.D. 6271.
- 1724. Gerardi Vossii Elementa Rhetorica, Editio . . . auctior; cui etiam . . . facilis interpungendi ratio adjicitur. [one copy in the Museum annotated, another prepared for a further edition].
- 1725. De Peste liber [being a Latin translation of the eighth edition, in 1723, of Richard Mead's Discourse of the Plague, originally published 1720].
- *Annotations on Dr. Mead's Medica Sacra. 6244.
- 1727. Ad . . . C. Middletoni . . . de medicorum apud veteres Romanos degentium conditione dissertationem, quæ servilem atque ignobilem eam fuisse contendit, Responsio.
- 1728. Dissertationis . . . C. Middletoni . . . de medicorum etc. defensio examinata; ubi omnia quæ contra responsionis auctorem disseruit infirmata sunt et refutata.
- 1730. [Supervision of B. Wilson's translation from the 1620 Genevan edition of] Thuanus, Historia.
- *Inquiry respecting Thuanus's orthography. 6228d.
- *Journal of an excursion through Holland and part of Flanders to Paris, 1733 A.D. 6235-6.
- *Dissertations published in the Philosophical Transactions. Hypomnemata. 6230 ab.
- 1733. Of the Equuleus, or Wooden Horse of the Ancients.
 [Latin contribution to the Royal Society, printed in Philosophical Transactions, volume XXXVI.]
- *Papers read before the Society of Antiquaries. 6183.
- 1736. Remarks upon an Antient Date found at Widgel-Hall near Buntingford. Remarks upon an Antient Date, over a Gate-Way, near the Cathedral, at Worcester. [Ph. Trans. XXXIX.]
- *Notes relative to the Siglae or Contractions used by Roman Lawyers. 6210.
- *Classical and Antiquarian Memoranda. Critical remarks on a Latin inscription. 6219, 6230c.
- 1736. Edition of Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary; again 1746, 1752.
- *The History of Gresham College from 1596 A.D. 6204-5.
- *Lists of subscribers to the Lives. 6207, 6209a.
- 1740. The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, to which is prefixed the life of the founder, Sir T. Gresham with an appendix. [Museum copy interleaved and annotated by J.W.] *Additions to the printed Lives. 6206.
- *Corrections of the Lives by Letherhead, 6209b, and Loveday, 6266.

- 1740. Preface to the second edition of John Davis's Cambridge edition (1703) of the Words of Maximus the Tyrian.
- *Papers relating to the Royal Society, 1741-1747 A.D. 6180.
- *Observations concerning an antient Map of London and Westminster, 1742 A.D. 6183.
- *Observations on some extracts from churchwardens' accompts, parish of St. Helen in Abington, 1743 A.D. 6183f.
- 1744. [Supervision of Gronovius' edition of Ælian's De Natura Animalium.]
- 1744. An Account of . . . the vulgar numeral figures: As also some remarks upon an Inscription cut formerly in a Window belonging to the Parish Church of Rumsey in Hampshire. An Explication of a Roman Inscription found not long since on a Stone at Silchester in Hampshire. [Ph. Trans. XLIII.]
- 1745. A brief Inquiry into the Reading of two Dates in Arabian Figures, cut upon Stones which were found in Ireland. An Attempt to explain some Remains of Antiquity lately found in Hertfordshire. [Ph. Trans. XLIII.
- 1746. An Attempt to explain two Roman inscriptions, cut upon two altars, which were dug up some time since at Bath. [Ph. Trans. XLIV.]
- 1748. A brief account of a Roman Tessera [from Market Street, Beds.]. A Description of the town of Silchester in its present state: with a short Account of an antient Date in Arabian figures at Walling near Aldermarston in Berks. [Ph. Trans. XLV.]
- 1748? Edition of George Benson's Works.
- *Figures and Inscriptions proposed for Fireworks at the Peace, 1749 A.D. 6240.
- *Observations upon Beacons, with a draught of that erected at Burton Desset, 1749 A.D. 6183.
- *Memoranda books 1750-8 A.D. 6268.
- 1750. Remarks upon an antient Roman Inscription found in that part of Italy which formerly belonged to the Sabines. An attempt to explain an antient Greek inscription upon a curious bronze cup, &c., &c. [Ph. Trans. XLVI. Latter reprinted separately.]
- *Original Diploma of Doctor of Laws, 1751 A.D. 8129.
- 1751. Preface to the Edinburgh edition of F. Volusenus, De Animi tranquillitate dialogus, first printed at Lyons 1543.
- 1752. New Edition of Lily and Colet's Short Introduction to the Latin Language, first printed at London about 1515. Other editions 1760, 1767, 1792.

