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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of History

John Trussell: A Life (1575-1648)

by

Robert Frederick William Smith

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ABSTRACT

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John Trussell of Winchester (1575-1648) was a poet, historian and civic official. His life and works have been little studied, but they are broad in scope, and provide a fascinating insight into early modern religious and political affiliations and the role that manuscript literature of several kinds could play in provincial urban society. Using his extensive unpublished writings as well as printed works, this, the first full-length biography of Trussell, describes his career and the place of literature within it. Trussell's participation in the pro-sport poetic anthology *Annalia Dubrensia*, his youthful association with the Jesuit Robert Southwell, the influence of Justus Lipsius's thought on his own, and the development of his civil war allegiance are critically examined. The thesis shows how the few scholars who have written about Trussell's literary activities have often tended to form judgements based on a simplified picture of clashing early modern dichotomies, and aims to redress the balance by telling the story of his life in detail, so that the nuances of his attitudes can emerge. It contends that chronological narrative biography is the best tool for understanding the complicated reality of early modern lives, enabling historians to transcend the constraints of scholarly paradigms and established historiographies and achieve a holistic understanding of the way early modern individuals participated in the life of their society.

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Supplementary materials

Declaration of authorship

I, Robert Frederick William Smith

declare that the thesis entitled

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and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

Signed: ……..
Date:…….

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
BW	John Trussell, *The Benefactors of Winchester* (Bodleian Library: MS Top. Hants. c. 5).
Continuation	John Trussell, *A Continuation of the Collection of the History of England* (London, 1636).
Origin	John Trussell, *The Origin of Cities* (HRO: W/K1/11/1)
TT	John Trussell, *The Touchstone of Tradition* (HRO: W/K1/12).

Conventions

There is no wholly satisfactory way to reference the major manuscripts used in this thesis, because the numeration provided by Trussell is imprecisely correlated to the number of leaves in the volumes, and, worse, has internal inconsistencies. I have adopted the following conventions for referencing:

- The *Touchstone of Tradition* manuscript is referenced by folio, taking the first leaf to be the flyleaf, and the subsequent leaves to be f. 1, f. 2, f. 3, etc., irrespective of the numeration on the pages. For the first thirty leaves of the volume, this has the effect of making my citations seem two folios ahead of Trussell's numeration, but one is made up by an error when Trussell's numbering jumps from 30 to 32, omitting 31. Throughout most of the rest of the volume my citations appear to be one ahead relative to the manuscript's numbering, until f. 195 (Trussell's 194), where four leaves have been removed, and Trussell's numbering resumes at 199, but mine continues unbroken from 195.

- For consistency, the *Benefactors of Winchester* manuscript is referenced in the same way, taking the first leaf bound in the volume to be the flyleaf (which is blank except for a list of the corporation's scarlet days on the verso side), and the subsequent leaves to proceed f. 1, f. 2, f. 3, etc., irrespective of the numeration on the pages.

- The *Origin of Cities* manuscript has two sets of numeration: Trussell's, in ink, which is much amended, reflecting the work-in-progress nature of the manuscript; and a later archivist's, in pencil. I have simply followed the later, pencilled-in foliation, since it is accurate and consistent.

Except where indicated, dates are given in Old Style, except that the year is taken to begin on 1 January. I have chosen to give all quotations in modernised spelling and punctuation, for the reader's convenience.

Introduction

John Trussell of Winchester has never been the subject of a full-length biography (if 'full-length' is defined as 'of a length sufficient to be published as a monograph'). This thesis has been written to supply that defect, in the belief that such a biography would be a worthwhile contribution to Renaissance history. I began it still thinking that it would stand as an almost unique contribution to 'Trussell studies'. As the work continued, however, I found a surprisingly large number of references to John Trussell in the works of other scholars – too many, in fact, to conveniently list here, though most, if not all, are referred to in this thesis where appropriate. However, as well as displaying a natural bias towards his printed works, all but three of the scholarly works of any length that mention Trussell do so in the course of a discussion of something else, mostly in passing, and with little in the way of context. The three that do not are a chapter by Adrienne Rosen on early modern Winchester in Peter Clark's *Country towns in pre-industrial England*, Martin Shaaber's article on Trussell's poem *The First Rape of Fair Helen*, and Roxane C. Murph's chapter on Trussell in her book *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses.*[1]These works have been invaluable in the writing of this thesis, and there is practically nothing to criticise or amend in their discussions. Other scholarly references to Trussell are more of a mixed bag, and I have been able to suggest new or alternative interpretations of texts and add to or clarify the work even of great scholars like Ronald Hutton and C. W. Brooks, who at one point confuses John Trussell with his father Henry in his book *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth* (which was nevertheless of great use in the writing of this thesis).[2] I have also been able to contextualise and moderate such incisive, but short, scholarly discussions of Trussell as F. W. Brownlow's in his study of Robert Southwell.[3]

As a result, the unexpected proliferation of secondary literature in what I envisaged as an almost wholly archive-based project has not altered my opinion that a full-length biography of John Trussell is justified. When the lives of great early modern figures like Shakespeare and Oliver Cromwell are written and re-written, with often enlightening results, the first such life of John Trussell seems permissible, not least because it will demonstrate that there is far more to know about John Trussell than even the scholars who

[1] Adrienne Rosen, 'Winchester in transition, 1580-1700', in Peter Clark, ed., *Country towns in pre-industrial England* (GB: Leicester University Press, 1981), pp. 144-195; M. A. Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 8 (1957), pp. 407-448; Roxane C. Murph, *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses: The 17th Century Royalist Histories of John Trussell, Sir Francis Biondi and William Habington* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2007).
[2] C. W. Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers of the Commonwealth: The 'Lower Branch' of the Legal Profession in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1986), p. 178.
[3] F. W. Brownlow, *Robert Southwell* (NY: Twayne Publishers, 1996).

have noticed his existence may have gathered from their brief encounters. Moreover, most early modern scholars are still unlikely to know him as more than a name, if that. If any scholar finds material in the life and career of John Trussell with which to elucidate or support their own research – maybe into topics which I have not even thought of – the work will be worthwhile. And on the principle that, as Robert Tittler has remarked, "the unheralded events and people of an age often convey the tenor of the times just as usefully as the great and famous", there is a convincing case for studying the life and career of a man whom no-one could describe as "great and famous".[4] Equally, when J. E. Curran refers to Michael Drayton as "last of the important defenders" of the Brutus myth, which Trussell also defended, the question inevitably arises: why was he important, and not Trussell?[5] And should we only be concerned with important people? If we decide that the answer to the second question is no, then Trussell's perspective on the mythical history of Britain, and on every question and occasion to which he turned his pen, surely deserves to be recognised and understood, partly as a corrective to a historiography which focusses on the contributions of great, famous and extraordinary people, but also because any part of history is worth knowing, and the lives of our forebears especially, since they remind us of our own participation in the unfolding history of humanity.

There is a sense in which it is a privilege to be able to write any early modern biography, and where it is possible to do so I believe it should be done. When we make the dead live and speak again, we are necessarily enriched by hearing their lives and words revived. Some might be inclined to dismiss this as overly romantic, or mere antiquarianism, although it can equally well be called the historian's first principle. But we are doing more than simply calling shades out of Elysium for romantic purposes: historical biography is an ideal vehicle for the study of the past. History is not merely a chart of impersonal forces outworking through time, but the story of human lives which intersect, individuals who interact with one another. To trace and recreate those interactions within the chronological framework of a single life opens many vistas. Emerson went so far as to say that "there is no history: there is only biography", an exaggeration which nonetheless encapsulates the truth that the medium of history is human personality.[6] Furthermore, human beings experience their lives chronologically, not thematically. For me, one of the endlessly fascinating things about history is its 'texturedness': the sense of multiple

[4] Robert Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences 1540-1640* (California: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 121-122.
[5] John E. Curran, 'The History Never Written: Bards, Druids and the Problem of Antiquarianism in Poly Olbion', in *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 51, No. 2 (Summer, 1998), p. 500.
[6] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks: 1838-1842*, ed. William Henry Gilman, vol. 7 (Harvard: University Press, 1969), p. 202.

individual lives, and social, intellectual and economic currents of every kind – movements which would often be treated thematically – existing simultaneously in time. Chronological narrative is a method which enables the historian to capture this sense of life as it was experienced.

'Interdisciplinarity' is a popular concept at present, no doubt partly because of a realisation that history, as I have just described it, cannot help but be interdisciplinary, since very few individual lives are ever confined to one 'discipline' or field of endeavour, and even if they are, they are still shaped by interactions with the lives of others: thus a life of John Trussell transcends the bounds of a mere study in the history of antiquarianism, or early modern poetry, or the government of early modern towns; it even transcends the life of John Trussell. My thesis is an interdisciplinary history of the life and times of one man, whose seventy-three year life encompassed much that is particular, and much that is universal. In this I could have no better model than Charles Nicholl, whose lives of Nashe and Leonardo are exemplars, weaving many disparate threads into the overarching scheme. Nicholl's method is characterised by the cogent and accessible deployment of detail – often just 'traces' – based on rigorous close reading of primary sources. He supplements the lives of the individual subjects by making the lateral connections to other relevant persons and movements. For example, in *The Lodger* he deepens our understanding of the daily life of Shakespeare and the Mountjoy family using a technique of 'world-building' that draws on a variety of sources to reconstruct the topography, character and population of their parish of St Olave, and the dramas of their family life, such as fears of an unwanted pregnancy, recorded in the casebook of Simon Forman.[7]

Where necessary, Nicholl also displays a remarkable facility for the plausible imaginative reconstruction of lacunae in the documentary record. Trussell's life encompassed a great many connections of one kind or another: to Jesuits, to printers and booksellers, poets, members of the legal profession, figures of county and even national importance, and to his colleagues in the corporation of Winchester. If John Trussell was connected to these people, they were connected to him; his biography, like all biographies, touches many strands of the web of history. The central question of my research is therefore: with whom did John Trussell associate, how did they affect his life and work, and what was the impact of his own activities on them? An associated question is whether a study of Trussell's life and experience can confirm or amend the conclusions scholars have reached about the social and economic context of early modern towns such as Winchester. For these purposes a good deal of contextual reconstruction, using

[7] Charles Nicholl, *The Lodger; Shakespeare on Silver Street* (London: Penguin Books, 2008), chs. 5-12.

contemporary printed and manuscript works alongside the central spine of Trussell's own, has been necessary.

The first two chapters of the thesis establish the chronology of the period of John Trussell's life which is the least well documented. As so often in Renaissance lives, Trussell scarcely appears in the historical record until he starts to publish, but Chapter One nevertheless reconstructs a little of his early life from the traces that remain, providing an exercise in 'world-building' influenced by the technique of Nicholl and some informed speculation about his schooling, including the reasons for thinking that he attended Westminster School and was a pupil of the antiquary William Camden. The bulk of the chapter, though, is concerned with the primary documents of the London phase of his literary career. It discusses in turn *The First Rape of Fair Helen*, his first published work of certain attribution, and Trussell's surprising involvement with *The Triumphs Over Death*, a work of Robert Southwell, which Trussell published. The discussion attempts to shed light on the mysteries of Trussell's early writings, including how and why he came to be associated with the Catholic martyr Southwell, and suggests (in opposition to the understandable views of several scholars) that the Southwell connection can be understood in the context of an ideological movement other than Catholicism, namely that of Lipsian neostoicism. There follows a discussion of several unattributed works, including a look forward in time at *The A,B,C of Arms*, a military manual of 1616, which, I argue, is likely to be a hitherto unrecognised work of John Trussell. The chapter concludes by returning to the 1590s and outlining a biography with conjectural features drawn from the preceding evidence.

Chapter Two covers John Trussell's early years in Winchester, from the time when he can be assumed to have first moved there until the time when his activities there begin to be more thoroughly documented in his manuscripts. It introduces his immediate family, and explains how family ties were the main factor which caused John Trussell to begin a new life in the city. It also discusses the potential religious implications of the move with regard to the difficult problem of his religious affiliations, arguing that while there is much evidence that the Trussell family had some degree of Catholic loyalty, overall his orthodoxy to the Church of England was clearly established by the second decade of the seventeenth century. Chapter Two evokes the new world in which Trussell found himself in Winchester, and discusses the state of the city's economic fortunes in relation to the urban hierarchy in England at the time, and the beginnings of Trussell's association with the city's elite by his marriage to a daughter of the wealthy burgher Thomas Colley.

The next three chapters focus on three major aspects of his literary activities in the years between 1621 and 1637, discussing in a not-too-rigid chronological order his political writings, his historical and antiquarian works and his poetry of the mid-1630s. Chapter Three shows how the environment of early seventeenth-century Winchester, a small and self-governing oligarchy, provoked an intellectual and literary response from John Trussell during the two decades of his rise through its ranks to prominence, and also how it responded to him. Trussell generated conflict, and fortunately for the historian also documented it, although the documentary record of his battles with his colleagues is inevitably one-sided. The nature of the conflicts in which he was embroiled is examined in this chapter. The chapter also describes his political ideology, which seems to have marked him out from his colleagues more by its intellectual depth and literary expression than by genuine ideological differences, and examines the intellectual influences which shaped it. It shows again Trussell's indebtedness to a modern humanist, Justus Lipsius, as well as more traditional thinkers such as the Aristotelian John Case, demonstrating that the intellectual activity of a provincial official in early Stuart England could take place in the context of international scholarship. The crucial role of poetry, its didactic, performative and oppositional functions, and the way Trussell used it in both private and public settings, are also illustrated from the documentary record, facilitating an unusually intimate account of an early seventeenth-century civic milieu.

Chapter Four discusses the characteristics, ideology, and sources of John Trussell's historical and antiquarian writings, and the uses to which they were put – not only by Trussell himself, but, I suggest, by his printers. Passionately concerned with his adopted home of Winchester, yet by no means confined to local horizons, Trussell engaged through the medium of history with problems ranging from present-day civic affairs to the national history itself. This chapter's discussion of his unpublished manuscript histories provides a case study of the interest and vitality of antiquarian culture 'below the radar' in the seventeenth century, not least by showing that John Trussell's manuscript works were not unique in being impressive intellectual achievements: other local antiquaries wrote impressive works which remained unpublished. Chapter Four also uses an examination of the dedications of Trussell's works to identify the social and professional networks which he hoped to access, in a discussion which demonstrates the difficulties inherent in trying to ascribe political and religious stances too confidently to works written in personal and professional contexts as well as politico-religious ones.

Chapter Five focusses on Trussell's writings of the years 1636-37, and is therefore chronologically an interlude between Chapters Four and Six. Trussell's contribution to the

Annalia Dubrensia collection celebrating the Cotswold Olympics of Robert Dover, published in 1636, and the series of poems he wrote in 1637 on the topics of government and charitable benefaction in Winchester, merit more detailed study. Drawing on the ideas of the urban historian Robert Tittler, the chapter shows how through his poetry Trussell participated in the nationwide process of the secularisation of ritual, commemoration and charity, and explores the ideological complexity of the process by explaining the different ways in whic he represented himself to different audiences in the civic and literary spheres.

The final chapter, Chapter Six, draws together the strands developed in the preceding chapters, in particular Trussell's poetic and antiquarian responses to problems of the day, which by 1637 were approaching the point at which they would break out into general war. Trussell was now in his sixties, but he continued to attempt to participate in the affairs of Winchester and the nation, both through his working life, and, after age and infirmity made this impossible, through his writings. Chapter Six uses these writings to contribute to a detailed, ground-level narrative of Winchester's involvement in the civil war, and again demonstrates the complications which may ensue when we seek to define political and religious stances and viewpoints, and make even reasonable-seeming assumptions about how these associate with one another. There follows a Conclusion which seeks to distil the lessons of the thesis, amongst which the same point – the complexity of early modern culture and the limitations of labels – looms large.

My aim from the beginning has been to write a thesis that does more than simply take a research question and answer it. This life of John Trussell is intended to be a biography which recreates the experience of a historian at a crucial time in the development of historiography; charts the efforts of an undistinguished poet, in an era of unparalleled literary achievement, to find a suitable voice in which to answer the high calling of history, patriotism and nation; and describes how the endeavours of a civic official to address the scourge of poverty spread out to incorporate literary as well as administrative strategies. It revisits the age in which great institutions were being built – the Church of England, parliamentary democracy – which are only now approaching the time of their final dissolution; a period when men of conscience often encountered extreme difficulty in following the *via media* between passionate intensities of politics and religion, and when English society, riven by ideological divisions and crippled by systemic weaknesses, was approaching a point of functional breakdown. But it examines these grand historical phenomena from the 'ground level' of a provincial gentleman's life and career, showing some of the responses such people can find to the way things fall apart. It sets out to be not only problem-solving, but a human story – a life.

1. The wine-jar and the water-pot: John Trussell in literary London 1575-1596

Poet and antiquary; reformer and reactionary; king's man and champion of the poor – the life of John Trussell has many aspects. He was a scion of a Warwickshire gentry family, the Trussells of Billesley Trussell, near Stratford-upon-Avon – the Trussells were probably related to the Shakespeares of Stratford, which has attracted some comment in the past.[1] For Christopher Whitfield, editor of the *Annalia Dubrensia* of 1636, Trussell's first poem in that collection "breathes the very air of the seventeenth-century Warwickshire and Cotswold countryside".[2] But John Trussell's connection to the Warwickshire countryside was hardly close. His parents were Henry Trussell and his wife Sarah, or Sara. Henry came from a junior branch of the Billesley Trussell family, and made his living in London as an attorney and official on the estates of noble families.[3] The Billesley estate was in any case forfeited in the 1580s by John's second cousin, the criminal-turned-soldier Thomas Trussell (a discussion of the complications of the Trussell family tree can be found in Appendix A).[4] John Trussell was baptised in January 1575 in the church of St-Dunstan-in-the-West on Fleet Street, the building which appears on John Norden's map of London as 'S. Dunshouse'. His brother William was born in 1584 in the neighbouring parish of St Bride's, which is in the same ward of London, Farringdon Extra.[5] The brothers also had an elder sister Amy: she is mentioned in connection with "John Trussell my nephew" and "William Trussell his brother" in the will of their uncle, John Harmar. [6]

Of John Trussell's younger days nothing is firmly known. He would never hark back to his childhood in his writings, and in consequence they tell us almost nothing about the first twenty years. Whether the family even remained in the ward of Farringdon Extra after 1584 is uncertain; however, as Thomas Trussell died and was buried in St Dunstan's

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[1] See Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 51-2.
[2] Christopher Whitfield, ed., *Robert Dover and the Cotswold Games: A new edition of Annalia Dubrensia* (London: Henry Sotheran, 1962), p. 104.
[3] Adrienne Rosen, 'Trussell, John (*bap.* 1575, *d.* 1648)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.
[4] Adrienne Rosen, 'Trussell, Thomas (*b.* in or before 1564, *d.* 1640)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004.
[5] T. F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars: A list of the Wardens, Fellows, and Scholars of Saint Mary College of Winchester, near Winchester, commonly called Winchester College* (London: Henry Frowde, 1888), p. 157; Francis Joseph Baigent, *The history and antiquities of the Parish Church of Wyke near Winchester* (Winchester: Nutt and Wells, College Street, 1865), pp. 36-37.
[6] The National Archives: PRO, PROB 11/123, sig. 7. "I give to my sister Trussell [John's mother Sarah] if she live and continue a widow vi l. To Amy Trussell iiii l. To John Trussell my nephew v l. To William Trussell his brother v l. together with five great volumes of the Digest" – presumably the 'Digest' of Justinian's laws.

churchyard in 1640 after being forced to let his Warwickshire estates, it seems that the Trussells' connection to the area continued in some form. What did that area contain, and what would the young John Trussell have seen around him as he began to look outwards at the world? As we examine maps of Elizabethan London there is much in and around the parish and the ward which seems strangely appropriate, considering the shape of his life to come. Behind St Dunstan the "chapel for the custody of the Rolls and Records of Chancery" hovers like a blessing of Clio above this dedicated antiquary's birthplace.[7] This church stood on Chancery Lane, which emerged onto Fleet Street next to the church of St Dunstan: once a house for Jewish converts, it was itself converted in the reign of Edward III into the repository of records of the kingdom, and the Public Record Office remained on the site until recently. Trussell also grew up surrounded by the law. As one stood on Fleet Street with the church at one's back, the most immediately visible structures would have been Sergeant's Inn across the road, and, a little way off to the right, the imposing gate which gave access to Middle Temple Lane, on either side of which were the Inner Temple and the Middle Temple. A short distance down the street to the right stood the gates of Temple Bar, the westward boundary of the Ward of Farringdon Extra. This area was the heart of London's legal district: the Sergeants-at-law, whose other Inn was in nearby Chancery Lane, were the wealthiest and most prestigious legal practitioners of all in Renaissance England, and the Middle and Inner Temples between them comprised half the most senior Inns of Court. Inns of Chancery were also dotted around. Clifford's Inn was practically next door to St Dunstan, and at the top of Fetter Lane, which came out into Fleet Street on the other side of the church from Chancery Lane, clustered Barnard's Inn, Thavies Inn, Furnivall's Inn and Staple Inn, where in term-time the attorneys worked and played.[8]

More of the noble and gentry residents of London resided in Farringdon Extra than in any other ward.[9] But, though it was far more respectable than the suburbs to the north and south of London, the ward of Farringdon Extra might still have had a bohemian touch. Although the city of Westminster lay away down the Strand, which was lined with the city residences of the great – Leicester House, Arundel House, Somerset House, Durham House – the Dunshouse district was populated by the intelligent but notoriously boisterous students of the Inns: poems, arguments and the occasional sword-thrust are likely to have been common currency in its streets. In any case, one did not need to go far in Elizabethan London to see the full tapestry of life in all its richness. One of the most interesting

[7] John Stow, *Survey of London* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1940), p. 350.
[8] Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 331-358.
[9] D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England Under the Later Tudors, 1547-1603* (London and New York: Longman, 1983), p. 212.

dichotomies in the personality of John Trussell is that between the Renaissance poet and eulogiser of May-games, and the conservative moral reformer. We are entitled to think that the seeds of both characteristics were sown in those streets around Dunshouse. It is easy to imagine the young Trussell torn between fascination with the curious mixture of high and low life he saw around him, and revulsion at the lawlessness and immodesty it would inevitably have fostered. It bred a conflict which John Trussell may never have quite succeeded in resolving within himself.

Camden and Westminster School

It is possible to draw tentative conclusions about Trussell's schooling. In his *Touchstone of Tradition,* while speculating about the "many several descants of the etymology of the city of Winchester", Trussell commented as follows:

> I confess myself to concur in opinion with my ever to be reverenced and remembered Schoolmaster, judicious Camden, who approved grave Leland's conceit in his etymology of the primitive names of ancient cities… (*TT*, f. 31)

This is an intriguing reference. Read at face value, it implies that William Camden, the great Elizabethan antiquary, was literally Trussell's schoolteacher. It might be written off as a figure of speech, a statement of Trussell's debt to a 'master' in the purely intellectual sense. However, "ever to be… *remembered*" implies a closer acquaintance than this, and rather than the vaguer 'master', Trussell chooses to say 'Schoolmaster'. On the same page he says "in imitation of my said *tutor's* rule… I crave leave to shoot my bolt". Furthermore, Trussell's debt to Camden in his writings is less obvious than to several other contemporary writers – for example Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton. The specificity of the 'schoolmaster' and 'tutor' epithets leads us to suspect that he may have studied under Camden at Westminster School during the 1580s. There is no direct corroboration of this theory, but it is not impossible.

Trussell is unlikely to have been one of the forty élite 'Queen's Scholars' who were the core of Westminster's student body, nominated by the ruling Dean and Chapter at an early age and earmarked for advancement to one of the Oxford colleges and subsequent worldly success, but it is quite possible that he attended as a 'town boy', walking along the Strand from Farringdon Extra to the heart of Westminster and back every day, past the great houses of the nobility that were strung out along the riverbank. Or he might have

been one of the 'pensioners', who gained admission by passing an examination showing they had "thoroughly learnt by heart the eight parts of speech, and know how to write at least moderately well, and of whose disposition, good conduct, and happy progress in learning there is good hope".[10] The earliest he could have been admitted was 1582, for the School's statutes declared that "none shall be admitted a scholar before he is seven years old", but he could have entered in any of the next two or three years.[11] There were seven forms, although he need not have completed all of them. If he attended Westminster, Trussell is likely to have spent much of the 1580s there.

William Camden arrived at Westminster as under-master, or 'usher', in the year of Trussell's birth, fifteen years after it had been re-founded by Elizabeth and her chief minister, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. Westminster was an archetypal foundation of what Camden's biographer, Wyman Herendeen, calls an age in which "the creation of schools was being used as a palliative for the appropriation of church lands".[12] Camden himself had been educated at St Paul's School, which had been established by the reformer John Colet to be free of state and ecclesiastical influence in 1509, during the open-minded final years of the old unified Christendom, before the fury of the Reformation broke over Europe, shattering hopes of progressive, incremental reform. By 1560, even though the power of the Catholic Church had been broken, it was scarcely possible for new schools to be so free of influence. Westminster, as re-founded in 1560, embodied the new, Erastian order: the assertion of the power of the state over the church, the enforcement of the 'Anglican' orthodoxy. Camden himself called Westminster "a nursery of the church", by which he meant the Elizabethan church, which was subject to monarchical governorship. Herendeen goes so far as to say that "Burghley's Protestant 'seminary' was designed with the clear purpose of fostering aspects of Elizabethan settlement".[13] There is every indication that at Westminster Trussell would have been educated in a strongly royalist, Anglican atmosphere.

John Colet's goal at St Paul's had been to establish a school in which children would receive a liberal education in humane letters, with the best classical authors on the curriculum. By the time John Trussell came to school at Westminster (if he did so) the fire of educational reform did not burn quite so brightly. There were two distinct phases of the English Renaissance – or perhaps it would be better to say two distinct strands or aspects of it, as there is considerable chronological overlap. The first of these strands, going back

[10] Wyman H. Herendeen, *William Camden: A Life in Context* (GB: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 105; A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents 598 to 1909* (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), p. 503.
[11] Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents,* p. 501.
[12] Herendeen, *William Camden*, pp. 30-31.
[13] Herendeen, *William Camden*, pp. 103-4.

to the time of Colet (d. 1519) and More (d. 1535), was concerned with humanist learning, the recovery and translation of classical Latin, Greek and Hebrew texts. The second was a vernacular Renaissance. In this second phase,

> the classical spirit [did] not manifest itself in flawless Greek hexameters or Latin diction, but in the national epic, the celebration of the local countryside, the recognition of English's own history and its expressive potential and kinship with other languages.[14]

Some scholars, for example C.S. Lewis, have considered these two strands fundamentally hostile to one another, one being puritan, academic and rigidly intolerant, the other diverse, ecstatic and beautiful; but Herendeen contends that they are a continuity, reconciled in figures like Camden, whose works represented "the coming of age that marks the end of the Renaissance – the passage from a rebirth to a new birth".[15] Herendeen believes that "the traditions of the first English humanist school [St Paul's] were to influence the man who promoted the revival of these traditions at Westminster School".[16]

The curriculum which Trussell would have studied there certainly showed the influence of the liberal humanist reforms, which Herendeen argues Camden attempted deliberately to resurrect. From the first to the third form, Trussell would have been taught directly by Camden himself. In order to give his boys a firm grounding in Latin eloquence, each day Camden would have read them passages from classical authors such as Terence, Cicero and Sallust, and Renaissance humanist writers such as Erasmus and Vives. From these, as the Statutes of Westminster say, pupils were expected to

> gather the flowers, phrases or idioms, also antitheses, epithets, synonyms, proverbs, similes, comparisons, stories, descriptions of seasons, places, persons, fables, sayings, figures of speech, apophthegms [a type of phrase not unlike an epigram].[17]

He would then have set them 'sentences' to translate, and required them to make 'vulguses' – short compositions in Latin – "that they may better understand the rules of grammar, and so the Latin language become familiar in every way".[18] Headmaster Edward Grant took charge of the fourth to the seventh forms, where there was a greater focus on Greek, with Greek grammar being taught, and Homer, Demosthenes and Plutarch taught

[14] Herendeen, *William Camden,*, p. 110.
[15] Herendeen, *William Camden,* p. 110; for Lewis' view, see C. S. Lewis, *Poetry and Prose in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), ch. 1.
[16] Herendeen, *William Camden,* p. 31.
[17] Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents,* p. 511.
[18] Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents,* p. 515.

alongside Caesar, Livy, Ovid and more advanced passages from Terence, Cicero and Sallust. The fourth and fifth forms had to write longer compositions on set themes, and the upper two forms did the same except in verse. There was even instruction in Hebrew in the seventh form. For an intelligent boy, able to follow his lessons through the punishingly long school hours (6 a.m. until 8 p.m.), everything was provided at Westminster which would allow him to go on to study theology or classics to the highest degree of expertise at Oxford or Cambridge.

But, insofar as Trussell would go on to be a Renaissance man at all, it is to the second, vernacular phase that he belonged – as, too, did his 'master' Camden, who did more than any other to trigger the surge of interest in ancient Britain and its languages. We saw earlier that Trussell called on Camden's authority in a discussion of the British origins of the name of Winchester; elsewhere in the *Touchstone* he cites him extensively in a passage on the Saxon origins of the office of an earl, and the word *earl* itself (*TT*, f. 196). These, and other similar passages, are surely examples of Trussell attempting to follow in the footsteps of his revered "master" Camden, who led English antiquarianism in a new direction with his *Britannia.* Trussell was interested in such etymological speculation even though his grasp of ancient British tongues seems to have been second-hand. As for the classical languages studied at Westminster, Trussell's command of Latin was strong – entirely consonant with a thorough classical education of the kind he would have received at Westminster – and his knowledge of Roman authors was extensive.[19]

What happened after he had finished his education can only be a matter of conjecture. The only significant documents of the first twenty years of John Trussell's life are a number of publications, and it is to these we must now turn.

The First Rape of Fair Helen

The first of only two works to bear John Trussell's name in the mid-1590s is a poem of 153 stanzas (918 lines) entitled *The First Rape of Fair Helen.*[20] Trussell published it in 1595, when he was about twenty. The poem was "imprinted by Richard Jones, at the sign of the Rose and Crown next above St Andrew's Church in Holborn". Jones was a major publisher of works from widely varied genres; his publications in the same year included a collection of comic anecdotes, *Wit's fits and fancies: fronted and intermeddled with precedents of humour and wisdom* by Anthony Copley; a work "most necessary and

[19] Herendeen, *William Camden*, p. 110.
[20] The poem is transcribed in Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', pp. 421-445.

comfortable both for body and soul", *The garden of prudence,* by Bartholomew Chappell, "wherein is contained a pathetical discourse and godly meditation most briefly touching the vanities of the world, the calamities of hell, and the felicities of heaven"; and a prose romance, *Moderatus,* by Robert Parry. Previously he had printed Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and the actor William Kempe's play *A Knack to Know a Knave,* and works by such noted 'wits' as Lodge and Peele. Overall, he was an understandable choice for a poem like *Fair Helen,* with a penchant for the light, the "delectable", and material "very pleasant for young gentlemen to peruse" – into which bracket Trussell's firstfruits are evidently intended to fall.[21] Just as likely a reason for Trussell's going to him, however, is the proximity of the Rose and Crown to St Dunstan, as Trussell seems to have preferred printers with a connection to the locality.

The association of Trussell, via his publisher, with the circle of rather seedy but undeniably popular and famous writers of the day – Nashe, Marlowe, Lodge, Peele – should not be taken as significant: they were only the best-known writers Jones printed. He also published edifying works of religion and philosophy; one such, printed in 1594 and again in 1595, was a translation by John Stradling of the contemporary humanist Justus Lipsius' *De Constantia*. It is tempting to think that this was the edition, bought from his publisher's shop, which sparked the young Trussell's interest in the great Dutch scholar and inspired him to seek out the Latin versions of his works; however, since when Trussell quotes *De Constantia* at length in his *Touchstone of Tradition* four decades later he appears to be translating directly from the Latin, it is not certain that his acquaintance with Lipsius first came via Stradling (see Appendix C).

The matter of *The First Rape of Fair Helen* derives from a story probably most widely familiar in Renaissance England through Plutarch's *Lives,* the abduction of the young Helen of Troy from the court of her father Tyndarus by Theseus of Athens many years before the Trojan War, and her rescue by her brothers Castor and Pollux. Plutarch covers this incident in some detail in his *Life of Theseus*, which was widely available, along with all the other *Parallel Lives*, in Thomas North's translation of 1579. There is also a handful of other versions of the story elsewhere in the classical canon. But as Martin Shaaber, who published the poem with a scholarly introduction in *Shakespeare Quarterly* in 1957, noticed, Trussell's version is not much like any of them.[22] That is not to say the

[21] Austin Saker, *Narbonus, The labyrinth of liberty. Very pleasant for young gentlemen to peruse, and passing profitable for them to prosecute* (1580). Breton's *Bower of Delights* (1591) contains "many most delectable and fine devices". Another example is his *The arbour of amorous devices, wherein young gentlemen may read many pleasant fancies and fine devices, and thereon meditate diverse sweet conceits to court the love of fair ladies and gentlewomen* (1597).

[22] Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', p. 419.

poem is original in conception; it was an essay in a highly fashionable genre. In Martin Shaaber's opinion, "casting about for a wronged heroine not already treated in a complaint poem, Trussell happily lighted on the first rape of Helen" – a judgement which rests on the unstated assumption that Trussell was following the logic of commercial success rather than poetic inspiration, and that he specifically wanted to write a complaint poem, in the first place.[23] This is reasonable enough, and likely to be correct: *Fair Helen* could easily be a hasty attempt to satisfy a perceived public demand for complaint poems. Samuel Daniel had published his *Complaint of Rosamond* in 1592, Thomas Lodge his *Complaint of Elstred* in 1593, and in 1594 Shakespeare published *The Rape of Lucrece* and Michael Drayton his *Matilda*. As a play for business, an attempt to write for an established market, there is a compelling logic in Trussell's choice of material: Helen was of course universally known for being 'the face that launched a thousand ships', the betrayer of Menelaus with Paris, but the story of her involvement with Theseus was more obscure. With *The First Rape of Fair Helen* Trussell would have had good reason to congratulate himself on a contribution to the complaint genre that was fresh and innovative, but at the same time retained the 'star power' of a legendary celebrity to draw in readers. The verse-form, too, might have been intended to be a selling point. The six-line stanza, rhyming *ababcc*, which Trussell uses is now known as a 'Venus and Adonis stanza', after the verse-form employed by Shakespeare, as it is quite an uncommon verse-form and *Venus and Adonis* is the best-known example of its use. Trussell's employment of it could be taken as a deliberate linking of his poem with Shakespeare's, which had been published two years before. A reader picking up the book from the stall and reading the first page, or flicking through, could have noticed this and made the connection.

Trussell's address to the reader is a masterpiece of false modesty which reveals a powerful undercurrent of trepidation about the reception of his work. It begins with a quotation from Horace's *Ars Poetica* to which he would return several times in his works, so that it becomes almost like a signature:

> - amphora cepi
> Institui currente rota nunc urcens exit.[24]

It was said of Trussell by Thomas Atkinson that "he never fails to introduce the apposite Latin quotation", and this is an early example of his tendency to display his learning for the

[23] Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', p. 420.
[24] Ibid., 'I started to make a wine-jar; but with the turn of the wheel, a water-pot has appeared'.

approval of readers.[25] In this context the quotation is intended to convey self-effacement, as are his opening remarks:

> Gentlemen and others, which by perusing these my *Primitiæ*, shall be made partakers of my folly, pardon (I pray you) my presumption in presuming to print so prevaricating a pamphlet, and with partiality on my part, censure of my proceedings, lest if with an unpartial insight you examine to the proof each literate cadence and lineal accidence of this my untutored Poem, you shall find the one so full of contrarieties, the other so far from congruity, the continuity of both so replete with absurdities, and the conclusion of all so abrupt, that you will rather condemn them for waste paper, then commend them for praiseworthy.[26]

Here we can detect Trussell's real fear of failure magnifying his display of suppliant humility. As for the style, the presumable purpose of the annoying alliteration is to show off Trussell's dazzling literary wit. Rhetoric was among the most highly valued of all the arts in the Elizabethan age; an easy facility with words was a free ticket to admiration, and the standards of the time encouraged verbal showmanship.

The First Rape of Fair Helen is also prefaced by three commendatory verses, a sonnet by one 'I. T.', and two longer poems in 'Venus and Adonis' form by 'T. T.' and 'S. I.'. The identities of these men cannot be known, but as Trussell was an unknown young writer they are probably obscure friends or family members; the most obvious candidate for T. T. is Thomas Trussell. S. I. writes that *Fair Helen* "for thy young years deserves an elder's praise", implying that he was an older acquaintance or relation (S. I and T. T. both make much of Trussell's youth). T. T. enquires why Trussell should not dare to climb "Amongst the Laureates of these latter days,/ and modern Poets of succeeded time", as he "well deserv'st it… as much as some that are of more esteem". "Thy sweet style," he tells Trussell, "as far exceeds thy subject,/ As beauty doth excel her basest object". 'I. T.' declares that "thou mayest challenge not unworthily,/ true Virtue's merits, Fame's eternity". 'S. I.' urges the young poet to take no account of the critics' objections, but "let the world be witness of thy wit".[27]

Trussell, a brittle, sensitive young man, talented but not brilliant, was being set up for a fall by circumstance. The overheated compliments paid to his talents by his small circle of admirers could only have made his eventual disappointment more painful. There is no reason to believe that *The First Rape of Fair Helen* was greeted by the reading public

[25] HRO: W/K1/13/2.
[26] Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', p. 421.
[27] Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', pp. 422-23.

with anything other than indifference. The lack of surviving copies is further evidence of what we would already expect to be the case – the poem did not make a splash, but was swallowed up without a trace in the rich and strange oceans of the Elizabethan literary scene. Probably for this reason, his reaction against poetry seems to have been quite a violent one. In 1636 he would write that:

> Once I did vow – but who can all vows keep? –
> That my dull Muse eternally should sleep…[28]

Those were his first published lines of verse since the 1590s; after the publication of *Fair Helen* Trussell bade the Muses farewell, and for over thirty years had nothing more to do with poetry – with one exception, that is.

The Triumphs Over Death

Father Robert Southwell, of the Society of Jesus, was for ten years the leading light of the Roman Catholic mission in England. A prolific writer of verse and prose, his ministry has been seen as a literary as well as a spiritual one – an 'apostolate of letters'.[29] For three years of that crucial decade he was a prisoner of the state, undergoing repeated torture and interrogation; but throughout the time of trial, he steadfastly refused to betray his missionary comrades or any members of his flock. For a man who consciously modelled himself on such examples as Edmund Campion, whose protracted sufferings and bloody execution had been endured with a meekness and strength of faith which guaranteed his subsequent canonization, this loyalty was only to be expected. In the devotion of his life and the manner of his martyrdom, Father Southwell himself trod the same path to sainthood as Campion and many other missionaries, both Jesuits and secular priests. He was executed, a much-abused but unbroken man, in the spring of 1595.[30] If ever a man triumphed over death, it was he. It was fitting, then, that before the year was out, *The Triumphs Over Death*, his "consolatory epistle for afflicted minds", was posthumously printed in a small volume – prefaced by three dedicatory verses written by John Trussell.

Two editions of *The Triumphs Over Death* were printed during the decade, in 1595 and 1596. Their title pages describe them as having been printed by Valentine Sims for

[28] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 105.
[29] Pierre Janelle, *Robert Southwell The Writer: A study in religious inspiration* (New York: Paul P. Appel, 1971), ch. II.
[30] Christopher Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell, Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1956), part III.

John Busby, to be sold at the shop of Nicholas Ling, bookseller. They would therefore have gone on sale at " the little west door" of St. Paul's Cathedral, "the city's book-mart and hub of the literary profession".[31] Ling and his collaborator, Busby, had also published Drayton's *Matilda* and Lodge's *Rosalind*, which may be one reason why Trussell went to them with the *Triumphs*: he had bought from them before.[32] *The Triumphs Over Death* was composed for Phillip Howard, Earl of Arundel, in August 1591, as a work of consolation on the occasion of his sister's death, and it remained private until Trussell "thought it best the same in public-wise/ In print to publish". There was a close personal connection between Southwell and Arundel, for Southwell's patroness was Anne Dacre, Countess of Arundel, herself a Catholic. She had become a convert in the early 1580s, and with her newly converted husband's blessing, Arundel House in the Strand shortly became a crucial English stronghold of the Counter-Reformation. Southwell entered the household in 1586. The Earl had been arrested the previous year, but with all the resources of the Countess supporting him, Southwell was able to operate under the noses of the authorities – writing and disseminating his works, administering the sacraments and making pastoral visits to the faithful – for six years. Among the tasks facing Southwell was that of providing spiritual instruction and consolation to his patroness's imprisoned husband. *The Triumphs Over Death* is a product of that relationship.

The first of Trussell's three verses preceding Southwell's text is an 'Epistle Dedicatory' addressed to "the Worshipful Mr. Richard Sackville, Edward Sackville, Cecily Sackville, and Anne Sackville, the hopeful issues of Mr. Robert Sackville, Esquire". Robert Sackville (1560-1608) was the future second Baron Buckhurst and second Earl of Dorset, the son of one of the greatest Elizabethan servants of the Crown: Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset (1536-1608), a courtier of the inner circle. Robert had been married to Margaret Howard, the Earl of Arundel's sister, from 1580 until her death in 1591. In this first poem, addressing Robert and Margaret's children, Trussell says that he, the work's "unworthy foster-sire", has "dared/ To make you patronisers of this ward". He refers to the Sackville children as

> You glorying issues of that glorious dame,
> Whose life is made the subject of death's will:

[31] Edward Guilpin, *Skialetheia, or, a shadow of truth, in certain epigrams and* satires (1598) specifies the "little west door"; "the city's book-mart" from Charles Nicholl, *A Cup of News : The Life of Thomas Nashe* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 42.
[32] For Ling and Busby, see Gerald D. Johnson, 'Nicholas Ling, Publisher 1580-1607' in *Studies in Bibliography* vol. 38 (The Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1985), pp. 203-214.

He continues:

> To you, succeeding hopes of mother's fame,
> I dedicate this fruit of Southwell's quill.
> He for your uncle's comfort first it writ:
> I for your consolation print and send you it.[33]

The 'uncle' he refers to is of course the Earl of Arundel, whose death, a little later in 1595 than Southwell's, appears to be the direct occasion of Trussell's printing it, for the consolation of Arundel's nieces and nephews. The second of Trussell's verses is a poem in praise of the work and its author, Southwell. The third is addressed 'To the Reader', and states Trussell's reasons for publishing it:

> that impartial eyes
> Might reading judge, and judging praise the wight,
> The which this Triumph over Death did write.

In this third poem Trussell anticipates the criticism of some who "to read what Southwell writ will not endure" because of his religion: "the preacher's no precisian, sure". Depicting the critics as "pitch-speeched" Momus, the legendary carping spirit of antiquity, Trussell pleads that their censure will fall upon him alone, and not the author or the work itself.

Two questions arise from the *Triumphs Over Death* poems: first, the question of how and why Trussell came to publish the work, and second (which follows naturally) whether Trussell, an evident admirer of a Jesuit 'traitor', was himself a Roman Catholic. To take the second question first, the simple fact of the connection with Southwell has caused most people who have devoted any thought to the matter to take it for granted that Trussell was indeed a Catholic. Pierre Janelle, a biographer of Southwell, assumed that he was a "Catholic man of letters".[34] F. W. Brownlow felt able to say "Trussell was undoubtedly Catholic", whilst also saying that the publication of *Fair Helen* and *The Triumphs Over Death* in 1595 was "as much the work of a young man keen to make himself known in literary circles as it is a gesture by a Catholic partisan".[35] But Brownlow was well aware of the pitfalls awaiting scholars who try to discuss the question. "Unfortunately", as he remarked, "the possibilities are difficult to judge objectively

[33] Robert Southwell, *The Triumphs Over Death: Or, a Consolatorie Epistle, for afflicted mindes, in the affects of dying friends* (London, 1595).
[34] Janelle, *Robert Southwell The Writer*, p. 150.
[35] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 53.

precisely because the figure of William Shakespeare is hovering in the background of the question. The implication that Shakespeare was moving in, or even admired in, Catholic circles seems to have been the reason for M. A. Shaaber's rather defensive approach to the question of Trussell's identity and allegiances".[36] Shaaber dismissed the significance of the Southwell connection, asserting that "from *The Triumphs Over Death* alone, one would hardly suspect that Trussell or even Southwell was a Roman Catholic". [37] Shaaber was reacting in particular to the ideas of J. W. Trotman, a Catholic who (in around 1913) had made a close examination of the *Touchstone of Tradition* manuscript while it was still in private hands. On the basis of *The First Rape of Fair Helen,* the *Touchstone* and *The Triumphs Over Death*, Trotman came to believe not only that Trussell was a Roman Catholic and Southwell's "literary executor", but also that 'John Trussell' was a pseudonym for William Shakespeare (or vice versa); and that Shakespeare's apparent death in 1616 was "a ruse to cover the poet's retirement into private life".[38] It is not surprising, therefore, that Martin Shaaber reacted defensively.

Shaaber was perhaps too quick to dismiss the significance of Trussell's part in the *Triumphs* publication. As Brownlow noted, "a contemporary reader encountering all three poems for the first time [would] have been surprised, perhaps even startled, to see Southwell's name spelled out in full in each of them".[39] The edition of Southwell's chief poetical works printed in the same year did not broadcast the identity of the author.[40] In stark contrast, not only does Trussell broadcast Southwell's authorship of the *Triumphs*, he even makes his second prefatory poem an acrostic of Southwell's name. Obviously every contemporary reader of the *Triumphs* would have known that Southwell was, not only a Catholic, but a Jesuit – especially in 1595, with his execution still fresh in the public's mind – and would have read it, and any material attached to it, in that light. Openly associating himself in print with a recently executed Jesuit in this way is, undeniably, a surprising thing for Trussell to have done. Shaaber was right, though, to point out that the actual contents of Trussell's poems do not indicate Catholic allegiance. J. W. Trotman, not unnaturally, saw evidence of such an allegiance in a passage of *The Touchstone of Tradition* in which Trussell laments "the frozen devotion of these times", which left churches in Winchester such as St Mary Kalendar open to the skies, "pitifully standing in expectation, every day more, for a thaw" (*TT*, f. 43). He also regarded Trussell's stinging

[36] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 53.
[37] Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', p. 413.
[38] Robert Southwell, *Triumphs over Death*, ed. J. W. Trotman, (London: Manresa Press,1914), pp. 110-11; HRO: W/K1/12 (insert).
[39] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 54.
[40] [Robert Southwell], *Saint Peter's Complaint. With other poems* (London, 1595).

attacks on puritanism, in both the *Touchstone of Tradition* and the *Triumphs Over Death* poems themselves, as evidence of his views. In the third of the *Triumphs* prefatory verses, Trussell blasts the

> late-sprung sectaries,
> Or, for a fashion, Bible-bearing hypocrites,
> Whose hollow hearts do seem most holy wise.

These men, he feared, would "for the author's sake, the work despise". He urges them to "weigh the work and not who writes", before dismissing those who will not be persuaded with a sarcastic reference to what he saw as the pretensions of some Protestant sectaries to be a righteous elect whose every action was sanctified by the Holy Spirit: "since no persuades suffice/ To cause them read, except the spirit move". This contempt for the puritan faction would remain a constant throughout Trussell's life. But Shaaber was also right to say that "one would want something more explicit than antipuritanism, deploring of the decay of religious foundations, and complaints against the degeneracy of the age to feel sure that the steward of the bishop of Winchester and the alderman and mayor of the city was a Roman Catholic".[41]

Even if we assume that at this stage of his youth Trussell really was indulging in a dalliance with Catholicism, he did a good job in *The Triumphs Over Death* of staying on the right side of the line which divided acceptable expression from subversive agitation. His poems contain no explicit avowal of Catholic doctrine, and only the coyest of acknowledgements that the writer of the main work was a Roman Catholic enemy of the state: "the preacher's no precisian, sure". If Southwell himself had referred to "late-sprung sectaries", he would probably have been understood as meaning the initiators of the Reformation themselves – in other words, Protestants in general. But Trussell's phrase can be thought to mean merely the extremist puritans who had been making a nuisance of themselves recently by loudly trumpeting their anti-episcopalian nonconformism. These radicals were almost as disturbing to the troubled peace of the Elizabethan settlement as the Jesuits and missionary priests. As a result, it was fairly conventional among writers to mock and rail against puritans; it was always a good idea in literary London to curry favour with the authorities, or at least to make a public show of one's political and religious

[41] Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', p. 414. Shaaber believed John Trussell to have been Steward to the Bishop of Winchester, but in fact there is no evidence for this. The assertion is made in the anonymous *History and Antiquities of Winchester* (1772), vol. I, vii. Shaaber presumably saw no reason to doubt the accuracy of the work; nevertheless, it would seem to be an error.

orthodoxy. For example, the Marprelate controversy of the late 1580s had brought together a coalition of talented pamphleteers who wrote in support of the established (episcopal) state church, against the radically anti-episcopal puritans who wrote collectively under the pseudonym 'Martin Marprelate'. Without doubt, many of these writers were motivated by personal contempt for puritanism. It may be because he was following in this tradition, and because he avoided explicit affirmation of Southwell's Catholic theology and Jesuitical activities, that John Trussell escaped censure for his poems in *The Triumphs Over Death*.

There is also the possibility, which deserves at least some consideration, of an affiliation between Trussell and Southwell's text quite apart from the vexed question of Catholicism. Catholicism was not the only appealing ideology which Trussell could have read in Southwell, or the only one which can explain his evident respect for the Jesuit and his *Triumphs over Death*. The other is stoicism, in its new Christian and humanist form which had recently been popularised by Justus Lipsius. Southwell wrote emotionally about the death of Margaret Howard in a poetic epitaph,[42] but by contrast, the *Triumphs* themselves have been described as "the very reverse of Southwell's more passionate moods. Their inspiration is the acme of Jesuit 'indifferency' coupled with classical moderation".[43] The 'indifference' which Southwell was trying to cultivate in Arundel was not, of course, cold indifference to the death of a loved one, but rather a calm, collected and reasonable grief: "mourn as that your friends may find you a living brother, all men a discreet mourner, making sorrow a signal, not a superior of reason". This was the experience of grief which was pleasing and permissible according to the law of God; not that kind which unhinges the rational mind, but that which manifests the pity and compassion which makes us human.

> For to be without remorse in the death of friends, is neither incident nor convenient to the nature of man, having too much affinity to a savage temper, and overthrowing the ground of all piety, which is a mutual sympathy in each of others' miseries [sic]. But as not to feel sorrow in sorrowful chances is to want sense, so not to bear it with moderation is to want understanding: the one brutish, the other effeminate; and he hath cast his account best that hath brought his sum to the mean.[44]

This doctrine of moderation, as Janelle pointed out, is a philosophy with its roots in the placid temper of various ancient philosophies, and could therefore have been calculated to

[42] James H. Macdonald and Nancy Pollard Brown, eds., *The Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 99-100.
[43] Janelle, *Robert Southwell The Writer*, p. 151.
[44] Trotman, ed., *Triumphs Over Death*, p. 2.

appeal to John Trussell, the keen classicist: it is revealing that he refers to Southwell – "a little loosely perhaps", Janelle thought – as "our Second-Ciceronian Southwell". It must, of course, imply that Southwell was a master of compelling rhetoric, but the reference may not be quite so loose as all that. It is quite possible that when he wrote the line Trussell had in mind the general tone of Cicero's thought, maybe even specific sayings of his, such as his reference in *On Duties* to the "division of moral rectitude… in which we find considerateness and self-control, which give, as it were, a sort of polish to life; [which] embraces also temperance, complete subjection of all the passions, and moderation in all things".[45] Trussell hoped that by Southwell's "persuasive pithy argument" in the *Triumphs*

> Each well-disposed eye may be prepared,
> Respectively their grief for friends' decease
> To moderate without all vain excess.[46]

We remember that in the same year Richard Jones published another edition of John Stradling's translation of Lipsius' neostoic work *De Constantia*, entitled in English *Two Books of Constancy…a singular consolation to all that are privately distressed, or afflicted, either in body or mind*, and it is not unreasonable to think Trussell's interest in the work of Lipsius dates from this early time.[47] Lipsian neostoicism, forged in the turmoil of the Eighty Years' War in the Netherlands as a response to the psychological strain of universal insecurity, consisted in "enduring whatever happens to a man externally or internally without complaint", being characterised by freedom from the tyranny of emotion, patience in adversity, and cheerful subjection to God's will.[48]

F.W. Brownlow's incisive discussion of the *Triumphs over Death* includes the fascinating suggestion that the title of the work is itself Trussell's invention, not Southwell's, since it is has no title in the surviving manuscripts, and he convincingly makes the point that it is Trussell who "encourages us to read the piece in more than one way": not just as a letter from Southwell to the Earl of Arundel, but in the context of the deaths of both men, and "in the context of our own life and impending death". [49] As Brownlow insists, "the stoicism of the *Triumphs* is the mood of a man who, like a World War II fighter pilot, has to fly until he is killed himself… Southwell's stoicism is meant to be severely practical advice on maintaining presence of mind and a sense of proportion

[45] M. Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*. ed. Walter Miller (London: William Heinemann, Ltd, 1928), pp. 95-97.
[46] Trotman, ed., *Triumphs Over Death*, p. xii.
[47] Justus Lipsius, *Two Books of Constancy*, ed. John Stradling (London: Richard Jones, 1594).
[48] Mark P. D. Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics* (Princeton: University Press, 1991), p. 162.
[49] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 55-56.

before impending death", not a literary exercise in the combination of classical and Christian modes but "the fruit of experience".[50] Trussell, by turning a letter "formerly written for the consolation of one" into something with exemplary and practical value "for the general good of all", as the title page says, made an appropriately humanistic use of the epistolary form. The letter was "a civilized means of intercourse, by which friends are united through the sincere expression of the writer's thoughts", including grief and consolation, but both friendship and letters were very public in Renaissance humanist culture.[51] The mood of the *Triumphs* was already reminiscent of the neostoicism of *De Constantia* – "it could even be described as a Senecan epistle", as Brownlow acknowledges – and it is characterised by the brevity, grace and lack of affectation which, since Cicero, had been features of stoic writing.[52]

What personal resonances Southwell's 'consolatory epistle for afflicted minds in the affects of dying friends' may or may not have had for Trussell we do not know. But Morford remarks that "Langius [Lipsius' guru in *De Constantia*] represented for Lipsius the Stoic *sapiens* who had achieved mastery over the emotions through Reason",[53] and we may wonder whether Southwell represented something similar to Trussell. Of course, to say so is not necessarily to interpret the historical Robert Southwell as a neostoic *sapiens*. His argument in the *Triumphs* relies on the (Roman Catholic) Scriptures, not the ancients. Lipsius went further than Christians of either faction were comfortable with in his rejection of sympathy and pity as useless weaknesses.[54] Indeed, Stradling's preface to the 1594-1595 editions of *De Constantia* acknowledged that Lipsius had been attacked for the secular character of his work. But, crucially, he also made a strong attempt to reconcile Lipsius' classicism with Christianity:

> whereas some men pretend he hath not handled this argument devoutly enough in that he applieth not places of holy scripture to his purpose… he writeth so highly in commendation of RIGHT REASON, although sometimes with the words of the Ancients: yet he accompteth no reason pure or right except it be directed by God and illuminated by faith.[55]

[50] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, pp. 57-58.
[51] Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, p. 72.
[52] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 56; Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, p. 72; see also Jan Machielsen, 'Friendship and religion in the Republic of Letters; the return of Justus Lipsius to Catholicism (1591)', in *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 27, No. 2 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, April 2013), pp. 161-182.
[53] Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, p. 65.
[54] Gerhard Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the early modern state*, trans. David McLintock (Cambridge: University Press, 1982), p. 29.
[55] Stradling, 'The Epistle to the Reader', in *Two Books of Constancy* (St Donat's, 24 August 1594).

Kevin Sharpe is one scholar who has emphasised "the independence and power of readers… to construct their own meanings" when they interpreted Renaissance texts, including by means of translations.[56] Trussell would have been capable of bisociating the Christian stoicism in adversity of Robert Southwell with the formal neostoicism preached by Lipsius. Moreover, it would not do to over-stress the extent to which the neostoicism of *De Constantia* is at odds with a Christian orthodoxy that transcends the divisions between Protestant and Catholic: Oestreich argued that in his philosophy "Reason is called upon to create a world of self-control, moderation, pious yet active faith, and genuine reverence for God", and was "enthusiastically received in all camps".[57] It is, therefore, possible to conceive of an intellectual context for Trussell's publication of and enthusiasm for Southwell's *Triumphs Over Death* which does not automatically imply Roman Catholic allegiance on his part.

As to the question of how and why Trussell came to be involved in the printing of the *Triumphs*, is it a case of his being Southwell's 'literary executor', as Trotman suggested? This, as the preceding discussion has suggested, is overstating it. *The Triumphs Over Death* is the only work by the deceased Jesuit which he was certainly involved with. F. W. Brownlow did go further and suggest that a slight verbal similarity in the dedicatory material of the *Triumphs* and *Maeoniae*, a posthumous printing of Southwell's poems by the same publisher at about the same time, together with Trussell's undoubted proficiency as a Latin scholar, "hints at Trussell's editorship of both works". However, "speculation of this kind is necessarily tentative", as Brownlow admitted.[58] The precise details of how Trussell came to be the publisher of the *Triumphs* are opaque, but we do not need to posit a personal connection between Trussell and Southwell. On the face of it, it is unlikely that they ever met. Southwell lived a secret, wandering life, and he had been taken prisoner in 1592, when Trussell was only a youth of about seventeen. Furthermore, unlike most prisoners in Elizabethan jails, he was kept in solitary confinement and permitted no visitors for the whole of his three-year imprisonment.[59] Prior to his capture, however, it seems likely that Southwell had circulated the work in manuscript.[60]The most obvious hypothesis is that we are dealing with an opportunistic publication by Trussell of a private manuscript that he had somehow come across. This would not be so ruthless as it might at first seem, as *The Triumphs Over Death* were also being copied and circulated on the Continent

[56] Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 40.
[57] Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the early modern state*, p. 33.
[58] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 54.
[59] Devlin, *The Life of Robert Southwell*, p. 295.
[60] Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p. 51.

before Southwell's death for "the edification of all Catholics".[61] Although they were originally intended for only private consumption, we may assume that the *Triumphs* would have come into print in England before long anyway.

There is much evidence in the poems for the theory that Trussell, rather than by direct request of Southwell or anyone else, was venturing to publish the work on his own initiative, having fortuitously come into possession of a manuscript. This is what is suggested by the beginning of the third poem: "Chancing to find with Aesop's Cock a stone,/ Whose worth was more than I knew how to prize", he then published it, "knowing if it should be kept unknown,/ 'T would many scathe and pleasure few or none…" His modes of address to the children do not indicate much in the way of a close relationship: he is complimentary, but not familiar, asking them to "deign in kindness to accept the work,/ Which he in kindness writ I send to you". He speaks twice of 'sending' rather than presenting, a word which implies distance. However, it is difficult to believe that Trussell could have reached this position with no prior involvement with anyone concerned: this would leave us with the insurmountable problem of how he came to possess a copy of *The Triumphs Over Death* in the first place, and how he came to have such apparent familiarity with the Sackville family's affairs. We may note that Trussell spends many words apologising for, or excusing his 'presumption'. In the first poem he says that he "has dared" to make the Sackville children patrons of the *Triumphs*, and concludes it by saying "But if in aught I have presumptuous been,/ My pardon-craving pen implores your favour". He insists that in printing the work he has good intentions the equal of Southwell's:

> He penned, I publish, this to pleasure all,
> Esteem of both then as we merit shall.
> Weigh his work's worth, accept of my goodwill
> Else is his labour lost, mine crossed, both to no end;
> Lest then you ill-deserve what both intend,
> Let my goodwill and small defects fulfil.
>
> He here his talent trebled doth present,
> I my poor mite, yet both with good intent;
> Then take them kindly both as we them meant.

The impression is cultivated of a man who is connected in some way to the recipients of his publication, who is hoping to benefit from their gratitude and patronage more than

[61] Janelle, *Robert Southwell The Writer*, p. 151.

before (and also genuinely believes that a work of such quality should be printed and disseminated), but who is nagged by worries that he may have overstepped the mark, gone beyond his due place, and maybe even betrayed a trust. Given that no patronage was apparently forthcoming from the Sackvilles, he may well have been right to worry.

Martin Shaaber suggested that "Trussell's dedication of the book to the children of Robert [Sackville] perhaps implies that he was their tutor or was employed in some other household capacity".[62] If true, this would bring us much closer to an explanation of how Trussell was able to get hold of the manuscript: the Sackvilles are fairly likely to have had a copy. It would also explain how Trussell was privy to information which we might reasonably expect to be, at the least, uncommon knowledge while Arundel and Southwell were alive: the close friendship between the Earl of Arundel and Robert Southwell, and the fact that Southwell had originally written *The Triumphs Over Death* to console Arundel after Margaret Howard's death. If Trussell was retained by the family as a minor household servant he might well have come to know these things. Unfortunately the surviving records of the Sackville family are not complete enough for this period for us to know whether he was ever patronised or employed by them, but although there is absolutely no evidence for any kind of formal relationship between John Trussell and the Sackville family, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Shaaber's guess does have something to recommend it. It encounters a potential difficulty in that the family's riverside London residence, the house which was still at that time known as Salisbury Court was the residence of Thomas Sackville, 1st Baron Buckhurst, a man with anti-Catholic responsibilities, and not primarily that of his son Robert. Robert, his wife and children may well have resided there from time to time, but as Robert had responsibilities as a Justice of the Peace and Knight of the Shire in Kent and Sussex, the family's main residence was probably at Buckhurst, in Withyham. If Trussell was retained by the household, it would have had to be in Sussex. This is not impossible, and it is perhaps as likely as any other explanation of how John Trussell came to be mixed up with the literary affairs of Jesuits and the higher nobility. It is regrettable that we can do no better, since this is a fascinating set of circumstances, which brings the young Trussell into an unexpected relationship with some of the most extraordinary men and women the Elizabethan era had to offer, and is worthy of a more detailed explanation.

[62] Shaaber, *'The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', p. 413.

Possible other works of John Trussell

There are several other works which have some kind of claim to inclusion in the canon of John Trussell's writings, and these should be briefly discussed. An author identified on the title page as 'J. T.', or 'I. T.' (which can be, but are not necessarily, the same) is the first confirmation we would look for that any book of unknown authorship is an unattributed work of John Trussell. There are a number of such works. Of these, some can be dismissed. 'J. T. of Westminster', who published a 'pleasant discourse' called *The Hunting of the Pox* in 1619, can probably be discounted because John Trussell was a resident of Winchester by that date. Two writers named 'I. T.' who wrote news pamphlets in 1614 and (probably) 1616, one on a 'horrible, cruel and bloody murder' committed in Putney and another on the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, can be conjectured to be the same person, and can probably be dismissed for the same reason, because John Trussell of Winchester would not have been in a position to write London-based news, even if he had been inclined to do so – although the writer's poetic bent (much of the Overbury pamphlet is taken up with poems about the murderers and a poetic elegy on Overbury) make them fascinating documents.[63] Another literary J. T. who published works in London at this time was John Thorius, the linguist and translator, whose *The Counsellor* came out in 1589 under his initials only.[64] Theoretically, of course, there could have been any number of individual J. T.'s or I. T.'s active in London at this time.

Two works have claims which cannot be instantly dismissed, however. Of these, the first, entitled *An Old Fashioned Love* (1594), is a translation from Latin of part of the *Amintae Gaudia* of Thomas Watson (1592). Watson's poem was a pastoral, in epistolary form, about the love of the shepherd Amintas for a fair maiden, Phyllis. The writer of the 1594 translation is named "I. T., gent.". That he was a gentleman could be significant, as John Trussell was always conscious of his gentility, although he does not call himself "gent." in *The First Rape of Fair Helen.* Opinions seem to differ on whether or not Watson was a Roman Catholic, but it may not be relevant, since he was undoubtedly a popular poet.[65] One of his poems was *Helenae Raptus* (1586), a translation into Latin from the Greek of Coluthus; the title of Trussell's *Raptus I. Helenae* would inevitably have been

[63] I. T., *A horrible, cruel and bloody murder committed at Putney in Surrey on the 21. of April last, 1614* (London, 1614); I. T., *The just dovvn[fall of] ambition, adultery, and murder whereunto are added 3. notorious sinners* (London,1616?).
[64] Bartholomew Phillip, *The Counsellor, A Treatise of Counsels and Counsellors of Princes*, trans. I. T. (London, 1589).
[65] "There is no reason to believe that Watson was Catholic": Brownlow, *Robert Southwell*, p.53; "There is every indication that Watson was born and brought up a Catholic"; Charles Nicholl, *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (GB: Vintage Books, 2002), p. 212.

read in awareness of Watson. *An Old Fashioned Love* and *Fair Helen* thus share a connection to the Latin poetry of Thomas Watson , but there is no reason to think that any closer association between Watson's and Trussell's *Helen* poems exists beyond (feasibly) a desire on Trussell's part to write a poem that would benefit from the fame of Helen and perhaps of Watson. The young author of *An Old Fashioned Love* probably also had it in mind that a translation into English of part of Watson's extensive corpus of Latin poetry would be likely to find an audience. *An Old Fashioned Love* also contains an original poem, a reply of Phyllis to the suit of Amintas. In his address to the reader the author pleads that if they find "ought amiss" with the work they will "attribute it to youth as not stepped to the place of sound judgement". This is one of the reasons for associating the work with John Trussell, whose 'Primitiae', *Fair Helen*, was published the following year, but was not necessarily written afterwards. But I.T. also suggests that readers of *An Old Fashioned Love* might marvel at the appearance of such a "poor pastoral conceit", "after many cunning and well penned poems", which is problematic. Although the poems referred to need not necessarily have been published in order to have been read, for John Trussell to write this in an introduction to a poem printed in 1594 would be curious, as most readers would still probably not have known who he was, still less have read "many cunning and well penned poems" by him. Overall, the attribution of *An Old Fashioned Love* remains quite uncertain.

Far more promising is a work of 1616 by I. T. entitled *The A,B,C of Arms, or, An introduction directory whereby the order of military exercises may easily be understood and readily practised*, which was printed by William Stansby for sale at the shop of John Helms in St Dunstan's churchyard. The *A,B,C* comes from a period in which many writers with military interests or affiliations were responding to a perceived need for improved militia training in England, and specifically an English drill manual which could equip Englishmen who took up arms with the conceptual and practical tools necessary to replicate the success of the armies of Prince Maurice of Nassau and his subordinate commanders in the Netherlands.[66] Gunther Rothenburg makes the point that "the reintroduction of drill into the army was an essential element of the Orangist reforms and a basic contribution to the modern military system".[67] From the conclusion of peace with Spain in 1604 until 1612, the government left off the regular exercise of England's militias, an interlude known as the military vacation. Militia exercises resumed only when a

[66] David R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603-1645* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), ch. 3.
[67] Gunther E. Rothenburg, 'Maurice of Nassau, Gustavus Adolphus, Raimondo Montecuccoli, and the "Military Revolution" of the Seventeenth Century', in Peter Paret, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Oxford: University Press, 1986), p. 41.

succession crisis in Cleves-Julich nearly brought an end to the concurrent Twelve Years Truce in the war-torn Netherlands (1609-1621). By that time it had become conventional among military writers to call for regular, even daily drilling to enable England's militias to reach the standard of proficiency now attained by Continental armies.[68] In the judgement of David Lawrence, the section on military exercises in the *A,B,C* is heavily based on a publication of 1614, Captain Edward Panton's broadsheet *Table in the Art Military*, which included concise instructions on words of command and drum signals, together with other useful material for drilling soldiers. In Lawrence's opinion the fact that only a quarter of the *A,B,C*'s length describes how drill could be carried out "justifies the author's own description of himself" as an 'inkhorn soldier'.[69] Ironically, then, this book on military postures is itself something of an imposture.

The arguments for Trussell's authorship of the *A,B,C of Arms* can be briefly rehearsed. Because of the work's indebtedness to Panton, Lawrence suspects that I. T. may have been a member of, or known a member of, the Artillery Company. Trussell undoubtedly fulfils the second of these criteria: his second cousin Thomas Trussell was a soldier, a member of the Company, and published a pamphlet during the 1610s with identical aims to the *A,B,C*. His pamphlet was entitled *The Soldier Pleading His Own Cause*, and was intended to demonstrate that soldiering was the noblest of professions, the one upon which a free and civilised society wholly depended, and defend it from attack. In the *A,B,C* the soldier is eulogised as "a Defender of Liberal Arts, upholder of the seat of Justice… a Maintainer of the liberty and quiet of his country". Both regret the contempt in which the English nation seemed to hold soldiers and soldiering: "what meaneth the vulgar multitude of our English nation so maliciously to condemn soldiership[?]",Thomas Trussell enquired. A second and third edition of *The Soldier Pleading His Own Cause* survive, 'much enlarged with military instructions'; the surviving editions of the work are therefore an actual drill manual, but the original was not.[70] It is unknown when the first one was printed, and it may be that the *A,B,C of Arms* and *The Soldier Pleading His Own Cause* were thought of and/or written in association with one another by the Trussells in or before 1616. The pamphlets have different publishers, but this does not mean they are not associated.

Several other factors, perhaps not significant in themselves but highly suggestive taken all together, reinforce the possibility that Trussell was the author. There is the printing for sale at St Dunstan's, when in both the 1590s and the 1630s Trussell used

[68] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*, pp. 89, 135-156.
[69] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*, pp. 153-4.
[70] Thomas Trussell, *The Soldier Pleading His Own Cause* (London, 1619) and (London, 1626).

printers who sold their products in his 'home' parish. More significantly, the quotation from Horace – "*amphora cepi/ Institui currente rota nunc urcens exit*" – which is the epigraph to *Fair Helen*, and rounds off a passage of elevated style in Trussell's important letter to Edward White in 1622 (see Appendix B), also appears in a prominent place in *The A,B,C*, where it signals the end of the work. Immediately afterwards the author writes that "*opus & usus*, my more than ordinary visitors, knock at my study-door… and command me to attend profit private, not public, *more magistrarum*". Chapter 3 will show how the opposition of 'public good' and 'private gain' is a theme which predominates above all in John Trussell's writing, poetic, historical and epistolary, and the appearance of the theme here reinforces the impression. I. T. is also clearly identifying himself as a lawyer at the beginning of the work, saying "I practice in the school of peace and *pro feodo* [i.e. 'for a fee'] punish others"; Trussell was an attorney by profession in Winchester in 1616. Even the way I. T. introduces the work, saying that Machiavelli was "objected to" for writing about military affairs as a civilian, and desiring "to free myself of the like imputation", is strongly reminiscent of another trope in John Trussell's self-justificatory epistles of the 1620s, his keen sense that faults were being imputed to him unjustly, that his words and writings would be "misconstructed", "ill taken".[71]

We must be alert here to the danger of the argument becoming circular, but to take the *A,B,C* as Trussell's would also corroborate the argument made above that Lipsian neostoicism is an intellectual context for his interest in Robert Southwell. Acknowledging the second-hand nature of the material in the book, I. T. writes that "in [this] collection of mine, as a learned writer of our time said, though on another subject, I may truly say, *Omnia nostra esse & nihil*: all things are mine in respect of the gathering, or disposition; nothing, or at least very little, in regard of the invention of the things themselves".[72] The 'learned writer' quoted was Justus Lipsius, in the preliminary matter of his *Politica*, an "astonishingly complex yet concise handbook for rulers" (in the words of Mark Morford) which is composed of quotations from classical authors, ingeniously arranged by Lipsius with linking commentary so as to form a tapestry of modern wisdom, woven from the words of the ancients.[73] It seems reasonable to infer that the form of the *A,B,C* was consciously influenced by, or even based on the *Politica*, which Rothenburg says "has been described as the intellectual basis of the Dutch reforms".[74] Lipsius was Maurice of Nassau's tutor at Leiden, and, argues Lawrence, "the Mauricean military reforms reflected

[71] *BW*, f. 43. See Appendix B for a transcript of the letter quoted, and Chapter 3 for discussion.
[72] I. T., *The A,B,C of Arms* (London, 1616).
[73] Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics*, p. 156; Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, ed. Jan Waszink (Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), p. 232.
[74] Rothenburg, in *Makers of Modern Strategy*, p. 35.

his teacher's love of classical military theory".[75] I. T. refers to Lipsius by name later in the text, representing his view as being that "salus reipublica plus fortitudine quam concordia consistit".[76]

Accepting John Trussell's authorship of the *A,B,C* would open a door to some suggestive possibilities. Later, in 1648, at least one supporter of the king would accuse the Artillery Garden of being seditious and a hotbed of puritan factionalism: "all Sectaries in London on a sudden entered themselves, and drew on others to be listed in those Artillery Gardens, to exercise feats of arms… against a time of need, was the reason given by some Brethren of those days".[77] The author of that pamphlet specified that this occurred "about 16 years since", i.e. during the 1630s, but it would be possible to read further back and retrospectively tie the publications of the Twelve Years' Truce and the militia vacation to the extreme Protestant programme of aggressive foreign intervention against the Catholic powers which had found expression in parliament during the 1620s and before.[78] It is worth noting in this connection that, until his death in 1612, Prince Henry, who was a personal friend of Maurice of Nassau, was widely acknowledged to be the figurehead of English hopes for military action against international Catholicism.[79] He was the dedicatee of works by English authors on the theory and practice of warfare from 1603 onwards, and Lawrence thinks his death "set back the development of military training in England by ten years".[80] It is therefore interesting that in 1636 we find John Trussell invoking the long-dead prince as an inspiration for his writing: in his *Continuation* of Daniel's *History of England* Trussell states that in his reading of history he "found that verified, that Prince Henry (now with God) complained of, which was, that of all nations the English were most

[75] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*, p. 138.
[76] 'It is better for the country to be strong than to be at peace'.
[77] Anon., *Persecutio undecima. The Church's eleventh persecution. Or, a brief of the Puritan persecution of the Protestant clergy of the Church of England: more particularly within the city of London* (London, 1648). I am grateful to Ismini Pells for drawing this to my attention.
[78] There was a "chorus for war" in 1621 in the wake of the Palatinate crisis, and the leading anti-Catholic warmongers were puritans and future enemies of the king in the civil war: see Conrad Russell, 'Issues in the House of Commons 1621-1629: Predictors of Civil War Allegiance', in *Albion*, vol. 23, No. 1 (1991), pp. 30-34.
[79] "Soldiers in Henry's circle believed the prince, and not his father, would be the monarch to build and eventually lead a Protestant army to victory on the continent": Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*, p. 115. The established view is that "while King James spoke only of peace, the young Prince trumpeted war"; F. J. Levy, review of *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England's Lost Renaissance* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986), in *Albion*, vol. 19, No. 2 (1987), p. 239. But cf. Catriona Murray, who argues that the crown minimised the potential for opposition focussing on Henry by controlling the way he was represented to the public: "The Prince's person and persona were increasingly becoming a focus for opposition. By representing Henry's interests under the veil of the chivalric tournament, potential ideological conflicts were diminished"; Catriona Murray, 'The Pacific King and the Militant Prince? Representation and Collaboration in the Letters Patent of James I, creating his son, Henry, Prince of Wales', in *The Electronic British Library Journal* (2012) [http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2012articles/article8.html; accessed 02 April 2013], p. 7.
[80] Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier*, pp. 105-119, 141.

blameworthy; that being inferior to none for praiseworthy achievements, yet were surpassed by all in leaving the memory of those their praiseworthy actions to posterity".[81]

This is too vague to lead us to any firm conclusions, however. Read on their own terms, I. T. and Thomas Trussell's pamphlets seem rather to be calling for an armed and watchful peace than a militaristic foreign policy; that is, they function as exhortation rather than as oppositionist documents. Neither calls directly for foreign wars. "Let the example of foreign evils warn England to awaken itself out of security, for the times are not so now, that one nation may trust another… Oh England, be not drowned in security", Thomas Trussell urged his readers, calling upon all citizens to take up the usage of arms.[82] "Though it is to be wished that we, which have so long found the fruit of peace, should never feel the direful effects of war, yet may it likewise be feared that too much security, by lulling our senses asleep, may open a passage to danger," was I. T.'s exhortation. He also uses the phrase "halcyon days" to describe the peace, over a decade before Thomas Carew's more famous usage in his non-elegy for Gustavus Adolphus, but later paraphrases Juvenal: "*heu patimur longae pacis mala*".[83]

It would require comprehensive computer analysis of the kind used by Hugh Craig and Arthur Kinney in their work on the attribution of early modern plays to determine with an acceptable degree of certainty that *The A,B,C of Arms* is the work of John Trussell of Winchester.[84] Overall, though, the evidence is quite compelling, and this is noteworthy because to accept John Trussell's authorship of the book would necessitate a significant alteration to what is known of his life. The author of *The A,B,C of Arms* claims that, although now a 'pen-man', "heretofore" he had "for some years been eye-witness of warlike designs… as well in camp beleaguering as in city besieged". This, of course, may simply be a deception, on the basis that no-one would take seriously a tract on soldiering by a mere "inkhorn soldier" with no experience. But he is carefully vague about the precise nature or duration of his military service, and it need not have amounted to much, while being accurate enough to preserve the honesty and integrity of a gentleman. I. T. goes further, and claims that "my natural inclination [has] ever been more prone to the pike than to the pen". Given how Trussell's career is known to have developed, this, too, would be surprising – but, for the angry and quarrelsome John Trussell, not unbelievable.

[81] John Trussell, 'To the Courteous Reader', *Continuation*.
[82] *The Soldier pleading his own cause*, 'Preface'.
[83] 'Alas, we are suffering from the evils of a long peace'. Paraphrased from Satire VI: Juvenal, *Satyrae cum annotationibus ad marginem*, trans. Thomas Farnaby (London, 1612), p. 48.
[84] Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney, eds., *Shakespeare, Computers and the Mystery of Authorship* (Cambridge: University Press, 2009).

The A,B,C of Arms is not the only work by I. T. which would benefit from computerised literary analysis. Another book worth examining is *The Haven of Pleasure*, a curious work purporting to be "a true direction on how to live well", which has a dedicatory epistle addressed to the worshipful company of Merchant Adventurers.[85] Other than the initials of the author there is no really compelling reason to attribute *The Haven of Pleasure* to John Trussell of Winchester, but nothing about the work renders it impossible either, although the author's claimed familiarity with medicine and anatomy would be surprising if it were indeed Trussell. If stylistic analysis were to suggest that both of these works were his, a fascinating conjectural biography of Trussell's early years would begin to take shape. If it was not invented, the most obvious venue for Trussell to have "followed the wars" as the author of the *A,B,C* claims to have done is the Low Countries, before the Twelve Years' Truce. In 1592 (when John Trussell would have been seventeen), we find printed in London a translation of a Dutch account of the siege of Steenwijk, which was recaptured from the Spanish by Maurice of Nassau's forces in that year. Not unnaturally, the translation has been attributed to John Thorius, the great translator, but in fact the translator of the report is identified only as 'I. T.'. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that *The Haven of Pleasure* is liberally sprinkled with words and phrases in Dutch, giving an impression that the author is showing off his knowledge of the language in rather the same way as John Trussell later shows off his facility with Latin in his letters of the 1620s; conceivably this is because the author of the *Haven* was seeking to impress his dedicatees, the Merchant Adventurers, and plant the idea in their minds that he could be retained to perform some service in the Netherlands. There is no evidence in the definitely attributed works of John Trussell, dating from the 1620s, that he spoke any Dutch, but it must also be pointed out that he had no particular reason to show it, and furthermore that it is possible to forget how to speak a language fluently after the elapse of twenty years or more. The introduction to the account of the siege of Steenwijk contains exhortations along very similar lines to those in the *A,B,C of Arms*:

> O England! England! Peace hath been thy bliss, take heed it be not thy bane. For if through peace you become so put out of the memory of war that the remembrance thereof is not able to put you in mind how ingratitude and wickedness will be punished by war, then undoubtedly, as you grew by peace, so by peace you shall fall.[86]

[85] I. T., *The Haven of Pleasure* (London, 1596).
[86] *A true declaration of the strait siege laid to the city of Steenwich*, trans. I. T. (London, 1592).

There is nothing intrinsically impossible about the biographical outline which emerges. Trussell, for whatever reason – perhaps one connected to the Merchant Adventurers – spent some time in the Netherlands in his teens, where he was witness (from a safe distance) to the fall of Steenwijk in 1592, an experience which enabled him to work up a short translation of a Dutch account of the siege for the London presses, and also to claim years later (with a little license) that he was directly acquainted with soldiering. He returned to England in enough time to publish some more works: perhaps *An Old Fashioned Love* in 1594, certainly *The First Rape of Fair Helen* and the edition of *The Triumphs Over Death* in 1595, and *The Haven of Pleasure* in 1596, before leaving London with his family in that year, or shortly after. This account remains strictly conjectural and subject to correction; but it would fill in an important blank in Trussell's life, between his schooling (which is itself somewhat conjectural) and the publications of 1595, which stand like an island of light in the dark sea that stretches between his birth in 1575 and the well-documented years in Winchester, the city which became his everlasting home.

2. ‘Though a stranger born’: the early years in Winchester 1596-1621

It is near certain that John Trussell moved to Winchester between 1596 and 1598 along with the rest of his immediate family. Trussell’s uncle John Harmar, a former Winchester scholar himself, had been living in Winchester since 1588 with his wife Elizabeth, Henry Trussell’s sister, as headmaster of Winchester College. In July 1596 he was elected Warden of the College, and the same year John Trussell’s brother William was elected a scholar.[1] Shortly afterwards, in 1598, Henry Trussell was chosen Steward of the College Manors, a position which gave him wide responsibility for matters pertaining to the College’s lands, including the upkeep of properties and various legal affairs. Henry also travelled diligently across southern England, presiding over manorial courts – he had become a member of that category of legal practitioner which C. W. Brooks calls ‘courtholders’.[2] There is little doubt that John Harmar’s high position at Winchester was instrumental in securing the Stewardship, and cannot have hurt William Trussell’s prospects of becoming a scholar, either. The Warden and his “Brother Trussell” even worked in tandem on occasion, for example in April 1599, when they conducted an inquest into a mysterious death at Sydling, one of the College manors.[3]

John Harmar was born only twenty years or so before his nephew John Trussell, in Newbury around 1555. In 1569 he was accepted into Winchester College, aged 14, and subsequently became a scholar at New College, Oxford, the other great foundation of the fourteenth-century Bishop of Winchester, William Wykeham.[4] According to Thomas Bilson, the future Bishop of Winchester (1597-1616), Harmar received preferment from him from the beginning: he wrote to Robert Cecil that “the honest inclination of the scholar… I so well liked that I did not only hasten his advancement to Oxford, but afterward made choice of him to be schoolmaster since I was Warden”.[5] Harmar was a master of Greek and Latin scholarship and languages ancient and modern, whose bequest of books to Winchester College at death included the works of St John Chrysostom

[1] Sheila Himsworth, ed., *Winchester College Muniments* (GB: Phillimore, 1976), vol. I, p. 155; Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, pp. 1, 157.
[2] C. W. Brooks, ‘The Common Lawyers in England, c. 1558-1642’, in Wilfrid Prest, ed., *Lawyers in Early Modern Europe and America* (London: Croom Helm, 1981).
[3] Winchester College, 18309. Harmar typically writes to Henry as “Brother Trussell”, e.g. Winchester College, 18970: “Brother Trussell at your coming to keep court at Titley I would have you to view how the houses and grounds there be repaired and fenced, and specially how the woods be kept and preserved…”
[4] Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, p. 142.
[5] Hatfield House: Cecil Papers (40.49, May 3 1596).

in .Greek, and Bibles in Dutch, Italian, Spanish and French, as well as English, German and Latin. These books are a suitable testament to the scope of his interests and his career.

Harmar received preferment and patronage from figures even more powerful than Bilson. In 1579 he published his translation of Calvin's sermons on the Decalogue, dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, who seems to have been a generous patron: Harmar says it was by Leicester's patronage that he "lived as a stranger in Geneva", studying with Theodore de Bèze and translating his sermons on the Song of Songs into English.[6] The queen, too, favoured Harmar. In 1585 he printed a selection of homilies by his favourite patristic writer, St John Chrysostom, and became Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford perhaps as a result; the full text of the homilies followed in 1590.[7] His star did not fade after the deaths of Leicester and Elizabeth: on the contrary, his standing as a classical scholar, and reputation as a devout and orthodox Christian, was such that in 1604 he was appointed to the cohort of scholars responsible for the translations of the Gospels, the Acts and Revelation for the King James Bible, which stands today as the most enduring literary triumph of the English Renaissance.[8]

Harmar was a product of the same humanistic education system as John Trussell, but was possessed of a manifest genius which destined him to greater fame and arguably greater success than his nephew. When, in future years, we find Trussell quoting from Justus Lipsius, du Bartas and a raft of classical authors in his histories, we are perhaps seeing a man striving to live up to the example of his uncle, a greater scholar and humanist. There is no evidence that Harmar gave any great material assistance to his nephew ; he did not even leave John any books in his will, although he did give him at least one historical manuscript which Trussell makes reference to in his writing (*Origin,* f. 50).[9] William Trussell, by contrast, received his "five great volumes of the Digest". If Harmar favoured his younger nephew Trussell, it may be because the path William followed through life was more similar to his uncle's than John's was. William went up to New College, then returned to Winchester College to teach, taking the position of 'usher' or second master in 1608, and finally taking holy orders, as John Harmar did in the 1590s when he became a prebendary of the cathedral in 1595 and the rector of two Hampshire parishes, Compton

[6] John Calvin, *Sermons… on the x. commandments of the Law… translated out of French into English, by J. H.* (London, 1579), p. 3.
[7] J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (GB: Francis Cairns (Publications) Ltd,. 1990), pp. 223-4.
[8] Paul Quarrie, *Winchester College and the King James Bible* (The Warden and Fellows of Winchester College, 2011), p. 19-21.
[9] TNA: PRO, PROB 11/123, sig. 7.

and Droxford, in 1595-1596.[10] William was collated to the rectory of Weeke, a country parish just outside Winchester, in 1618.[11]

Winchester and Catholic loyalty

It seems clear that the principal reason the Trussell family moved to Winchester was to take advantage of the opportunities opened up by John Harmar's promotion to Warden. But additional motivations can be imagined. Early in 1608, "Henry Trussell, gent., and wife… of St Peter Colebrook, Winton" were due at the Consistory Court to answer for the offence of not receiving communion "for the past year".[12] Non-receipt of communion was not a statutory offence, but it was an ecclesiastical offence, for which offenders could be excommunicated. They, along with several others accused, did not appear, and the hearing was postponed. Later that year they again failed to attend the postponed hearing, and were indeed sentenced to excommunication.[13] It is presumably on the basis of this evidence that local historian Barbara Carpenter Turner described Trussell as "the son of refugee papists who settled in Winchester" – appearing to imply a causal relation, as though Winchester were a natural place for refugee papists to settle.[14] The evidence of his connection with Robert Southwell certainly raises significant questions about Trussell's religious beliefs. Could Winchester have been chosen as a destination because it was a stronghold of the old religion – an oasis of tradition where Catholic ways of worship were more widely tolerated?

The idea that Winchester, and Hampshire generally, were redoubts of Catholicism has its roots in the resistance encountered by the forces of reformation early on. Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester (1560-80), reported to the Privy Council "that good sound doctrine might be taught amongst [the people of the diocese] (which they as yet do not so well like and allow), I could not by any means bring the same to pass", and complained of the obduracy of the citizens of Winchester, and the tendency of the cathedral clergy to Popery.[15] Catholicism certainly went to the very highest levels of Winchester society in these early days: the Bishop himself believed that "all that bear authority there, except one or two [are] addict to the old superstition, and earnest fautors thereof".[16] Horne attacked

[10] www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Person ID 70045 [accessed 23 February 2013].
[11] Baigent, *The history and antiquities of the Parish Church of Wyke*, pp. 36-37; www.theclergydatabase.org.uk, Person ID 96326 [accessed 07 March 2013].
[12] HRO: 21M65/C1/29/1, f. 58.
[13] HRO: 21M65/C1/29/1, f. 73.
[14] Barbara Carpenter Turner, *A History of Winchester* (GB: Phillimore & Co., Ltd., 1992), p. 189.
[15] John E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants in the time of Elizabeth I, with special reference to Winchester', in *Proceedings of The Hampshire Field Club*, vol. XXI (1959), pp. 63-4.
[16] Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants', p. 67.

the problem with gusto during his incumbency, apparently with a good deal of success: old-fashioned ministers were deprived, and parish boundaries reformed to bring recalcitrant populations under the influence of reformed teaching priests.