- *Collation of various editions of the Westminster Greek Grammar. 6234.
- *Errata in Greek Grammar. 6217-8.
- *Abridgment of Roger Ascham's Schoolmaster. 6260.
- 1753. A breif explication of the inscription [on a Roman altar found at York]. An attempt to explain an antient Roman inscription cut upon a stone lately found at York. [Ph. Trans. XLVIII.]
- *Collections relating to the British Museum [founded 1753]. 6179.

 1755. An account of a Roman Inscription found at Melton &c. An account of four Roman Inscriptions . . . neer Wroxeter &c. [Ph. Trans. XLIV.]
- 1756. Some considerations on a draught of two large peices of lead, with Roman Inscriptions upon them &c. [Ph. Trans. XLIX.]
- 1756. Joint editor of three posthumous Tracts, by Moses Lowman.
- 1758. Four Essays on the English Language. To these is subjoined a Catalogue of the English verbs, formed through their radical tenses.
- *Memoirs relating to Gresham College till 1758 A.D. 6195-6203.
- 1759. A System of Oratory, delivered in a course of lectures publicly read at Gresham College, London; to which is prefixed an inaugural oration spoken in Latin. 2 vols.
- *MS of the same. 6263-4.
- 1761. Dissertations upon several passages of the Sacred Scriptures.
- *MS of the same, with papers relative to publication. 6267.
- *Short notes on passages in the Bible. Devotional piece. Collections and memoranda. 6216.
- *Theological and moral dissertations. Interpretations of scripture &c. 6231-3.
- *Correspondence with the Rev. Richard Briscoe as to the right of Jewish magistrates in capital cases under the Romans. 6248.
- *Essay on polygamy. 6262.
- *Oratiuncula de potestate ecclesiae. The case of our Saviour's crucifixion. Paul's two confinements at Rome. 6269.
- *Letter of E. Luttrell concerning his crayon picture of Christ in the manger. 6210c.
- *Ratio pictorios penicillos faciendi quos vulgo "Crayons" appellant. 6228e.
- 1761-3. [Editor, jointly with Andrew Gifford]. Tables of English silver and gold coins, first published by Martin Folkes Esq. and now reprinted, with plates and explanations, by the Society of Antiquaries.

- *De vocibus Græcis lepton et kodrantes apud Evangelistas. Remarks on the fables of Phædrus and Romulus. Remarks on the picture of the Nuptiæ Aldobrandinæ relative to the fly-flap. 6228.
- *Further remarks on use of words lepton and kodrantes in the gospels. Adversaria. 6229.
- *Memoranda on English gold coins, of the time of Elizabeth and James I. 6210b.
- *Monumental and other inscriptions, in Greek, Latin and English. 6243.
- *Remarks on the disposal of his papers. 623od.
- *Codicil to his will: bequest of MSS. to the British Museum. Loose papers. 6271.

In Days of Old; by John Stanley, F.R. Hist.S.

Mr. Stanley of Longhope has followed up his studies of 1662 by examining all the ejections in Gloucester and Hereford. His work is not to be compared with that of Dr. Nightingale for Cumberland and Westmorland, but is a popular account in newspaper language and style. Yet it is an advance on Calamy in that it is checked by the licences of 1672 and the census of 1676; with the help of Dr. Evans' enquiries in 1715, it links up with Whitefield's campaign in 1739. If some earnest student will spend three or four summer holidays in visiting the rectories of these counties, and examining their registers between 1640 and 1690, will also examine the diocesan registers at Gloucester and Bristol, he may throw very much light on the actual events of that period, and may well earn a high degree from the Bristol University. And as a pocket companion he may well take Mr. Stanley's book, whose wide margins invite annotation. We offer one, not relating to his district. He often refers to Henry Jessey as the Anabaptist Rector of St. George's, Southwark. What is the evidence for this? Calamy indeed. puts him down as rector, and does explicitly say that "upon the restoration he was ejected from his living at St. George's." Calamy refers to the biography of 1671 as his authority, himself writing in 1702. Crosby in 1738 only said that Jessey was "one of the fixed ministers in that parish? But the actual records of 1645 and 1648 as printed by Dr. W. A. Shaw, not simply omit his name in the Tenth Classis, but name Thomas Hudson as the representative of that parish in 1648. Here is a case that shows the necessity of testing Calamy's assertions by inspection of the original records on the spot. We believe it will be found that Crosby is near the mark, and that Jessey was only the morning lecturer, not the Rector.