This was before the Counter-Reformation swept through England in the 1580s, with Campion and Persons, Garnet and Southwell at the forefront, broadening and deepening the extent of Catholic faith. Bishop Thomas Cooper wrote in 1584 of what he depicted as a pressing problem of increasing recusancy: "I am certified, that there be already presented by the churchwardens to the number of 400; and in some one parish some 40 or 50. And yet it is thought certainly that by the slackness of the churchwardens a great number more are omitted".[17] That there was some revival during the Catholic apostolate is clear: from a total of 303 recorded cases of recusancy and non-communication in the diocese of Winchester in the period 1561-69, the surviving diocesan returns from 1603 indicate that in that year the episcopal administration was aware of 518 recusants and 940 non-communicants. But this was in a population of around 92,000; the known refusers make up only 0.5% of the whole. Still, this was higher than in most other dioceses for which there are significant surviving records. In the city of Winchester itself, the proportion of recusants was significantly higher than in the diocese – 66 out of a surveyed population of 1,755 (comprising approximately half of the total population of the city). Assuming this proportion is roughly correct, it suggests that a total of about 3% of the population were recusants, in a city which made up about 2% of the total population of the diocese.[18]

These raw figures are difficult to use with confidence, and particularly difficult to measure against other regions of England, due to their incompleteness and the different methods of recording from diocese to diocese, but we can say with reasonable certainty two things: first, that the city of Winchester was significantly more Catholic than both its diocese and the nation as a whole, and thus a climate may have existed there which was more broadly sympathetic to the old religion than that which was to be found in other parts of the country; and second, that even if many Catholic sympathisers were church-papists who practiced outward conformity and were not picked up by official records, they still amounted to only a small fraction of the population.

It is to an extent plausible that a family seeking a more old-fashioned religious environment, one that was even to some extent tolerant of Catholicism, would have sought

[17] John Strype, ed., *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion* vol. III, part II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1824), p. 329.
[18] Alan Dyer and David M. Palliser, eds., *The Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603* (Oxford: University Press, 2005).

it at Winchester. Paul advances an argument from tradition, that Winchester "was strongly recusant for many years [because of] the constant reminder to its citizens, in so many monuments and memorials, of a not long-departed Catholicism".[19] This may have some force, but it cannot be carried too far. In the sixteenth century forty-five years – the length of Elizabeth's reign – was almost a lifetime, and it is certainly long enough for old associations in landscape and architecture to shift, and for new associations with the present to develop: it becomes increasingly natural to think of Catholic churches and cathedrals as Church of England ones; monuments and memorials cease to stand out as symbols of the proximity in time of another mode of living, and become merely relics of a time long past.

Something of the tenor of life for recusants in Winchester at about the time the Trussells moved there comes across in a story recorded in one of the corporation's proceedings books. One Sunday in November 1598, "upon information that sundry recusants unconfined, dangerous to the state, were there secretly harboured", the Mayor (Edward Cole), constables and other members of the corporation embarked upon a search of a house. Two widows and one maidservant were discovered. During the course of this search, "the said maid servant suddenly exclaimed that she had lost her purse and about iiii s. of money therein". Though it seemed obvious to everyone present that she was making up the story "to slander the searchers", nevertheless the Mayor diligently had all his officers searched, once before they went to church themselves, and a second time more thoroughly down to "hose and codpiece" afterwards. "So soon as this search was entered into" one of the sergeants, Richard Adderley, confessed that he had "taken up the purse and thrown it aside". The money was found and returned. Presumably Adderley had intended to return for it later and keep it for himself. Adderley's gown and mace were to be "left in the Council House" and he himself committed to the Westgate prison, "not to be enlarged until he put in surety to answer to the fact at the next sessions". [20] The affair is likely to have been quite humiliating for Adderley, but his career in the oligarchy continued undisturbed once he had served his punishment.

The offence for which the Trussells were sentenced to excommunication was of course not recusancy, but non-receipt of the sacraments. Attending divine service but refusing to take communion is actually a better pointer to Catholic loyalty than non-attendance at church, which could equally well mark someone out as an 'atheist' or 'godless' person. But it is important to note that Sarah Trussell is recorded in the register

[19] Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants', p. 63.
[20] Proceedings Book B (HRO: 107M88W/37), p. 14.

of burials at Winchester cathedral in 1613.[21] Excommunicated persons could not be given Christian burial, so this suggests that Trussell's mother, at least, was reconciled with the Church of England, and her sentence either revoked or never put into effect. It is even more clear that John and William Trussell were on good terms with the established church. William, of course, became a Rector in the Church of England, and was granted a demise of tenements by the cathedral chapter "commonly called the Cistern Houses" – these came with garden and plot, which might imply that they were large, attractive properties.[22] He was obviously thoroughly orthodox. John Trussell, too, was on good terms with the cathedral church: in 1613 he was appointed Bailiff of the cathedral's Hampshire lands, "to receive full issues and profits of the same as shall be totted in His Majesty's court of the Exchequer".[23] The Dean, Dr Thomas Morton, a learned anti-Catholic polemicist, was said to have been a friend of John Harmar, which could feasibly have assisted Trussell's appointment.[24] He was reappointed in 1617 by the new Dean, John Young, so his services cannot have been displeasing.

Trussell appears in the diary of Dean Young in his capacity as bailiff. In October 1619, Young recorded that

> Mr Trussell was called for and gave his accompt, but we have no green wax for this year, nor can not have it, as he said, till our charter be viewed by my Lord Chief Baron. Therefore it must be showed either at the Assizes or carried to London.[25]

'Green wax' in this case refers to the monies the Dean and chapter were entitled by royal charter to farm from the proceeds of justice ordinarily accruing to the crown from the cathedral's Hampshire manors (the documents sent to county Sheriffs from the Exchequer instructing them to collect the revenues due were sealed with green wax). For whatever reason the chief baron of the Exchequer – at that time Sir Lawrence Tanfield[26] – was not

[21] HRO: M990.
[22] HRO: CD/246 [Cathedral registers of the common seal], f. 16.
[23] HRO: CD/246, f. 61.
[24] "During the time of his continuance in this *Deanery* of *Winton*, he was (amongst many others) most intimate with, and beloved of *Dr. Arthur Lake*, Master of St. *Cross* near *Winchester*, a reverend and religious Divine (afterwards Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*), *Dr. John Harmar* the learned *Warden of Winchester College*, *Dr. Nicholas Love*, then Schoolmaster, after *Warden* there; and other worthy Divines" – R.B., J. Naylor and J. Nelson, *The life of Dr. Thomas Morton, late Bishop of Duresme [Durham], begun by R.B. secretary to his Lordship; and finished by J.N., D.D., his Lordship's chaplain* (York, 1669), pp. 48-49.
[25] Florence Remington Goodman, ed., *The Diary of John Young S.T.P., Dean of Winchester, 1616 to the Commonwealth* (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1928), p. 65. It should be noted that Goodman, who states in n. 1 that the bailiff's name was *Thomas* Trussell, misread the register of the common seal – it is undoubtedly John Trussell who was appointed.
[26] Edward Foss, ed., *Tabulae Curiales, or, Tables of the superior courts of Westminster hall, showing the judges who sat in them from 1066 to 1864…* (London, John Murray, 1865), p. 58.

satisfied that the cathedral's charter entitled them to this money. As a mere Bailiff it cannot have been Trussell's place to go to London and vouch for the Dean and chapter's rights, or no doubt he would have been delighted to do so.

Trussell's dutiful advice was not immediately followed. When, on 8 December 1620, Trussell was replaced by John Chase (the future cathedral archivist), Dean Young records that he departed with a final piece of advice: "*eodem die* I received a note under Mr Trussell's hand, who was our bailey, that for two years last past the green wax is behind unpaid, and the reason is because our charter was not showed to my Lord Chief Baron: this note I delivered to Mr Chase our new bailey".[27] It would be quite in character for Trussell, both to be anxious to clear himself from the imputation of any negligence in discharging his office, and to want to nudge the lackadaisical chapter into getting their act together and attending to this important piece of legal business.

Trussell, then, swiftly became an established figure, existing in a close and comfortable relationship with the religious establishment, which came to include his own brother. It cannot be shown that religious motivations were a factor in his relocation to Winchester. We might say that he was lucky, however, for we know that he found in Winchester a highly congenial environment, and one reason for this was the proliferation of the very same "monuments and memorials" which played a large part in creating the atmosphere that J. F. Paul says was so redolent of the Catholic past: the "ancient and majestic cathedral", the "famous school", and the comparatively huge number of ancient religious foundations with which the city was, or had been, graced – a number so large that Trussell would later speculate that the name 'Winchester' was a derivation of *wyn chester*: 'holy city' (*TT*, f. 30).[28]

Starting a new life

When John Trussell first arrived in Winchester, he found a city steeped in beautiful decay. A description of it, written many years later, gives an indication of how it may have struck him at first acquaintance:

> The situation of this city is placed in an Air both exceeding good, sweet, temperate, and healthful, of that cleansing quality, that few that come from other places – not one in twenty – but within a short time after their coming they are entertained with a sharp but a short fever which so cleanseth their blood from peccant humours that after their full

[27] Goodman, ed., *The Diary of John Young,* p. 67.
[28] Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants', p. 63.

> recovery (their health for the most part uninterrupted) they have no need to challenge any help from Aesculapius or any his followers…. It standeth pleasantly seated in a large valley between two high hills on the east and west sides… A river well stored with dainty trout and other good fish runneth at the east end of this city with a most swift but harmless current, for upon the greatest [shower] of rain it never riseth to outflow a low footbridge made over it. (*TT*, ff. 32-3)

It is interesting to speculate on the possible psychological colouring of this reflection, which sounds like the specific memory of a visitor 'from another place' – as Trussell, all those years ago, had been. It is easy to imagine a short, 'cleansing' fever, shortly after his arrival in a new place, acquiring symbolic significance in Trussell's memory, or even as being partly psychologically derived in the first place. In this interpretation, the purging of 'peccant' humours (the word means 'morbid', 'producing disease', and even 'sinful') can be seen as marking a clean break away from an old, unsatisfactory life, and the beginning of a new, healthy one – a spiritual and psychological 'recovery' as well as a physiological one.

This reflection reveals an old man's perspective. It would be very interesting to know more about the thoughts of the young John Trussell around the time he first came to his decision to relocate to Winchester. Unfortunately, the reasons for his decision are now obscure. Also in the *Touchstone of Tradition*, addressing John Paulet, Marquess of Winchester, Trussell declared:

> And though as now the estate (the more my grief) of the city of Winchester stands at dotage, yet give me leave, I humbly beseech your Honour, to begin to shadow her, as report gave her me at the first. (*TT*, f. 9)

'At the first': whether this means that Trussell had been bewitched by stories of Winchester's ancient glory before he ever set eyes on the place, is uncertain – the phrase may simply be a rhetorical flourish – but it is not impossible.

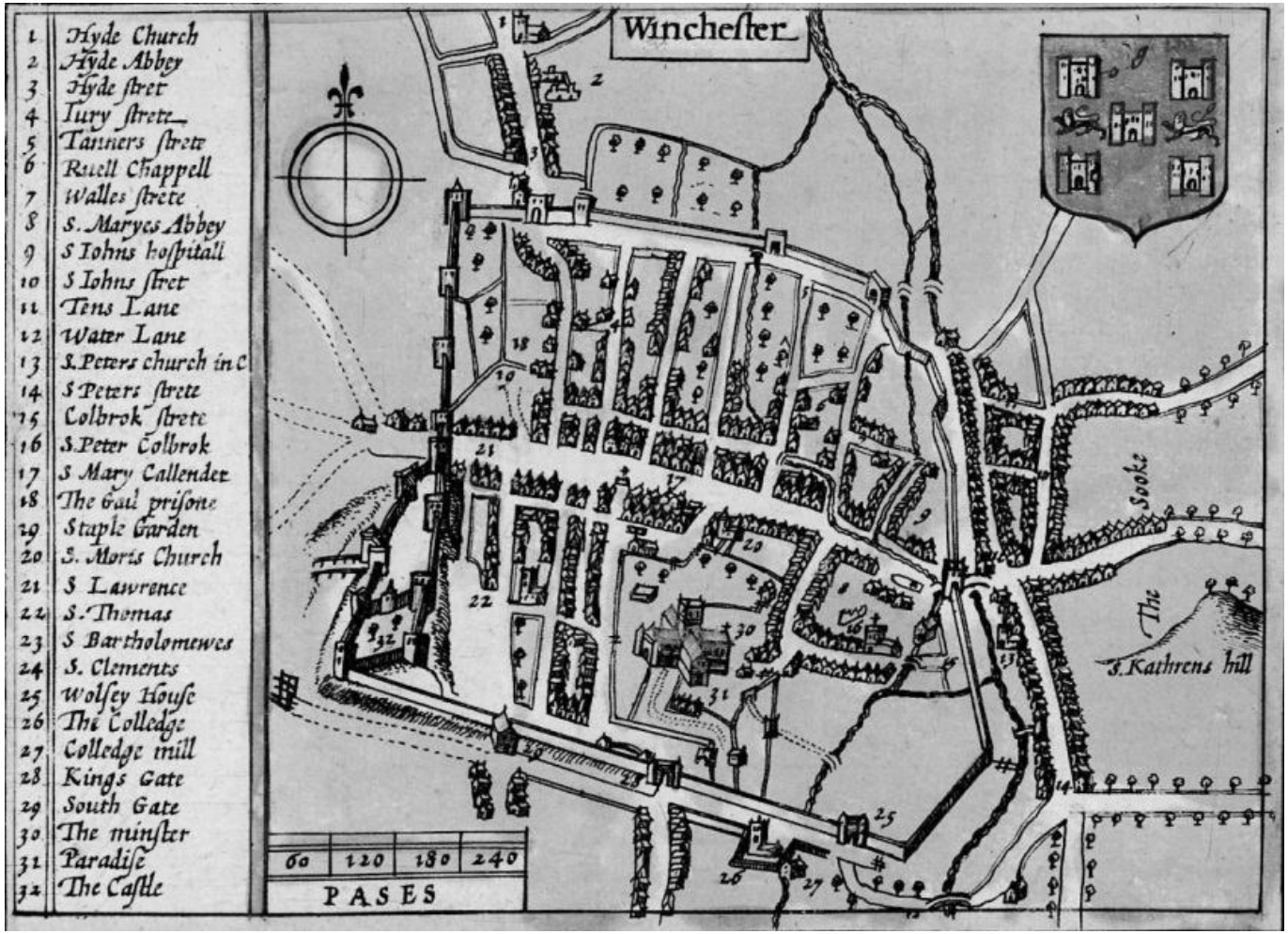
Early modern Winchester, like London, was still largely contained within the circuit of its medieval walls, which, as Trussell wrote, "containeth 1880 paces" (*TT*, f. 33). There were five gates in the walls, one for each compass point, plus the Kingsgate in the south wall, and also a small postern known as the Durngate leading to the water-meadows on the city's north-east side. These gates provided access to Winchester College outside Kingsgate, the extramural suburbs – principally Hyde Street without Northgate, which was within the city's liberties, and the populous parishes of the 'Soke' on the east bank of the

Itchen, which came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Winchester – and beyond that, the world outside. In 1615, the prolific cartographer John Speed produced a map of Winchester which is an invaluable first reference point for the historian; in common with his other works, it combines astute detailing with a vivid sense of what it must have been like to see the city as an inhabitant, from ground level. The city was arranged around its High Street, which ran from west to east down the steady slope of the hill, towards the several streams of the River Itchen. According to Speed's scale, the length of the High Street, from Westgate down to Eastgate, was scarcely five hundred 'paces': that is, roughly half a mile, a distance which could have been walked in about ten minutes.

The extent to which this small-scale community was dominated by three great structures – the imposing castle at the western end, the cathedral and its grounds dominating the southern quarter, and the Bishop of Winchester's palace of Wolvesey in the south-east corner – is also clearly revealed by Speed's map. The castle was already partially ruinous, but as the venue for Quarter Sessions and Assizes, its Great Hall remained one of the centres of civic life. As the centre of one of the most venerable dioceses in England, Winchester Cathedral was also a source of glory, and Wolvesey, the favoured lodging-place for important visitors, was a visible symbol of the city's national importance, a legacy of its royal history as capital of England, the coronation place and burial-ground of Saxon monarchs. The royal connection would have been regarded by most as very much alive: as recently as 1554 Winchester Cathedral had been the venue for Queen Mary's marriage to Philip II of Spain. Trussell commented that "this city is so much the more remarkable by how much it giveth title to the Marquess and Bishop of Winchester" (*TT*, f. 33).

Trussell knew the city's ancient Welsh name, *Caer Guent*, and he would soon learn, if he did not know already, from the *Britannia* of his master Camden, that the famous antiquary John Leland "hath derived it from the British word *Guin* or *Guen*, that is, *White*, so that *Caer Guin* should signify as much, as the *White City*".[29] The name was appropriate for a city situated, as Winchester is, among bright chalk downs. Centuries before the motorway first sliced through those hills, and the city expanded up and down the valley

[29] William Camden, *Britain*, trans. Philemon Holland (London, 1610), p. 263.



The city of Winchester in 1611: inset from John Speed's Map of Hampshire (1611)
Courtesy of Winchester City Council: Hampshire Record Office: W/K4/1/3

and over the hills to the west, her setting would have been one of rare beauty – especially by comparison to the metropolis John Trussell had left behind.

This, then, was the place which would remain Trussell's home for more than forty years, the place for which he swiftly came to feel a love surpassing any other – a royal city, full of years, a national political and religious centre. Yet the glory of England's former capital had faded considerably since its halcyon days. Alan Dyer's comparison of returns from the poll tax of 1337 and the subsidy assessment of 1524-5 indicate that although Winchester had retained its place in the urban hierarchy as measured by number of taxpayers, nevertheless its taxable wealth declined drastically: it was only the thirty-fifth wealthiest town assessed in 1524, having been the twelfth in 1337, returning £94 to Henry VIII compared with £625 formerly – a relative and absolute decline of sobering proportions.[30] Winchester is thus an unambiguous case of decline resulting from the failure of its staple industry, in Peter Clark's judgement one of the "early casualties" along with York and Canterbury, and accelerating after the fifteenth century.[31]

Unlike at York, recovery (or stability) in the sixteenth century was elusive.[32] Dyer's figures suggest that from the 1520s to 1662 Winchester's decline was worse than other decaying cloth towns, such as Salisbury and Colchester, being more on a par with Lincoln and Bury St Edmunds.[33] Using the less exact method of population estimates, Paul Slack substantially agrees with Dyer: Winchester was not among the thirty-one largest towns in 1700, having been still comfortably among them in 1524.[34] For Slack, "the long-drawn-out decline of the Old Draperies" – i.e., cloth towns which had not adapted to the use of new materials in the sixteenth century – explains the decline of Winchester, along with such towns as Lincoln and Salisbury, from 1524 to 1700.[35] Another factor which is likely to have contributed to Winchester's accelerating decline in the sixteenth century is the Reformation. Slack argues that the destruction of especially rich and prominent monastic communities could make the position of towns "particularly precarious", and Palliser agrees that in the short term the dissolutions were often "catastrophic"; examples include Reading and Bury St Edmunds, both towns which plummeted down the ranking of the

[30] Alan Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400-1640* (London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1991), pp. 66-67, 70-71.
[31] Peter Clark, 'Introduction', in *Country towns in pre-industrial England*, pp. 2-31, at p. 4.
[32] For York, see D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), ch. 10.
[33] Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, pp. 66-69.
[34] Paul Slack, 'Great and good towns 1540-1700', in Peter Clark, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 347-376, at p. 352.
[35] Slack, 'Great and good towns', p. 353.

urban hierarchy in the same period.[36] It is easy to see how the same could have happened in Winchester; John Trussell certainly regarded the Dissolution of the Monasteries as a "fatal blow" to the city's prosperity (*BW*, f. 44), and drew attention to the large number of medieval religious foundations that had once existed in the city, naming a total of twenty-eight (Origin, f. 22).

It is widely agreed that the "general urban recession" of the late middle ages intensified in the mid-sixteenth century, but not all urban historians accept the thesis of Clark and Slack that urban decline continued, scarcely alleviated, until the second half of the seventeenth century.[37] Dyer instead characterises the period as one of "readjustment and strengthening of the existing urban system", siding with Palliser in "not accepting that the concept of general urban decline has much validity after 1570".[38] His tables of changes in the urban hierarchy, however, while supporting his view in general, clearly illustrate Winchester's relative decline in the period 1524-1662, while still leaving room for phases of recovery and growth during it. Overall, various evidence, including John Trussell's opinions, does suggest that Winchester experienced more acute problems between 1570 and c. 1660 than many other urban communities, making it an example of a city that behaved more in the way Clark and Slack posit.

Wealth in Elizabethan and early Stuart Winchester was overwhelmingly concentrated in the High Street ward, which returned £32 3s 10d at the collection of two instalments of the national tax called the 'Fifteenth' in 1592, when the other five wards between them returned a total of only £20 6s 8d. The gap between the richest citizens and the bulk of poor inhabitants was increasing, as the poorest dropped out of the tax band, while the taxable wealth of the High Street-dwellers crept slowly upwards. [39] Beyond the High Street, and the backstreets which ran across the ward parallel to it, the picture is one of dilapidation and ruin. In 1592 the next most populated ward after High Street, going by the number of taxpayers in the rolls, was Colbroke Street, between Eastgate and the Cathedral, which had 46 to High Street's 178 (Colbroke Street was also the second richest ward, returning £6 16s 8d). Of all the intramural wards, Jewry Street in the far north-west had the lowest tax-paying population: only 24. By contrast, the 1581 figures for High Street, Colbroke Street and Jewry Street were 189, 68, and 40 respectively.[40]

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[36] Slack, 'Great and good towns', pp. 252-254; Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 231; cf. Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, pp. 66-68.
[37] Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 226; Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), passim., and in summary pp. 158-159.
[38] Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, pp. 53-54; cf. discussion in Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, pp. 225-33.
[39] Thomas Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 137-8.
[40] Ibid.

This decline in the number of taxpayers is evidence of increased poverty, rather than that the population as a whole was falling: another historian of Winchester, Adrienne Rosen, concludes that by the late sixteenth century the long-term population decline which had afflicted the city for centuries had finally halted, and numbers were beginning to recover.[41] They were still low by historical standards, however, and within the circuit of the walls there was much uninhabited space. In 1623 the eccentric writer John Taylor (the 'Water-Poet') travelled from London to Salisbury by wherry, taking in Winchester on the return journey. He described

> an ancient City, like a body without a soul: and I know not the reason for it, but for aught which I perceived, there were almost as many Parishes as people… I am sure I walked from the one end of it to the other, and saw not 30 people… [42]

A tarrage roll – a survey of ground rent in the city which was to be paid to the royal exchequer – indicates that in 1604, when a previous tarrage roll (from 1416) was updated and annotated, there were a total of 647 habitations within the city's liberties. From this figure, Tom Atkinson extrapolated to a total population of Winchester of about 3,120, assuming an average of 4.25 persons per household, and factoring in a best estimate for the population of the parishes of the Soke, which was not surveyed in city tarrage rolls. By the same methodology, Atkinson estimated the population in 1416, when there were 725 inhabited dwellings, to have been about 3,800 – as he pointed out, a decline of around fifteen per cent in total between 1416 and 1604.[43] By contrast, as Adrienne Rosen calculated, the city's population at its peak, around 1150, had been "8,000 or more".[44] In the seventeenth century, only a constant influx of immigration kept the city viable. Winchester was by no means alone in this,[45] but the extent to which the higher echelon was dominated by outsiders is attested by Trussell's note next to a record of the Mayors and Bailiffs for 1640, that they were "all born in this city" (*TT*, f. 234), which clearly marks the information out as unusual, perhaps unique in his lifetime. Much of this immigration is likely to have been from the city's immediate hinterlands; Trussell, a gentleman newcomer from further afield, is perhaps more unusual.

[41] Rosen, 'Winchester in transition, 1580-1700', p. 155.
[42] John Taylor, *A new discovery by sea, with a wherry from London to Salisbury* (London, 1623).
[43] Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester*, pp. 29-33.
[44] Rosen, 'Winchester in transition', p. 146.
[45] "Immigration was the life-blood of many urban communities before the mid-seventeenth century" – Clark, 'Introduction', p. 4.

The prevailing climate of urban decay did not manifest itself merely through depopulation; the city's physical fabric was also diminished, and parts were visibly ruinous. One church still in use for worship, St. Mary Kalendar in the High Street, was, in Trussell's words, "by the space of fifty years and upward… the highest-roofed parish church in Europe: for by all this time it hath had no other cover but the skies" (*TT*, f. 34). Some areas had even returned partially to the wild: the tarrage roll records a large number of "gardens", their number increasing as the surveyors moved further away from the High Street. These tenements had formerly been built on and inhabited, but were now essentially waste ground, although some were cultivated. From Westgate, "as far as the Hermit's Tower, at the north-west corner of the walls, there was very little besides gardens, all of which were owned by the City". In the ward of Jewry Street, "nearly all the district stretching two hundred yards within the walls consisted of gardens, with but a few cottages scattered here and there".[46] The other wards displayed similar aspects, to a greater or lesser extent.

To our modern sensibilities, accustomed to a population of more than sixty million and vast and noisy urban sprawls across the landscape, there is more than a touch of wild romance in this picture of a depopulated city falling back into the arms of nature. But we must not assume that Trussell would have seen it the same way. The population of England in 1603 has been estimated at around four million. As recently as 1547 it had been as low as three million.[47] Survival, for most, was somewhat more precarious and a great deal more uncomfortable at the beginning of the seventeenth century than it is today, and the best means of ensuring both were strength in numbers and the prosperity which followed from it. A healthy, wealthy civil society was a necessity for anyone who wished to 'get on'.

Civic pride was an even more important factor in Trussell's attitude. His later writings show clearly that he was grieved by Winchester's dilapidation, despite – or rather because of – the pride he took in its glorious history:

> Her body be not now so complete as it hath been, nor her countenance so comely as it might be, which enforceth me in her behalf (though a stranger born, yet now an inhabitant) to cry
>
> *O tibi praeteritos referat si Jupiter annos* [Oh, if Jupiter would restore to you those bygone years…]. (*TT*, f. 32)

[46] Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester*, pp. 20- 23.
[47] Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England 1547-1603* (GB: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 2; Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 4.

The Latin tag is a reference to a phrase spoken by the character Evander about himself in Virgil's *Aeneid*, but Trussell has adapted it into a personal address to the city, which, typically, he feminises (elsewhere he refers to London as his 'dear mother': *Origin* f. 99).[48] It is also one of several repeated memes in Trussell's writing: the phrase, or slight variations of it, appear three times in various places in his works.[49] Perhaps it, too, was a kind of touchstone for him: a familiar voice that echoed in the back of his head as he walked the streets of the fallen city: an echo which imbued Winchester's sad present-day condition with solemnity and dignity by recalling the heroic poetry of the ancient past. Elsewhere, Trussell may have been consciously echoing John Taylor when he described

> that truly ancient city which now hangs down its head and at this day presents herself tanquam Carthaginis cadaver [like the corpse of Carthage] a body without a soul… yet heretofore she did march without check, cheek by jowl with the best and bravest cities. (*TT*, f. 10)

Becoming established

Trussell spent his first ten years (approximately) in Winchester in fairly close proximity to his father, who as we have seen was living in the parish of St Peter Colebrook in 1608, and his uncle, who had one house near Eastgate and another, "lately builded", in the Cathedral close.[50] Henry had ambitions for himself and his eldest son. Around 1604, hoping to supplement his work as Steward of the Winchester College manors with further stewardship and court-keeping work, he petitioned Robert Cecil "that the patents of the Stewardship of Exmoor Roche and Mendip may be deputed to him and John Trussell his son, and the deputation of the Bailiwick of them and of Southstoke in like manner to them two".[51] This petition was not successful, and Trussell's principal means of support at this time must have been his legal business. Like his father before him, he could have made a living suitable for a gentleman through his attorney's practice, in the proliferation of courts in which Winchester citizens would have required expert representation. As the county town, Winchester played host to the four Quarter Sessions every year, and for the rest of the year during term-time there were the petty sessions of the City Court, and the court known as the 'Court of Pie Powder', which was apparently convened when it was required

[48] John D. Christie, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Libri VII-VIII* (GB: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 44.
[49] The three instances of Trussell citing this verse of the Aeneid are *TT* ff. 32, 155 and *BW* f. 6.
[50] TNA: PRO, PROB 11/123, sig. 7.
[51] Hatfield House: Cecil Papers Petitions 1569 (before 20 August 1604).

(its name derives from *pie poudré*, an Anglo-Norman phrase meaning 'dusty foot' – a reference to the itinerant traders whose legal business the court was originally established to conduct).[52] The latter two dealt with questions of debt and 'trespasses' – that is, petty offences against persons and property, for example slander, theft, breach of covenant and mild forms of assault.

It is in these courts, in particular, that Trussell, as an attorney, would have plied his trade. There would have been a constant stream of litigation and criminal proceedings, sufficient to occupy him and the other legal practitioners active in Winchester at the time. An indication of the sort of money he may have made is provided by a court record from 1580-81, discussed in detail in Atkinson's survey of *Elizabethan Winchester*. This records "costs and charges sustained by William Munday, plaintiff, against Bartholomew Lardner *in placito debito* [in plea of debt]". Among various charges incurred by Munday in his suit was the attorney's fee of 8d. This pales next to the "counsel's fee" of 3s 4d, and (even allowing for some inflation after 1581) may appear too small to maintain a gentleman in his accustomed style, particularly as the average wage of an ordinary day-labourer in Stuart England has been estimated at around 8d as well.[53] But we should recall that Trussell could have had several items of business in hand in the several law-courts every day, and that even if he did not (for there would inevitably have been fallow periods) he could have charged for other, out-of-court services, such as the drafting of legal documents, to supplement his income. The small size of Winchester's population, and the small proportion of residents who were in a position to use the courts, would have acted as a drag on business, but this would have been offset by the influx of litigants from across the county who came to Winchester to get their business done. John Patten draws our attention to the significance of this for the city: he quotes a traveller who visited the city in the 1620s during the legal term and found it "crowsding full" – a scene unrecognisable as the 'body without a soul' depicted by John Taylor.[54]

But Trussell was not compelled to rely solely on these revenues for long, because at some time during the first decade he married his first wife. She was Elizabeth, the eldest surviving of the five children of Thomas Colley, a cloth merchant resident in the wealthy parish of St Maurice in the High Street, on the outer edge of the commercial district. In his will, made on 10 April 1609, Thomas Colley described himself as a clothier, but his trade probably did not directly involve the actual production of cloth; most likely he would have received the product from weavers (some of whom he may have personally employed),

[52] Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester*, p. 153-175.
[53] Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Stuart England* (USA: Greenwood Press, 2007), p. 38.
[54] John Patten, *English Towns 1500-1700* (Connecticut: Archon Books, 1978), p. 33.

then retailed the finished product to the public. It is not impossible to imagine the members of the household involving themselves in the production to some extent: for Colley's wife Anne and their daughters, at least, some familiarity with textile-working may have been seen as desirable, and they may have created the designs on the 'painted cloths' with which the house was well stocked. The shop – located in the same building in which they lived – would have been on, or just set back from, the High Street, Winchester's main commercial artery, where all the richest citizens would have shopped, and the most prestigious tradesmen competed for their custom.

The shop may well also have sold goods other than cloths; Rosen asserts that "by the early seventeenth century there were no longer any wealthy clothiers at Winchester whose assets and business interests were wholly devoted to the cloth industry".[55] There is little doubt that cloth manufacturing and vending, formerly Winchester's 'staple' industry, was suffering from a decline which was part of, and largely identical with, the general economic decline which had been afflicting the city as a whole for centuries. In the north-west quarter of the city, among the vacant gardens between Jewry Street and the walls, a large patch of wilderness still went by the name of 'Staple Garden'; this had once been the centre of Winchester's medieval cloth trade, the principal source of its prosperity. But the shifting currents of trade and prosperity ebbed away from Winchester, for reasons connected to the prevalence of competing markets, and the city's inland location, far from the water-routes which were then the fastest and most efficient transport links (the Itchen was not navigable so far upstream).

In Rosen's view, "the gradual withering away of textile manufacture, and the failure of any other industry at Winchester to replace it… merit examination as important contributors to the city's malaise in the early seventeenth century".[56] In his later historical writings, Trussell himself showed much interest in the failure of Winchester's cloth trade, identifying it as a primary cause of her present woes. As he recounted it, a statute of Edward III in 1353 had established the Staple at Winchester, and as a result,

> for the more orderly accommodation of the Merchants and others that should resort thither, the citizens of Winchester did erect anew many large and spacious buildings for the stowage of wools and other merchandises, and procured a large plot of ground abroad for the more convenience of customs (which to this present time is called the Staple Garden), where they also set up a great beam and scales called the King's beam, which now in the common storehouse of that city do lie mourning in silence for that their fate is unusually to

[55] Rosen, 'Winchester in transition', p. 150.
[56] Rosen, 'Winchester in transition', p. 148.

> rot without employment. But this great preparation proved fruitless, for the after removal of the Staple to the town of Calais was within the space of ten years or thereabouts.

Thus, "all their great and expenseful preparation to the generally hoped for profit did thereby vanish like smoke and come to nothing" (*TT*, f. 153).

Of course, the attribution of the city's economic woes to a change of policy in the reign of Edward III was greatly over-simplified. But it contained within it enough of the truth. In all likelihood, this story, with its hazy memory of a brief Edwardian golden age, coupled with a sharp awareness of the diverse malign consequences of the cutting-off of the wool trade, was the Colley family's own understanding of the historic changes which had befallen their trade – in spite of which, they continued to persevere in it, and to do well enough for themselves, as we shall see. It seems reasonable to guess that it was through this connection with a family of cloth merchants that Trussell's attention was first drawn to this episode in Winchester's history. For him, though, the importance of this story lay in the general effect the collapse of the textile industry had had on the city he loved:

> Diverse tradesmen that for a more easy and certain gain had left off their old trades, sold their wares to loss and taken up money at use [loans with interest] to raise them a stock, hereupon… were enforced to steer a new course, to the unspeakable prejudice of the general, and the deplorable hindrance of the principal actors in particular; insomuch that, since that time, that so ancient and renowned city of Winchester hath ever since every day more and more declined. (*TT*, f. 154)

John and Elizabeth's marriage took place at some time before 1609, when Thomas Colley refers to Trussell in his will as "my son in law".[57] By a strange coincidence, there is a record of an Elizabeth Colley marrying a man named William Halliday in St Maurice on 13 May 1606 – exactly the time we should expect to find the daughter of the merchant marrying John Trussell. The balance of probability seems to be that this is another Elizabeth of another Colley family. The likelihood of Elizabeth having briefly married another man before John Trussell is remote – remoter still given that that there is no record of this William Halliday's death in the next three years. [58]

Intriguingly, though, Elizabeth does seem to have been married before – and to have had a child by that marriage. The section on 'Trussell' in the 1634 visitation of Hampshire contains a note describing the wife of 'John Trussell of the City of Winchester'

[57] HRO: 1609A/21.
[58] HRO: M27/1M82/PR1.

as ‘Elizabeth d. of … Collis and widow of Gratian Patten’. Gracian Patten was a son of the scholar and historian William Patten.[59] He died in the autumn of 1603 in his home parish of St Andrews, Holborn (adjoining Trussell’s former home parish of St Dunstan). In his will Patten left everything except two rings to his wife and their only son, William, “forasmuch as God hath blessed me with worldly substance, and that she and he both are mine own flesh and whoso provideth not for his denieth the faith and is worse than an infidel”.[60] The phrasing, and his fairly illustrious ancestry, suggest that Gracian was at least comfortably wealthy, so this bequest would have amounted to something. The two rings he reserved for his brothers: his younger brother Thomas received a ring of silver worth forty shillings, and his elder brother Mercury received his ‘seal’ ring, which bore his coat of arms – fittingly, as Mercury was then (1597-1611) Bluemantle Pursuivant, one of the junior officers of the College of Arms.

Gracian Patten made Elizabeth his sole executor, and willed “that my wife shall have the education and bringing up of my said son until he shall accomplish his full age of one and twenty years”. This raises the tantalising prospect that for some years – more than a decade, potentially – after his marriage to Elizabeth, John Trussell’s extended family included a stepson, of whom he would have been *de facto* the principal guardian. Rather sadly, however, this is not a certainty. William has left no trace in the county archives, or in John Trussell’s own records (though this proves nothing – neither did either of Trussell’s wives, or any of his natural children). The least we can say is that he is unlikely to have spent his life after reaching adulthood in the city of Winchester. And 1603, the year in which his father died, was a plague year. Trussell may not have had the pleasure, or inconvenience, of having a young stepson to care for, because William may not ever have ‘accomplished his full age’.

Thomas Colley’s will suggests a certain mistrust of the man he called “my son Trussell”: in it, the dying man exhorted his son in law, “according to his covenant with me”, firstly to pay off the mortgage on the house, and secondly to “permit and suffer Anne my wife to have hold and enjoy the same, and whatsoever else is now mortgaged by me unto the city, for and during her natural life”.[61] He left his property to John and Elizabeth

[59] W. H. Rylands, ed., *Pedigrees from the visitation of Hampshire … 1530 … 1575 … 1622 … 1634*, Harleian Society, 64 (1913), 223.
[60] PRO: PROB 11/102.
[61] HRO: 1609A/21.

> with this caution and previso, that he do pay unto the Mayor and Bailiff of the city of Winchester the money due and payable unto them upon the Mortgage of the premises, and permit and suffer my said wife to enjoy the same quietly during her life.

He also left Trussell all his goods,

> with this proviso: that my wife Anne should have the occupation of them during her natural life upon sufficient security not to waste or spoil them; I do hereby entreat him that he will accept of her bond as sufficient security for the same and to suffer her quietly to enjoy the same according to our agreement.

The will concludes with Thomas "entreating my said son to be good unto my wife and children and to be aiding and assisting unto them".[62]

Anne Colley's will is a longer document, which provides more comprehensively for the Colley children, and begins on a composed and contented note which contrasts reassuringly with the fretful tone of Thomas' will. Anne declares – with the echo of many years of motherly peacemaking amongst squabbling children rising warmly from the page – that, "for the settling of peace and quiet amongst my children", and for the performance of the wishes of her deceased husband, the will is made

> with free and willing consent and allowance of my son in law John Trussell, who hath freely released unto me all such right and interest in such implements and household stuff as were in my late husband's possession during his life time, and by him upon good cause and consideration assigned on unto the said John Trussell.[63]

We may conclude from this that Trussell's relationship with his mother-in-law was a respectful, indeed loving one; a fact which says something encouraging about the state of his marriage to her eldest daughter. By 1613, then, relations between Trussell and the Colleys were harmonious.

The Colleys were, in a sense, a 'middle class' between the poor urban labouring class below, members of which, as Rosen says, "lived from one sale to the next", and the ranks of landed gentry above them – of whom John Trussell was a scion.[64] Financially, they seem to have been very comfortable. There is an inventory of household goods appended to the will of Anne Colley, which reveals something of the family's financial

[62] HRO: 1609A/21.
[63] HRO: 1613A/14.
[64] Rosen, 'Winchester in transition', p. 150.

situation. It is notable that there were enough beds and bed-clothes to go around: because beds were so necessary for a basic level of comfort, and were in a sense the foundation of a household (even a fair-sized family might sleep all together in only one) they are frequently an important feature of early modern wills – William Shakespeare famously left Anne Hathaway his second best bed. Every one of the children was bequeathed

> one feather bed with all furniture, the bed to be chosen at the time of the making the inventory of my goods as my children are of age, the eldest to choose first and so by turns are the others one after one.

The total value of the household items, as the surveyors Robert Hardy and John Pratt estimated, came to £47. 10s. 8d. This was definitely enough to place the Colleys in Winchester's richest category of inhabitants. But the family were not wealthy to excess. The inventory contains only a few 'luxury' items: a "damask towel", several painted cloths, and a fair amount of brassware ('brass' has its own category in the inventory – its total value comes to £2 9s. 8d.). The value of Anne's "wearing apparel" was assessed at thirty shillings: no mean sum, but nothing like what a lady of the higher gentry or nobility would be able to call upon. One of the items of Thomas Colley's will was a bequest of twenty shillings to all his children – "if there be so much money at the time of my departure in the house".

Anne Colley's will also reveals some valuable specifics about the political and mercantile network Trussell was stepping into. Although Anne made her daughter and son-in-law the executors of her will, she appointed as overseers "my loving friends Mr Lancelot Thorpe and Mr Anthony Munday", and left them 3s. 4d. apiece "for their pains". James Luke, William Luke and Thomas Munday were witnesses to the making of the will. All of these men were eminently respectable citizens with well-established backgrounds in trade, and strong links to the city corporation. Anthony Munday had been presented to the Rectory of St Peter Colebrook in the Soke by Bishop Thomas Bilson in 1611 on the death of the previous Rector, John Jones. Munday's patron was the king himself (this was quite common for parish advowsons). [65] Thorpe, William Luke and Thomas Munday first held high office in the corporation at about the same time as Trussell also broke through into the top rank, Thorpe being honoured with the Mayoralty in 1615, while Munday was a bailiff from 1618 to 1620, and Luke the year after that. Prestigious careers beckoned for them, as for Trussell. The Luke brothers were sons of John Luke, a wealthy pewterer, identified as a

[65] J. E. H. Spaul, *The Reformation in the diocese of Winchester 1530-1616*, (Hampshire Record Office: Unpublished typescript), p. 86.

gentleman, who had himself been Mayor twice, for the last time in 1605. He had died in 1608.[66] Thomas Colley is likely to have been a friend of the elder Luke: they were of the same generation, and it seems probable that Thomas himself is the Thomas Colley who was Mayor in 1562-3, so they would have been in regular contact.[67] Certainly a man in Thomas's position would have been a senior figure in the corporation. It was in these circles that Trussell doubtless aspired to move – and indeed, from that point onwards he did so, his marriage into one of Winchester's foremost families establishing him once and for all as a member of the civic elite. Without a mercantile background himself, Trussell nonetheless fitted in with such people at least tolerably well. The connections Trussell forged at this time endured throughout the rest of his life and career in Winchester. At least one of them certainly did, for it was to the Luke family that John Trussell would turn in a later decade, after the death of Elizabeth, when he wished to marry again. William Luke died in 1634, and in August 1636 John Trussell married Margaret Luke in the church of St Maurice.[68]

This marriage to Elizabeth Colley, then, is clear evidence that soon after his arrival Trussell was already working his way into the highest civic echelons. Her combined inheritances from Gracian Patten and her parents would also have helped his financial situation. But does this mean the marriage was primarily one of convenience? Certainly it was not a clear-cut case of a ruthless *arriviste* attaching himself to an under-aged heiress, or an elderly widow: Elizabeth was baptized on 2 October 1574, making her one year older than Trussell. She was therefore a mature woman of thirty-five in 1609, and though she may not have shared quite so fervent an interest in politics, history and poetry as Trussell, it is possible to imagine them sharing an intellectual and spiritual life. Unfortunately, any speculation about Elizabeth's character, and Trussell's married life with her, can be little more than guesswork, as the sources which might give us an insight into these things do not survive. Did he love her? We cannot know.

We know that two children were born to the couple, one of them – a daughter, Elizabeth – between 1609 and 1613; her grandmother Anne bequeathed her "a flockbed and bolster with coverlet, to be delivered unto her at the day of her marriage, or age of twenty-one years". Trussell does not mention Elizabeth or his children anywhere in his writings, so we know little beyond the bare facts. The younger Elizabeth was married to

[66] HRO: 1608B/47.
[67] HRO: W/B1/1.
[68] TNA: PROB 11/165/699; W. P. W. Phillimore and W. E. Colchester, eds., *Hampshire Parish Registers: Marriages* vol. 13 (London: Phillimore & Co, 1912), p. 17.

William Pope, a solicitor, in 1629.[69] During his second Mayoralty, when the corporation had an important suit in chancery on which a large sum of money depended, John Trussell stated his intention in a note to a friend at the Six Clerks office to "see if my son in law William Pope shall be ready if need be to solicit", indicating a trusting and mutually beneficial relationship.[70] The Trussells' second daughter Mary married a gentleman named James Rider in 1638 at Weeke, the bond for the marriage licence being provided by the bride's uncle, William Trussell.[71]

After 1613, then, Trussell would have been able to establish a home with his wife, daughter and extended family in the Colleys' large house-cum-shop, which he was entitled to live in after the death of his mother-in-law. He did more than this though, going to "great charge and expense" in "new building and repairing" a house "under the Pentice" on the High Street. This was the house he and Elizabeth lived in by 1616, and almost certainly the house that was granted by the city to his widow Margaret at his death. The history of Trussell's property portfolio is complicated, but it is clear that he had significant property interests, with leases of several houses on both the north and south sides of the High Streets, and apparently at least two sub-tenants.[72] William Trussell, too, was well established at his Rectory at Weeke just outside the city. Tragedy struck William in 1620 when he lost his daughter in September and his wife Anne soon afterwards in October; they were both buried in the cathedral, as the burial registers show.[73] But William moved on from this loss immediately, marrying a propertied widow, also called Anne. Anne Jay farmed the nearby manor of Bishopstoke as early as 1611, holding over twenty acres of the Bishop of Winchester's land, together with perquisites including mills. In the reeve's account of 1622 Anne is referred to as "modo uxoris Wm. Trussell, clericus".[74]

Both professionally and personally, John Trussell had arrived on the Winchester scene. He had entered a world where wealth and power were wielded by only a privileged few, and by virtue of a good marriage, his gentility and his natural talents, he had entered that charmed circle. In the following decade he would climb to the top of the city's oligarchy – but it would not be the smoothest of climbs.

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[69] Phillimore and Colchester, *Hampshire Parish Registers: Marriages*, p. 16.
[70] HRO: W/H3/21.
[71] Arthur J. Willis, ed., *Hampshire Marriage Licences 1607-1640* (London: The Research Publishing Company, 1960), p. 128.
[72] Third Ledger Book, f. 263. W/F3/142/1, 4; Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 92.
[73] HRO: M990.
[74] HRO: 11M59B2/9/105.

3. ‘Better than sacrifice’: authority and obedience in public life 1621-1637

> At what time I was first chosen freeman, I took (according to custom) an oath to be whole and true man to the City of Winchester, whereupon I seriously pondered in my mind… (*BW*, f. 5)

It was in 1606 that John Trussell had first been received into the Merchants’ Guild of the City of Winchester, the oligarchy which controlled the city’s wealth, and thus the levers of political power. To be a member of the Guild, and to be a freeman, invested with the franchise of the city, were one and the same thing. At his reception into the Guild Trussell, taking a Bible in hand, would have knelt before the men who were to be his comrades and spoken the ritual words:

> I shall be whole man and true to the king of England and his heirs and successors, and to the City of Winchester, and I shall bear all charges and offices and pay all tallages of that City to me isett [established] with all my power. And I shall never plead any freeman of that City in no temporal court but in the court of the same said City unless that court fail me of right without license of the Mayor for the time being. And I shall be obedient to the Mayor, Bailiffs and all other officers and ministers of that City lawful. Nor no man cover nor favour under my franchise and all manner statutes and usages of that City whereof I shall have knowledge I shall do and keep well and truly to my power, so help me God at the holy doom, and by this Book.[1]

The quotation which opens this chapter is a recollection in a letter written in 1637, and it demonstrates that this ceremony made an indelible psychological impression: ‘I seriously pondered in my mind’. He was still doing so a full thirty years later – and no wonder. Throughout his life, John Trussell was a man who respected duly constituted authority, and venerated the grandeur which attended on institutions of great antiquity. Trussell believed that Winchester’s Guild of Merchants was a ruling body which “in this City had [its] primitive Institution, and from which all other places of this kingdom took example” (*BW*, f. 5).

[1] First Book of Ordinances, f. 93.

Winchester was a free city, subject only to the monarch, and in John Trussell's time was "very near to being a self-governing community".[2] Its most recent charter of incorporation, from Elizabeth in 1587, had reaffirmed the structure of its government and its customary exemptions from the legal system of the rest of the country. These were customs and structures which had developed at a slow pace through the middle ages, and in the seventeenth century the usages of Winchester were understood to stretch back into remote antiquity. The government of the city was carried out by the senior officers – the Mayor, Recorder, two Bailiffs, and six aldermen – and 'the twenty-four'. Power resided in particular with the Mayor and Bailiffs, who were elected at sessions of the Boroughmoot, a meeting of the whole body of the freemen which took place twice yearly. The Mayor served an annual term. In him was vested executive control of the affairs, which he governed after due consultation with his closest advisors – known as the 'brethren' – a semi-formal group comprising the Recorder and various ex-Mayors, whom he met as often as necessary. Minutes of their meetings and proceedings are quite extensive up until the time when John Trussell arrived in the city; after 1600 they become increasingly sparse, although this form of government continued. In the surviving records the Mayor and brethren are found disposing of large sums of money for civic projects such as the building of Peter Symonds' alms-house and the repair of the Eastgate bridge "which fell down in the beginning of this year 1599", to be funded by taxation and voluntary donations (for which a long list of taxable persons "do refuse the payment thereof"). They also granted large numbers of leases of corporation property, and were responsible for organising the reading of royal proclamations, such as Elizabeth's "declaring her princely resolution in sending over of her Army into the Realm of Ireland" in 1599.[3] Furthermore, a wide variety of public order matters came within their purview: the making of orders against "all suspicious persons, all rogues, all idle persons, disorders of carrying of wood and breaking of hedges, stealers of poultry and pigs"; the making of hue and cry for runaway soldiers; investigations of cozeners, disorderly brawlers and those who outraged public morals (who must then have been referred onwards to the city's court system) – and, as we have seen, occasionally the hunting of recusants.[4]

[2] Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester*, p. 48.
[3] Proceedings Book B (HRO: 107M88W/37), pp. 30-32 *et passim* [Peter Symonds], 24-25 [bridge], 22 [Ireland].
[4] Proceedings Book B, pp. 4 [orders against suspicious persons]; 12 [hue and cry made "a pressed soldier run away"; Margaret Hockly committed to the Westgate for "cozening sundry persons"]; 9 ["bloodshed committed betwixt John Beconsaw and Robert Jackson clerk at the Swan without Northgate upon occasion of either the felonious or cozenage riding away of the said Beconsaw's gelding"]; 8 [Helen Godden, widow, who "kept company 4 several nights" with a "stranger and wanderer"].

The two Bailiffs had the weighty responsibility of collecting the city's fee-farm and making the payment to the Exchequer; for this they relied on an accurate estimate of the value of the city's properties, which was to be compiled by the Town Clerk. There was a senior (also called High) Bailiff and a junior (Low) Bailiff; as Trussell's list of Mayors and Bailiffs in the *Touchstone of Tradition* makes clear, the man elected each year to the junior Bailiff's position was often (though not always) senior Bailiff the next year. The next most senior position, that of Recorder, was of a much longer duration, and indeed could technically be held for a life term, which was all to the good as it, more than any other, relied on expertise. The Recorder was the corporation's chief legal officer. His role was to keep accurate records of proceedings in the city courts; he was also a general legal advisor to the Mayor and corporation. It was before him that Mayors and aldermen took their oaths of office. In practice Recorders did not hold their offices for life, as other factors could intervene; for example, the election of William Savage to the office in 1618 is said in the ordinance book to be for "so long as he shall dwell and inhabit within the said City of Winchester and no longer".[5] But Winchester only got through another three Recorders during Trussell's career there.[6]

Six aldermen, one for each of the wards into which the city was divided, were another instrumental part of local government. Together with the incumbent Mayor and Recorder, they formed the commission of the peace for Winchester, which by its charter was officially released from the jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace for Hampshire. Thus, the Winchester bench, with the Mayor at its head, sat in judgment over its own Quarter Sessions, as well as the weekly Petty Sessions at the City Court of Record. As Anthony Fletcher points out:

> the enforcement of Stuart government rested above all on the justices of the peace... the proceedings of sessions, however ordinary, embodied and gave expression to a rule of law that made possible the security of property and inheritance and that held together a society that was blatantly divided by huge differences in wealth.[7]

In a chartered city like Winchester – not merely an ordinary borough, but a liberty, with responsibility for its own affairs – there was a sense of special significance. The rule of law was specifically 'the custom and usage of the city', a form which had been preserved since time immemorial.

[5] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 6.
[6] See Fourth Book of Ordinances and Fourth Ledger Book (HRO: W/F2/4), *passim.*
[7] Anthony Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces: The Government of Stuart England* (London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 39.

It was in the hands of these few men that the machinery of justice and executive government lay, together with all the attendant responsibilities: enforcement of the poor laws, the punishment of bastardy, the binding of apprentices, the regulation of alehouses, and keeping the streets at an acceptable level of cleanliness and good repair (the sanitary condition of the city was something of a civic scandal: at the eastern end of the city the waters of the Itchen ran through the low-lying streets in the form of several small brooks, which were often filthy and full of refuse, as the citizens used them as dumping-places for all kinds of waste, hoping that the stream-waters would wash it all away).[8] Under the senior officers were various sergeants who were responsible for carrying out orders, summons of offenders to court, summons of juries, collection of fines and the like.

Aside from the senior officers, the 'twenty-four' were the other group named in the Elizabethan charter as having a specific role in the municipal government. Who were these 'twenty-four'? In short, they were the wealthiest and most powerful citizens of Winchester, who represented the commercial interests of the city – the holders of the biggest economic stake in its success, and therefore regarded as having the right and duty of its government. They were nominally elected by the body of freemen of the Guild (amongst whom they seem to have been a sort of elite group, different not in kind but in standing); in practice, however, money and mutual agreement amongst themselves are likely to have made it sufficiently obvious who was a member of the highest echelon. There may not always have been twenty-four of them at any one time. They had civic obligations in addition to their primary role of advising the Mayor, which was by the seventeenth century no longer a particularly important role, the government of the city being undertaken by the Mayor and his brethren. The twenty-four could be commanded by the Mayor to keep silent during meetings upon pain of a fine, which makes their subordinate status sufficiently clear. However, it was out of their own number that the city's officers were invariably elected, and the nature of Winchester's government was such that every member of the elite was likely to serve at the highest level in due course.

Despite its great freedom, Winchester was not sealed off from the rest of England: it had its place within the wider universe of local and national authority: there were the Assizes twice a year, and in years when the sovereign summoned a parliament the city returned two burgesses to Westminster. The freemen of the corporation were collective holders of the franchise for parliamentary elections, which were carried out at meetings of the Boroughmoot. It is worthy of note that at every parliament during the central period of John Trussell's career (1621-29), Richard Tichborne was one of the MPs sent from

[8] Atkinson, *Elizabethan Winchester*, pp. 204-205.

Winchester.[9] Richard was a member of one of the most important families in the county – his father Sir Benjamin Tichborne had been High Sheriff of Hampshire in the crucial year 1603, when he had been in a position to affirm the legitimacy of the Jacobean regime by his swift acknowledgement of James I; he, too, had announced upon the scaffold the new king's mercy to the Main and Bye Plotters at Winchester Castle a few months later. Another figure of some importance was the High Steward of the City of Winchester, a post which had been established by the corporation in 1582 in order to win powerful friends at court. Francis Walsingham, who was instrumental in getting the city's charter renewed, was the first incumbent. Thomas Sackville, 1st Earl of Dorset, succeeded Walsingham in the role, but only briefly, continuing in the post until 1593; then, at the death of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire (who had held it from 1595 to 1606) he took it up again until his death two years later.[10]

The government of Winchester was elitist, oligarchical, a hierarchy based on wealth and gentility. Rank mattered a great deal: in 1625 it was agreed that the ancient precedents should be searched concerning the precedence of place between Joseph Butler and William Hancock; Butler had been High Bailiff of the city, whereas Hancock had been sworn freeman of the city before Butler, yet was never Bailiff.[11] The concentration of power and influence in the hands of so few inevitably posed problems, both pragmatic and moral. In such a world as this, all depended on the character of the various personalities involved – whether they were willing to put their shoulders to the wheel and serve. It was a situation in which no less wealthy and gentle a figure than Edward White was able to use his influence to build a voting bloc which forced through the election of his son Lancelot as the "poor scholar" to be maintained by the city at Oxford University from 1626 until his graduation, at a rate of £6 a year. But it was also one in which, in the very same year, Mayor Martin Yalden could insist upon meeting the costs of entertaining visiting dignitaries out of his own pocket.[12] The city funded itself in large part through transfers of the private wealth of its richest citizens to the city coffers via leases of corporation-owned properties, and in a small city that meant there was an inherent grey area between the money deployed for the public weal and the money used for private interest. Adrienne Rosen argues that "the Winchester elite was not venal so much as casual with city money", but even so the possibility of corruption was always real enough, as there was no

[9] [http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/tichborne-richard-1578-1652; accessed 14 September 2012].
[10] Third Ledger Book (HRO: W/F2/3), ff. 32, 48, 69.
[11] Third Book of Ordinances, f. 46. Subsequently Butler continues to appear above Hancock in the order of precedence in attendance records of the Boroughmoot.
[12] Thomas Atkinson, *Stuart Winchester* (HRO: 107M88W/18), pp. 46-7.

sufficiently clear line between public service and the furtherance of private interest.[13] Trussell knew this, and his response to it forms the most interesting part of the history of his participation in civic politics. During the ensuing decades his awareness of the problem, and the offence it caused to his heightened sense of justice, would be the main factor provoking him to a series of confrontations with the political establishment of the city. There is no more characteristic feature of his writing than the almost Manichean dichotomy which he identifies between 'public good' and 'private gain', and it constitutes a dialectic which is at the centre of a remarkable process of engagement – by turns confrontational and constructive – with the practical, moral and intellectual problems of public life in the Winchester corporation.

Public good and private gain

Consistently, Trussell's chosen medium for engagement was poetry. A good example of this is 'The Complaint of the Castle of Winchester', a protest poem against the privatization of the castle, the Great Hall of which was still "the sole continued noted place/ For Courts of Justice for the whole shire" (*BW*, f. 45). Trussell begins the poem in resounding style, utilizing a poetic device that is a fixture of his writing, the concept of a narration by the 'Genius', or spirit, of a place:

> Is my good Genius dead? Is it decreed
> That my so ancient monuments must feed
> Oblivion's all-devouring jaws? (*BW*, f. 45)

Already "the structures that great British Arthur reared" were falling into decay, but now a final insult was being planned: the seat of county justice was to be turned "to sordid uses", becoming a sty for pigs, a stable for "Flanders coach mares" – the Round Table of King Arthur would be lost to sight, buried in the dung of animals! Trussell laments the failure of the political establishment – the Marquis, the Bishop, and the High Sheriff of Hampshire – to intervene, and that the king did not issue a writ of *ad quod damnum* in order to learn how prejudicial it would be for "private gain a public good to cross/ and one man's gain to be so many's loss" (*BW*, f. 45). Trussell was clearly extremely angry about the gift of what he saw as "the city and the county's" property to a private individual:

[13] Rosen, 'Winchester in Transition', p. 155.

> But what will it advantage me (alas)
> Fondly to think the king deceived was
> In his first grant, or that it doth not stand
> With noble dispositions underhand
> To take advantage of the oversight…? (*BW*, f. 45)

This language is so strong as to suggest that this poem, unlike many others Trussell wrote on political or governmental topics, may not have been intended for public consumption, despite the apparent plea at the end to the 'Reverend Judges' to "take some course the project to prevent",

> Which if they shall do, I shall night and day
> City and County move to join in prayers
> To God, for that to bless them and their heirs. (*BW*, f. 45)

The date of the poem is uncertain, as the castle passed in and out of private hands several times during the first half of the seventeenth century, and the occasion of this poem could be any of those on which it was granted to a private owner, from the first grant to Sir Benjamin Tichborne in 1607, to that of 1638 to Sir William Waller. Martin Biddle ties it to the grant of 1631 to Charles I's lord treasurer, Lord Weston, who spent heavily on alterations to his new property until his death in 1635; Biddle says Weston "may have intended to turn it into a grandiose Jacobean mansion house and his plans seem to have included making the Great Hall into a stable for his 'Flanders coach mares'", but this detail seems to be based on the evidence of Trussell's poem, so it does not prove that the poem can be dated to 1631.[14]

Another good example of Trussell's verse protests is an untitled poem on folios 194-5 of the *Touchstone of Tradition* manuscript, which attacks the corporation in strong terms. The poem as it appears in the *Touchstone* manuscript is unfinished; the catchword "I" appears underneath the last line at the bottom of the page, and there is a break in his foliation of the manuscript which suggests that four folios have been removed, but no other evidence survives that it was finished. The dating of this poem also poses a problem. Its position in the *Touchstone of Tradition* manuscript after the conclusion of the main history (probably finished in 1644) suggests a late date, and its subject matter, depicting a chaotic and lawless city, would not be entirely unsuitable for the civil war period. But as we shall

[14] Martin Biddle and Beatrice Clayre, *Winchester Castle and the Great Hall* (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1983), p. 17.

see, there are various reasons for placing it before Trussell's second Mayoralty in 1634, and specifically in the early 1620s. It is possible that Trussell began the poem in the early part of 1623 while he was in a state of general discontent and anger about the state of things, set it aside without finishing it after reaching a partial reconciliation with his colleagues, and returned to it many years later around 1644-7, finding that it had taken on a new resonance, or simply considering it worthy to record. Why the greater part of it was removed, if this was the case (as the break in foliation implies), can only be a matter of conjecture.

The poem is interesting for a variety of reasons. It betrays a sense of class-based unease which adds to our understanding of Trussell's later attitudes, as Trussell complains of the corporation-men that they "bristle like New Forest hogs, to show/ The small respect they unto gentry owe". It invokes the name of Caerguent, the British name for Winchester, in a passage which implies that the poem was a *j'accuse* meant for public consumption:

> Let me not be mistaken whilst I strive
> The ancient name of Caerguent to revive;
> My meaning is not to command the care
> And wakeful diligence of those that are
> The City's Aldermen, for to our shame
> (and my grief) be it spoke: we are all to blame,
> For of the number there are hardly two
> That either knows or will learn how to do
> Their duties in their places; the sole aim
> Is not for public good but private gain. (*TT*, f. 194)

Caerguent is an important theme in John Trussell's poetry, of great moral significance to him for its symbolic value. 'Caerguent' stands for a vanished past in which Winchester was governed well and selflessly, and prospered; it is opposed to its antithesis, the Winchester of modern day, which had declined so precipitously. The use of the poetic device in this poem is one piece of evidence which might suggest a later date, as the first datable example of the 'Caerguent' motif is from 1637; so if the attribution of the poem to the 1620s is correct, this is the first known use of it. In the future Caerguent will become the personified narrator of Trussell's poetry, as the eternal consciousness of the city of Winchester, so the use of it here could therefore be understood as an undeveloped form of the device.

The poem contains a very broad attack on the state of Winchester's government. Some of the faults adduced – bastardy, drunkenness, sturdy beggars, 'inmates' (strangers lodging in the city: the implication is that they are in receipt of relief) – are merely social evils which Trussell feels the corporation should be more severe in stamping out: left unchecked by the authorities, all afflicted the 'commonwealth' of the city, encouraging crime and imposing a heavy and unjustified cost on the public purse. But others are direct accusations of political corruption: "common Baxters/ Selling of bread unsized, eavesdroppers,/ Use of unlawful games are winked at here… false weights, wrong measures, and bad beams was [sic] seen/ In many a shop, but few have punished been". All in all, "the Law/ Ordained to curb Licentiousness, like straw/ Lies trodden unregarded". Amongst the accusations of elite corruption, one is especially noteworthy, as it pertains directly to an episode later in Trussell's political career:

> The Sabbath like a market day is made,
> For some to buy and sell in, and drive trade;
> And if some Aldermen and the Bailiffs use it
> The many have less colour to refuse it. (*TT*, f. 195)

During his second Mayoralty, Trussell and his brethren decreed

> that there be an ordinance made that no tradesman sell any ware upon the Sabbath day from seven of the clock in the morning until past five in the evening upon pain of xx s. to be levied and disposed of as aforesaid, this ordinance likewise to be drawn up by Mr Recorder.[15]

The implication is that this is an example of the real effect that the particular characters of the highest officers could have in practice in such an oligarchy. Trussell appears to have felt that Sunday trading was an important enough evil to warrant a new ordinance against it. The poem indicates that he ascribed the fact that this had not been done before to a concern with 'private gain' on the part of the city's elite.

There are several entries in the records of the Mayor's brethren's proceedings that can help us to contextualise Trussell's rhetoric on public good and private gain. One decision openly provides extra financial incentives to the Mayor and his officers for the mere performance of their duties:

[15] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 88.

> it is agreed by the Mayor and the more part of his brethren that over and besides the fees now yielded there shall be paid upon every judgement to be hereafter given where the Debt or Damages shall amount to the sum of six pounds thirteen shillings and iiii^{d} or above the sum of iiii^{d} upon every pound to be divided as followeth, viz. one fourth part thereof to the Mayor, ii parts thereof to Mr Recorder, the iiii$^{t[h]}$ part to the Bailiffs of the City.[16]

Another records that in 1618 the inner circle of highest-ranking officials agreed to increase the Mayor's remuneration by 50% at a stroke, because "the office of Mayoralty of this City by reason of the death and decay of some of the Company happeneth to come often, viz. to some twice and to some thrice, by reason whereof the charge and burthen thereof is greater than heretofore".[17]Evidently the oligarchs found the burden of office to be so great that they felt they needed a pay rise. In short, there does seem to have been a certain amount of private gain going on, and if their duty of service was proving to be more financially onerous than they had anticipated, the oligarchy could always find ways to make it more lucrative. But was this, too, what Trussell had in mind as 'private gain'? It is regrettable that detailed records of the Mayoral brethren's proceedings are not available for the Jacobean and Caroline years, as it would be fascinating to know in more detail how the character of civic administration changed when Trussell achieved high office.

The 1620s letters

John Trussell's rise after 1606 was gradual. He first held high office in 1616, when he served as High Bailiff under Mayor George Pemerton. Already at this stage he seems to have been thinking critically about his environment. Two letters written during a twelve month period in the early 1620s, from Christmas 1621 to the beginning of 1623, amount to a manifesto setting out Trussell's view of the way civil societies, especially cities, needed to be constituted.[18] The letters are transcribed in Appendix B. There were two separate points at issue. The first concerned the powers and privileges of the city's two Bailiffs in the Court of Record: "whether the two Bailiffs per se severally have not equal authority in

[16] Proceedings Book B (HRO: 107M88W/37), p. 33.
[17] Proceedings Book B, p. 40.
[18] The first letter was written during 'holy days' and 'presented to Mr Edward White when he was the second time Mayor'. White was elected Mayor for the second time at Michaelmas 1621 and served until the following autumn. The second letter was written on what Trussell called New Year's Day 'Anno 1622'. In it, he summarises and reaffirms what he had argued 'twelve months since' in the letter to White. Trussell naturally used Old Style dating, and, as can be seen elsewhere in the *Benefactors of Winchester* and *Touchstone of Tradition* manuscripts, referred to the first day of January as 'New Year's Day' of that year, whilst taking the actual beginning of the next year to be Lady Day (March 25). The second letter is written twelve months after the first, on January 1 of what is therefore in the New Style 1623 – placing the first letter in the 'holy days' of the previous Christmas period (December 1621-January 1622, New Style).

the Court of the City and as two distinct persons in judicature have not two distinct and several voices in giving of judgement". The dispute had actually begun prior to this, when Trussell was himself High Bailiff, and, as he admits, had thought that he and his predecessors had been denied a variety of privileges which were rightfully theirs, and had spoken "more than my share in their behalf". But he "rectified that error", having come to the opinion that a misunderstanding of the city's charter had bred "scruples without ground, which I doubt not hereafter but to remove (with conference) from others as well as from myself" (*BW*, f. 41). This dispute subsequently became associated with a second matter, namely the extent of the power of the twenty-four, which is a matter far from clear in the surviving sources.

These difficult questions are in themselves less interesting than the debate they caused within the corporation, and the approach John Trussell took in contributing to it, which was quite different from that of the other participants. His opinions on the matter are knowable to us because he preserved the letters in which he expressed them in a manuscript miscellany, his *Benefactors of Winchester* (the details of the manuscript's collation are discussed in Chapter 6). As the letters were obviously delivered to their recipients, if he was able to collate them over a decade later it seems likely that Trussell considered them important enough at the time to keep copies. The seriousness with which he took the matter is obvious enough both from this and from the tone of the letters themselves; it was an important, perhaps even formative episode for him. But these are the only record of it we possess. As so often, Trussell was operating on a quite different intellectual level to his colleagues, and, it would seem, on the basis of noticeably different assumptions.

> amongst diverse other cursory passages of speech which the last day past betwixt an Alderman and myself it pleased him by way of caution (as I took it) to say that the Mayor had a suspicion that there was some more than fitted animation given from me to those that oppose your authority… not many hours before that, one of the Bailiffs told me that I wronged my conscience when I urged their conformity… (*BW*, f. 41)

He then says that "to clear myself from the like imputations" he resolved to

> collect such observations touching moral obedience as every member of a Civil society by a double tie of oath and Duty is bound to show to the Chief Magistrate of this City pro tempore existente, and therewithal pro posse et arbitrio meo to examine the state of the question, the unseasonable moving whereof hath given just occasion to all good patriots to

> take up the words of the Prophet David and cry, I have seen (I wish it were not in the present tense) unrighteousness and strife in the city, and to shoot my bolt thereat). (*BW*, f. 41)

After this portentous introduction, we observe that at the root of Trussell's attitude is a horror of disorder and anarchy that is quite characteristic of both the man and the age:

> All Community is confusion if by order it be not kept in unity, for Order est parium impariumque aequa distributio, it is the light of decency, the beauty of Nature, the master of Arts, the Nurse of Amity and the only life of Traffic and Commerce, without which no republic, private family or City can long subsist: for as the body without the soul, the elements without light, so is that place where no Order is observed locus sempiterni horroris. Now a City is a societas civilis simul ordine vivens et cooperans, a civil society cooperating and coinhabitant in order; if then therein either supine Negligence or arrogant Ignorance, the parents of error and nurse of Disorder, be permitted to break and invert Order what can be expected but that Dissention, the step, if not the ladder to confusion, will follow. (*BW*, f. 41)

It was in order to avert these 'sempiternal horrors' which he foresaw, to reinforce the structure of legitimate government with his pen, that Trussell wrote his letter to the Mayor in 1622. The argument he presents in the letter is very religious in character, as we should expect. Saying that "the Mayor for the time being is regia authoritate the chief magistrate, the king's lieutenant", Trussell argues simply that he is entitled to the "Reverence, Obedience and willing Readiness" which are enjoined in Romans 13:12.[19] In obeying temporal authority the citizen is "not looking to the person but whom he representeth, that is the Mayor the King, the King God". This is fairly explicitly an argument for divine-right absolutism. The duty of those governed was firstly to obey their superiors as if they were God. Obedience, argued Trussell, drawing upon 1 Samuel 15:22, "is legis essentia, better than sacrifice… the dutiful performance of all things feasible and lawful, though hard and unequal, not expostulating why but doing because commanded". This was a point of central importance, so much so that in his letter to the twenty-four he reiterated in the same words "what twelve months since I but sicco calamo proposed I now positively set down… as a tenet both in religion and policy, that obedience is legis essentia, better than sacrifice" (*BW*, f. 43). None, he said,

[19] The wording in the manuscript appears to be "the Gospel Roman the 13 chapter verse 12", but it is plain from the context that Trussell must really be referring to verses 1-2 of the chapter which enjoin obedience to 'the powers that be'. Verse 12 is stirring, but not apparently to his purpose.

> but such as troubled with a pruritical itch of scratching against authority, or those that for private respects tie their tongues to the private observance of some great man's pleasure more than their duty of love to the Republic, will deny it [obedience] to be necessarily commanded.[20]

In the second letter he also introduces other essential Biblical verses justifying the divine-right authority of rulers, 1 Peter 2:15 and Romans 13:5, commenting that God "accounts himself neglected when his deputies or their delegates are resisted, opposed or neglected in any way" (*BW*, f. 44). The letter to Edward White continues by citing "a right reverend Doctor in the Church", whom he says "of late both religiously and learnedly taught… that every Christian in all his actions ought seriously to consider of the End, of the means by which that End is procured, and the efficient power that directs that means, that so by that power we might be enabled with care to see how to observe the means whereby with Judgement we might foresee how to obtain the End" (*BW*, f. 41). Unfortunately he does not name this "right reverend Doctor".

Trussell's argument draws on intellectual influences other than the Bible. The "End" which Trussell says is being pursued by all those who are sworn by "many indissoluble knots of oaths for their performance of their duties in their several places for the public good" is the peace and prosperity of the city of Winchester, "for as D. Case in his Sphera Civitatis judiciously affirmeth, Civitas quasi navis est ad instar nautarum Cives sunt etc., cities are like ships and the citizens the ship, the scope and aim of the other is or should be the Peace and Prosperity of the City" (*BW*, f. 42). John Case, the Oxford Aristotelian, was "the most important representative" in Elizabethan England of an old, but still relevant, intellectual tradition which in the judgement of one scholar constitutes the "humdrum backdrop" which the more high-profile Elizabethan literature (i.e. that to which modern taste is still amenable) has eclipsed, but which is nonetheless vital to understanding the intellectual history of the time.[21] As part of the value of a study of John Trussell's life and work is that he himself is part of this 'humdrum backdrop', it is fitting that he should

[20] Rosen glosses 'pruritical' as meaning the twenty-four were motivated by puritanism: Rosen, 'Winchester in transition', p. 161. The word simply means 'itchy' (Latin *prurire*, to itch). Trussell's reference later in the same letter to 'alehouse private *conventicles*' is admittedly suggestive. A poem in *Annalia Dubrensia* (see ch. 5) refers to Trussell stopping the "itching mouths" of puritans, suggesting this was an image in common parlance, lending further credence to Rosen's reading. But Trussell's phrase here may say more about the puritans' reputation for faction and turbulence, and Trussell's own highly negative perception of them, than the actual religious affiliation of the twenty-four. Would puritans be likely to hold 'conventicles', even political ones, in an alehouse? Perhaps not – but aggrieved (and bibulous) politicians would be more likely to choose such a venue.

[21] Charles Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 6, 12.

make reference to so conventional an authority as Case in his defence of Mayoral authority; *Sphaera Civitatis,* the source of Trussell's quotation, has been described by C. W. Brooks as "a bulwark of conventional Elizabethan political thought".[22]

We may detect here a colouring of a more modern philosophy, Lipsian neostoicism, in Trussell's worldview as well. We have already examined in an earlier chapter the evidence for the influence of Lipsius' writings on Trussell. Although it may not be at the forefront in the letter, the Lipsian influence is nevertheless there, as his quotation of the phrase *salus publica suprema lex est* indicates (*BW*, f. 42). Originally deriving from Cicero *De Legibus,* in a passage concerning the supreme military power of Roman magistrates in the field, it was quoted by Lipsius in *De Constantia*: "Ut enim moderatoribus [marginal note: Qui Deo tamen ante omnia curae] reip. salus populi suprema lex est: sic deo, mundi"*:* 'for even as unto governors of Commonwealths [which God careth for especially] the safeguard of the people is the highest law, so is the world to God'.[23] Trussell's definition of *publica* is made clear in the 1621 letter, where he opines that "Civitas ordine non multitudine consistit, it is not the multitude but the number of orderly disposed persons that make a City" – another conventional concept which is treated in greater length in Case's *Sphaera Civitatis*.[24] The 'public good' which was the 'highest law' the city's governors had to obey was therefore strictly speaking not the good of the whole community. However, if the afflictions of the multitude became too severe it might provoke riot or revolt, so in practice it was necessary to consider their good also.

The Ciceronian maxim was subsequently quoted by writers indebted to Lipsius: for example, Charron, a French neostoic, cites it in his *Of Wisdom,* justifying dissimulation and cunning on the part of rulers for the common weal (an example of the '*prudentia mixta*' controversially advised by Lipsius for princes in his *Politica*).[25] Historians of

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[22] Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers*, p. 223. Case: "Est enim civitas quasi navis, sunt instar nautarum cives, faelix navigatio veluti prudens administratio civitatis, praefectus navis quasi princeps, at alii qui diversa officia actionesque subeunt sunt tanquam hominum mutitudo, qui ad diversa munera reipublicae destinantur." - John Case, *Sphaera Civitatis* Lib. III, Capt. i. ii (London, 1588), p. 212. "For the commonwealth is like a ship, its citizens are like sailors, a happy voyage like the commonwealth's prudent administration, the captain like the sovereign, and the others with diverse duties and activities like the multitude of men who are appointed to the various employments of the republic." – Dana F. Sutton, *John Case, Sphaera Civitatis,* hypertext critical edition (University of California, 2002) [http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/sphaera/; accessed 10 September 2012].

[23] Cicero *De Legibus*, Lib. III, Capt. iii. viii, "militiae summum ius habento, nemini parent; ollis salus populi suprema lex esto". Lipsius, *De Constantia* (1586), Lib. II, Capt. xi, pp. 57-58; *On Constancy*, trans. John Stradling (London, 1594), p. 84.

[24] Case, *Sphaera Civitatis,* Lib. III, Capt. i. ii-vii.

[25] Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdom*, trans. Samson Lennard (London, 1608), p. 358; for the reference I am indebted to Adriana McCrea, *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England 1584-1650* (Canada: Toronto University Press, 1997), p. 29; for perspectives on Lipsius' political philosophy see Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the early modern state*, chs. 1-3, and Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism and Political Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), ch. 1.

neostoicism and the 'Lipsian paradigm' have considered it a political philosophy very congenial to the early modern state-form, since Lipsius recommends political participation and the *vita activa,* and depicts the ideal citizen as one who is unconcerned with temporal causes such as religious and political enthusiasm, self-possessed, disciplined, and ready to serve and fight for an autocratic ruler.[26] In Adriana McCrea's opinion, however, "the Lipsian paradigm in England… helped to maintain not the power of the state, but the idea of the state as being constituted through a body of healthy and fully participating members".[27] Both of these interpretations dovetail quite well with Trussell's use of the Ciceronian maxim, with the views he expresses in his letter to Edward White, and with the more traditional sources he uses: he borrows from John Case a classic metaphor of unity, calling the city a ship with its citizens being the sailors, and goes on to urge the mayor that "citizens should be of agreeable disposition like singers… the means of the prosperity of this city is and ought to be the indissoluble union of modest citizens". He strictly enjoins obedience on those who are in offices subordinate to the mayor, but acknowledges that "citizens must govern and obey by turns" (*BW*, ff. 41-42).

The section of the second letter in which Trussell warns the twenty-four against "prejudicate opinion" (which he elsewhere describes as "an imperfection in these times the more the pity too too frequent" – *TT*, f. 15) also has a distinctly Lipsian savour, since *opinio* ('vain opinion') in the schema set forth in *De Constantia* is the source of all inconstancy and the mother of ills, opposed by Lipsius to *ratio*, right reason, the ground of wisdom.[28] "Truth will best appear when Opinion wants eyes and suggestion ears; set therefore that aside which is but a sickness of the mind bred by the perverseness of the will and nursed by self-conceit which taketh semblances for substances and things seeming for realities" – this is Trussell, but might almost be Langius addressing Lipsius (*BW*, f. 45). The division between public and private morality on which Trussell is so insistent throughout his writing has also been claimed as a feature of the Lipsian paradigm, although Trussell uses it in a less complex way in his polemic, seeking wholly to erase private interest or a private morality from the consideration of public servants.[29] The English translation of a work by a French follower of Lipsius (published in 1598) urged: "I beseech you therefore to have more care of your country than of all the world besides, and never

[26] Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the early modern state,* p. 30.
[27] McCrea, *Constant Minds*, p. 211.
[28] See Oestreich, *Neostoicism and the early modern state,* pp. 18-19, for a useful summary of *De Constantia* Lib. II.
[29] See Natasha Constantinidou, 'Public and private, divine and temporal in Justus Lipsius' *De Constantia* and *Politica*', in *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 26, No. 3 (Wiley-Blackwell, June 2012), pp. 345-364.

prefer your particular profit before the good thereof".[30] Trussell's exhortations were, if anything, even more exacting, but along much the same lines, as we have seen.

The letter to Edward White concludes with Trussell's opinion that the Bailiffs "may in all things do as the sheriff at large may, but more authority or further extent of power the Bailiffs of this city to my best understanding cannot have, either by the charter or custom" (*BW*, f. 42). The letter to the twenty-four turns into a powerful argument for obedience, which is equally an *apologia* for Trussell himself, "forasmuch as some in public but more in private have not only not approved what I have as afore written howsoever warranted by the law of God and man, but reproved me for endeavouring to assail this question whether… those of the four and twenty which are indeed but the common counsel extraordinary should have equal power with the Aldermen in the managing of the private affairs of the city and necessary to be acquainted with the same" (*BW*, f. 43). Trussell rebukes the twenty-four, saying that they are distempering the body politic of which the Mayor is the head: "if the commons be licentious, the Bailiffs ambitious and the four and twenty pragmatical, the Mayor will be disquieted, the Magistrates troubled and the peaceable government of the city general perturbed". He also invokes the harmony of the elements "joined in symbolization" and the humours of the body. "Again God is the God of Order, and he hath appointed some to be sovereigns, some subjects" (*BW*, f. 43). Reverence, obedience and modesty before the divinely ordained authority of the Mayor are enjoined: the twenty-four should not be consumed with envy at the sight of others' preferment, or convinced that they could do better than their superiors. As well as moral force, Trussell's argument relies on reasonableness and practical realism: "what warrant is there for your alehouse private conventicles or your close consultations to make confederacies against the Mayor and his brethren… when your turn comes to possess the prime place be assured you may wish as well as any but you cannot perform more than you are able" (*BW*, f. 44). Trussell asserts that he has perused the Charter "as well in Latin as English oftener than any of you have been years of this new raised opinion, yet I confess I can find no words therein that can carry any such construction as you would enforce". (*BW*, f. 45) He concludes by asserting his hope that God "will put it in your minds on this day the first of the new year to begin a new course of more respective behaviour and love towards Mr Mayor and his brethren" (*BW*, f. 45).

Trussell's strong claims for Mayoral authority should certainly not be considered an exercise in flattery of the 'Chief Magistrate', but rather a statement of high principle.

[30] Guillaume du Vair, *The Moral Philosophy of the Stoics*, trans. Thomas James (London, 1598); see McCrea, *Constant Minds* p. 27.

We can be sure that Trussell was not writing the letter to confirm what he knew White already believed, for as we have seen, the letter was written partly in response to an apparent reprimand from White, delivered via an alderman. On the contrary, the strength of Trussell's opinions on the Mayoral office and the 'animation' of his expression of them were causing the Mayor and his officers frustration; we might speculate that Edward White's preferred means of handling disagreement and dissension among subordinates was more consensual, involving mild and politic words. Trussell, by contrast, was evidently neither a mild man nor a natural politician, and did battle with lengthy epistles, not private words in people's ears. His classical sensibility may have been one reason for this; he would have known, as I.T., the author of *The Haven of Pleasure*, puts it, that "Rhetoric or the Art of Oratory… is most needful and profitable for such as execute the office of preaching, rule in a Commonwealth, for such as are appointed to be Mayors or sheriffs in cities, and which must live among discords and strifes [and] sedition in a city and commonwealth" (*BW*, f. 42). Rhetoric was a spoken art form, but some of its principles are applicable to writing. I.T. continues, in an excellent approximation of what Trussell was clearly trying to do in his letters: "subjects… must be reclaimed from wicked enterprises to their duties by fair words, wholesome exhortations, and countenances full of gravity and constancy".[31] We may presume that, in person, Trussell was trying to maintain the latter – a "countenance full of gravity and constancy" – as well. But in his own estimation, Trussell's strategy of engagement was a failure. Underneath the end of the first letter in the *Benefactors of Winchester* manuscript is Trussell's note that it was "presented to Mr Edward White when he was the second time Mayor", and to that is appended a quotation from the second-century grammarian Terentianus Maurus*: Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli*.[32] This is written underneath his sign-off, and is likely to be a comment made by him whilst he was collecting the materials for the manuscript. If so, it is an acknowledgement – whether angry, contemptuous or just regretful – that he was not listened to.

Long afterwards Trussell continued to feel that he had been terribly hard done by during this controversy. On or around New Year's Day in 1637[33] he would write another letter to the Mayor – that winter it was Ralph Riggs, one of the Bailiffs of Edward White's Mayoralty in 1621, and if Riggs was the Bailiff who reproved him on White's order sixteen years previously, Trussell's remarks sound even more pointed and bitter. The letter glances back at the events of the early 1620s, when Trussell acknowledges he "did not

[31] I.T., *The Haven of Pleasure*, p. 26.
[32] 'Books are received according to the capacities of their readers'.
[33] Trussell, using Old Style, dated the letter 'January 1636'.

forbear (with more freedom than discretion) to tax some of ignorance, others of negligence", and proposed what he considered to be

> means to stop those breaches in Government which favour and affection (the cutthroats of Justice) in some times of election had too overtly discovered. But by so doing (as most of you know, and myself do well remember) I acquired but little thanks, and less love, for suave dictum non vere dictum favorem conciliat. And then perceiving my word and advice to have Cassandra's fate, howsoever true and profitable, yet not credited till too late, I resolved to tack about and steer a new course. (*BW*, f. 5)

He then notes that he soon abandoned his historical writings "after calling to mind that the fate of my works at that time were (and still I have cause to fear are) too liable either to misconstruction or misinterpretation or both". This directly recalls a phrase he used in the New Year's letter to the twenty-four, where he complained that "of late both my pen and tongue have undergone the hazard of misconstruction and misinterpretation" (*BW*, f. 43). It also recalls the undated poem discussed earlier. The second half of the poem consists of personal attacks on the splenetic, argumentative and hypocritical corporation-men who "but privily/ Shoot out their bolts 'gainst them whom they envy".

> They underhand will cast scandal on such
> Whom publicly they know they dare not touch.
> They know the scar of scandal will be formed
> Howe'er the cure of Innocence by found. (*TT*, f. 195)

These lines appear to affirm the connection between the poem and the episode of 1621-23 when Trussell felt himself victimised by "imputations" and the private envy and hatred of many of the freemen. The poem trails off with the complaint:

> For I cannot perceive I am beloved –
> For all my acts are misinterpreted
> My words misconstrued, and both misrepeated. (*TT*, f. 195)

The arguments he was conducting with the corporation through the medium of letters, over constitutional issues of authority and precedence, are thus tied together with the attacks he makes on them in the poem over practical issues like false weights and measures,

"inmates" and unlawful games. Taken all together, these various writings would seem to indicate Trussell's belief that there was something very rotten in the city of Winchester.

Personal resentment obviously played its part in all this. The reference in the 1637 letter to "favour and affection… in times of election" suggests that at least part of Trussell's grievance was his repeated failure to be elected Mayor. The results of the elections of the Mayor and Bailiffs were recorded in the corporation ordinance books after the Boroughmoot at which they were held. Thomas Atkinson worked out that the nature of each freeman's vote was recorded as well, by means of marks next to the names of attendees. From this he worked out that Trussell was defeated by a vote of 25-5 by William Longland in the Mayoral election of 1622, and (though the marks 'Tr' for Trussell and 'Th.' for Thorpe are difficult to distinguish) a much closer margin of 18-17 by Lancelot Thorpe the following year.[34] The year after that, however, Trussell's election as Mayor was unanimous. Probably his colleagues in the corporation never took the matter as seriously as he did. After all, Trussell was not unique in clashing with his superiors: for example, the proceedings book records that in June 1618, "whereas Anthony Bethwin, one of the company of the xxiiii[tie] of this city hath misbehaved himself both towards Mr Simon Barkesdale mayor and diverse others, viz. all of the most part of the Aldermen of the City and of other officers of the City, it is agreed that there shall be petition made for a special supplitavit for the binding of him to his good behaviour". Bethwin was released in October, "having reformed himself".[35] Such things were an inevitable part of life in a small ruling group which relied for the maintenance of its authority on a strict hierarchy of rank.

Whether or not Trussell was in a neostoic-humanist frame of mind when he wrote these letters, he was certainly not adopting a typically neostoic-humanist – that is, a Tacitean – writing style. The elevated and verbose style of the letters might be Trussell's attempt at a billowing Ciceronian eloquence, in the old fashion. Equally, it might reveal the feelings of a man who considered himself better learned than the people to whom he was writing, and sought to impress that notion upon them by browbeating them with erudition, a multiplicity of Latin phrases and massive sentences. The controversy could thus have been an opportunity for some timely self-fashioning: accused (he thought) of impropriety – by people who he felt paid him "small respect", as the poem implies – and "fearing my reputation would be made an anvil to be beat upon with two hammers… to free myself from these and like aspersions, at least wise to give cause of a better concept of my disposition in the opinion of the judicious", Trussell came out fighting in the way that

[34] Atkinson, *Stuart Winchester*, p. 45. For the election in 1622, see the Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 27; for the election of 1623, f. 30.
[35] Proceedings Book B, p. 39.

seemed best to him, by writing long, open letters to his corporation colleagues (*BW*, f. 41). As we have seen, no letters from any of the other participants stating their views on the question have survived, and we may suspect that none were written.

The first Mayoralty

The battles of the 1620s had little obvious effect on the trajectory of John Trussell's career, which continued upwards. In 1624 he was elected Mayor for the first time, entering into the office which he held in such high regard as *regia authoritate concessa*, bearing the authority of the king (*BW,* f. 43); we may imagine it was an occasion of great pride. Trussell would have sworn an oath of equal solemnity to his freeman's pledge: to "well and lawfully serve our sovereign lord the King… and the right of the king and everything to his crown belonging in the foresaid city lawfully [to] keep" – an oath which made very clear that as supreme head of the borough of Winchester, his entire duty was to the *fons et origo* of his authority – the sovereign. Trussell would also have sworn to uphold the statutes and ordinances of the city.[36]

Once thus clad in the cloak of divine authority, how did Trussell discharge his duty? The only surviving record in the corporation proceedings book of an executive decision carried out during one of Trussell's mayoralties is from 6 May 1625: "paid the said day and year to the sisters of St John's House due unto them out of Ratfen farm at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary last the sum of twenty shillings". This donation to the six almswomen of the hospital seems to have been a formality carried out every year. Although it was due on Lady Day the corporation did not convey it punctually: it was delivered in May that year, June the previous year, and April in 1620.[37] The ordinance book can tell us a little more. The ordinary business of the city carried on: the main business was, as ever, the grants of large numbers of leases of properties to members of the elite. The taxation of the city's artificers had to be carried out by Mayoral authority, and there was also a regular trickle of decisions to be made as to which among the poor and needy were worthy to be placed in St John's Hospital or Peter Symonds Hospital upon the death of incumbent almsmen – or, more happily, upon their departure to be bound apprentice to a freeman, as in one case in 1625.[38]

In a term lasting one year, there was little chance that a Mayor could make a meaningful contribution to solving the problems of poverty and the decay of trade simply

[36] First Book of Ordinances, f. 94.
[37] Proceedings Book B, p. 41.
[38] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 38.

by means of strong leadership, and there is no evidence that Winchester's political elite conceived of such a possibility. One aspect of the crisis which certainly came to Mayor John Trussell's attention during 1624-25 was the problem of 'strangers'. A petition of Thomas Bedham, goldsmith, "to the Right Worshipful John Trussell, gent., Mayor of the City of Winchester, William Savage, Recorder, and the Aldermen of the said City" illustrates this problem.[39] Bedham was well-connected, being the son of an elder Thomas Bedham, one of the oligarchy in the previous generation (also a goldsmith), and determinedly played up his consequent entitlements.[40] He complained that "being born and bred within this city, son of Thomas Bedham late Alderman here, having served his said father as an Apprentice according to the law in that behalf" he had the right to "enjoy the liberties and privileges hereof in his art of a Goldsmith". But, he said, in defiance of the laws and ordinances of the city,

> your petitioner's living is taken away by one Thomas Friend, who never serving within the said City presumeth to set up his said trade of a Goldsmith within the same, and one Ralph Williams who having never been Apprentice to that art undertaketh to work at that trade upon rings and other instruments.

Bedham asserted that he had "not sold 8 rings since Easter last", urged Trussell and his officers to "suppress these bold intruders".[41]

This was the tip of the iceberg. The freemen of the Guild of Winchester were at risk of being undercut and ruined by traders from outside the city. Naturally, they cracked down on immigration. Mayor Edward White had already issued (6 August 1622) a lengthy ordinance, of a kind that is rarely found in the ordinance books of the era, against "strangers… using any trade or occupation in the City of Winchester, whereby there is likely to grow great prejudice to the freemen and inhabitants thereof". It became illegal for any stranger who had not served an apprenticeship in the city or become a freeman to "keep or set up shop to sell any kind of wares… nor to use any manner of trade, mystery or occupation" upon pain of forfeiture of all such wares – and if they obstinately persisted, forfeiture of "40s of lawful English money".[42] Inhabitants were forbidden to suffer any stranger in their houses or shops to use any trade. Thomas Friend the alien goldsmith is actually mentioned by name in this ordinance. But, as Bedham's petition two years later shows, the law was not successful in driving him away. Even with the judicial machinery

[39] HRO: W/D3/58.
[40] Bedham the younger was Mayor of Winchester 1608-09. His will is HRO: 1615A/06.
[41] HRO: W/D3/58.
[42] Fourth Book of Ordinances, ff. 25-26.

of the city at their command, the oligarchy were not always able to defend their privileges efficiently. That Friend and Williams were able to take away Bedham's trade with such success, and resist the efforts of the corporation to deal with them, rather implies that they were significantly more economically competitive than Bedham, either because their product was much cheaper or because they were simply better goldsmiths. Perhaps this is why they were able to cling on: the authorities were willing to overlook the letter of the law because they ended up with better goods. With John Trussell's accusations against them in the *Touchstone* manuscript poem in mind, this is not unbelievable.

As fate would have it, there was to be an intrusion of matters still graver into this mayoralty. Halfway through Trussell's term, in March 1625, King James I died. Trussell wrote a historical account of the ensuing events in the final section of his *Touchstone of Tradition*:

> Notice being brought to the city of Winchester… to the then Mayor thereof, he instantly convoked an assembly, and there concluded on a form of a proclamation which he sent unto the knights and gentlemen of the county drawn together upon the report, which being by them with a little addition approved of and returned him, the next day was at the market place of that city in the presence of a great company of people thus proclaimed. (*TT*, f. 191)

The proclamation was well fitted to the occasion, informing the assembled company with suitable gravitas that "the right and title unto the imperial diadem of these kingdoms and all other his royal dominions are by lineal descent rightfully devolved and come unto the most hopeful, high and mighty prince Charles… And to him we willingly and freely in all respective obedience submit ourselves and humbly pray that God will long keep and preserve him to rule and reign over us. God save King Charles" (*TT*, f. 192). The beginning of a new reign was always a momentous occasion, and to have been in the highest office at the time when a new sovereign succeeded to the crown – the source of Mayoral and all other devolved authority – must have been a solemn honour. Trussell also recorded the proclamation of Charles in his *Benefactors of Winchester* miscellany, assembled years afterwards, with his own name heading a list of the assembled company of freemen and other notables of the city before whom it was read (*BW*, f. 6). It was something to be proud of: an occasion of great change, yet simultaneously one on which the timeless bonds which held society together – the bonds of hierarchy and nationhood – were visibly reaffirmed.

Charles I was swiftly married to Henrietta Maria of France by proxy, and the new queen arrived that summer in a country about to be ravaged by the worst plague for many years. For her own safety she embarked on a tour of England, arriving at Winchester on 19

August. The plague was nevertheless as bad there as anywhere, with as many as one fifth of the population of at least one parish eventually succumbing.[43] At the Boroughmoot that summer Trussell ordered the venue of that year's Mayoral election to be moved from St John's House to the Guildhall, "by reason of the infection which is now in St John's House". At the same moot order was made that a decayed cottage "wherein Leonard Andrews did dwell (he lately dying of the plague) shall be burned to the ground for fear of the danger of infection".[44] The occasion was historic, and the circumstances could hardly have been worse. As Trussell recorded in the *Touchstone of Tradition* more than twenty years later, "the time of the notice of her coming being so short… nothing on such a sudden could fittingly be provided. And the danger of the pestilence, then much raging in the city and neighbour places [was so great] that with assurance of safety nothing could be sent for" (*TT*, f. 192).

Making the best of it, Trussell delivered a short oration to her which he reproduced verbatim in the *Touchstone* – perhaps from notes he had kept, but equally possibly from memory. He apologised fulsomely for the paucity of their greeting, and begged that she might return at a time when the city would be better able to receive her according to her desert: "and in the mean time we shall not cease with all the faculties of our soul and body to pray to the giver of all good gifts that he would be pleased to multiply his graces upon your gracious majesty, that Mary, Great Britain's greater Empress, may be found upon Earth, amongst us, her humblest vassals, as good and gracious as the most blessed Virgin Mary is in Heaven amongst the saints great and glorious" (*TT*, f. 193). Once concluded, the entire speech was repeated to Henrietta Maria in French by her interpreter. Undismayed by the poverty of the reception or the danger of her situation, and no doubt touched by the graciousness of his greeting, the queen charmed Trussell utterly.

> Contented as if we have presented her with ten hundred thousand crowns [she] presently plucked off her glove and gave her hand to the Mayor to kiss, and upon his request to all the Aldermen. And so being conducted to the confines of the city liberty which is the great stone beyond the water without Kingsgate, the Mayor told her Majesty he durst not carry the ensign of authority any further. She with a merry countenance said "Adieu, prefect", and, the coach turning, she ingeminated the word "Adieu, adieu, prefect", and so was carried to Wolvesey where she remained two nights. And then departed at pleasure, where I leave her to enjoy it in full measure here on earth and pray for the perfect consummation thereof in Heavenly Jerusalem. (*TT*, 194)

[43] Rosen, 'Winchester in transition', p. 156.
[44] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 42.

Subsequently many of the elite fled the city as the pestilence increased. But this was a happy note on which to end a Mayoralty, even so; plague came and went often enough, but this royal visit would live in Trussell's memory forever. Alas, the memory became bittersweet: by the time he committed it to writing, it had become clear that no 'full measure' of happiness would befall the queen, or her husband, while they were yet on earth.

'Diverse affronts and abuses'

Having fulfilled the responsibilities of Mayoral office once, and having in consequence begun to be numbered among the Mayor's brethren, Trussell was now firmly a part of the higher echelon, despite any enmity there may still have been between Trussell and the corporation colleagues after the fractious '20s. By the early 1630s Trussell's importance in the corporation of Winchester was sufficiently high that we find he was accommodating visiting county justices of the peace at his home. This is revealed by an account of an episode which again highlights his tendency to become embroiled in arguments with other members of the governing class – and again, over issues which he clearly understood as being to do with principle, but which were understood very differently by the other participants. A record of the Hampshire Quarter Sessions, dated 2 October 1632, records that:

> John Trussell gent. hath lately offered diverse affronts and abuses to His Majesty's Justices of the Peace of this County, as well here in Court sitting on the Bench as also to many of them in private, since the last Quarter Sessions holden for this County, by very unseemly speeches and uncivil behaviour towards them as they themselves have here now affirmed.

Thomas South, Esq., affirmed that Trussell, while acting in his capacity as an attorney in South's courtroom, "used some unfitting speeches to one that then came to give evidence. Being there reproved for it by Mr. South, he, the said John nevertheless thereupon in a very affronting and unseemly manner threatened the said witness that he would hear of it elsewhere". John Button, Esq., further testified that, himself "coming to Winchester to Trussell's house, where the Judges then lodged, the said John spoke these words – 'You,

Mr. Button, should have done well to have spoken the truth and not to have testified an untruth'".[45]

For an attorney to flout the authority of a Justice of the Peace "in the Court sitting on the Bench" did indeed fly in the face of the rule of law, which, as Fletcher notes, "the proceedings of sessions… embodied and gave expression to".[46] Therefore it is understandable that Mr South and Mr Button took the matter so seriously, although perhaps in both cases the judges' outrage was sharpened by the fact of two 'Esqs.' having been insulted by a mere 'gent.' The court took an equally dim view, since Trussell's "said ill carriage and abuses do tender to the apparent affront of Justice and to the evil example of other if some condign and exemplary punishment be not inflicted on him". Trussell was bound over to be of good behaviour, and was furthermore "suspended and barred of his practice in pleading as an attorney". The consequences of this appear to have been far-reaching. At the next Sessions in early 1633 an order was made "for the suppressing of attorneys or to plead or move at Sessions":

> upon consideration of the dignity of this court and of the respect that ought to be given unto counsels at law who usually here attend and are but seldom employed by reason that attorneys and others under the degree of barristers are suffered to make motions and to plead in causes as Counsel to the disesteem of said Counsels and whereby other inconveniencies have happened which ought not to be this court doth therefore think fit and order that from henceforth no attorney or other under the degree of a barrister shall be permitted or suffered to make any motion or to plead in any cause as Counsel at this or at any other quarter sessions here or elsewhere to be holden for this county so as there be barristers present at such sessions and may be retained to do and perform the same...[47]

The reference to "other inconveniences" may well be a reference to undignified events like Trussell's outbursts. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the justices might have seized on this as an excuse to exclude, not just Trussell, but attorneys in general from their courtrooms as far as they possibly could. There was a drive towards increasing professionalisation of legal practice at this time, although C. W. Brooks comments that "since barristers were more nearly the social equals of the gentry magistrates who sat on commissions of the peace than were the attorneys, orders such as these are more likely to have been the product of social prejudice than of any deep concern about professional

[45] HRO: Q1/2, f. 45.
[46] Fletcher, *Reform in the Provinces*, p. 87.
[47] HRO: Q1/2, f. 50.

qualifications".[48] If that is so, it is ironic that John Trussell, a proud gentleman himself, but still uncouth and provincial in the eyes of South and Button, may have been the means for the exclusion of attorneys from Quarter Sessions, a reform which "deprived poorer members of local communities of relatively cheap legal services".[49] The affair did Trussell's standing in the city of Winchester little harm, though, as he was elected Mayor for the second time for the following year (1633-34).[50] That Mayoralty was largely business as usual.

The corporation poems of 1637

Trussell did not cease to engage critically with the political establishment, however comfortably he was now a part of it. In the 1630s, however, Trussell's engagement was less confrontational, and made use of a different medium. The letter to Mayor Ralph Riggs, written at New Year, 1637, has already been mentioned. During the same free hours as that letter was composed, Trussell also spent some time composing poems, which are preserved in the *Benefactors of Winchester* manuscript immediately before the letter, occupying folio 4. There are a total of eighteen poems, under the heading "*Anno 1636 Caroli 12o/ In adventum / novi anni / Maiorem Recordatorem/ Aldermanes & / Ballivos/ Quamvetustae huius Civitatis / olim Caerguent, modo / Winchester / Ita / alloquitur eiusdem Loci / Genius*". Fifteen are addressed to the corporation's officers of that year (1636-37). The final three poems are marked 1643, 1644 and undated, respectively, and are addressed to the Mayors of the years 1643-44 (Richard Brexton), 1644-45 (William Longland, Jnr.), and 1646-47 (Robert Mathewe). These must have been added to the main body after those men's elections (note that the year 1645-46 is missing). There is a complicating factor: the first poem, directly underneath the heading dated '*Anno 1636*', is addressed to Ralph Riggs, and reads

> Honour with full sheaves thrice hath filled thy hand
> And of this City given thee free command.
> Oh, make not power the stalking horse to will,
> But use them both to root out growing ill,
> So God shall have the praise, this City peace;

[48] Brooks, *Pettyfoggers and Vipers*, p. 191.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 86

Virtue shall propagate, and Vice decrease.[51]

Next to the poem is a date: "AD 1645". Ralph Riggs was Mayor in 1636-37 for only the second time, not the third. He was Mayor for the third time in 1645-46. The 1645 date cannot mean that that poem and all the subsequent ones date from that year. Trussell would not have written the heading – in which he makes plain that the presiding 'Genius' of the city of Winchester is now going to address the corporation '*Ita*' (thus) – back in 1636, only to wait until 1645 before supplying the poems; that would also make the poems and the letter which follows them in the manuscript appear out of chronological sequence. What therefore appears to have happened is that Trussell wrote the main body in 1637, and then from 1643 onwards began composing poems to mark the elections of new Mayors. In 1645, when Ralph Riggs, the Mayor of 1636-37, was re-elected, Trussell added the date "AD 1645" to the first poem in the section, which he had originally composed nine years before, because he found that it still suited his purpose; he also amended the first line, which originally read 'twice hath filled thy hand', to make it say 'thrice' (this emendation can be observed in the manuscript). This in itself is revealing, as it suggests that Trussell was no longer expecting his dedicatees – or Riggs, at least – to read or hear his poems, since otherwise he would have been likely to compose a new one, not insult Riggs with a recycled poem. The next year, he wrote the poem to Robert Mathewe underneath the others.

Trussell, in the persona of 'Caerguent', offers pointed advice to his colleagues, in the form of maxims on the theme of civic virtue and public-spirited conduct, effectively summed up by the couplet addressed '*Ad omnes*': "Citizens *simul et per se* must strive/ In the common cause to be superlative". The usual insistence on public virtue versus private interest is present; Joseph Butler, an Alderman, was cautioned: "If Joseph Jacob's blessing will expect/ The public good, not gain, he must respect". And William Longland was enjoined: "Let public votes from private ends be free;/ Seek what is good for the most, not best for thee". Likewise Richard Brexton: "Affect the public not the popular cause;/ Affection, Judgement from the right withdraws". Other poems seem to criticise faults in their recipients; for example, Stephen Osborne, Bailiff, whose couplet suggests that Trussell considered him a man of undue levity: "The common cause craves not a thriving wit;/ What elsewhere may be lawful, there's not fit". To John Lisle, the Recorder, Trussell offered both praise and an exhortation to apply himself with more dedication to his duty:

[51] 'Make not power the stalking horse to will': in hunting, a stalking horse is a horse used as cover by the hunter to protect himself from being seen by his prey. Trussell's phrase means 'do not misuse your power as a cover for merely acting according to your own will'. The point, as always, is that the Mayor should act for the public good, not in his private interest.

As from an Oracle with Devotion here
Your Answers are attended, oh, appear
More frequent in th'assemblies: your wished presence
Would curb presumption, Cherish Innocence,
And make those rules of Order be revised
Neglect of which makes Magistrates despised.

It is impossible to say exactly what Trussell did with these poems, but the directness and personal nature of the first fifteen poems makes it difficult to believe that they, at least, were not intended to be either read by, or read aloud to, the subjects; otherwise, their pronounced didacticism would go to waste. Making a copy of each poem on paper and just handing it to the recipient would have lacked a certain punch; copying out the entire corpus of poems for every recipient is possible, would have been more impressive, but also time-consuming and a rather strenuous effort, even if Trussell hired a scribe to do it. If, instead, they were to be delivered orally, it would be both efficient and attention-grabbing to disseminate them to all of the subjects at once; if this happened, one of the Boroughmoots of early 1637, when all the recipients of poems were gathered together at St John's House or the Guildhall, would be the most natural setting for this. What is being posited, then, is a public 'performance' at which Trussell presented the harvest of his wisdom to his colleagues, using the poetic device of an address by the genius of the city they all served; a performance located on a familiar 'stage' at the heart of political Winchester, one of the corporation's regular meeting-houses. This possibility is reinforced by the couplet '*Ad John Trussell, 4th Aldermanum*': "Tax thou not others wherein they offend,/ But learn by their faults, how thine own to mend". The device of an address by the Genius of Caerguent can be read as part of Trussell's new, more conciliatory, strategy, as it interposes an impersonal force in between Trussell and his criticisms of his colleagues; this couplet, as well as wittily maintaining the fiction that the entire corporation, Trussell included, is being addressed, is another way of defusing potential offence, and even as a piece of ironic, self-effacing humour, playing on the reputation he must still have had as a turbulent, hyper-critical and 'taxing' colleague. As such, it would work best in the collegiate setting envisioned here.

This is quite an extraordinary scene to imagine – a member of an early seventeenth-century civic oligarchy standing up in a meeting and reading out a selection of exhortatory moral poems to his colleagues, some of them quite biting! It can only be regarded as a possibility, as there is no proof that this occurred. Even if he attempted to, he may not have

been able to carry it out; we may question how willing the rather more prosaic-minded oligarchs would have been to listen. But the character of John Trussell, a man not shy of drawing his colleagues' attention onto himself in theatrical ways, means it is not impossible that he tried to do it. The letters of the early 1620s, let us recall, do not seem to have been successful in swaying hearts and minds: *pro captu lectoris,* &c. It is possible to imagine a mindset which would regard a public poetry recital as the logical next step up from letter-writing. There is no precise classical model for poetry of this form or function (unless it is the epigram; Trussell had read Martial), but a close parallel which shared the pithy, moralistic and didactic quality of Trussell's short verses is the verse translation of Aesop's fables by William Barret, printed in 1639: the morals appended to each fable, like Trussell's 'morals', are short verses of six, four, or even two lines, which express a key concept, e.g.:

> Affect not empty titles, nor the light
> And windy praises of the Parasite:
> For they for their own ends do most applaud,
> Which being obtain'd, they slight whom they defraud.[52]

> If Fortune raise thee to a high degree
> Of bearing rule, let not thy actions be
> Too much severe; but such, as Justice may
> Command the Vulgar truly to obey;
> Lest Fortune change, and thou (of friends forlorn)
> Become to thy Inferiors a scorn.[53]

Poetry, after all, was generally conceived of as having a moral purpose. Usually this was in the context of children's education, but it could have a wider relevance, as *The Haven of Pleasure* indicates: "Neither do the delights of these studies stir up the minds and courages of young men, but is [sic] also of great use with the ancient, if at any time they have leisure to breathe themselves from their business abroad and to cease from their serious and weighty affairs elsewhere".[54] D. L. Clark cites a passage in a well-known classical source, Aristophanes' *The Frogs*, which represents the social, indeed civic, value of a poet: "'[for] his wise counsels and because he trains the townsfolk to be better citizens and worthier

[52] William Barret, *The fables of AEsop With his whole life: translated into English verse, and moralliz'd* (London, 1639), Fab. 11.
[53] Barret, *The fables of AEsop*, Fab. 12.
[54] I.T., *The Haven of Pleasure*, p. 22.

men'".[55] Obviously the type of poetry that is being referred to by these writers is not the kind Trussell was writing in 1637, but rather the greats of the classical canon. But the principle of poetry as moral education, appropriate not only for children, but also fitted for adult men as a training in public affairs, was not beyond Trussell's conceptual horizons. He was therefore able to apply it in Winchester according to his own capacities.

[55] Donald Lemen Clark, *Rhetoric and poetry in the Renaissance: a study of rhetorical terms in English Renaissance literary criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922), pp. 104-105.

4. ‘My endeavours in that kind’: Trussell the antiquary 1625-1641

The oath John Trussell took upon becoming a freeman “to be whole and true man to the City of Winchester”, which began the last chapter, could also stand at the head of this. It was the inspiration of this oath which, as he records it, prompted him to embark upon the antiquarian endeavours which constitute the main bulk of his writings in the last two decades of his life, which are the most literarily productive period of all. Judging from Trussell’s recollection (see Appendix B), the process of writing up his historical investigations into Winchester’s history seems to have commenced in the late 1620s or early 1630s. After the failure of his efforts to undertake moral reform of the government in his first term as Mayor, Trussell says he resolved instead to pursue his aim of doing something “for the good and honour of this city” by writing a volume which would

> show what I had found authentically recorded concerning the Antiquity, Beauty, and estimation of this so much decayed City, together with respect and dignity (long before the Norman conquest) given to the Guild of Merchants thereof, which in this City had their primitive Institution, and from which all other places of this kingdom took example. (*BW*, f. 5)

Around the beginning of 1633 (“four years since” at the time of writing) Trussell was ready to present the resulting work to his chosen recipient, John Paulet, Marquess of Winchester. The manuscript now known as *The Origin of Cities* still reflects Trussell’s first intent, containing a subheading under the title which reads “offered to the view of the no less illustrious than noble John Lord Marquess of Winchester” (*Origin*, f. 2). However, Trussell recalled that he “durst not prosecute that my intendment until my endeavours in that kind might be by consent allowed or otherwise determined of”. He therefore presented the manuscript to the city’s then governors for their approval. But, “in all this time that desire of mine not deriving an answer, either public or private”, as he complained in 1637, he “declined further proceeding in that course”. An interesting parallel, mentioned by Peter Clark, is Sir Thomas Widdrington of York, whose civic history was icily received by the corporation there in the 1660s: “You have told us… what this city was and what our predecessors have been; we know not what this may have of honour in it, sure we are it has

but little of comfort… a good purse is more useful to us than a long story".[1] It is easy to imagine that the corporation of Winchester shared this view; preoccupation with the difficulties of the present is certainly a likely enough explanation for their lack of interest in Trussell's endeavours. In any case, there matters stood as regards the *Origin of Cities*, until Trussell took it up again in the following decade, retouching what he had already written and adding a further three books, giving to the whole the title of *Trussell's Touchstone of Tradition*.[2]

Trussell did not abandon the antiquarian enterprise in the mid-1630s, despite the humiliating lack of interest in the *Origin*; rather, the subsequent decade saw the commencement of three more works, one of which went through two editions on the London presses. Trussell's *Continuation* of Samuel Daniel's *History of England* was printed in 1636 and again in 1641; it finds Trussell turning away, perhaps, from the frustrations of the awkward local circumstances which had sabotaged his Winchester history, to the grander national stage. A continuation of Daniel, from the end of the reign of Edward III where Daniel left off to the end of Richard III, was a large and rather presumptuous undertaking, yet it succeeded well enough to be printed with Daniel's original throughout the rest of the century.[3] The success of the *Continuation* must have made the Winchester elite's indifference to Trussell's earlier efforts all the more contemptible in his eyes. The mid-1630s also found Trussell beginning the compilation of his manuscript miscellany, *The Benefactors of Winchester*. This work would not be completed until the very end of Trussell's life, but it started with the intention described in his epistle to Ralph Riggs which stands as an introduction to the collection: "that your successors may find and your worship see I have not altogether deserted my primary resolution". Some of the letters and poems which Trussell collated in the *Benefactors* manuscript have already been discussed in the previous chapter; however, the main part of it is an account of charitable benefactions to the city of Winchester, together with other historical material and late poems, and these will receive more detailed discussion in the chapters that follow.

The end of the decade was taken up with another work, Trussell's *Epitome of the Forest Laws.* The Bodleian Library holds two manuscripts containing this work, and it is

[1] Peter Clark, 'Visions of the Urban Community: Antiquarians and the English City before 1800', in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, ed. by Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1983), pp. 105-124, at p. 117.
[2] A note on the manuscript dated 1644 refers to a "copy of the first part of my collection", which could mean that there was another manuscript in existence, but on balance is more likely to be referring to the original MS *Origin* as a 'copy' of what by that time was Trussell's main draft of the history in the *Touchstone.*
[3] Including the editions printed by E. G. for John Williams (London, 1650), and by F. Leach for Richard Chiswell, Benjamin Tooke, and Thomas Sawbridge (London, 1685).

reasonable to assume that one is an earlier draft of the later. The first is rougher, has no flyleaf, dedication, epigraph or other prefatory material, and is headed 'An Epitome of the Laws of the Forest'.[4] The second of the two, dated 1639, has been bound in between two other, unconnected works on the laws of the forest, has prefatory material including a dedication, and has the title *An Epitome of the Forest Laws*.[5] It was not published, although a note on the first page shows that it was intended to be. The work is what its title suggests, a long descriptive summary of the history of forest laws and the institutions and personnel which govern royal forests. Both the *Origin of Cities* (ff. 62-4) and the *Touchstone of Tradition* (ff. 80-90) contain a summary of the forest laws beginning with Canute, but whereas the *Origin* version simply contains Canute's laws and concludes "so much for the laws of the forest", the *Touchstone* version is expanded in a long digression up to the present day. Trussell's interest therefore predated the writing of the *Epitome*, but his knowledge had considerably expanded after writing it, so that when he revisited his earlier passage for the *Touchstone* he was able to discuss the matter in greater detail.

Taking these three works as its basis, this chapter will consider several aspects of Trussell's historical and antiquarian writings. The first half will discuss their general characteristics and the most notable attitudes and ideology which they display, together with some consideration of contemporary writers and their works, and the sources Trussell used. The second half of the chapter will locate Trussell more securely within his period context through an examination of the personal and literary networks in which he sought to participate through his writing.

Characteristics and ideology of Trussell's historical works

The seventeenth century was a great age of antiquarianism. This endeavour, as its historian Graham Parry remarks, "had a heroic quality to it".[6] The word 'antiquarianism' may pose a problem at the outset, however. Parry applies it to the works of Camden, Verstegan and Selden, meaning by it essentially work that was (as he says of the *Britannia*) "conducted on sound historical principles, using ancient sources whose reliability could be established, [and] reviewed the evidences of antiquity with an unbiased critical judgement".[7] J. E. Curran uses 'antiquary' in opposition to an older type, the 'monumental historian', whom (with particular reference to Michael Drayton) he characterises as unwilling to accept a

[4] John Trussell, *An Epitome of the Laws of the Forest*, Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.e.344.
[5] John Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS. Eng.hist.d.242.
[6] Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: University Press, 2007), p. 1.
[7] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 3.

truth that the antiquary embraces, namely "that there is a point in history beyond which he knows nothing".[8] Some, however, might envision the endeavour of seventeenth-century antiquarianism in a more negative way, as a blind and pointless excursion through what Trussell himself called "the rosemary thicket of antique history" (*Origin,* f. 118). And indeed, there was another side of the seventeenth-century antiquarian boom. Much of the work done by antiquaries of the era is in the form of 'collections' like Thomas Jekyll's or Roger Dodsworth's; huge, sprawling miscellanies of notes on, or sometimes just lists of names of, manors and titles, armigerous gentry and their alliances, and many other topics.[9] Vast volumes of this type of thing now sit, rarely read and sometimes scarcely readable, in archives up and down the land. Justice demands that we be fair to the compilers of these volumes, who were not writing them to be published or even to be interesting to anyone except themselves; their antiquarian tomes were tools and *aides-mémoire,* as well as expressions of personal interests. But because, as Parry regrets, even the great antiquarian works of the era "now lie… dusty and neglected on library shelves", it is understandable that modern readers would not draw this distinction.[10] Nevertheless, there is a real difference between John Trussell's endeavours and the efforts of Jekyll *et al*. Trussell fought his way through that thicket, "without help of guide or companion, fellow or friend" in the hope, and expectation, of finding "cornfields".

Nevertheless, he was not 'heroic' in the sense that Camden and Selden were, either. As we shall see, he is not representative of the approach and methodology characteristic of the man he always referred to as his 'master', Camden. There was nothing revolutionary about his endeavours. In Daniel Woolf's opinion "early modern antiquarianism possessed in spades conservative and anti-innovative inclinations".[11] Whether this is really true of the likes of Camden and Selden is debateable at best, but it is more true to say it of John Trussell. Trussell seems to have seen himself as part of a continuing tradition of history-writing, a member of a brotherhood that spanned time: he closes a historiographical dispute about the foundation of London with "a rhyme made by my brother Robert Fabyan, a true chronologer and an Alderman thereof" (*TT,* f. 26). This feeling of brotherhood should be understood as referring to their common status as aldermen of their cities, as well as to their mutual status as writers of history. Nevertheless, it is in a way appropriate that Trussell felt such a connection to Fabyan, the chronicler, because his historical method was,

[8] Curran, 'The History Never Written', p. 500.
[9] Some of Thomas Jekyll's volumes are: Bodleian Library, MSS Rawl. B. Essex 9, 12; British Library Add. MSS 19985-9. Some of Roger Dodsworth's collections are Bodleian Library MSS Dodsw. 1-160. There are many more in these libraries alone, and many other antiquaries whose similar material is preserved there.
[10] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 1.
[11] Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 163.

in one sense, closer to Fabyan's than it was to that of his own contemporaries. Trussell's feeling of brotherhood with Fabyan must be because they were both 'chronologers' of *place* – Fabyan was a London historian, and Trussell's motivation for writing history, as he makes explicit, was to put his beloved city of Winchester in her rightful place at the centre of national history.

The *Origin of Cities* was written in the gap between two periods identified by Alan Dyer as particularly productive of town chronicles: the period which "really flowers under Elizabeth and James I", and the period from the Interregnum to the early eighteenth century".[12] Superficially it could be argued that Trussell's history of Winchester owes something to the chronicle tradition, with its localist focus and long lists of mayors and bailiffs, marquesses and bishops of Winchester. Other town ex-mayors and aldermen made chronicles, and Dyer argues that such men were "accustomed to identifying [themselves] with the whole urban community", something which is emphatically true to say of Trussell.[13] Trussell's concern, however, is more with the intersection of national and local history that with purely local events, and he eschews the inundations, monstrous births, commodity prices, and notable crimes which chroniclers frequently recorded. It must also be pointed out that no Winchester chronicle survives from the early modern period, unlike for more than twenty other towns listed by Dyer; thus there is no evidence of any Winchester chronicle tradition for Trussell to be indebted to. Another important difference is that town chronicles are "often anonymous, the author allowing himself to be absorbed by the collective personality of the town he loves".[14] John Trussell could never have been content with anonymity; his authorial persona is perpetually at the forefront of his histories.

Although announcing itself as a historical enquiry into the first use of cities as habitations, and in particular of four English cities (London, York, Chester and Winchester), the *Origin of Cities* was always partly an engagement with the pressing problem of Winchester's decline, as described in previous chapters. York and Chester, in particular, are hardly referred to, and in the *Touchstone of Tradition* this is even more obvious. In his opening remarks Trussell addresses the vexing question of places

> whose seat being by the prince's gracious favour endowed with large liberties, enclosed with high walls, beautified with fair buildings, with plenty of trade replenished, and entitled with all advantages and commodities which the neighbourhood of the seas can afford… and being ennobled by… the honorary title of an Earl… dare cast amongst the

[12] Alan Dyer, 'English Town Chronicles', in *Local Historian* vol. 12, no. 6 (1977), pp. 285-292, at p. 286.
[13] Dyer, 'English Town Chronicles', p. 286.
[14] Ibid.

> rest their gauntlet, as a gage to maintain their challenge of title to the first place in rank (*Origin* f. 7).

This is surely targeted at nearby Southampton, which appeared to be flourishing even as Winchester decayed. But Trussell then affirms (not bothering to maintain the pretence that he is speaking generally) that he has examined the city records and found "their title upon their own records to be but villa without the addition of regia"; and that

> if at any time for trial of their original they shall be enforced to show [their primitive grants] they shall appear so naked of reverend Antiquity (the only true glory of cities) that they will be contented to stay for better prescription till time have altogether buried their elders in oblivion; and in the mean time they must allow Cities, how poor and decayed so ever, all the advantage of Honour and Respect in place that reverend Antiquity (which to them in their height of jollity may seem but rust and rottenness) can afford to be bragged of by old age. (*Origin*, f. 7)

Trussell goes on to describe the main objective of his endeavour, which is "to express and expatiate such things as in my poor reading I have observed to occur with the beginning, beauty and honour of that truly ancient City, which now hangs down its head and at this day presents herself tanquam Carthaginis cadaver, a body without a soul, wherein hardly now remaineth any matter of moment" (*Origin*, f. 8). One of the points he set out to prove was that it was Winchester, not (as most scholars believed) London, "should have the precedence of being incorporated before any other place", and therefore was the first place to be dignified with the office of a Mayoralty (*Origin*, f. 99). Trussell adduced as evidence the "many ledger books remaining in the council house of [Winchester]" (*TT*, f. 131) for his contention that the Mayoralty of Winchester had been instituted by 1187, whereas London's was not recorded before 1209 (*Origin*, f. 99). There is a list appended to the *Touchstone of Tradition* purporting to record every Mayor and Bailiff of the city of Winchester since 1187 which reinforces this point.

However, as his *Continuation* of Daniel clearly shows, Trussell's historical horizons were national. The *Touchstone of Tradition*, also, is what its title claims: a work which sets out to show the truth of Winchester's involvement in national historical affairs. Furthermore, Trussell's 'Epistle to the Reader' in the *Continuation* has the appearance of a self-congratulation on his adoption of a sophisticated, modern, discriminating historical method:

> I have pared off these superfluous exuberances, which like Wens upon a beautiful face, disgrace the otherwise beautiful comeliness of the countenance, I mean,
>
> 1. Matters of ceremony, as Coronations, Christenings, Marriages, Funerals, solemn Feasts, and such like.
> 2. Matters of Triumph, as Tiltings, Maskings, Barriers, Pageants, Gallefoists, and the like.
> 3. Matters of Novelty, as great inundations, sudden rising and falling of prices of Corn, strange Monsters, justice done on petty offenders, and suchlike executions…
>
> (*Continuation*, 'Epistle to the Reader')

Here, as Richard Helgerson observes in his illuminating discussion of the passage, we find Trussell adopting the role of a humanist historian, following the example of Camden and his followers; the passage is probably a deliberate elaboration on such statements as Camden's "digressions I have avoided", in his *Annales*.[15] Trussell is basically consistent in this; in his unpublished works, too, he displays no interest in monsters, inundations, petty offenders, or even triumphs and ceremonies for the most part.

A matter of great local interest in Winchester which Trussell did write about was Guy of Warwick's legendary fight with Colbrand the giant, champion of the Danes, a combat which supposedly occurred outside Winchester's north walls in the reign of Athelstan. The legend deserved to be taken seriously, because a tower named after Colbrand still stood in the north walls overlooking a field called 'Denmark mead', and in it "the picture of a great and a little man cut in stone remaineth at this day" (*Origin*, f. 50). One of Trussell's main sources for this episode was a manuscript (presumably of Winchester College) given to him by his late uncle, John Harmar. Daniel Woolf regards Trussell's treatment of the story in the *Origin of Cities* as an "attempt by learned culture to reduce figures of popular legend to the order of history", standing in contrast to other treatments, and to reinforce the distinction he cites a ballad of Guy which displays no regard to actual chronology.[16] Woolf's view must be understood in the context of his arguments elsewhere that the early modern period saw five key transitions in historical thinking. These included a new readiness to concede the unknowable, combined with a more sophisticated awareness of what was real and what was probable; and the emergence of boundaries between different genres of writing about the past, of which "History"

[15] William Camden, *Annals, or, The history of the most renowned and victorious princess Elizabeth, late Queen of England* (London, 1635), quoted in Richard Helgerson, 'Murder in Faversham: Holinshed's impertinent history', in Donald R. Kelley and David Harris Sacks, eds., *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain: History, Rhetoric and Fiction, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), p. 149.
[16] Woolf, *Social Circulation of the Past*, p. 320.

became just one.[17] Trussell's discussion of Guy of Warwick manifests the first of these tendencies, as he openly acknowledges both that " I dare not make an unquestionable relation [of the circumstances of the fight]" (*Origin*, f. 50), and also that he did not know the provenance of the manuscript account of the combat which Harmar had given him; but when he goes on to say that the MS account "agreeth" with the account in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (*Origin*, f. 51), we see that it is also an example of his general reluctance to treat exercises in the literary genre any differently from non-literary historical sources, especially where favourite poems such as Drayton's were concerned.

Whatever postures he struck, it cannot be claimed that Trussell was a representative of modernity, whether humanist or antiquarian. There is even a sense in which his history can be seen as subaltern, like the other categories of history discussed by Helgerson which were pushed out by the humanist historical paradigm that Trussell seems so eager to participate in. There are two crucial reasons why this is so: his defence of the mythical history of the British isles codified by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and his ill-treatment of sources which contradicted his own view.

Trussell's line was that the mythical history of Britain's foundation by Brutus and the subsequent history of his descendants (such as Lud, mythical founder of London) could be accepted on the grounds of oral transmission from the Druids, whose learning was of such sophistication and antiquity "that Lipsius doubteth whether the Druids taught Pythagoras, who is said to live Anno Mundi 2676, or Pythagoras them, the opinion of transanimation, or transmigration of the soul" (*Origin*, f. 15).[18] He accepted the idea that the ancient Britons spoke and wrote in Greek, and appealed to the authority of John Selden to justify this view (*TT*, ff. 15-16). This is characteristic of Trussell's approach, since, as Parry explains, Selden was in fact one of the chief demythologisers of the Druids, casting a sceptical light on their supposed contact with Pythagoras, and asserting that the Druids could not have known Greek.[19] Trussell's concern was to defend the British history, and he did not much care whom he misrepresented in order to do it. It was something he felt quite strongly about:

> What Antiquity hath left and we by Tradition have recovered, none that have but ordinary discretion should deny upon bare surmises only. Yet some over-sceptic Thomases, more out of spleen than Judgement, of weakness than malice, somewhat to sooth themselves in

[17] Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past, 1500-1700', in Paulina Kewes, ed., *The Uses of History in Early Modern England* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2006), pp. 31-67, at p. 36.
[18] Justus Lipsius, *Physiologiae Stoicorum* (1604), lib. iii, dissert. xii.
[19] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, pp. 102-103.

> their errors by undertaking the spirit of opposition to a related certainty, do robustiously cast a rub in this green path of travail to find out primitive truth amongst uncertainties, and have endeavoured to question the truth of great Brute's traced history, whereby hath been given of late times occasion of much dispute (Origin f. 22).

Among these over-sceptical troublemakers Trussell names John Whethamstede, Abbot of St. Albans, who argued that "Totus illus processus de Brute is more by much poetical than historical", William of Newburgh, who savaged Geoffrey in the preface to his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, and "some few others, their weak abettors, whose opinions do exceed their proofs" (*Origin*, f. 22). Against the doubting Thomases Trussell marshals a formidably extensive battalion of authorities. He gives first place to Geoffrey of Monmouth, followed by Leland, and "those three true British gentlemen" Sir John Prise, David Powell and "Lodowick Lloyd in his Epistle to Ortelius" – the latter is a reference to the letter from Humphrey Lloyd (not Lodowick Lloyd) to Abraham Ortelius, titan of the Northern Renaissance, which was printed at the end of some English editions of Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. In the letter Lloyd recounts that through discoursing with 'vulgar' Britons in Anglesey he was able to learn something of 'Mona', island of the Druids, about which Ortelius had been seeking information. Lloyd adduces standard Greek and Latin sources, and "the three Gildases [and] Ninnius [sic]" among British writers, and quotes a long passage from Tacitus which says the Druids made sacrifices to "seek to know the secret counsel of the eternal God".[20] Trussell presumably has this in mind when he says Lloyd "learnedly approveth" (*TT*, f. 22) the mythical history. But this is a misleading claim, because Lloyd does not mention the Brutus myths one way or another, being concerned only to refute Polydore Vergil's identification of 'Mona' with the Isle of Man rather than Anglesey.

The next authority cited by Trussell is Michael Drayton in the tenth song of his *Poly-Olbion*, a poetic history-cum-chorography, in which the poet rhetorically complained that Brutus' "God-like name" was "by every one of late contemptuously disgraced", on the grounds that "Geoffrey Monmouth first our Brutus did devise".[21] *Poly-Olbion* was printed with extensive antiquarian notes by John Selden (it was in Selden's notes that Trussell may have encountered the names of his enemies, Whettamstead, Newburgh, *et al*).[22] In her entry on Drayton in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Anne Prescott claims

[20] Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London: John Norton, 1606). The letter is dated 1608 so one of these dates may be a misprint.
[21] Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (London, 1612), p. 162.
[22] John Selden, 'From the Author of the Illustrations' in Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, p. 167.

that he merely "affected to believe the legend".[23] J. E. Curran is more cautious, suggesting that he was torn between contradictory instincts, and suggests that this was because "the Galfridian tradition… gave his beloved nation a claim to an illustrious – and, importantly, a very *old* – heritage. The notion of permanence through time of British culture had impressed itself upon him".[24] If Drayton's stance in *Poly-Olbion* was affected, Trussell for one was taken in, quoting uncritically the verses describing the criticisms as lies, and pointing out that the Brutus story had been sung for "a thousand lingering years".[25]

But he was on even shakier ground when he claimed as a supporter "that walking library of best antiquity John Selden, in revising the memory of that famous bard Taliesin, instructed, as sayeth Peckham, by Merlin" (*Origin* f. 22). It is hard to see this reference as anything other than a deliberate misrepresentation by Trussell of Selden's established view. It is possible that he had not read *Jani Anglorum Facies Altera*, in which Selden dismissed the legend as "a poetic fiction of the bards, done on purpose to raise the British name out of the Trojan ashes".[26] But he had certainly read *Poly-Olbion* and Selden's remarks in his foreword to that work:

> The Author, in passages of first inhabitants, name, state and Monarchic succession in this Isle, follows Geoffrey ap Arthur, *Polychronicon*, Matthew of Westminster, and such more. Of their Traditions, for that one so much controverted, and by Cambro-Britons still maintained, touching the Trojan Brute, I have (but as an Advocate for the Muse), argued, disclaiming in it, if alleged for my own opinion.[27]

It is quite clear that this caveat extends to his remarks on Taliesin in the illustrations to the fourth song, to which Trussell appears to refer.[28] Trussell would appeal to Selden's authority again in the version of this passage which appears in the *Touchstone of Tradition*, saying:

> of that belief [that the historicity of Brutus was genuine] seemeth Mr. Selden to be when he sayeth (Po. Alb. fo. 467) that the name of Brute was both by British & Latin writers, howsoever something in the story might be questioned, introduced long before Monmouth wrote. (*TT*, f. 22)

[23] Anne Lake Prescott, 'Drayton, Michael (1563–1631)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8042, accessed 12 Aug 2010].
[24] Curran, 'The History Never Written', p. 500.
[25] Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, p. 162.
[26] John Selden, *Janis Anglorum Facies Altera* (London, 1610); quoted in Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 99.
[27] Selden, 'From the Author of the Illustrations', *Poly-Olbion*, A3.
[28] Selden, Illustrations to Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, p. 66.

Selden had indeed written that "let the rest of his story and the particulars of Brute be as they can, the name of Brute was long before him [Geoffrey] in Welsh… and Latin testimonies of the Britons".[29] But this note must also be understood as coming under his disavowal of personal belief in the ancient history. It is possible that Trussell misunderstood Selden's real intent, which was admittedly obscured by his apparent decision to 'play along' with Drayton's use of the myth in his illustrations; possible also that he reasoned that Selden's arguments were valid whether or not he happened to believe them; but more likely that he was being less than entirely scrupulous in his citations.

It was not only Brutus and the Druids that Trussell defended. The presence of the Round Table at Winchester naturally confirmed him in his view that Arthur had been crowned and kept court in Winchester Castle, although he does not mention Geoffrey of Monmouth's wilder stories of Arthur's world conquest, and his conception of Arthur's reign was far from romantic: on the contrary, he pictures Arthur "with his Council solemnly/ Treating of State affairs, most seriously" (*BW*, f. 46). He also believed the myth of 'Lucius', the apocryphal first Christian king of Britain, believed to have been buried at Winchester, whom he quotes in his letter of 1622 to Edward White (see appendix B).[30] All these myths and legends had a powerful emotional appeal, and Arthur B. Ferguson's remarks on their sixteenth-century defenders are highly relevant:

> For them, a patriotic compulsion to believe and to rationalize the irrational tended to overpower scholarly insight. It was not patriotism per se but a deeply offended patriotism that made these authors capable of reacting with unwonted ferocity to anyone who questioned that tradition.[31]

When Trussell childishly nicknamed William of Newburgh "William Petty" in his attack on him (*Origin*, f. 22) he exemplified this tendency. There were pragmatic reasons why a man in Trussell's walk of life could rely on the truth of British myth, as Ferguson points out: "lawyers, for example, with their preoccupation with precedent and the myth they nourished that the common law itself was of immemorial antiquity, not surprisingly found themselves resorting to the British History".[32] But as regards Trussell, the truth is more

[29] Selden, Illustrations to Drayton, *Poly-Olbion*, p. 167.
[30] John Crook, 'Early historians of Winchester Cathedral', in *Hampshire Studies 2003: Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club & Archaeological Society*, vol. 58 (2003), p. 230.
[31] Arthur B. Ferguson, *Utter Antiquity: Perceptions of Prehistory in Renaissance England* (USA: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 89.
[32] Ferguson, *Utter Antiquity*, p. 102.

fundamental than this. For him, Brutus, Lud, etc., were no convenient fiction, justifying a point of common law, as the passion with which he attacks the doubting Thomases shows. Trussell shared with Drayton (another whose respect for Camden and his work was genuine, despite his instinctive dislike of his conclusions) the passionate desire to chart the 'permanence through time' of British culture.[33] Trussell needed to create a 'touchstone of tradition', because the tradition was itself the cornerstone, not only of an entire conception of British nationhood, but of a worldview which could assert that "Time has been 'utterly subverted' – the past is present and alive", and could hurl back defiance in the very teeth of "Oblivion's all-devouring jaws" (*BW*, f. 45).[34] Trussell wished to be able to say, with T. S. Eliot, that 'History is now and England'.

It is appropriate to find as part of Trussell's defence of the myths of the Druids in the *Touchstone of Tradition* a dissertation on Cabala (worked up from scribbled marginal notes in the *Origin of Cities*), in which he paraphrases what must be Pico's so-called *Oration on the Dignity of Man*:

> Now Cabala sayeth Picus Mirandola significat illam secretiorem divina legis expositionem ex ore dei a Mose acceptam promulgatamque et prophetarum animis a deo infusam continua denique successione a patribus una voce susceptam.[35] (*TT*, f. 14)

Walter Pater wrote that "to read a page of one of Pico's forgotten books is like a glance into one of those ancient sepulchres… with the old disused ornaments and furniture of a world wholly unlike ours fresh in them", because Pico was one of the last humanists whose conception of the universe remained medieval.[36] The sections of the *Origin of Cities* and the *Touchstone of Tradition* in which Trussell defends the Brutus legend, both with reference to traditional authorities and by misrepresenting his sceptical contemporaries, can only strike us in the same way. One of Pico's modern translators makes much the same point as Pater, arguing that Pico lived at the "final demise, after two thousand years of continuous development", of the syncretistic approach to philosophy which he represented.[37] Trussell, too, was one of the last representatives of an old type, writing at a time when, as J. E. Curran suggests, a "new, humanist historical methodology" was

[33] Curran, 'The History Never Written', p. 500.
[34] Curran, 'The History Never Written', p. 504.
[35] 'Cabala is that holy divine exposition of the law out of the mouth of God, accepted and made known to Moses and poured into the souls of the prophets by God, and after unbroken succession taken up by the Fathers with one voice'. See Appendix C for comparison of this passage with Pico's *Oration*.
[36] Walter Pater, *The Renaissance*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: University Press, 1990), p. 27.
[37] Stephen A. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1468): the evolution of traditional religious and philosophical systems: with text, translation and commentary* (Tempe: Arizona State University, 1998), p. xii.

becoming dominant. The "serious, methodological mindset we associate with William Camden and his followers, which privileges documented and documentable, verified and verifiable historical sources" led to antiquarianism of a more exacting kind than Trussell was interested in, leaving him with a foot in both camps, admiring the new work of his contemporaries, but representing an older consensus.[38] Antiquarianism for Trussell was, in Parry's words, "a concern with origins… the origins of nations, languages, religions, customs, institutions, and offices".[39] Thus far he was at one with his great contemporaries: Selden, Cotton, Verstegan and the rest. But, though he always felt himself to be a disciple of Camden, he was by temperament and by choice a defender of an older theory of origins than that which they, between them, were constructing in the revolutionary publications of Trussell's lifetime.

On another point of ideology, Roxane Murph asserts that Trussell's motivation for writing the *Continuation* of Daniel was "to show the superiority of the English to men of other nations, a belief he apparently thought was shared by Englishmen and foreigners alike".[40] Murph does not cite Trussell's own words when making this claim, and it is most probably derived from the epistle to the reader. On this point, it seems sufficient to say that this motivation does not loom large in Trussell's epistle. He does remark that his "natural propension to the reading of history" persuaded him that "of all Nations the English were the most blameworthy; that being inferior to none for praiseworthy achievements, yet [they] were surpassed by all" in recording them for posterity. The rest of the epistle, however, suggests that his motivation for writing was an enthusiast's desire for completeness: he wrote the *Continuation* of "the every way well deserving" Samuel Daniel's *History* because it occurred to him that the gap between the end of Daniel's history (with Edward III) and the beginning of Francis Bacon's (with Henry VII) could easily be filled in entirely now that John Hayward and Thomas More had done parts of it (*Continuation*, 'Epistle to the Reader').

Another of Murph's claims requires more detailed consideration. Murph argues that, when following (very closely) John Hayward's *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Fourth* during the *Continuation*, "in at least two instances Trussell changed Hayward's words to make a stronger statement about the royal prerogative". She points out that Trussell changes a phrase spoken by Richard II, 'Princes must not rule without limitation' to 'Princes must rule without limitation' (*Continuation*, p. 14), and argues that "since this form appears in both the 1636 and 1641 editions, it cannot be dismissed as the accidental

[38] Curran, 'The History Never Written', p. 499.
[39] Parry, *The Trophies of Time*, p. 9.
[40] Murph, *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses*, p. 4.

omission of a single word".[41] Murph is quite right to identify the difference, and almost certainly right to think it is not accidental. Nevertheless, because Trussell puts this altered wording into the mouth of Richard II, whom he is representing quite conventionally as seeking to rule arbitrarily and silence opposition to his rule by illegal courses including murder, I am not convinced that Murph's interpretation of this difference, that Trussell is making a statement of his own about the illimitability of the royal prerogative, is correct. Later, a statement that reads "nothing will be thought unlawful to him that hath power" in Hayward is altered to read "nothing ought to be unlawful to him that hath power" in Trussell (*Continuation*, p. 41), and Murph draws the same inference about Trussell's royalist absolutism.[42] Again, however, the phrase is put into the mouths of advisors to Richard, who are seeking to persuade him not to yield himself to Henry Bolingbroke, because his life will be in danger. The form of words, "ought to be thought unlawful", need not even be taken as a moral statement in the sentence – it could be a practical one.

Murph's opinion is that Trussell "accepted the most arbitrary use of royal power".[43] But it is difficult to see how this inference can be drawn from Trussell's account of Richard II and his dealings with the Lords Appellant in the *Continuation*. In particular, he represents Richard as being the prey of "malicious" and "turbulent" counsellors in his dealings with the Lords Appellant (*Continuation*, pp. 9, 12), and seems to approve of their censure by parliament. As Trussell depicts it, Richard seeks legal counsel demonstrating his power to dissolve parliament at pleasure, treat as traitors any who "derogate from the royal prerogative" by passing measures in parliament attacking royal advisors, and any who seek to influence parliament to consider matters not authorised by the king in his summons, as well as any seeking to bring to parliament's consideration the statute deposing Edward II. The judges duly respond that anyone who commits such violations of royal prerogative, including any who deny the king's right to dissolve parliament at will, should be punished as traitors, being "worthy of death". Trussell says nothing which suggests he approves of these counsels; he refers to them as "hard sentences of death and treason… under general and large terms", and then writes that Richard now "supposed his attempts against [the Lords], whether by violence, or colour of Law, sufficiently warranted" (*Continuation*, pp. 10-11). At the very least, this language does not suggest that he approved of arbitrary rule, or even the king's authority to govern proceedings in parliament; it seems closer to suggesting the opposite.

[41] Murph, *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses*, p. 23; cf. John Hayward, *The First Part of the Life and Reign of King Henry the IIII* (London, 1599), p. 22.
[42] Murph, *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses*, p. 23.
[43] Murph, *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses*, p. 4.

Likewise, I do not accept Murph's claim that Richard III was "the only monarch of whom [Trussell] was critical".[44] It is plain that he also found fault with the "unadvised heat", "oppression" and rank favouritism which characterized the reign of Richard II, as well as Richard's cowardice and inability to conduct himself honourably in either prosperity or troubles (*Continuation*, pp. 30, 31, 41). In imputing an arbitrary absolutism to Trussell in the 1630s, Murph is perhaps reading backwards from the fact that Trussell was a supporter of Charles I in the civil war. If so, this is unjustifiable; a key contention of this thesis is that simplistic assumptions like this cannot be allowed to overwhelm the evidence in the records of individuals' lives, not least because people's lives are not lived backwards, and therefore the intellectual progression of their views cannot be read so. Overall, the justification for reading Trussell's *Continuation* of Daniel as a manifesto of royalist absolutism does not seem particularly compelling.

Trussell's contemporaries

Decisive points of difference between Trussell and some of his antiquarian contemporaries such as Thomas Jekyll, on one side, and men such as John Selden, on the other, have already been mentioned. But it will also be instructive to look briefly at some of the ways in which Trussell's 'endeavours' are similar to those of other early modern English historians. The ways in which he is singular are obvious: as a local historian of Winchester he has no close contemporaries, and as a historian seriously seeking to defend the mythical British history he is a Neanderthal among *Homo sapiens* in the 1630s. But some points of resemblance between Trussell and contemporary writers do exist. In particular we can look to another incorporated borough which was blessed with literary freemen in the early seventeenth century: Great Yarmouth, where Thomas Damet and Henry Manship both turned their pens to the service of their town.

Henry Manship's *History* of Great Yarmouth was published in 1619. Robert Tittler considers his work to be characterised by

> strong expression of local pride; an emphasis on the virtues of civic amity; a plea for deference towards the governing authorities; and a cogent discourse on the force of law and powers of magistracy both in making and enforcing it.[45]

[44] Murph, *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses*, p. 4.
[45] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 132.

All of these have clear parallels in the works of John Trussell already discussed in this and previous chapters. Tittler notes Manship's "surprisingly thorough and critical reading of the sources", most notably the fact that he rejects Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical history of Britain.[46] In one respect, then, Manship was ahead of Trussell; the key point, though, is that freemen of small conurbations were "not beyond the wider intellectual currents of the age". A further parallelism is that, while Manship was clearly not a Roman Catholic, "he nevertheless understood and still appreciated some of its value to the civic weal"; Tittler is referring here to a particular concern of his, the way in which town and city corporations responded to the Reformation by "an alternative and largely secular-based collective memory" .[47] The ways in which John Trussell sought to fill the gap created by the Reformation in the liturgical year through his writings, by substituting secular forms of commemoration for the old Catholic ones, will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

In 1612 Henry Manship was entrusted with the task of forming and leading a committee which undertook to collect and catalogue Great Yarmouth's archives.[48] This is a task for which John Trussell would have been apt in Winchester; on his own initiative he compiled a "Remembrancer of all such writings as are in the partitions of the wainscot cupboard in the council house", including all manner of account rolls and "ancient charters" (*BW,* f. 2). The scale of the task that both men faced is illustrated well by this heading; they would have had to deal with sheaves of documents stuffed into drawers with little trace of any system remaining. Although his abilities were clearly valued, Manship, like Trussell, was sometimes on bad terms with his corporation colleagues:

> Neither Manship's tenuous relationship with his neighbours nor his particularly quarrelsome relationship with Damet can have been irrelevant to his great undertaking. He seems likely to have seen the project as a means of regaining favour. It was a tactic well employed by many mercurial literary and political figures of the time, including Nashe… [49]

This can also be seen to be the case with Trussell, though with the additional tragicomic twist that by the mid-1630s he knew perfectly well the corporation were not much interested in his writings. Even while going through the motions of currying favour Trussell was determined to follow his own interests.

[46] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 130.
[47] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 16.
[48] Manship's registry is NRO: Y/C1/1.
[49] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, pp. 126-27.

Aspects of Damet's work are even more reminiscent of Trussell's antiquarian 'endeavours' than Manship's. Damet's *Book of the Foundation and Antiquity of Great Yarmouth* is introduced as a dynamic struggle against decay by a hardy community of fisherfolk,

> whose flourishing state hath always been accompted by the kings of this land a matter of great importance for the realm and commonwealth, and contrariwise the decay thereof hath been reputed a great detriment, which two things have… happened sundry times, that is to say the prosperity of the said town… and the decay thereof by reason of an evil haven and harbouring.[50]

It is clear that Damet's history was written in the context of present decay and was intended to remedy and avert it, just as Trussell's antiquarian writings on Winchester were. The history starts in the year 1000 with an etymological derivation of the name of 'Yarmouth' from the mouth of the river 'Heirus', resembling Trussell's speculations on *Caer Guin* and *wyn caestre,* and goes on to describe the gradual emergence from the sea of the 'Sand' which became Great Yarmouth when, in the reign of William I, the waters retreated, and men of Norfolk and Suffolk "did resort themselves thither and did pitch tabernacles and booths for the entertaining of such seafaring men… as would resort unto that place… to sell their herrings".[51] Damet goes on to chart the forging of Yarmouth's civic identity through its rivalry with other North Sea and Channel ports such as Lowestoft and the Cinque Ports for fishing and selling rights; the vital importance of these struggles is also well attested by their representation in Manship's registry of town records.[52] Damet obviously expected that his contemporaries and successors in the corporation felt the same patriotic pride as he did, and would continue to in future. As he explained in his introduction,

> The writer hereof hath taken some pains to set down in this book some good instructions for the better direction… of those business[es] which must needs be taken in hand and followed by the careful travails of some good men of the same town, knowing best their own case and grief. And such he doubteth not but God will raise up even of that corporation that shall be meet and willing to do good unto their native country and town, in

[50] Thomas Damet, *Book of the Foundation and Antiquity of Great Yarmouth* (NRO: Y/D41/104), ff. 1-2.
[51] Damet, *Foundation and Antiquity*, f. 8.
[52] NRO: Y/C1/1. An example of the type of document recorded in it is a writ of ad quod damnum issued for Kirkley Roads to be attached to Yarmouth from Lowestoft, which they afterwards were, Anno 46 Ed. III (f. 29). For others, see registry, ff. 28-31, 38, 46, et passim.

> the which they have bred and born, as the said writer hereof was, who many times troubled in and about these businesses.[53]

Damet's appeal to the emotional pull of birth and breeding serves to remind us of the strength of John Trussell's desire to do good unto Winchester, which was no less strong because it was not his birthplace, or even the place of his upbringing. He adopted the same patriotic and exhortatory tone as Damet in his own writings, but from the perspective of one who had come to that role as an outsider.

Trussell was not unique, either, as a local historian concerned with urban decline. In his antiquarian work on Somerset, Trussell's contemporary Thomas Gerard noted the sad decay of Ilchester. To illustrate the point he quoted a poem appearing in the 1619 collection *A Help to Discourse* (attributed to William Basse) and reprinted in John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* in 1631.[54] The poem, of uncertain authorship (not, as Woolf implies, certainly attributable to Weever), describes Verulam as "a City in a grave".[55]

> Reader, wonder think it then
> Cities thus should die like men
> And yet wonder think it none
> Many cities so have done.[56]

This is in much the same vein as Trussell's maxim that "cities may fail, towns oft have their term" (*TT*, f. 155). As we have seen, urban decay was still prevalent across much of England in the early modern period. Towns which prospered or managed to hold their own, like Norwich, Bristol, and of course London, were rarer than cases of towns afflicted by declining trade and industry, increasing poverty, the ravages of fire and disease: Salisbury and Reading, as well as Winchester and Ilchester, are examples of such communities.[57]

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[53] Damet, *Foundation and Antiquity*, ff. 4-5.
[54] W.B. and E. P., *A Help to Discourse, or, a Miscellany of Merriment* (London, 1619), pp. 184-185, and John Weever, *Ancient funeral monuments within the united monarchy of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Islands adjacent* (London, 1631), pp. 4-5.
[55] Woolf, *Social Circulation of the Past*, p. 23. See E. A. J. Honigmann, *John Weever: A Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp. 64-67.
[56] Thomas Gerard, *The particular description of the county of Somerset*, ed. by E. H. Bates (London: Harrison and Sons, 1900), pp. 205-206. Gerard slightly misquotes the last line; cf. Weever, *Ancient funeral monuments*., p. 5, and W. B. and E. P., *A Help to Discourse*, p. 185.
[57] For Salisbury, see Clark, 'Introduction', pp. 12-13, and Paul Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', in Peter Clark and Paul Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (GB: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972).; for Reading, see Slack, 'Great and good towns', p. 355.

Trussell's sources

The self-serving use to which Trussell put some of his sources has been remarked upon sufficiently. Nevertheless, one of the most impressive features of Trussell's history-writing is his extremely wide familiarity with historians and chroniclers both ancient and modern. He states in the 'Epistle to the Reader' which begins the *Continuation* of Daniel that in his desire to do justice to his subject he "left no Chronicle of this land that purse, or prayer could purchase or procure, unperused" (*Continuation,* 'Epistle to the Reader'). Roxane C. Murph discusses Trussell's use of sources in the *Continuation* extensively in her chapter on him. As she points out, in that work alone Trussell calls upon "many and varied sources" – not only "the standard works of Hall, Holinshead, Speed, Stow, More, and others" but of lesser known sources, including Sir John Hayward's *The Life and Reign of King Henry the Fourth*, Archbishop Parker's *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae*, and Ranulf of Higden's *Polychronicon*.[58] Trussell's debt to Hayward is especially apparent in the sections on Richard II and Henry IV, being taken almost verbatim from Hayward in parts. Daniel Woolf is overly harsh when he says that Trussell depended "mainly on Hall and Holinshed".[59] Woolf summarises the *Continuation* as "the usual battle of kites and crows".[60] It is not apparent what this means, but since he also calls Trussell's historical imagination "leaden", it is presumably negative. Certainly, Trussell's account of the fifteenth century is derivative and relies heavily on previous historians – but at least he had read a lot of them.

Aside from a will, an inventory of Trussell's library is the item most sorely lacking from the documentary record of his life. Whether he owned as many volumes as he cites is unknown, however. It does not seem likely, and no trace of such a formidable library as this would have been has survived in the archives (whereas his manuscripts have). It would be superfluous to add to Murph's discussion of the sources of the *Continuation*, but Appendix D contains a list of authors and works cited by Trussell in the *Touchstone of Tradition* which is sufficient to indicate the breadth of his citations. He did not only rely on printed books. He claimed to have examined the archives of various towns and cities including London and Southampton, as well as Winchester, as we have seen. He certainly visited Winchester cathedral archive, since the *Origin of Cities* contains marginal notes referring to a manuscript in the cathedral library which is his source for various deeds of

[58] Murph, *Rewriting the Wars of the Roses*, pp. 4-12.
[59] Daniel Woolf, *The Idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology and 'The Light of Truth' from the Accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 244.
[60] Ibid.

King Edgar, the first monarch to reduce the Heptarchy to one monarchy (*Origin*, ff. 58-59). It is not clear exactly which manuscript the notes are referring to. Discoursing on the derivation of the Hocktide festival from an incident in the reign of Hardicanute, he cites a manuscript "in Arch: sce. Trinitatis Winton" (*TT*. f. 92). He also cites the apocryphal 'Vigilantius', who as John Crook explains was believed to be an authority. Trussell may therefore have known the cathedral archivist John Chase, and been in a position to examine records in the library there.

For the Forest Laws he certainly looked at Crompton's recently reprinted law digest *L'authoritie et iurisdiction des courts de la Maiestie de la Roygne* and the standard authority, Manwood.[61] He also refers to Domesday Book and records in the Exchequer, including what could be a reference to the Winton Domesday, suggesting that he undertook archival research in London as well as at home.[62] In the *Touchstone of Tradition* he makes further reference to having seen Domesday Book (*TT*, f. 102). Furthermore, in a eulogy of "the so famous and flourishing storehouse of learning and good literature, the university of Oxenford", he remarks that the history of its foundation could be "well collected out of the Annals of the Old Minster of Winchester" (*TT*, f. 54), indicating that he had seen one of the manuscripts containing the 'Annals of Winchester' attributed to Richard of Devizes, a monk in the priory of St Swithun.[63]

Trussell's dedications

John Trussell certainly did not write because people wanted him to. The invariably fulsome dedications of his works show that they were not written to order; in his dedication of his *Continuation* of Daniel, for instance, he apologises for "my Errour, which is overmuch presumption in undertaking, more in publishing, but most in this presenting this my Collection". What is less clear is whether he wrote in the real hope of patronage. The social cachet of the recognition and favour of great men is perhaps equally likely as a motivation for writing, since a man in his position did not need to write for money or to secure office. But the reasons for his choices of dedicatees are worth examining for what they might tell us about the development of his political attitudes. It is a reasonable assumption that a

[61] John Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.d.242, f. 92. See Richard Crompton, *L'authoritie et iurisdiction des courts de la Maiestie de la Roygne* (London, 1637), ff. 151-154; but particularly John Manwood, *A treatise of the laws of the forest* (London, 1615), ff. 195-200.
[62] John Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.d.242, ff. 96-97.
[63] J. T. Appleby, ed., *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1963), pp. xxiv-xxvi. Treated more fully in J. T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 36 (1963), pp. 70-77, which I have been unable to access.

writer seeking favour or recognition, rather than financial patronage, would choose as dedicatees men whose opinions he found congenial, and whom he could hope to flatter with a statement of support for their own. It initially appears as if Trussell did do this. On re-examination, though, the matter becomes less clear. There is a local and professional dimension to all of Trussell's dedications, which raises the question of whether it is appropriate to see them in any other context.

The second dedication (chronologically) is the more interesting. The fair copy of the *Epitome of the Forest Laws* is dedicated to "The Right Honourable and Right Worshipful Sir John Finch Kt., Lord Chief Justice of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and Sir John Trevor Kt., one of the Barons of his Majesty's Exchequer. The Reverend Judges of the Western Circuit in this year of Grace 1639".[64] There was a Sir Thomas Trevor who was a baron of the Exchequer in 1639, and Trussell presumably meant this man.[65] There is an obvious local connection, in that they were judges of the Western Assize circuit whose duties regularly brought them to Winchester to keep court, and furthermore Trussell may have had closer professional contact with Finch in his capacity as chief justice of the common pleas on at least one occasion, whilst acting on behalf of the city in a case between the corporation and one Edward Watts concerning a debt of £1000 which the corporation claimed was owing to the city.[66] But the dedication of the *Epitome* to Sir John Finch and Sir Thomas Trevor also lends some credence to the idea that Trussell's research was intended to support royal policy on forests. Finch, who was famously prevented from rising to dissolve parliament in 1629, conducted himself during his career in a way which indicates that he was a loyal servant of the crown, and his appointment as chief justice of the common pleas may have been a reciprocation of this fealty by Charles I.[67] Trevor, too, before becoming a parliamentarian in the civil war, had given judgements in ship money cases that were favourable to the crown, including in Hampden's case.[68] More particularly, during the period of the personal rule, when Charles was constrained to find ways of raising revenue using extra-parliamentary methods, Finch and Trevor played their parts in facilitating one of the government's main efforts at doing so, the policy of reviving the ancient judicial framework governing royal forests, which by

[64] John Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.d.242, f. 71.
[65] Foss, ed., *Tabulae Curiales*, p. 62.
[66] For a surviving record of this case, see HRO: W/D6/9.
[67] "Finch became well known for the height to which he carried the royal prerogative" – Louis A. Knafla, 'Finch, John, Baron Finch of Fordwich (1584–1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9438, accessed 15 Feb 2013].
[68] E. I. Carlyle, 'Trevor, Sir Thomas (*c.*1573–1656)', rev. W. H. Bryson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27735, accessed 18 Feb 2013].

the seventeenth century had fallen out of use. By a strategy of "reviving the justices' eyres, reasserting ancient forest boundaries and fining those who had encroached on them", the government would be able to exploit the as yet unrepealed statutes of forest law to extract revenue from gentlemen and lords, many of whom would not previously have suspected that they were eligible for the fines of encroachment, fees to have their lands 'disafforested', and other costs that might attach to residence in or near a royal forest.[69]

In 1631, Sir Thomas Trevor, in the Exchequer court, compared the crown's rights in forests to the knighthood fines which were already being used as a revenue-raising device, and asserted that the extent of royal forests had previously been much greater than it was now held to be.[70] The strategy was coming to fruition by 1635, when, at a 'justice seat' (one of three layers of the ancient statutory forest administration, as John Trussell explains in the *Epitome*) Sir John Finch "produced a record of Edward I's reign showing a vast extent to the forest [of Waltham]".[71] The result was that 'trespassers' in the forest were able to be fined for intruding upon it. Waltham was not the only forest so extended to draw many new 'offenders' into the net of justice: the New Forest and Rockingham forest in Northamptonshire were likewise extended.[72] As Kevin Sharpe notes, "the poor who found themselves trespassers were fined only shillings, but large fines were adjudged against the gentry and aristocracy who were delinquent".[73] Trussell's dedicatory poem to Finch and Trevor suggests that he had sympathy with such actions, or was willing to say so to win their favour:

> The not knowing of the forest laws
> (Abstracted thus and printed) was the cause
> That made so many into errors run,
> Which by self-doing have themselves undone.
> For ignorance of the Law cannot excuse
> Such fines and ransoms as the Judges use.[74]

Trussell would not have been the only one who thought the king's actions legally justifiable: Sharpe argues that "there was no doubting the accuracy of [Trevor's] legal

[69] Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p.117.
[70] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 116.
[71] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 118.
[72] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, pp. 118-119.
[73] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 119.
[74] Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.d.242, f. 72.

opinion", citing another early seventeenth-century 'Treatise of the Forest Laws' which supported the thrust of the government's argument about royal privileges in forests.[75]

The value of the *Epitome* is by no means only in its political stance; Trussell's researches into forest law had been scrupulous, and the *Epitome* is actually an impressively complete essay on the subject. Trussell's account of the laws of the forest seems accurate. But since by 1639 the royal forests policy was already well advanced, and had been seen to have legal force, and because authorities such as John Manwood had already published extensive collections of the forest laws, Trussell's researches were only going over old ground, and it is unsurprisingly clear that Trussell's *Epitome* was not solicited by the authorities. He acknowledges this in his dedication, assuring the justices that he is not so bold as to presume "that this glow-worm can yield or light or lustre to the bright beams of your abilities in this subject; nevertheless, the smallest taper-light in the hottest sunshine may be useful to melt hard wax to seal a letter".[76] His apparent aim in writing was to secure favour of some kind by writing a work that would be of use in support of the programme which the government had been undertaking with the participation of men like Finch and Trevor. As well as its intellectual thoroughness, Trussell's *Epitome* is based on legal opinions that would have sounded pleasingly in the ears of the king and all those who were defenders of royal prerogative power:

> all the lands in the kingdom originally were the king's as in the crown, though now the subject have much of them to hold by subordination as thereto respectively assigned by charter, letters patent, grant, lease, feefarm, custody or otherwise by homage, fealty, service or the like. And all the undisposed of lands left in the king's hands, be it ancient crown lands, or ancient demesne, and all forest with them, were only in and for the crown…[77]

One note of caution which Trussell did sound in the rough copy has been removed in the fair copy to make the work more congenial to its primary dedicatee, chief justice Finch:

> [The Warden of the Forest] is to give and appoint correction and punishment to all transgressors and offenders sed semper super uisa viridiariorum absente Capitali Justiciario, to whom as it appeared at those Iters… [held] by Sir John Finch, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and others at Winchester in the [blank] year of King Charles, the Warden is liable to render an accompt of his doing and is to undergo a

[75] Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, p. 116.
[76] Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.d.242, f. 71.
[77] Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.d.242, ff. 84-5.

> pecuniary mulct for not orderly executing of his office… But I ingenuously confess I never read of any such precedent, neither ever found record of any fine paid by any Warden to the king, nor mention made of any particular offence against him punished by the Chief Justice or any his deputies.[78]

On the other hand, in the poem at the beginning of the fair copy (which is addressed 'Lectori benevolo'), Trussell does say that his volume is offered "for remedy" of the fines and ransoms incurred by so many, "that they may learn those, and so eschew/ the penalty of breach of forest laws":

> Witness the plaint of those that ransoms paid,
> For trespasses and waste in forests made
> Before the last best Iters; the which till then
> Had not a thought of being guilty men.[79]

He concludes, rather weakly, "As this to any pleasure brings or profit/ So let them think of me; so reckon of it", and signs it "whilst I wish well to the common good, John Trussell". This shows that he also sympathised with, or was willing to pose as sympathetic to, the grievances of those who had fallen victim to the crown's exactions, since he hoped that adopting this stance might benefit the common weal and bring him recognition. The introductory poem is therefore rather ambiguous and difficult to interpret with confidence, since it can be understood as containing a critique of royal policy, despite the dedication to allies of the court and the general thrust of its argument.

At the foot of the page on which Trussell wrote his dedication is a couplet implying that he stood ready to print his manuscript immediately: "The printers from your Lordships humbly crave/ That they to print this may but license have". But it seems permission and patronage from their lordships was not forthcoming, as there is no record of the *Epitome of the Laws of the Forest* being printed. They could easily have taken Trussell's populist stance with regard to his readership amiss; but it is more likely that they simply had no interest in the antiquarian dabbling of a provincial attorney. Getting Sir Thomas Trevor's name wrong would not have stood Trussell high in his favour. It is also far from certain that the judges ever saw the volume, although it can be presumed that Trussell intended to present it to them, perhaps when the circuit visited Winchester.

[78] Trussell, *An Epitome of the Laws of the Forest*, ff. 6-7.
[79] Trussell (1639), Bod. Lib. MS Eng.hist.d.242, f. 72.

The local and professional connection is also clear in the *Continuation* dedication, which is to Sir John Bramston, the lord chief justice of king's bench, and the other three judges of that court. Bramston was an honorary freeman of Winchester (*TT*, f. 239). As with Finch and Trevor, Trussell would almost certainly have known the four justices of king's bench by sight (since all the common law courts sat in Westminster Hall) and might even have expected them to know his name. Trussell, apparently trying to tickle the judges with witty legal metaphors, states his intention "to appeal from the bar of Rigour, to the board of favour, and thereat to obtain … extenuation of censure", in order that, since his work was begun with good intent and is presented in humility, "I may pass without public reprehension" .[80] This phrase may glance with humorous self-deprecation back to his recent censure by the Hampshire Quarter Sessions for talking offensively and disrespectfully to the visiting justices Mr South and Mr Button, the report of which could easily have reached the ears of his dedicatees. Politically, the judges cannot be characterised en masse, which is an indication of the limitations of seeking to read Trussell's dedications in a way that goes beyond the local and professional. Bramston was in the dissenting minority in Hampden's case, but on the sophisticated procedural grounds that the payment of ship money, although it could be legally commanded, could not be legally carried out.[81] William Jones "displayed considerable independence of thought" in his career on the bench.[82] George Croke ruled against the crown in Hampden's case, while Robert Berkeley was impeached by the Long Parliament for siding with the government.

Although it is not exactly a dedication, one fascinating note on the verso side of the *Origin of Cities* flyleaf provides evidence of another connection Trussell made through his histories, this time apparently without intending to. It was to Sir John Oglander, ex-Winchester College student and later known as a devoted royalist. The note reads:

> Right noble Sir, my brother acquainted me with your worship's desire, and I accordingly have sent the copy of the first part of my collection, and wish the reading may more please you than writing doth me, at this time being afflicted with the podagrian infirmity, from the torture whereof to deliver and keep your worship is the prayer of your worship's really observant John Trussell (*Origin*, f. 1).

[80] John Trussell, *A Continuation of the Collection of the History of England* (London, 1636), dedication.
[81] See Conrad Russell, 'The Ship Money Judgements of Bramston and Davenport', in *English Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 303 (April 1962), pp. 312-18.
[82] Christopher W. Brooks, 'Jones, Sir William (1566–1640)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15102, accessed 28 Feb 2013]

Underneath this note is a date, 6 April 1644, and underneath that another note: "what I formerly but lent to the noble knight I now freely bequeath to my loving friend Mr William Wilshire with the best wishes of a real friend, John Trussell". Although Trussell's reference to the 'podagrian infirmity' (gout), a malady which appears in older men more than younger men, might lead to the assumption that the manuscript was lent to Oglander in 1644, this can be discounted, as it would then have had to travel safely from Winchester to the Isle of Wight, through contested territory and over the Solent, and back again, which is unlikely. Therefore, the manuscript was lent to Oglander, and returned, before the outbreak of hostilities, and given away to Wilshire in 1644. The Winchester College connection is relevant as it seems plausible that an acquaintance dating from their schooldays is behind William Trussell's connection to Oglander. John Trussell could easily have met him as well, particularly since Oglander was a man of some importance in Hampshire during the later 1630s, being sheriff of the county 1637-39, and could not have spent all his time confined to the Isle of Wight.[83] Trussell would certainly have seen him as a man whose wishes were worth accommodating, but what ensued from this meeting of intellects, if anything, is unrecorded.

Trussell's publishers

The *Continuation* of Daniel was released in 1636, "printed by M. D. for Ephraim Dawson… to be sold in Fleet-Street at the sign of the Rainbow near the Inner Temple gate". It was reissued in 1641, by which time the shop seems to have been owned solely by Daniel Pakeman, a bookseller who seems to have been a partner in Dawson's enterprise, and also joint-owner of another bookshop in nearby Little Britain.[84] In the Fleet Street location of the bookshop, by the Temple Gate, one of the landmarks of the Ward of Farringdon Extra, we can see yet again Trussell's apparent preference for selling his works in the vicinity of the place where he had grown up. As we have seen, the Rose and Crown, where *The First Rape of Fair Helen* was sold, was near St Andrew's in Holborn at the other end of Fetter Lane, and Nicholas Ling, who sold *The Triumphs Over Death* at the book-mart at St Paul's, was also connected to the area, for by 1603 he was selling books "under the Dial" in the churchyard of St-Dunstan-in-the-West, and was buried there when

[83] J. M. Rigg, 'Oglander, Sir John (1585–1655)', rev. Sean Kelsey, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20604, accessed 27 Feb 2013]

[84] In 1631 *Vade Mecum: A Manual of Essays, Moral, Theological* was "to be sold by John Day and Daniel Pakeman at their shop in Little Britain". In 1634, John Dod's *A Plain and Familiar Exposition on the Lord's Prayer* "was printed by J. D. for Daniel Pakeman… to be sold at the sign of the Rainbow near the Inner Temple gate in Fleet Street".

he died.[85] Perhaps if Trussell had gone to press a few years later, he would have chosen Abel Roper's bookshop "at the sign of the black spread eagle in Fleet Street, over against St Dunstan's Church"; but the earliest record of Roper selling any books by St Dunstan's is 1638.[86] In fact, Trussell had published on the cusp of the period when the Dunshouse area became a hub of the book-trade. By 1648 we find Walter Montagu's *Miscellanea Spiritualia, or, Devout Essays* "printed for William Lee, Daniel Pakeman and Gabriel Bedell" to be sold "at their shops in Fleet Street". By 1651 Roper's shop was "the Sun", and later in the century "the Black Boy", but it continued under his stewardship until 1700.

Ephraim Dawson and Daniel Pakeman's catalogue of publications suggests that they were sympathetic to royal and episcopal authority. Although, like most booksellers, they stocked a variety of works, there is a preponderance of religious writing, and within that a seeming preference for the ceremonialist, Laudian understanding of the Church of England. 1638 saw the publication of a sermon by John Swan, a Cambridgeshire curate, which has clear episcopalian sentiments and attacks puritan factionalists who

> had rather disgorge their stomachs to excite their Disciples against superiors, than study to reduce them to a more quiet and dutiful way… only because their Consistorian tenets concerning Kings may not be allowed, nor they no longer suffered to violate that decent Uniformity which best becometh God's public worship.

The following year they published Swan's *Profano-Mastix,* "a brief and necessary direction concerning the respects which we owe to God and his house even in outward worship, and reverent using of holy places", the title of which sounds like a fleer at the troublemaking puritan William Prynne (author of the recent *Histriomastix*).[87] Their printing and sale of Montagu's *Miscellanea* in 1648 is even more revealing: Montagu was a Catholic convert who had been associated with Henrietta Maria's court, and his 'devout essays' would have been highly unpopular with London's parliamentary rulers in that year – still more so with the army. Admittedly, a sermon by James Ussher strongly attacking Catholicism also went through three editions at their shop from 1624 to 1629 – but he,

[85] The earliest record of Ling's association with St Dunstan's churchyard is Michael Drayton's *England's Heroical Epistles* (1602), which was "to be sold at his shop in Fleet Street, near St Dunstan's Church". Subsequently many works are specified to be sold at his shop there. Ling died in 1607 and John Smethwick took over the shop "under the Dial" – the reference to the St Dunstan's clock tower is from Michael Drayton, *Poems* (1608), and many subsequent publications.
[86] Thomas Bedford, *A treatise of the sacraments* (1638).
[87] John Swan, *A sermon, pointing out the chief causes, and cures, of such unruly stirs, as are not seldom found in the church of God* (1638), p. 10; John Swan, *Profano-Mastix* (1639).

although a Calvinist, was nonetheless an Archbishop, and the sermon had been preached before the king, which might have made the difference.

Dawson and Pakeman's religious and political stance cannot have been offensive to Trussell at this stage, or presumably he would not have done business with them. Although not evidence for his own attitudes, with this possibility in mind, it is possible to imagine that the stationers intended more than might first appear by the 1641 reprinting of the *Continuation*. It would not have been the only work to appear that year with a message for those who had ears to hear it: the court poet James Shirley's new play *The Cardinal,* acted that autumn at the Blackfriars Theatre (near St. Dunstan's), concluded with a heartfelt complaint and warning:

> How much are kings abused by those they take
> To royal grace, whom, when they cherish most
> By nice indulgence, they often arm
> Against themselves! [88]

It was already widely apparent that parliament's confrontation with the king was perilous in the extreme. The 'Army Plot' in the spring, the alleged preparations for a coup d'état in Scotland known as 'the Incident' in October, and above all the Irish revolt, opened up horrible new prospects. England had been at war with the Catholic powers during the 1620s, and the spectre of war had been real even during the times of peace. But a different kind of threat was now becoming apparent: that of civil swords and native fire. Ian Roy describes how "many voices prophesied a destructive war for England on the eve of the Civil War", and there was wide expectation that the horrors which had been all too visible in Europe for decades could be repeated.[89] It is unsurprising that, in this climate, writers and publishers should wish to avert the disaster by appealing to their readerships through the medium of history, both recent and more ancient. Trussell's history of the Wars of the Roses, with its grave closing remarks, can be read in this light. As the year wore on and the king's enemies drove him ever nearer to the point where his only option was to take up arms against them, readers of the new volume of the *Continuation* would have put it down with Trussell's solemn conclusion at the forefront of their minds:

[88] Edmund Gosse, ed., *The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: James Shirley* (London: Vizetelly & Co., 1888), p. 435. This could also be read as an attack on the Earl of Strafford.
[89] Ian Roy, 'England Turned Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in its European Context', in *Transactions* of *the Royal Historical Society* vol. 28, (1978), p. 127.

> I have inserted the matches and issue of all above the degree of a Baron, that have ended their days during those times, with the number of slain, during the division of the two Roses… there appeareth in all to have been slain, four score five thousand, six hundred, twenty and eight Christians, and most of this Nation, not to be repeated without grief, nor remembered without deprecation, that the like may never happen more. *Pax una triumphis innumeris potior*.[90]
>
> FINIS.
>
> (*Continuation*, p. 260)

The quotation is from the *Punica* of Silius Italicus. It brings into the open what underlay the attitude Trussell expressed in *The A,B,C of Armes*, which, as we have seen, could have been encapsulated in the famous dictum of Vegetius, *qui desiderat pacem praeparet bellum.* Trussell himself seems very likely to have seen the national history as a wellspring of unity and strength during these dangerous times. But, during his battles with the corporation of Winchester in the 1620s, Trussell had complained that his words and advice had always had "Cassandra's fate: howsoever true and profitable, yet not credited till too late"; and, lamentably, this was to be the case again.

[90] 'One peace is preferable to innumerable triumphs'.

5. The woken muse: commemoration of charity and revel 1636-1637

John Trussell himself depicted 1636 as a crucial year in his life, a new beginning of something: the revival of his Muse:

> Once did I vow – but who can all vows keep? –
> That my dull Muse eternally should sleep,
> But now awaked with the general fame
> Of the revisement of the Olympic Game,
> Acted on Cotswold, she adventureth thus
> To pipe a note to Dover's genius.[1]

These are the opening lines in Trussell's first poem in *Annalia Dubrensia*, an anthology of poems by thirty-three writers celebrating Robert Dover, the inaugurator of 'Olympic Games' in the Cotswold Hills which had been held since about 1612.[2] The contributors ranged from such literary titans of the age as Ben Jonson, Michael Drayton and William Davenant, to unknown and anonymous writers. Uniquely among them, Trussell was represented twice. His first poem is the principal one, addressed 'To my Noble Friend Mr. Robert Dover on his annual Assemblies upon Cotswold': Trussell commends Dover for his efforts, curses those who do not support him, and assures him that after his death, "well-minded jovialists shall tell the story/ Of Robert Dover's never-dying glory".[3] The second is a lighter affair, addressed to 'the Noble Disposed Ladies and Gentlewomen assembled in Whitsun-week upon Cotswold at the Revels there revised and continued by Heroic Dover'; Trussell professes that he has no "words/ Powerful enough [their] glories to rechaunt", and contents himself with an exhortation to them to "one with th'other,/ Join heart and hand with mutual consent", and thus "make Elysium visible on Earth".[4] *Annalia Dubrensia* appeared at an important time: 1636 was the peak of Caroline culture, the end of the *Ancien Régime*; afterwards came the deluge. It is natural and useful to think about it in the context of the political and religious conflict to come. The first of Trussell's poems, in

[1] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 105.
[2] For general information on Dover's Games, see *Annalia Dubrensia*, pp. 1-58; Celia Haddon, *The First Ever English Olimpick Games* (GB: Hodder and Stoughton, 2004).
[3] *Annalia Dubrensia*, pp. 105-106.
[4] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 172.

particular, should be read against this backdrop, as it is a revealing insight into some of the tensions of the time.

Robert Dover appears like a parallel of John Trussell in some ways. Norfolk-born, but educated in London at Gray's Inn, he became a provincial lawyer. He was of minor gentry stock, and an occasional writer: apart from his poem in *Annalia Dubrensia*, he was complimented by Peter Heylin for a 'Pastoral' and a play of 'The Wandering Jew', neither of which survive.[5] In yet another of the incidental relationships that connect Trussell to Catholicism, Dover came from a Catholic background. Celia Haddon suspects that his parents were church-papists (as Trussell's appear to have been), and educated the young Dover in their faith at Wisbech Castle, the premier Elizabethan gaolhouse of priests.[6] Dover certainly attracted friends: *Annalia Dubrensia* is testament to that. Of the legion of well-wishers who participated in *Annalia Dubrensia*, some were kinsmen, some "legal and other friends from Norfolk", some leading poets of the Jacobean generation and their younger followers.[7]

Precisely how John Trussell came to be a contributor is uncertain: Whitfield thinks of him as one of a collection of learned and gentle "local friends and admirers", because of the Trussell family's ancestral connection to Billesley, which is in the region of the Vale of Evesham.[8] As Trussell, London-born and now a naturalised resident of Winchester, had never been a 'Trussell of Billesley', being part of a junior branch of the family, this connection is not so certain: besides which, as we have seen, the estate at Billesley had already been forfeited by Thomas Trussell. Nevertheless, networks of kinship could be widespread and enduring in the seventeenth century, and Trussell would certainly have been aware of his family's connection to the area, the source of his gentility. We are on more certain ground, though, when we reflect that the fame of Dover's Games was undoubtedly widespread by 1636; this gathering of gentry folk, literary figures of note such as Michael Drayton, and Trussell's 'Noble Disposed Ladies and Gentlewomen', had become a feature of what later centuries would call 'society'. There is nothing intrinsically surprising about a gentleman who was not closely connected to Robert Dover by locality or family contributing to *Annalia Dubrensia*: all that it is necessary to posit is that Trussell, 'awaked by the general fame' of this great annual occasion, had attended the games some years. Since he refers to Dover as his 'Noble Friend', it seems likely (as we should expect anyway) that he had met him there and been as attracted as all the other contributors to the

[5] *Annalia Dubrensia*, pp. 226-230.
[6] Haddon, *The First Ever English Olimpick Games*, pp. 34-37.
[7] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 41.
[8] Ibid.

man's personality, which was evidently charming. At some point the originator of the collection – either Drayton or Matthew Walbancke, the printer of the collection, or even Dover himself[9] – would have made known his intention to celebrate Dover by printing an anthology of encomia; Trussell, if he frequented the Games, would have come to hear of it and contributed the fruits of his own pen. By writing an encomium to the ladies of Cotswold as well as to Dover, he secured for himself the particular distinction of appearing in the anthology twice.

What Trussell said is as interesting as how he came to say it. The main substance of his encomium to Dover is that he has rescued "honest pastime, harmless mirth" from destruction at the hands of those who sought to stamp them out:

> The country wakes and whirlings have appeared
> Of late like foreign pastimes. Carnivals,
> Palme and rush-bearing, harmless Whitsun-ales,
> Running at quintain, May-games, general plays,
> By some more nice than wise, of latter days,
> Have in their standings, lectures, exercises,
> Been so reproved, traduced, condemned for vices,
> Profane and heathenish, that now few dare
> Set them afoot.[10]

Trussell's phrasing rather recalls the opening lines of Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* in which the poet sings "of May-poles, hock-carts, wassails, wakes,/ Of bridegrooms, brides and of their bridal-cakes".[11] 'Wakes' refers to celebrating the day of dedication of a church with ales and feasting. Rush-bearing was also a way of celebrating the feasts of the dedication of churches. Running at quintain was a martial exercise. Palm-bearing on Palm Sunday commemorated Christ's entry into Jerusalem shortly before Easter. Trussell also refers to church-ales at Whitsun and May celebrations, such as dancing around the Maypole (a revel with a lot of potential for 'licentiousness') . Most of these are rituals specifically referred to in the Book of Sports, originally published in James I's reign, which had been reissued by Charles I in 1633 and ordered to be read in churches. In it the king ordered that the people

[9] *Annalia Dubrensia*, pp. 42, 97-99.
[10] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 105.
[11] Robert Herrick, *Works*, ed. Alfred Pollard (London: Lawrence & Bullen, 1891), p. 3.

> be not disturbed… from having May games, Whitsun Ales, and Morris dances; and the setting up of Maypoles and other sports therewith used, so as the same shall be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service: and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom; but withal we do here account still as prohibited all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited, bowling.[12]

Although it is true that one of Trussell's criticisms of the Winchester corporation in the undated, unfinished poem in the *Touchstone of Tradition* manuscript was that "unlawful games are winked at here", that comment must refer, not to the sort of 'sports' which Dover's Olympics featured or to the ones provided for in the Book of Sports, but to the sort of frivolous recreations in which the lower classes were barred from participating under the Unlawful Games Act of 1541, such as bull- and bear-baiting, and also dicing, bowling, chequers and card games. These indoor games were of no social value, a waste of time, and more importantly could involve gambling, raising the prospect of household servants and poor people losing their earnings at such games and having to turn to crime or poor relief.[13] It was far better that the meaner sort should spend their time in "Dancing, Archery, Leaping, Vaulting, [and] other harmless recreations", as the Book of Sports enjoined.

Trussell's contribution to *Annalia Dubrensia* clearly fits him (and in 1636 would have been seen to fit him) into what was at that moment in time perhaps not quite yet a 'party', but rather a network of views shared by a section of the English nation which was royalist, anti-puritan, literary, gentle (or aristocratic), fond of the countryside and its rituals, favouring traditional and 'High Church' religion and the Book of Sports, and unconcerned with, or hostile to, reform of manners. Most of these attitudes are represented in *Annalia Dubrensia* in some way. Ben Jonson's short poem is a eulogy to James I, for example.[14] The collection is suffused with a Spenserian aesthetic of shepherds and rustic swains, a typical, even paradigmatic, literary depiction of the countryside. As for anti-puritanism, Thomas Randolph, another graduate of Westminster School (though after Trussell's time)[15] wrote in a similar vein to Trussell's, but in more explicit terms, that

> Some melancholy Swains about have gone

[12] [http://www.constitution.org/eng/conpur017.htm; accessed 22 September 2012]; *Annalia Dubrensia,* p. 17.
[13] 33 Henry VIII, c. 9, in *Statutes of the Realm,* vol. III (London: Record Commission, 1810-1828), pp.837-841; Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehaviour in England 1370-1600* (Cambridge: University Press, 1998), p. 100.
[14] *Annalia Dubrensia,* p. 134.
[15] *Annalia Dubrensia,* p. 122.

To teach all Zeal their own complexion;
Choler they will admit sometimes, I see,
But phlegm and sanguine no religions be.
These teach that dancing is a Jezebel
And Barley-brake the ready way to Hell;
The Morris, idols; Whitsun-ales can be
But profane relics of a Jubilee!
These in a Zeal, t'express how much they doe
The organs hate, have silenced bag-pipes too;
And harmless May-poles, all are railed upon,
As if they were the Towers of Babylon.[16]

Francis Izod, a fellow contributor, seems to have agreed that Trussell and Randolph are attacking the same targets, for the same reason:

Twenty pretty reasons Tom Randall doth assign,
To free from obloquy those frolic sports of thine;
Proves that they smoothly sail on the full tide of pleasures,
And yet not treading forth sin's guileful mazi-measures.
And therefore Trussell doth more boldly make adventure,
To stop those itching mouths, and seals it with a curse,
Denouncing him a heathen, Jew or Turk, or worse,
That 'gainst thy harmless sports do heedless clamours raise…[17]

So Christopher Whitfield's interpretation of Trussell's verses as "full of love for the English scene, and of regret for a fading later-medieval past, which the Puritans, tools of their age, were doing so much to undermine", is indeed the obvious one.[18] Yet there is enough ambiguity under the surface here to make us pause for a second look.

Trussell's apparent regret for the abandonment of Hocktide pastimes is particularly interesting. Trussell's complaint in the first poem continues:

the Hock-tide pastimes are
Declined, if not deserted, so that now
All public merriments, I know not how,
Are questioned for their lawfulness; whereby

[16] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 125.
[17] *Annalia Dubrensia*, pp. 142-143.
[18] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 104.

> Society grew sick, was like to die.[19]

Hocktide pastimes were celebrated in some parts of England on the second Monday and Tuesday after Easter. Their observance was sporadic, being recorded in some parishes but not others. The "slightly *risqué*, if highly effective, way of raising funds", as Ronald Hutton describes it, involved men and women taking it in turns to act as mock 'hostage-takers' in public places, especially on roads.[20] They would 'capture' and tie up people of the opposite sex, who then had to pay a 'ransom' which was intended to go to parish funds. Hutton calls it a "great parish moneyspinner", but the pastime's potential to encourage licentiousness is immediately apparent.[21] Not only that, but "in many places the custom seems wholly to have been one by which females captured males".[22] The festival therefore had gendered overtones which could be considered disturbing by some contemporaries, since it was a "perfect reversal of the social norm".[23] But if the festival had been altogether threatening to the social order it might not have been observed so widely. Sally-Beth Maclean outlines the standard interpretation of Hocktide as follows:

> [Hocktide] was another example of status-reversal rituals that reaffirm 'the hierarchical principle' as described by Victor Turner, who argues that such rituals 'lead to "an ecstatic experience", an enhanced sense of community, followed by a "sober return" to the normal social structure'.[24]

John Trussell discussed Hocktide again later, in the *Touchstone of Tradition*, representing it as having been first established in Winchester, and thereafter dispersed throughout England. In the relevant passage he claims that after the death of Hardicanute,

> in which the line masculine of the Danes received its full period, the Hocktide sports which during the reign of the Danes had been forborne were revised… The women that were married to the Danes by the king's command at the time prefixed fell upon their husbands in their beds asleep and with reaphooks, scythes and such domestic weapons did slay or maim them in that manner that the English call hocksing [i.e. cutting the hamstrings]; for

[19] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 105.
[20] Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: University Press, 1994), p. 26.
[21] Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, p. 59.
[22] Ronald Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford: University Press, 1996), p. 207.
[23] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, p. 207.
[24] Sally-Beth Maclean, 'Hocktide: A Reassessment of a Popular Pre-Reformation Festival', in *Festive Drama: Papers from the Sixth Triennial Colloquium of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre*, ed. Meg Twycross (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1996), p. 239.

> which exploit more politic than Christian the women were granted to have this privilege to have it *statutum Wintana civitate post Pascha tertia septimana* that women may bind their husbands.[25]

Although as a patriotic Englishman Trussell seems to recognise in the story of the festival's inauguration a just retribution by the English women on the domineering of the Danes, which he calls "insufferable", his comment that it is "more politic than Christian" is guarded.

> These pastimes had other relation to the Romana Lupercalia which was a customary merriment on days and times agreed upon about Rome for the shepherds' wives and daughters… to ramble up and down the streets in a Viraginian manner [i.e. 'like Viragos'] ill-beseeming the modesty of their sex and condition… And this was an immodest behaviour of the women upon certain times in a disguised manner to wander about the streets and by strong hand by the help of young striplings to that end attired in their habit, to bind all such of the masculine gender of what degree or quality soever they met within the way (the Augurs only excepted) and so bound to set them in chairs in the open market place and then *magno cum strepitu* to sing and dance for a certain space, then making him or them so bound to kiss the nether hem of their inmost garment to be dismissed, and others to be sought for and, taken, so used. (*TT*, ff. 92-93)

This is not exactly a nostalgic reflection on a harmless, too much neglected pastime; rather it is replete with ill-defined unease at the social, sexual and even political implications of the festival. Trussell is obviously displeased with the 'immodesty' of a merriment in which women were granted such licence. The influence of Roman festivities was interesting to him as an antiquary, but the idea of a festival which had its origin in an event when men were slaughtered in their beds by their own wives with readily-to-hand "domestic weapons" was potentially quite disturbing in itself.

But even allowing for the view of Sally-Beth Maclean that such role-reversal rituals ultimately reinforced the social structure, it is still interesting that Trussell does not condemn it more explicitly. As Maclean comments, medieval Catholic authorities' distaste for "the physical excesses and moral corruption of Hocktide would have found sympathy with the puritans of the seventeenth century"[26] – and it was not only puritans who could be expected to disapprove. Puritan disapproval of the besetting vices of the day – fornication, drunkenness, idling – was intimately connected to the social ills they produced: bastardy,

[25] 'By the laws of Winchester in the third week after Easter' [sic].
[26] Maclean, 'Hocktide: A Reassessment', p. 239.

violence, riot, a sclerotic economy. These were ills which the governing classes of the towns also sought to combat, both out of duty and necessity; there was thus a nexus of interest between Christian reformers and those who wielded temporal power, and in practice they were often the same people. Trussell was emphatically part of the governing elite of Winchester, and could therefore be expected to take a firmer line on Hocktide than he in fact seems to.

Despite the hostility Trussell evinced as a young man to puritans, it would be too simplistic to assume that those attitudes endured into his fifties and sixties, after he had become a member of the Winchester oligarchy, with responsibility for keeping order in the city. There are several aspects, both to his writing and his government in Winchester during the 1630s, which could be taken at first glance for the type of puritan moral reform which oligarchies in other towns were attempting to bring in for the better observance of Sunday and the restriction of "licentiousness".[27] As we saw, the same poem in which he criticised 'unlawful games' also attacked alehouses, drunkenness and the begetting of bastards, and its attack on buying and selling on the Sabbath was followed up in 1633 by an ordinance restricting Sunday trading. Such apparent 'sabbatarianism' is not the natural bedfellow of an enthusiasm for country sports, since, as Hirst remarks, "the book of sports, with its apparent invitation to desecration of the sabbath, outraged mainstream sabbatarian opinion".[28] Even more revealing is Trussell's comment, in the *Origin of Cities*, that the bishops of the West Saxons originally had their see at "the ancient town of Dorchester, not that so now called in Dorsetshire (of whose good government all the west parts may glory, and all the east parts may take example)" (*Origin*, f. 40). Dorchester had suffered a devastating fire in 1613 and fallen under the control of an elite who regarded the fire as a judgement and themselves as God's instruments of reformation.[29] A significant part of this reformation involved relieving the poor and setting them to work, an issue with which Trussell was strongly concerned, as chapter 5 will show; but it also involved using the machinery of justice to punish drinking, swearing and immorality of all kinds as rigidly as possible: Underdown comments that "nowhere… was vice pursued more obsessively than in Dorchester".[30]

The key was order: the social and political appeal of puritanism, for Hirst, "lay in the desire for discipline. Gentry, merchants and substantial householders [were] the beneficiaries of a social order the fragility of whose underpinnings they might recognise in

[27] Trussell attacks 'licentiousness', *Touchstone of Tradition*, f. 195; see chapter 3.
[28] Derek Hirst, *Authority and Conflict: England 1603-1658* (GB: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1986), p.166.
[29] David Underdown, *Fire From Heaven: Life in an English Town in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Fontana Press, 1993).
[30] Underdown, *Fire From Heaven*, p. 95.

times of crisis".[31] In his letters of the 1620s to his corporation colleagues, insisting to the Mayor and twenty-four on the centrality of Order ("legis essentia, better than sacrifice") and blasting those who followed private gain above public duty, Trussell expressed his views on civic order in terms very similar to puritan contemporaries in other oligarchies who were engaged in moral reform of their own cities. For example, Peter Thatcher, a puritan preacher in Salisbury and ally of the godly faction governing the city, wrote a letter to Henry Sherfield, the Recorder, in 1627, "to encourage Sherfield to resist the 'violent opposition of such turbulent spirits as made their own gain the only level of their actions'".[32] Slack agrees that the concern of Thatcher and his colleagues for reform, especially of poor relief, stemmed from "that desire for discipline which was a natural and perhaps inevitable reaction to deteriorating social conditions in towns".[33] It is this opposed complex of attitudes which should cause us to hesitate before accepting Trussell's placing of himself in the 'proto-party' described at the outset of this chapter, however natural and obvious it seems.

Ronald Hutton, the foremost historian of English revelry and pastime in this period, cautions scholars against seeing Dover's games and *Annalia Dubrensia* as part of the battle between reformers and "defenders of the old-style revels".[34] He argues that the Cotswold games were instead "a new departure taking [their] model from ancient Rome"; as he notes, they avoided holy days and Sundays, despite taking place in Whitsun week.[35] He remarks, however, that John Trussell was among three people who contributed to the anthology who really were 'defenders of the old-style revels', the others being William Durham and Thomas Randolph, although Durham's poem also seems to be concerned with classical precedents for the games – he praises Dover for reinstalling "Flora, Queen of May… into her holy-day", for example, but rather than being a plea for May-games this seems to be a reference to the festival of Ceres in the ancient world.[36] William Denny and John Stratford, amongst others, were even more explicit about the idea that Dover's games, "where each Olympic game/ Is paralleled", were the worthy successor of "the Pythean, Grecian, Trojan plays".[37]

The contrast between Trussell's poem and most of the others is indeed noticeable; it was not the example of the ancient Olympics that Trussell homed in on (though he mentions them), but church-ales, May-games, Hocktide and puritans 'more nice than wise'.

[31] Hirst, *Authority and Conflict,* p. 75.
[32] Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', pp. 184-186.
[33] Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', p. 185.
[34] Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England,* p. 164.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 111.
[37] *Annalia Dubrensia*, pp. 115-118, 179-180.

Most of the contributors to *Annalia Dubrensia* do not address these issues. Nor is Trussell's contribution filled with classical imagery and references. Of course it may be that Trussell was simply mistaken in what he thought the purpose of Dover's Olympics and *Annalia Dubrensia* was, but a more likely implication is that the issues he wrote about were ones he particularly cared about. Besides, Robert Dover's own poem gives a clear indication of what he thought about the matter: summarising the arguments of "our fine, refined clergy" that hunting of beasts, playing of games for money, men striving to best one another in sports, mixed dancing and so forth were all sinful and forbidden, he rebutted them by saying that every nation which had left off such "active sports and plays", such as Greece, had degenerated, and furthermore that the early Church did not forbid them.[38] Dover had no patience with religious criticism of any of the activities then 'questioned for their lawfulness'.

It is in retrospect that Trussell's *Annalia Dubrensia* poems fall into their proper place. Hindsight allows us to say that we know Trussell became a supporter of the king in the Civil War, and that he was appalled by the vandalism of Winchester Cathedral by iconoclastic parliamentary soldiers whom he denounced as "zealots" (*BW,* f. 47). We know that the Cotswold Games were brought to an end by the outbreak of civil war, and that they retained a certain significance in the royalist imagination: Richard Symonds, a gentleman officer of the king's lifeguard, recalled Dover's Games on the Cotswolds in his diary as the army manoeuvred in the area: "from Brodway, the King and all his army marched over the Cotswold Downs, where Dover's games were, to Stow in the Wold, six mile".[39] Symonds had an antiquarian disposition, and, as the war went increasingly badly for the king's side, a tendency to digress away from military matters in his diary to matters which recalled happier times: it would not be surprising if his reference to Dover's games was an example of this tendency. It would have been easy for him, in the midst of war, to think of Dover's games nostalgically, as Christopher Whitfield does, as epitomising the 'halcyon days', when the nation was at peace, religious and civil order was observed, and "a timeless, unhurried pursuit of local and domestic concerns", not the strains of war, occupied gentlemen's minds.[40] The sense that Dover's games were important enough to be remembered long after their surcease is felt throughout *Annalia Dubrensia*. Robert Dover's nephew John wrote in his encomium that

[38] *Annalia Dubrensia,* p. 223. Whitfield interprets the couplet "I admire to see such learning shown/ That to our Church's elders were not known!" as an expression of support for the Laudian mainstream of the Church of England (p. 225), but as Dover is attacking the "refined clergy", not zealous enthusiasts, it is perhaps more likely that the 'elders' he refers to were the early Church Fathers.
[39] Richard Symonds, *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army,* ed. C. E. Long, (Cambridge: University Press, 1997), p. 15.
[40] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 44.

when to Calais we dry-shod may pass over,
Without bark or ship, thy praise, brave Dover,
Shall be forgotten; or when Cotswold lies
As prostrate as the valleys to the skies…[41]

Almost all the poets express creative variations of this prophecy. Trussell's was pastoral-themed: "while that sheep have wool, or shepherds sheep,/ Fame shall thine actions in remembrance keep".[42] All these poetic evocations of memory enduring through an infinite space of time are an interesting insight into how early seventeenth-century people might understand the notion of futurity and historical record, and thus the nature and potential of remembrance.

Civic ritual and memory

John Trussell lived in a time when it was in some ways harder, in some ways easier to feel connected to the past. In one sense, time receded backward into a dark abysm – the details of years and centuries were lost in shadow, illuminated sometimes brightly, but usually falsely, by the flickering candle of myth. But in another sense the past was a real presence, because the sphere of the world was always turning through the same points in space and time. The ritual year progressed like a lemniscate, beginning nowhere but proceeding forever – *in saecula saeculorum,* as the doxology proclaims: through ages of ages, time out of mind. The year was made up of customs and dates of both national and local significance, many of them moveable, but regular, and all based on the eternal motion of the liturgical calendar.[43] In a county town like Winchester the four Quarter Sessions came four times a year, associated with the feasts of Epiphany (6 January), Easter, Midsummer (24 June) and Michaelmas; and there were the four legal terms, when the city's courts were in session and business could be conducted in them, to give structure to the time in-between. Incorporated boroughs had more ceremonial forms of civic ritual too. A list on the reverse of the flyleaf folio of *The Benefactors of Winchester* gives the 'scarlet days' provided for "by ordinance" in the city of Winchester, when the Mayor and freemen wore their ceremonial scarlet gowns to mark occasions of importance: apart from "the two

[41] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 137.
[42] *Annalia Dubrensia*, p. 106.
[43] Indispensable guides to the early modern English year which this passage draws upon are C. R. Cheney and Michael Jones, eds., *A Handbook of Dates: For students of British history* (Cambridge: University Press, 2004) and Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, passim.

Boroughmoot days", which take pride of place in Trussell's list as the foremost annual civic gatherings, the first three such days to be mentioned are Christmas, St Stephen's (26 December) and Twelfth Day (6 January), the day of the feast of Epiphany, when the Christmas holiday period concluded.

The Feast of the Annunciation, otherwise Lady Day (25 March), was the beginning of the official new year, and on this day rents were due for corporation properties like Trussell's, at their ancient rates. A day then swiftly ensued on which scarlet was worn "by custom": 27 March, the "king's day", commemorating the day in 1625 when King Charles had succeeded to the throne. The vernal equinox is around this time; in Winchester, as the days warmed and lengthened, the Lenten season would be observed, culminating in Holy Week, the most sacred time in the calendar. Both Easter Day (which, then as now, could fall on any date from 22 March to 25 April) and Easter Monday were scarlet days. As high summer approached, the corporation donned their scarlet once again for three days in Whitsun week, the week celebrating God's revelation of the Holy Spirit to mankind: Whit Sunday, the Monday following, and Trinity Sunday. After midsummer, when the year began to wane, another pivotal time approached: Michaelmas, celebrated on 29 September, the third of the year's 'quarter days', indicating in general terms the beginning of autumn. This was the day on which the new Mayor of Winchester began his term, having been elected at a Borough-moot not long before, on the Monday or Tuesday after Holy Rood Day (14 September).[44] 5 November was also a scarlet day, commemorating the miraculous salvation of the English state from the most nefarious of the designs of Antichrist, the Gunpowder Treason of 1605. Three weeks after that another sacred time in the calendar began: Advent, which inaugurated a month of joyful and reverent contemplation, both of the world's first expectation of the coming of the Messiah, and of its wait for the eventual end of time itself at the Second Coming. And then would come another Christmas and another New Year, and the world would turn again.

But, of course, the seventeenth century was not a time of stasis but of great change and development; nor, obviously, did John Trussell and his fellows just go round in circles. As the preceding examples of charitable benefactions that were tied to feast days in the calendar suggest, old dates could be imbued with new meanings: men would die, and from henceforth a date of their choosing could become associated with them by means of a new institution of a gift to the city. For example, Michaelmas Day, alongside all its other associations, was also intended to see the distribution of two pounds to the poor, according to the will of Ralph Lambe (*BW,* f. 20). The will of Richard Budd was that on All Saints

[44] E.g. Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 42.

Day (1 November) in the morning, a sermon should be read at the Church of St Maurice in the High Street by "a good and sufficient preacher", who was to receive twenty shillings for his services, and in the evening be entertained at an All Saints Day dinner along with the Mayor and his brethren at St John's House (*BW*, f. 26). The will of William Burton ordained that a gift of seven pounds was to be distributed amongst one hundred of the city's poor at the church of St Thomas on St Thomas' Day (21 December) every year (*BW*, f. 21). All of these men could hope to be remembered by the recipients of their charity for as long as it was distributed regularly every year. Some benefactors were able to reinforce the association between themselves and the festival by choosing an eponymous saint's day; George Pemerton, for example, in his will of 1637, chose St George's day for the inauguration of a sermon in his parish church of St Laurence, with a mass distribution of money and bread to "120 poor people yearly upon that day" in Winchester afterwards, as well as two nearby parishes in which he had lands (*BW*, f. 30).

All this was part of an ongoing trend in English urban life, visible since the Reformation: the deliberate and successful 'secularisation' of the ritual year, a taking possession by civic elites of what had formerly been religious property. Because of the Reformation, as Robert Tittler comments, "the entire firmament of urban life, and of urban political culture, had been made to shift".[45] Much of the significance of the religious calendar had been destroyed or reduced to a shadow of its former self by the reformers, while important methods of civic remembrance such as the saying of masses and prayers for the dead, chantries, memorial lights, images, monuments and paintings on screens and glass which had amounted to a "virtual palimpsest for the community", were stamped out.[46] There were serious economic consequences too, as hospitals and places of almsgiving owned by the religious orders were seized and looted, or made over to the secular authorities. When the pattern of life was disrupted, communities had to find new ways both of giving and remembering. The charitable givers whose names became associated with saints' days were of course trying to build a better world. But their ambition was more than this; they gave, endowed, built for the poor's sake, yet knowing (or at any rate hoping) that the memory of them would become part of the fabric of ritual, the civic liturgy, which stretched off into a future potentially as vast as the gulf of time behind them. The progression of history was like one of the ponderous seventeenth-century sentences which are so characteristic of the age and of John Trussell's writing in particular,

[45] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 16.
[46] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 15. In general see Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England*, ch. 3; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (Yale: University Press, 1992), passim.

that move at a solemn pace from clause to clause, written in full awareness that there shall at some point be a full stop, but not in the anticipation of reaching it any time soon. Although as Christians they knew that Christ could return at any time, they were men of the world as well. At services evening and morn (assuming their minister followed the Prayer Book conscientiously), after every Psalm, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, churchgoers heard the priest pronounce a *Gloria*, and recited in answer "As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end". It was a reassuring indication that there was world enough and time in which to build and bequeath a lasting legacy – and to be remembered.

Poverty and benefaction

The most substantial part of John Trussell's *Benefactors of Winchester* miscellany is a testament to the power of this impulse to build a legacy, and a literary consummation of it, and also an encouragement of it. The material was compiled during the 1630s in fulfilment of Trussell's longstanding desire, expressed in his prefatory letter of 1637 to his brethren of the corporation, to "actuate, at least endeavour, somewhat that might either better, enrich or illustrate" the city he loved:

> ne videar in urbe vixisse inutilis, I have taken some pains out of the rubbish of blind oblivion and supine neglect, enforced by the name fretting Canker of all devouring Time, to redeem the names of those good benefactors to this City, whose memory ought not to die amongst Christian citizens. (*BW*, f. 5)

There follows, after a brief historical introduction and a list of Mayors of the city, a collection of records of benefactions from which the city had benefited, most of them recent (within living memory), some copied directly out of the wills of the benefactors. It is prefaced by an introductory poem the title of which is itself a couplet, 'A Series of each Benefactor's name/ from whom what now this city hath first came":

> Wherein can man more lively represent
> His maker's image, than when God hath lent
> Him wherewithal so to command
> His charity by sharing his estate
> Amongst the needy, that they may partake
> A share thereof, and bless God for their sake. (*BW*, f. 6)

The introductory poem is mainly concerned with royal benefactions to the city, going back to Henry I's granting of a charter. Trussell mentions Phillip and Mary, who

> to their lasting Honour
> Expressed their bounties in transcendent manner
> For all the lands, rents and annuities
> Of [Wintney], Southwick; St Mary Kalendar
> Lying within the verge of Winchester,
> She gave the City with the benefit
> Of the ulnage, and did remit
> For fifty years the fee-farm's moiety… (*BW*, f. 7)

The commemoration of royal benefactors concludes with James I, whose visit to the city in 1603 Trussell regrets as a missed opportunity, believing the city could have got more out of him had they understood his aptness to show the city favour: "but we were sluggard for the common good/ And what was offered was not understood" (*BW*, f. 7).

Benefaction was, overall, the primary way in which the oligarchs sought to make a lasting contribution to the life of the society. Thomas Atkinson calls the first half of the seventeenth century in Winchester "an age of charity", noting that from 1600 to 1640 "there were no fewer than twenty important benefactions made for the benefit of the City and its people, a total four times greater than for the past forty years".[47] The volume of money coming in from benefactors is likely to have been crucial in alleviating the demands on the city coffers and allowing recovery to take hold. As Atkinson argues, "prosperity returned… gradually by the wise administration of numerous charitable bequests".[48] The benefactors of Winchester seem to have been part of a national trend. Paul Slack reached the view that, when inflation is accounted for, a real-terms decline in charitable giving towards the alleviation of poverty during the sixteenth century was actually reversed in the early seventeenth century.[49] Nigel Goose claims that "there was a fourfold increase in the sum available for poor relief in the 1650s compared with the 1540s, and a twofold increase in per capita terms".[50]

[47] Thomas Atkinson, *Stuart Winchester*, p. 24.
[48] Thomas Atkinson, *Stuart Winchester,* pp. 54-60 (insert).
[49] Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London and New York, 1988), p. 163.
[50] Nigel Goose, 'The rise and decline of philanthropy in early modern Colchester: the unacceptable face of mercantilism?', in *Social History*, 31:4, pp. 469-487, at p. 471.

The need which charitable benefactors supplied was vast, and its severity was far from being limited to Winchester. Nationally, the population increased throughout the sixteenth century, which depressed incomes, even as staple industries such as cloth declined in almost every place where they had previously been strong, forcing towns to find new economic roles.[51] Inflation played its part: "between 1500 and 1640, it is estimated that the price of goods rose by over 700%, and that of industrial goods by over 300%".[52] The result was nationwide hardship, and "living conditions in the decades 1620-1650 which have been called amongst the worst England has experienced".[53] In the opinion of Peter Clark and Paul Slack, "by 1600 poverty was the major concern of all urban governors, not only in decaying towns such as Winchester faced with a long-term decline in employment opportunities, but also in expanding centres like Bristol".[54] Many who lived not far above the poverty line, depending on work and wages to tide them over from week to week, could be pushed onto the welfare rolls by a period of sickness or other misfortune; this would happen to many families at once in a year of bad harvests, which occurred on average every four years.[55] Furthermore, the repeated outbreaks of plague in the early seventeenth century compounded existing problems of poverty in towns by depressing trade and killing working men, leaving their families unable to support themselves; Winchester suffered increased poverty and distress from the outbreaks of 1603, 1625 and 1637.[56] In nearby Salisbury in the mid-1620s almost half the population may have been in significant economic distress at times, as the endemic poverty was exacerbated by the effects of plague.[57]

Trussell documents dozens of benefactors, and the details of their gifts, in *The Benefactors of Winchester*, ranging from long accounts to one-sentence notes of gifts, e.g. "John Waller, esquire, gave by will x l to the use of the poor"; "John Ebden, Doctor of Divinity, gave to the City two hundred pounds to allow to the poor of St Mary Magdalene's x l per annum forever" (*BW*, f. 14). Most of the benefactions are gifts of money, either to buy food, clothes and fuel to distribute to the needy or "to set the poor on work"; but not all, for example, "William Barlow of London, Gentleman, Anno 1623, gave

[51] See Peter Clark and Paul Slack, 'Introduction', in *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, pp. 11-14; Rosen, 'Winchester in Transition', pp. 144-146, p. 162: "the first signs of Winchester's new role catering to an upper-class clientele were gradually appearing by the early seventeenth century… But in 1640 the future still looked bleak for Winchester".
[52] John Wroughton, *Stuart Bath: Life in the Forgotten City, 1603-1714* (Bath: The Lansdowne Press, 2004), p. 131.
[53] Hirst, *Authority and Conflict*, p. 2.
[54] Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p. 121.
[55] Ibid, pp. 2-3.
[56] Rosen, 'Winchester in Transition', p. 156.
[57] Slack, 'Poverty and politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', pp. 171-172.

unto the City of Winchester towards the waterworks xx. li. and to the poor v li." (*BW*, f. 19). As we should expect, the benefactors are preponderantly natives of Winchester, and the majority are commoners, many of quite small standing. Trussell deals only briefly with the benefactions of the bishops of Winchester, Robert Horne and John Watson, and of Sir Henry Whitehead, the High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1609, very briefly, preferring to expand upon benefactors of his own class, former members of the Winchester oligarchy.

The entries of nine of the benefactors have short poems written underneath them. They are similar in form and function to the 'morals' Trussell addressed to his corporation colleagues in 1637; in effect, they are short elegies with a polemical intent, as will be seen. The first benefactor to be the subject of a poem is Ralph Lamb, who in his will of 1558 left "400 li. to purchase lands for the increase of so many poor people in St John's house in Winchester as the yearly profits of the land would extend [unto]". It was with this money, as Trussell recorded, that Ratfen had been purchased, the farm of which still maintained the poor men and women in St John's, who Lamb's will specified were "to be called the almsfolk of Ralph Lamb". Another item in Lamb's will further illustrates his deliberate attempts to secure remembrance "and every of the poor to have at the election of the new mayor ii. s. in memory of Ralph Lamb" (*BW*, f. 20). Underneath Lamb's entry, Trussell wrote:

> This gift was not so great as good, yet both
> Demonstrate his intent to feed and clothe
> The hungry and the naked; faith and hope
> To charity did set the wicket ope
> By which this Lamb did enter; blest forever
> Be the remembrance of this liberal giver. (*BW*, f. 20)

Trussell puns pleasantly on the name 'Lamb' to indicate that the benefactors of Winchester were doing the work of Christ – ministering, as their Saviour had, to the hungry and the naked. Lamb's is a typical example of Trussell's benefaction poems. The others are in much the same vein, describing the generosity of the gift, the admirable temporal consequences of it for the poor, who are variously fed, clothed, and set to work, and the reward of which the giver was assured in heaven.

George Pemerton was a liberal giver, not just in his last will and testament but during his life as well, giving (as Trussell noted) "fifty pounds A^{o} 1634 and... 1635 thirty pounds more, *in toto* 80" (*BW*, f. 17). Trussell commemorated him with two poems, uniquely among the benefactors. The first is a conventional six-line poem similar to the

others in the collection. The second is longer and more affectionate: it seems likely to have been added after Pemerton's death, which occurred in 1640 (he is buried in Winchester Cathedral). The poem apparently preserves a detail of Pemerton's appearance which Trussell turns into a symbol of his piety:

> Zacchaeus he in stature low; but high
> In gift of Grace and work of Piety
> George Pemerton was… (*BW*, f. 30) [58]

This poem is in a Biblical vein throughout, describing Pemerton as a "true Samaritan" standing by with wine and oil "ready to relieve/ the wounds of those whom Poverty doth grieve", and "a true Nathaniel without guile" who "hath given means in perpetuity/ to relevate the orphan's misery" (*BW*, f. 30).[59] Trussell's tributes to Pemerton reflect the fact that he was the only recipient of a poem whom Trussell knew personally. He was not the only Winchester contemporary mentioned in the manuscript: Martin Yalden and Richard Ashton overlapped with Trussell's residence in the city, and amongst other things Trussell also noted the contributions of many interested parties to the fund for purchase of a prize cup for a horse race, which was held annually on the Wednesday in Holy Week from 1629 (*BW*, f. 29). But Pemerton is given special treatment, and a close personal connection may account for this. The decision to allow someone to become a freeman of the city was taken by the Boroughmoot – so, in practice, by the Mayor and his close advisors, since a candidate put forward by them was not likely to be resisted too hard by anyone. John Trussell was sworn freeman in 1606. The Mayor that year was George Pemerton, and the incumbent Mayor's voice would have counted for much in the election of any new freeman to the franchise of the city; therefore, it may be that Trussell was grateful to Pemerton for allowing him to enter the city's ruling oligarchy. He had also been the Mayor in 1616-17, when Trussell was Senior Bailiff, which was the first time he held high office. In these coincidences there is a suggestion of a relationship akin to that of mentor or sponsor and protégé – perhaps by accident, perhaps by Pemerton's design.

[58] Zacchaeus, the little tax collector, climbed a sycamore tree in order to catch a glimpse of Jesus, being too short to see over the heads of the multitudes: Luke 19:2-10.
[59] "Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!": John 1:47.

Changing patterns of welfare

W. K. Jordan identified as a trend of the period 1500-1700 a move away from mere remedial 'alms' on the medieval pattern to a more systematic assault on the causes of poverty through elaborate schemes such as that of the noted benefactor Sir Thomas White.[60] In White's case, and many others, the direct beneficiaries were not the wretched and destitute but tradesmen, members of the urban middle and upper classes – members of the civic oligarchies and their clients. [61] He appreciated that when these men were successful, local economies would flourish, jobs would be created and trade stimulated, with benefits that accrued to everyone, including workers lower down the social scale. White was a clothier, a native of Reading, who became Lord Mayor of London and one of the most famous commoners of the age. Amongst other great ventures, he ordained a very precise scheme of 'rotating charity' to twenty-three clothing towns of England, plus the Merchant Taylors' company of London. A distribution of one hundred pounds was made on St Bartholomew's Day (24 August) to each of the towns in sequence; thus, each town received one hundred pounds (plus four for administrative costs) every twenty-four years. Winchester was brought into the scheme in 1589, and therefore received its subsequent loans in 1613 and 1638. The money was to be lent interest-free by the corporations of the towns to four clothiers, who would each return their twenty-five pound sum after having had the use of it for ten years, whereupon it would be re-lent to newly selected clothiers. Thus it was that in 1633, during John Trussell's second Mayoralty, a minute of the corporation ordinance book records that Nicholas Hancock and Thomas Finkly were each awarded "five and twenty pounds for ten years… part of the stock of the late worthy benefactor Sir Thomas White".[62] During his first Mayoralty, Trussell and his brethren had had to warn Edmund Adderley "to put in a more sufficient surety in the room and place of John Syms, one of his sureties for the payment of the xxv. li. part of the stock of one hundred pounds given by Sir Thomas White within the time limited in the cond[itions] of the obligation by him given in order that he repay the said sum in the time mentioned in the said condition".[63]

White's efforts "were greater in scope and magnitude than any previous effort of the same sort".[64] They were greater than many later ones, as well, so that even from John

[60] W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (GB: George Allen & Unwin, 1959), pp. 18-19.
[61] For White and his scheme, see Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, pp. 103-110.
[62] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 87-88.
[63] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 38.
[64] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 111.

Trussell's perspective, nearly a century later, White's achievement shone "unexampled", like the sun:

> Like as the sun which giveth heat and light
> To this inferior Orb, thy bounty, White,
> Doth unexampled shine; and England over
> Doth with the beams thereof thy gift discover.
> Thy memory young tradesmen do record,
> And for such benefactors praise the Lord. (*BW*, f. 23)

His role as philanthropist "loomed far above" his political achievements "and it endured far longer".[65] He was "almost certainly… the most widely portrayed man of his age outside the ranks of royalty and the court circle"; portraits of him, painted in the century after his death, are found across England, including one in the Guildhall of Winchester which Trussell would certainly have seen.[66] The purpose of commissioning and displaying these portraits was more than commemorative: it had a function well expressed by Trussell's seventeenth-century contemporary, Francis Little of Christ's Hospital, Abingdon, where portraits of patrons and benefactors festooned the walls by order of the governors of the institution,

> which [Little wrote in 1627] precedent posterity should do well to imitate and follow, doing the like for those benefactors that shall come after, preserving also those that be already made, keeping also still their names and works upon record… It were to be wished that so many of the [Governors] as God hath enabled would be good examples themselves to draw upon others, by extending and giving out of their estates… imitating and following therein the good examples of many that… was in the like place.[67]

Tittler argues that the memorialisation of figures like Sir Thomas White changed the way the nation thought about charity: "the posthumous enhancement of their reputations, in forms both literary and visual, contributed by century's end to an emerging image of the merchant-hero".[68] John Trussell was attempting to do in verse what the governors of Christ's Hospital in Abingdon were seeking to do with oils and wood: to preserve the

[65] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 104.
[66] Robert Tittler, *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester: University Press, 2007), p. 51.
[67] Francis Little, *A Monument of Christian Munificence* (1627), ed. Claude Delaval Cobham (Oxford and London, 1871); for the reference see Tittler, *The Face of the City*, pp. 159-160.
[68] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 36.

names and deeds of great benefactors "whose names ought not to die among Christian citizens", and in so doing to provide examples meet to be thought upon and followed by the "young tradesmen" of the poem, and all others who came after. White was not the only benefactor whose portrait hung in Winchester's Guildhall: Ralph Lamb, too, was there, and a portrait of George Pemerton was added at some point as well, perhaps during his lifetime. The concluding couplet of Pemerton's second poem flags up Trussell's intention nicely:

> The unborn babe this bounty shall record
> And for such benefactors laud the Lord. (*BW*, f. 30)

This is simultaneously a commemoration of George Pemerton and a baited hook for his successors. We have seen, for example in the case of Ralph Lamb, how eager Winchester's benefactors were to be remembered, to continue to have their names spoken by the people of the city. Lamb was not the only one: one stipulation in the will of Richard Budd was that "there be a book kept by the appointment of the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Winchester of all the names of such poor people as shall have this my gift" (*BW*, f. 27). Perforce this would involve keeping a list of the grateful recipients, under the heading 'The Almsmen of Richard Budd' or something similar, which would have to be picked up, written in, and read; the book would be a symbol of Budd's continuing presence in Winchester's civic life long after his decease. There were no longer any prayers for the dead, so for people who did not warrant a portrait, such means were the next best way to guarantee remembrance.

Alternatively, benefactors who were fortunate enough to have a colleague with literary ambitions could hope to be commemorated by having a poem written about them. Trussell's poems would work excellently as inscriptions on the actual paintings of the subjects, since their functions are so complementary. But it is as literature, in the context of the *Benefactors of Winchester* manuscript, that their true force is felt; the linking theme which makes *The Benefactors of Winchester* more than just an assemblage of disparate materials is Trussell's desire to preserve and strengthen the hierarchical social order and inculcate values of self-sacrifice and public service in the city's rulers. Charity was one of the most important ways in which oligarchs could serve the common weal, and Trussell's hope as he compiled the manuscript was surely that corporation-men who came after him would read it and be so inspired by his poetic commemoration of heroes like White and Lamb as to do similar deeds, in the hope of securing such poetic fame themselves.

Benefaction and religious belief

Sir Thomas White was a committed Roman Catholic, which Tittler believes suggests that the "secularization of the charitable impulse" after the Reformation, propounded by W. K. Jordan, was "a much more gradual and complex process" than Jordan thought.[69] Jordan's view on the secularization of charity has sometimes been misrepresented by his many critics: Paul Slack, for example, argues that "gifts to the poor and for education were no less pious in intent, no less directed towards saving the souls of donors and recipients, than gifts to churches or religious orders", but Jordan always acknowledged that the motivating force behind the charitable endeavour in his period was the devout Calvinist piety predominating after the Reformation.[70] While Jordan believed that the growth of poor relief brought about the secularisation of English life, in the sense that as a result of it "the church and its needs, much less its social services and competences, came to be regarded as irrelevant", he acknowledged that the "intense secularism explicit in this tidal flow of funds" now reshaping English society "not infrequently sprang from sources of deep and moving piety", arguing that "the Calvinist… believed that we are but stewards of wealth for which we are accountable to God and that our means must be so used as to 'tend to Gods glory, and the salvations of our souls'".[71] This view was indoctrinated into a generation by a 'literature of exhortation' by which "the moral obligation of charity was established, the generous men praised and the covetous condemned, and the whole righteous quality of Protestant good works extolled".[72] The effects of this were certainly felt in such places as Salisbury, as we have seen: Slack's study revealed that the attack on poverty and the causes of poverty was carried out by an elite whose "common religious conviction motivated them. John Ivie [the Mayor in 1627] declared that his aim was 'to advance God's glory and to settle a livelihood for the comfortable living of poor souls'".[73] Although Rosen argues that "the galvanizing force behind poor relief in many towns", puritanism, "[was] a force which left Winchester virtually untouched before the Civil War", at least one of Winchester's most notable benefactors, Peter Symonds, whose almshouse had opened its doors in 1607, was motivated by just such deep piety, being an evangelical Calvinist.[74]

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[69] Tittler, *Townspeople and Nation*, p. 117; Jordan, op. cit., pp. 18-21.
[70] Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p. 163.
[71] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, pp. 20-21, 152.
[72] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 155.
[73] Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', p. 184.
[74] Rosen, 'Winchester in Transition', p. 160. J. N. Hare, 'Symonds, Peter (*c.*1528–1586/7)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Oct 2006; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95066, accessed 17 Sept 2012].

It is quite possible to read Trussell's benefaction poems in the light of Jordan's ideas on the puritan charitable impulse. After all, Jordan's evidence, and the evidence of countless charitable benefactions like Symonds's, demonstrates incontrovertibly that the examples of puritan oligarchies introducing determined efforts to conquer poverty in cities like Norwich and Salisbury were not exceptions, but part of a national trend. At first this seems surprising, given that the efficacy of alms for salvation could not have been rejected more strongly by Protestant orthodoxy; in soteriological terms, giving money, food and clothes to the poor was an utterly useless thing to do. The articles of the Westminster Confession of Faith of 1643 might reasonably be said to represent the consensus of Reformed Christianity in England even before that date, and they affirm that "good works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy Word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by men out of blind zeal, or upon any pretense of good intention…we can not, by our best works, merit pardon of sin, or eternal life at the hand of God… because they proceed not from an heart purified by faith; nor are done in a right manner… they are therefore sinful". Nevertheless, there was sufficient encouragement in the doctrines of orthodoxy for charitable works: "these good works, done in obedience to God's commandments, are the fruits and evidences of a true and lively faith". On the subject of works the Westminster Confession finishes by saying that despite their inefficacy, "neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing unto God".[75] What looks like a controversial and unorthodox statement in John Trussell's poem to Richard Venables is thus revealed to be not so controversial after all:

> Though it be true that pious almsdeeds are not
> The cause of Heaven's enjoyment, yet I dare not
> But both believe and confidently say
> They to that place are found the only way.
> Then they that help the poor may joy in this:
> They are on the way that leads to bliss. (*BW*, f. 28)

Even if he seems to be skirting round the very edge of saying that good works are salvific, Trussell does in fact successfully avoid stating that he believes so. His statement that 'they to that place [Heaven] are found the only way', which sounds like a covert denial of *sola fide*, is on this reading merely an expression of a manifest truth acknowledged by

[75] *The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a confession of faith, presented by them lately to both houses of Parliament* (London, 1646), pp. 26-27.

Protestants, that men's aptitude to perform good works is increased as a consequence of the regeneration carried out by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of those who have been saved. Trussell's wording does not rule out the reading that Venables' being 'on the way that leads to bliss' is the cause, not the effect, of his charitable giving.

Yet, in the light of Trussell's youthful hatred of puritanism and his association with Southwell, together with his apparent participation in an anti-puritan narrative in his *Annalia Dubrensia* poem, we are entitled to feel that it would be wrong to read Trussell's benefaction literature simplistically as part of the radical, reformist, puritan complex of views. Rather, judging from the tone of his work as a whole, he conceived of benefaction and charity in a different way, one nostalgic for, or at least favourable to, the medieval conception of alms, and strongly associated with civic patriotism – the desire to be able to take pride in a rich and well-ordered city undefaced by poverty and hardship. Thomas Atkinson thought it probable that "the more astute and far-seeing members of the old established families in the City realised that a certain amount of the prevailing poverty had its origin in the vacuum created by the dissolution of the religious houses towards the end of Henry VIII's reign, and that further generous benefactions could be helpful in filling this vacuum".[76] Trussell certainly believed this, lamenting the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 'The Declaration of Caerguent's Lament', his poem of the mid-1640s:

> … Henry the 8th gave me a fatal blow
> For when the Abbeys were dissolved I lost
> those places, that with much care but more cost
> had been erected, stately monuments
> of glory to a City: whereof I had many
> both great and good, nay more by much than any
> my other sisters had: yet all were reft me
> And I had nothing but their ruins left me
> By means whereof my poor were multiplied
> And all means for their sustenance denied… (*BW*, f. 44)

How far the Dissolution of the Monasteries was actually responsible for Winchester's economic problems is still debatable. Jordan thought it did not have "any considerable connection with the extent of poverty", but Nigel Goose has argued strongly that "the impact of the Dissolution upon the poor must again be taken seriously", pointing out that "at least half" of England's almshouses and hospitals were closed down during the

[76] Atkinson, *Stuart Winchester*, p. 24.

Reformation.[77] Trussell, then, was arguably right to see the Reformation as part of a process which had defaced the city, and which would have been much worse had it not been for the 'transcendent' gifts of a Catholic queen and her co-regnant husband during their short reigns (see above). In *The Origin of Cities* Trussell wrote further on this topic, saying with regret that

> … the number of monasteries, nunneries, parochial churches, oratories, hospitals, maisons de Dieu, friaries and such religious places, such as the devotion of the people (incited thereto, sayeth the purely wise man, void of charity, by blind zeal) had built in this city, for number, beauty, riches and respect, could not be surmounted (if equalled) by any one city in Christendom. (*Origin*, f. 27)

Trussell was a passionate Winchester patriot, and the large number of churches the city had once been home to was a source of pride to him; conversely their destruction, as a result of fire and depopulation, was a painful reminder of the city's decline. But his comment on the 'purely wise' men, the puritans, who disparaged as 'blind' what Trussell called 'the zealous devotion' of the people, implies that his attitude did not only derive from civic pride, but from dislike of the attitude of strongly Reformed Christians. Hospitals, maisons de Dieu and even friaries and monasteries were in the pre-Reformation era the only providers of charitable relief most poor people were likely to get, as Trussell would have known. Although Trussell does not condemn the Protestant doctrinal orthodoxy outright or state that he disagrees with it, it is legitimate to suggest, if not anger, then a lack of sympathy with the puritan view of 'good works'.

Just as Christopher Whitfield's paradigm, identifying Trussell as a medievalist defender of the bucolic idyll of 'merry England' from the joyless and destructive forces of modernising puritanism, should not be allowed to obscure the subtleties of Trussell's politico-religious stance, equally in this instance Jordan's schematic framework, seeing the surge of charitable benefaction as a powerfully progressive attack on entrenched social evils by modernising puritans, cannot tell us everything about John Trussell, or even necessarily about the men he was celebrating. Both paradigms are attractive and undoubtedly valid *in general terms*, but the obvious discrepancy between them proves that a true picture of Trussell's religious and political affiliations and their relationship to one another is somewhat less neat. It would not have been easy for a devoutly reformed Christian to praise Philip and Mary as blithely as Trussell does in 'A Series of each

[77] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 57; Goose, *The rise and decline of philanthropy in early modern Colchester*, p. 474.

Benefactor's Name…', and it remains unlikely that a puritan would ever have written what Trussell wrote in his poem about Dr William Swaddon, D.D.:

> He teacheth best that by example teacheth,
> Not he that only useless doctrine preacheth.
> This Doctor Swaddon knew, when what he taught
> By word, to help the poor, by deed he wrought. (*BW*, f. 23)

To refer to any Christian doctrine as "useless" was daring, even dangerous. Trussell suggests, almost explicitly, that the Scriptures do not count for much, or anything at all, unless they precipitate 'good works'. This is the note that Trussell sounds repeatedly in his benefaction poems – as, for example, in William Burton's eulogy, where he wrote:

> That just men's good works follow after them
> The Scriptures testify; then what other Gem
> Should Christian men provide to keep in store
> Than pious pity, to relieve the poor?
> This Burton practiced, who, dead, doth live;
> Alms-deeds to such a double life do give. (*BW*, f. 21)

It is an attitude which can be summed up very effectively by a marginal note in Lipsius' *Politica*: "*non in subtilitate religio sed in factis*".[78] This was an appeal to an activist social faith which no doubt resonated with Trussell, who presents himself in *The Benefactors of Winchester* as feeling exactly the same. Lipsius, who switched between Protestantism and Catholicism as it suited him, was basically unconcerned with subtle doctrine, and Trussell's poetry leads us to the conclusion that he was not much interested in it either.

In a way, this is a confirmation of Jordan's ideas about the secularisation of the problem of poverty, except that the 'deep and moving piety' from which it derives is not, in this case, radically Protestant. Rather than being the monopoly either of men who believed in the efficacy of good works or of those who violently rejected them, great enterprises of charitable benefaction crossed denominational battle-lines, and the commemoration of them in verse could be undertaken by a political and religious conservative who in other works displayed clear hostility to the Calvinistic wellsprings which were the source of the charitable endeavour for so many others. This cautions us

[78] 'Faith is not a matter of subtleties but of deeds'. Justus Lipsius, *Politica*, ed. Jan Waszink, Lib. I, Capt. iii, p. 270.

against seeing religious affiliation in too rigid a way in Stuart England, even at a time when, in retrospect, we can see it was on the verge of a devastating religious and political fracture, as the disdain of the puritan party in the country for Charles I's Church of England, along with a mass of other grievances, propelled the country towards civil war.

Always more optimistic about the early modern English urban scene than historians such as Clark and Slack, Alan Dyer contends that "although the problems of poor relief bulk large in town records, the burden does not seem to have been particularly depressing".[79] While Winchester's problems may have been worse than most, Trussell, closer to the realities, although never sanguine about Winchester's fortunes, certainly saw a burgeoning recovery in progress, and the problem of poverty being strongly attacked, in his own time and just before. As the voice of Caerguent recalls,

> Then I with some more confidence did presume
> My former state in some sort to assume
> And then a many bounteous benefactors,
> Of my increase of strength Authors and Actors,
> Did show themselves. (*BW*, f. 47)

'Caerguent' names Peter and William Symonds, and "many other Aldermen", and the exceeding bounty of George Pemerton. "By these and such like helps my former crosses/ Were wiped away, and many of my losses/ Recovered…" *The Benefactors of Winchester* is, in part, an illustration and a celebration of this process. But these positive trends which Trussell saw were to be catastrophically interrupted by the civil war. The fragile unity of the British crowns broke in 1637, as Scotland reacted with horror against the imposition of a Laudian prayer book; and from that point on, like an intricate machine slipping out of tune and shaking itself to pieces, the English state disintegrated under the strain.

> But alas the tide is turned,
> And wars my hopes of comfort have adjourned,
> And all this plate & stocks are rook'd away,
> And [I] have nothing left the poor to pay. (*BW*, f. 47)

The halcyon days were over; the puritan storm was breaking.

[79] Dyer, *Decline and Growth*, p. 53.

6. ‘Is my good Genius dead?’: the final years in Winchester 1637-1648

From what we have seen in the previous chapter of Trussell’s identification with a ‘royalist, anti-puritan… gentle’ complex of views, we should expect him to have been an enthusiastic member of the royalist party; and indeed, in 1644 we find Trussell offering a heartfelt prayer to “the prince of peace and God of war” to “preserve King Charles and prosper all his ways” (*BW*, f. 49). We know, too – because military histories tell us so – that Winchester was a royalist stronghold for most of the war, until its capture by Cromwell in 1645. But, tempting as it is to read backwards from these known facts to the beginnings of the crisis, to do so would be to obscure what rather seems to be a subtler progression of Trussell’s personal views and a less obviously monopolar set of allegiances in the city as a whole.

Winchester before the civil war

At first glance there does not seem to be any evidence of identifiably proto-royalist and proto-parliamentarian factions in Winchester before the war, and puritanism does not seem to have been a significant force. Certainly Winchester has no obvious equivalents of the Salisbury cabal of puritans led by Henry Sherfield, or of Ignatius Jurdain in Exeter.[1] The royalist newsman Bruno Ryves in his *Mercurius Rusticus* claimed that the parliamentary troopers who sacked the cathedral close in December 1642 were assisted by “their Brethren the Seditious Schismatics of the city”, but his assertion need not be taken on trust.[2] There is, however, evidence of sustained ill-feeling and dispute between the corporation and the cathedral chapter of Winchester, particularly in the year that Ralph Riggs was Mayor. Riggs seems to have been supported by the Recorder of the city, John Lisle. The diary of John Young, the Dean of Winchester contains many references to the skirmishing between them. In 1635, in what may have been a studied act of disrespect, the corporation failed to come to the city gate and meet Archbishop Laud’s vicar general, who was visiting the Dean and chapter: the Mayor that year was Thomas Godson. [3] In 1636-37,

[1] For Sherfield and co. see chapter 4. For Jurdain in Exeter see M. J. Stoyle,’Whole streets converted to ashes: property destruction in Exeter in the English civil war’, in R. C. Richardson, ed., *The English Civil Wars: Local Aspects* (GB: Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp. 130-132.
[2] *Mercurius rusticus or, The countries complaint of the barbarous out-rages committed by the sectaries of this late flourishing Kingdome* (Oxford, 1646), p. 208.
[3] Goodman, ed., *The Diary of John Young*, p. 105.

after Riggs's election, matters escalated; in March "a great difference betwixt the Church and the City" arose when the corporation claimed the right to levy ship money from the denizens of the cathedral liberties, "whereof", as Dean Young remarked in his diary, "we had a general discharge for all the close before from the Sheriff".[4] Upon the chapter's refusal, Ralph Riggs had two cathedral choristers arrested and imprisoned in the city, and did not release them until they had paid a sum of money. When Young demanded that money back, Riggs would not return it. Young recorded that his brethren in the chapter were "very earnest to have some things done to right ourselves", and that he dissuaded them only with difficulty from pulling down a market house which had been built against the wall of the close by permission of the Dean and chapter in 1621. "The Monday after", Young entreated the Mayor to come to church with more reverence, not with his maces borne before him in pomp. Riggs did not agree. But in April there was a partial rapprochement: John Lisle was sent "with a compliment unto me [Young], that they were sorry if they had failed in any circumstance for they [were] desirous of my love and peace with the church".

At Young's petition the case went to Star Chamber in May. Lisle argued to the king's face that the city had the authority to levy ship money from the cathedral close because it was already in the corporation's power to tax subsidies. Then Riggs knelt before the king and scored a palpable hit by saying that by his reckoning the inhabitants of the close should pay £31, but in fact they paid only £20 – "so the truth of that fell out as I foresaw", Young noted, "when I earnestly before advised [the Brethren] according to my example rather to pay more than less than the City rate, lest it should be conceived that it was not so much their privilege as their purse they desired to save". Young records that Archbishop Laud said he was "ashamed" that the Dean and chapter paid no more. In their defence Young could only remark that he, personally, made a point of paying more than his share.[5] On the Whit Sunday following, perhaps emboldened by the opening round of the skirmish, Riggs turned up at the cathedral with his maces before him, a strident assertion of the dignity and wounded pride of the city of Winchester. On the last day of the month, a letter came from the king requiring that the Mayor refrain from going into the cathedral choir with his maces: "neither shall he make any use of these ensigns of authority in any part of the Cathedral Church or liberties".[6] But when it was conveyed to Riggs, "he opened the letter, read it, said he would consider of it; and yet that day, Trinity Sunday,

[4] Goodman, ed., *The Diary of John Young*, p. 128.
[5] Goodman, ed., *The Diary of John Young*, pp. 133-35.
[6] Carl Estabrook, 'Ritual, Space and Authority in Seventeenth Century English Cathedral Cities', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* XXXII: 4 (Spring, 2002), p. 614.

came up with all his 3 maces in as great pomp as ever to morning service".[7] In June, when the case was settled in Star Chamber, Riggs was fortunate to escape censure for his defiance: Young wrote that "he had received a check had not the Archb[ishop] spoke[n] for him". The king's letter was "again read and ratified by a new full order… and the next Sunday he came without his maces accordingly".[8] For the time being, that was the end of the matter; with the government's support, the cathedral chapter had won the struggle for position.

Very soon, however, the corporation were in a position to give them a taste of their own medicine. In July 1640 Young was surprised to find his archdeacon refusing to "give way" to let the Mayor and senior colleagues sit in "an ancient seat or place in the choir" which they had been accustomed to sit in for divine service "for many years".[9] Young recorded with resigned frustration that he "had persuaded them after Christmas last to come in the other way; and then the Archd. invited them, and it seems was willing, they should come that way by him, which they continued since; but the Sunday before the assizes he spoke unto me to move them to come the other way. I desired him that we might let it alone that week". But the Archdeacon then, on his own authority, sent word to the city that the Mayor and brethren were not allowed to sit in their seat. This resulted in John Lisle arriving to demand whether the insult was by Young's personal order. "I assured him that I knew not of it then… [and] advised him to persuade the mayor and the rest not to abstain from the Church". Lisle, again showing that he was willing to deal straightforwardly with the cathedral officers, promised that he would "deal with them to that purpose". But he also informed Young that the city had petitioned the privy council to get their seat back.

The deteriorating Scottish situation and the summoning of the Long Parliament left the king and his councillors with more pressing concerns than the privileges of cathedral chapters, and needing to bestow favours on all sides. In December 1640 the king signified his pleasure through letters that the Mayor and brethren should be able to take their ancient seat, and that the Archdeacon should be moved to another place. The city seized the chance to go further, petitioning the Long Parliament to protest that the cathedral, its churchyard and close, and the bishop's palace of Wolvesey were all rightfully subject to the jurisdiction of the city's officers, and that the dean and chapter, "with an intent to overthrow the charters immunities and extents of the jurisdiction of the said city", had "most illegally" procured an order from the council board denying them the right to carry

[7] Goodman, ed., *The Diary of John Young*, p. 136.
[8] Goodman, ed., *The Diary of John Young*, p. 138.
[9] Fourth ledger book, f. 171.

ensigns of authority within the cathedral and its precincts, a right the city had enjoyed "time out of mind".[10] The hand of John Lisle can be detected in this petition. In July 1641 a new order from the council arrived, wholly repealing the letters and order of 1637.[11] The corporation's victory was complete, more quickly than the Mayor and Recorder could have hoped only four years ago.

We need not rush to attribute Riggs and Lisle's confrontational stance against the dean and chapter over ship money or precedence in the cathedral to ideological puritanism when it could just as well have been opportunism. Any members of the corporation, had they been in power at the same time, might have done the same – we do not know. Localist behaviour by corporations that was not necessarily connected to national political attitudes occurred in (to take just one example) Chester, where A. M. Johnson observes "deep local determination by whichever party was in power to resist outside interference in civic affairs".[12] Similarly, Carl Estabrook stresses that when corporations tried to assert their privileges against those of cathedral chapters, "they were not necessarily taking an antiroyal stance".[13] Indeed, he refers to the contretemps between the city and the cathedral in 1637 as "an aggressive display of civic localism".[14] In the case of Winchester there is a striking parallel with the incorporated borough of Worcester, where there was a dispute between the city and cathedral over seats, and even (as also in Winchester) grievances relating to river navigation, which led the corporation to seek redress from the Long Parliament.[15] But Worcester went on to be a well-affected city in the civil wars; indeed it was "the last of all the king's strongholds to surrender".[16] There is a further parallel, however, in that the Recorders of both cities went on to become active members of parliament and foes of the king.

Events during the civil war further intimate the existence of what David Roberts has termed a "Riggs-Lisle axis".[17] In June 1644 Ralph Riggs was named a Hampshire member of the committee empowered to put in execution the parliamentary ordinance for

[10] Fourth ledger book, f. 172.
[11] Fourth ledger book, f. 173.
[12] A. M. Johnson, 'Politics in Chester during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum', in Clark and Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns*, p. 205.
[13] Estabrook, 'Ritual, Space and Authority', p. 597.
[14] Estabrook, 'Ritual, Space and Authority', p. 614.
[15] Philip Styles, 'The City of Worcester during the Civil Wars, 1640-60', in Richardson, ed., *The English Civil Wars: Local Aspects*, p. 188. Winchester's situation was the reverse of Worcester's, because whereas the Worcester corporation were anxious that an extension of the navigable part of the Avon up to Stratford would be prejudicial to their trade, Winchester's representatives believed the city would be able to fight back against Southampton's local predominance by making the Itchen navigable as far as Winchester. See Rosen, 'Winchester in transition', p. 152.
[16] Styles, 'The City of Worcester', p. 187.
[17] In conversation with the author, 6 December 2012.

the raising, funding and equipping of new forces for Waller's army.[18] County committees like these were made up of "the men who were, or who were assumed to be, Parliament's keenest supporters in the localities".[19] Thomas Atkinson was frankly puzzled by Riggs' status: despite being a member of this committee, "strange to relate", he remained in Winchester during the war (unlike Lisle) and was a signatory to the corporation's loans of money and plate to the royalists.[20] This could imply several things, one of which is that there was a loyalty and friendliness within the city corporation which transcended national allegiances and factional hatreds. Equally, since there is no evidence that Riggs ever actually did any work for the committee, the caveat that members were only those '*assumed* to be' the most loyal to parliament is crucial in this case. But there is more revealing evidence for Riggs' allegiance. In 1645, after the fall of the city into the hands of parliament's forces, Riggs was elected Mayor for the third time at an extraordinary meeting of the Boroughmoot. Roberts believes this Boroughmoot had "all the hallmarks of a packed meeting" intended to intimidate and outnumber the remaining royalists, because new freemen appeared on the roll, including men from the corporation of solidly parliamentarian Southampton.[21] This is clear evidence of Riggs' continuing affection to the cause of parliament, as from such a position of strength the winning side could have chosen anyone they liked. After this John Lisle became the dominant figure in local politics, able in 1647 to single-handedly overrule the corporation's desire to appoint the king's favoured candidate as town clerk, and appoint instead his fellow member of the Committee of Sequestrations, Steven Whelstead.[22] It therefore appears that in the case of Riggs and Lisle, at least, their willingness to attack the authority and privileges of the established Church, and even to defy the expressed will of the Crown by continuing to do so, is an accurate pointer to later anti-royal allegiance. But the case of Riggs and Lisle also demonstrates the considerable influence that a small minority of real enthusiasts for a national cause could end up having in a climate that was predominantly localist.

Various sources indicate that Trussell's professional and civic life was continuing largely as normal at the beginning of the period 1637-48. For example, a rare light is

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[18] 'June 1644: An Ordinance for continuance of a former Ordinance for four Months longer, from the time of the expiration of the said Ordinance, For the Raising, maintaining, paying, and regulating of 3000. Foot, 1200. Horse, and 500. Dragoons, to be commanded by Sir William Waller, in the Associated Counties of Southampton, Surrey, Sussex, and Kent.', *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*(1911), pp. 450-452.

[19] D. H. Pennington and I. H. Roots, eds., *The Committee at Stafford 1643-5: The Order Book of the Staffordshire County Committee* (Manchester: University Press, 1957), p. xvi.

[20] Atkinson, *Stuart Winchester*, p. 86.

[21] David Roberts, 'Governing Winchester 1642-88', a paper read at the University of Winchester, 6 December 2012. There is no record of an ordinary Mayoral election taking place that year.

[22] Charles Bailey, *Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester and other documents…* (Winchester, 1856), pp. 188-9.

thrown on his activities as a practitioner of law by an award of 1638 by Martin Yalden, a fellow oligarch of Winchester, in a dispute between Trussell and one of his clients, Humphrey Ludlowe of Allington (Hants), which had got as far as a suit in Chancery. Yalden found that Trussell had

> disbursed and laid out divers sums of money in soliciting of many suits in law for the said Humphry Ludlowe, as appeareth by the bills and accounts of the said John Trussell, which said sums are not fully discharged… although the said Trussell hath nevertheless received some part thereof… as appeareth as well by the confession of the said John Trussell upon his several answers in the honourable Court of Chancery, as also by proof before the said arbitrator.[23]

Yalden ordered Ludlowe to pay Trussell £10, and the two to be reconciled and cease all further action. Trussell was still a major figure in Winchester's political firmament. He was one of the senior aldermen named by the Long Parliament as commissioners for the collection of the subsidies to relieve the army in the north, and was thus an early participant in the creation of what John Adamson has called "a parallel public treasury", intended to keep the nation's wealth out of the king's hands, under the control of parliament's own commissioners.[24] But this cannot have been a welcome chore, and Trussell, afflicted by age and gout, may have been glad that a new act for further relief of the army, which followed swiftly upon the heels of the old one, dropped him, placing the duty upon the Mayor, the city's MPs, Ralph Riggs (who probably benefited from John Lisle's influence in parliament), and two other former Mayors, Joseph Butler and Thomas Godson.[25] Everybody who was named a commissioner in either act was naturally a senior member of the civic oligarchy, but it is impossible to say whether ideological factors played any part in the final selection. If they did, Trussell's omission second time round could be seen as significant. But since Joseph Butler, at least, appears to have gone on to hold royalist sympathies (see below), we cannot assume that the selection was anything other than pragmatic.

At the civic level, in 1642 Trussell stood for election for the first time since he was last Mayor in 1634.[26] The selection of candidates for election was made by the Mayor and

[23] 26 May 1638. PRO: E40/6241.
[24] 'Charles I, 1640: An Act for the relief of His Majesty's Army and the Northern Parts of the Kingdom.', *Statutes of the Realm: volume 5: 1628-80* (1819), pp. 58-78. John Adamson, *The Noble Revolt* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007), p. 148.
[25] 'Charles I, 1640: An Act for the further relief of His Majesty's Army and the Northern Parts of the Kingdom', *Statutes of the Realm: volume 5: 1628-80* (1819), pp. 79-101.
[26] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 144.

his brethren, so it is probable that Trussell, as one of the brethren, actively lobbied for it. His continuing interest in civic politics is confirmed by the occasional poems directed to newly elected Mayors in 1643-6. Trussell lost the 1642 vote, but, standing again automatically the next year as defeated candidate, he was nearly victorious: the result was 12 votes each among the aldermen, but the Mayor Thomas Godson's deciding vote gave the election to Richard Brexton.[27] When he was entered again in 1644 he lost by a landslide, William Longland junior presumably being overwhelmingly regarded as the better candidate.[28] The marks are hard to decipher, but only a maximum of three members seem to have voted for him that year. In 1645, highly unusual circumstances prevented him from being considered again, as we have seen.

Winchester's experience of the civil war

Trussell's overwhelming sense of duty may have impelled him to seek office in those troubled times, but the temptation must be to say that those elections were good ones to lose. Between 1642 and 1644 Winchester found herself uncomfortably involved in the epic duel which raged across southern England between one of her freemen, Sir William Waller, for parliament, and his former comrade Sir Ralph Hopton, for the king. The most immediate source we possess for this period is a poem by John Trussell, the *Declaration of Caerguent* – or, to give it its full title, 'The Declaration of Caerguent's Lament, with Venta's exclamation, in tears with fears, of Winchester's desolation'. As the title makes clear, the poem is a further use of Trussell's favourite poetic device, the fiction that his poems were being narrated by the 'Genius' of Winchester. It occupies folios 46-48 of the *Benefactors of Winchester* miscellany. Trussell seems to have been adding to this poem in bits over the two years 1642-44, though it is difficult to be sure because he shifts between present and past tense indiscriminately. It was begun whilst in fear of war and of the walls being razed by 'Roundheads', but Trussell spends the first two hundred lines in a long narrative of Winchester's history from its mythical first founding.

When Trussell does get to the present day, he emphasises that the civil war was an unmitigated disaster for Winchester from the beginning, dispelling what had until then been tentative hopes of economic recovery. The cessation of quarter sessions and assizes, fairs and markets struck at the heart of Winchester's position as the county town, on which

[27] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 147.
[28] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 149.

it relied for its trade. "Most miserable, what shall become of me?" the Genius of Caerguent asks:

> I nothing but apparent danger see
> of utter ruin; like the anvil I
> with many hammers beat upon do lie. (*BW*, f. 47)

Rather than taking a side, 'Caerguent' complains that "both sides alike/ upon me as a washing block do strike". Interestingly, Trussell also uses the term 'Catholics' to describe the king's party. Here he is participating (briefly) in a discourse that is recognisably parliamentarian and puritan. The fantasy that their enemies were Catholics was a crucial tactic which extremists in parliament used to persuade themselves, and others, that they were justified in treasonably taking up arms against the king in a war which was ostensibly about the defence of the laws and government of England, and which, as Ronald Hutton points out, "set Protestant against Protestant in a manner unknown in any of Europe's other religious conflicts".[29] So although calling royalists 'Catholics' could obviously also function as mere abuse, Trussell's remark was made in the context of a general fear among many in the country that the king (or his evil counsellors) sought to introduce 'popish' innovations in religion and government.[30] What does this imply about the religion of John Trussell, who had been an admirer of Southwell and a declared literary enemy of anti-sport preachers in 1636? It recalls the situation of Peter Heylin, "a right Protestant Doctor, who was a professed enemy both to Popery and Puritanism" (as a seventeenth-century biographer put it), but who found himself persecuted by the rebels during the civil war "with no less eagerness than if he had been a Heretic, followed by the Spanish Inquisition".[31] This, in a less extreme form, might have been the position of many men in Trussell's position, i.e. middling townsmen or provincial gentry without a direct personal stake in the high political affairs of the time: adherents to Reformed Christianity, maybe

[29] Ronald Hutton, *Debates in Stuart History* (GB: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 33.
[30] See Conrad Russell, 'The First Army Plot of 1641', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society (Fifth Series)* vol. 38 (1988), p. 105. For multiple examples see also Anthony Fletcher, *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd, 1981), pp. 408-415. But for a modified view and a useful survey of relevant secondary literature, cf. Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989), pp. 72-106. Conrad Russell argues that the one reliable indicator of future parliamentarian allegiance among MPs of the 1620s was an extreme form of "absolute, ideological anti-popery", and names a few individuals, e.g. Henry Mildmay and Laurence Whitaker: C. Russell, 'Issues in the House of Commons 1621-1629: Predictors of Civil War Allegiance', in *Albion*, vol. 23, No. 1 (1991), p. 37. Fletcher argues that the success of extremists like Pym in persuading a wider audience that a 'popish plot' existed was crucial to the outbreak of civil war in 1642: Fletcher, op. cit., p. 410.
[31] Peter Heylin, *The Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts… and an account of the life of the author* (London: M. Clark, for Charles Harper, 1681), p. xviii.

sympathetic to further reformation in the church, but instinctively supportive (as Rosen remarked) of established authority and monarchy, and who may have been at odds with royal policy on issues ranging from church government to the rights of city corporations against cathedral chapters, but as events proceeded were pushed into the king's party by the extremism and violence of the puritans and the psychologically dislocating horror of intestine war.[32] This appears to be something like the trajectory followed by John Trussell in those years.

The first major event of the war was the arrival of the royalist commander Lord Grandison, who demanded "present provision/ or otherwise he threatens fire". Trussell omits to describe the subsequent defeat of Grandison's forces or the storm of the city by the army of Sir William Waller; he moves straight to the terrible consequences:

> But the other being entered… as if Conquerors
> made all th'inhabitants in me sufferers
> by plundering whom they pleased, and slaughtering those
> whom they malignants styled…
> They then demand to have a thousand pound
> or else my houses should be fired round…(*BW*, f. 47)

The sack of the city, despite the £1000 paid by the corporation to preserve it, is well attested by a variety of sources.[33] Almost certainly, this was the most traumatic event in Winchester's civil war experience. On this occasion much of the stained glass in the cathedral windows was shattered, resulting in the 'patchwork' style of the present west window which was rebuilt from shards after the Restoration. The sufferings of the "sweet Cathedralists" were particularly acute: parliamentary writers claimed that "great store of popish-books, pictures and crucifixes" was found by the invading soldiers; "and what (think you)," as the puritan polemicist John Vicars smugly enquired in his account, "was the case of those Romish Michas, when their pretty petty Popish and apish-gods were thus taken from them, and burnt in the fire before them?".[34] As Trussell recorded, the army's "derision/ of Order, Discipline and True Religion" was not confined to books and devotional items:

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[32] Barry Coward has argued that "the vast majority of English gentlemen shared the widespread distrust of Charles I's government" in 1640, but that this unity had melted away by mid-1642: 'The Experience of the Gentry 1640-1660', in R. C. Richardson, ed., *Town and Countryside in the English Revolution* (Manchester: University Press, 1992) pp. 198-9.
[33] See Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, pp. 45-50.
[34] John Vicars, *God on the mount, or a continuation of England's parliamentary chronicle* (London, 1643), p. 229.

With dung of horse and man (an act most vile)
the Church and chancel they at once defile;
the Bible, organs and communion table,
they tear, pull down and make unserviceable;
the Cushions, hangings and choir ornament
they most profanely tear and basely rent. (*BW*, f. 47)

Grimmest of all,

The urns of British, Saxon, Danish, Norman kings
and sacred Monuments, as unworthy things
and those reserves of kings, queens and mitred prelates
which Bishop Fox had placed there, these zealots
did then demolish, and their ashes flung
amongst their own filth and their horses' dung. (*BW*, f. 47)

There is a list on the flyleaf of the cathedral burial register of the kings, prelates and saints whose remains were at the cathedral, to which a note appended gives an account of the aftermath of the atrocity of 1642: "Nomina Regum quorum ossa (per contagionem sacriligae turbae (Anno 1642) tempesta belli) hinc inde sparsa, nunc in thecis recondita sunt".[35] For Trussell, the enormity of that act had been "not surpassed by any". It was after such a visible demonstration of their "spite/ to king and church", as he put it, that the parliamentarians seem to have become the enemy in his eyes.

Waller's troops withdrew, and Winchester was in due course seized for the king by another of her freemen, her M.P. (until his inevitable ejection) Sir William Ogle. Ogle became the military governor of the city. During the remainder of 1643 Winchester was dangerously exposed, with only Romsey between her and Colonel Norton's base at Southampton on one side, while on the other side, facing the contested valley of the Thames, "the dangerous quarter of Alton" was a continual worry to Hopton for its "unsecurity"; both fell during the year.[36] Further afield, the royalist fortresses at Basing and Arundel served mainly to overstretch the king's forces. In the summer Waller threatened Winchester, but Hopton, advancing in weakness to shield the city, was able to

[35] 'The names of the kings, of whom in the year 1642, amidst the storm of war, the bones from thence were hurled by the hands of the sacrilegious mob; now they have been laid in the caskets again'. HRO: M990.
[36] Sir Ralph Hopton, *Bellum Civile*, ed. Charles E. H. Chadwyck Healey (London: Harrison and Sons, 1902), p. 69.

bluff him into withdrawing, and Winchester subsequently became Hopton's main centre of operations.[37] During these months "the whole [southern] front formed a triangle based on Winchester".[38] Hopton's expressed view at the time was that "[if] the Enemy should draw down to Winchester and possess himself of that place, all the plain of Wiltshire would lay open to him".[39] But providing for the city's defence was a challenge, as he later remembered: after the reverse of Cheriton in March 1644 he did not dare withdraw his battered army into Winchester, "it being an indefensible ill provided place, and utterly unsafe for an Army in that condition".[40]

The reason for Winchester's being so "ill provided' by 1644 was no doubt mostly due to the exactions she had suffered during the previous year, which are well described by Trussell. Although it is the sieges and sacks which loom largest in historical perspective, the main problem for many towns in the English civil war, as R. C. Richardson insists, was the "endemic, small-scale harassment" by both sides and the sense of constant insecurity this engendered.[41] In Winchester, too, it was not physical destruction, but rather the incessant demands of the armies that moved to and fro in the vicinity during the three years of fighting in the southern English theatre, which did the principal hurt. Parliamentary troops from the regiments of Waller and Arthur Haselrig returned to Winchester soon after the first sack in 1642, plundering houses (especially those of 'recusants'), robbing citizens and stealing horses – "all that they could find" – probably both for use as pack animals and as steeds for Haselrig's heavy cavalry. Soon after that Trussell records that a deputation was received by the Mayor (Thomas Godson) from the parliamentary Committee of Safety, demanding that the city provide provisions, including guns, for Portsmouth, which he says was performed accordingly. Next came demands for a rate of nine pence per week to fund the parliamentary war effort; "but for neglect/ in levying it came Norton's regiment", which in retribution defaced the market cross, "an ornament/ of great antiquity". They, too, took what they wished from the citizens: and "their reckonings they/ unto their hosts with filthy language pay,/ if not with blows" (*BW*, f. 48).

Things got worse still when a party from Oxford arrived, demanding two hundred pounds or the equivalent in broadcloth. When this was denied, the soldiers apparently took Ralph Riggs "and more beside" hostage, which may indicate that they suspected Riggs of being a factious spirit, sympathetic to parliament, and the one responsible for denying them.

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[37] Hopton, *Bellum Civile*, p. 65.
[38] F. T. R. Edgar, *Sir Ralph Hopton: The King's Man in the West 1642-1652* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 151.
[39] Hopton, *Bellum Civile*, p. 77.
[40] Hopton, *Bellum Civile*, p. 83.
[41] Richardson, 'Introduction', in *Town and Countryside*, p. 7.

Soon after this Trussell himself had an unpleasant encounter with soldiers under Colonel Morley, a parliamentarian. On arrival, Morley summoned the Mayor, who in turn summoned his brethren (Trussell presumably included):

> they no sooner met,
> but [he] presently on them a guard did set
> and all commanded were to go to horseback. (*BW*, f. 48)

The Mayor and his brethren were evidently in danger of being carried away as hostages by Morley as Riggs had been. But,

> being answered that they all did horse lack,
> whilst they stood arguing, the companies
> some one way went and others otherwise
> To seek for plunder… (*BW*, f. 48)

Trussell and his colleagues were thus saved by the fact that the enemy's exactions had already been so onerous – but it was only at the cost of still more hardship to the city.

When the royalist garrison was eventually installed, things could hardly be said to have got better. It is clear that much of Winchester's hardship was inflicted by 'friendly' troops. Peter Heylin, who took refuge in Winchester briefly during the war, acknowledged afterwards that the city was "more defaced by Ogle… in burning down some houses about the Castle" than it had been by Waller in 1642, although he points out that the destruction of Wolvesey and much of the cathedral close after the war was worse still.[42] Far from acting as a welcome bulwark against parliamentarian raids, the presence of the royalist troops, on Trussell's evidence, provoked sustained discontent in the city. Reacting to the proclamation of Ogle as governor of Winchester, Trussell approved it in the poem as "by God's good will, to curb these insolents". But he is soon commenting that "some, not well advised/ who private profit before public good/ ever prefer" were angry at the destruction of houses, orchards and barns which Ogle put in hand. The conduct of the garrison forces who were billeted in the town, too, was the occasion of much complaint. Trussell engages at length with the arguments of the people who complained, albeit with his typical lack of grace in a quarrel, referring to them as "malcontents/ whose beamed eyes spy motes in this government". He represents them as making several complaints, against the "horrid

[42] Peter Heylin, *Aerius redivivus, or, The history of the Presbyterians* (Oxford, 1670), p. 450.

blasphemies" and "base carriage" of camp followers and soldiers, the unwillingness of officers to discipline their men, and particularly the garrison's demands for provision:

> 'When to the Castle all that's ours is sent
> and we are made naked and indigent…
> what can we look for, but to live like slaves
> or else be quickly quartered in our graves?' (*BW*, f. 48)

Ogle himself, in his war memoir, only reports one "design" against the royalist garrison coming from within the city, formulated by a Mr Bellaway, who "did practice" with Waller. Ogle recounts that he foiled the plot after conceiving a "jealousy" of Bellaway following a suspicious conversation with his wife. The whole family then decamped from Winchester with Waller's army.[43] But John Trussell's poem implies that many were disaffected. However, Trussell does not attack them in a way which implies he considered them to be ideological supporters of parliament or Presbyterianism. He suggests war-weariness and a prevailing neutralism, a general hatred of the war and fear of its continuance. As the greatest of all well-wishers to the city of Winchester and its people, Trussell was certainly not oblivious to this feeling himself, as the length at which he reports the discontents of the city shows. He goes on to address Ogle directly (still in the persona of 'Caerguent'), saying that he is sure that the governor "to defend/ himself from scandal", will get a grip on his officers, whose propensity to "drink, dice and drab" is setting such a bad example to their men (*BW*, f. 49). Trussell ventures to suggest that "a mixed authority" between the military and civil authorities is responsible for the disorder, and recommends either a "martial sword or civil law" to restrain the "foul vices" that range unchecked – among which was unrestrained theft and pillaging by the soldiers, whom he implies lacked other means to support themselves.[44] This section of the poem reads as though Trussell hoped the governor would read or hear the poem and be moved by it, indicating that he had not yet given up hope of influencing the course of events through literary activism. If he was attempting to influence Sir William Ogle, he would of course have sought to exaggerate his fealty in terms which would have pleased the governor.

[43] BL: Add MS 27402, ff. 96-7.

[44] Hopton's biographer F. T. R. Edgar states that "the licence of the soldiery showed the danger of shared authority between Hopton and the civilian governor, Ogle", and cites Trussell's poem as evidence for this. This interpretation could be correct, but Trussell does not mention Hopton in the passage, and he does say "Right Noble governor and worthy Mayor, / let it be therefore your conjoined care/ to purge your government from these foul vices" – implying that he thought the problem of 'mixed authority' was between Ogle (the garrison commander) and the city's usual authorities, the Mayor and corporation. See Edgar, *Sir Ralph Hopton*, pp. 151-2.

Nevertheless, Trussell's expressions of loyalty were not necessarily any less sincere for being couched in respectful language. Whilst acknowledging the horror of a situation in which "the honest woman/ must be observant to her that is as common/ as any barber's chair", Trussell was still willing to write in support of the very garrison that was making life such a misery:

> It's easier to find fault than to amend.
> Particular losses for a public gain
> must be endured… (*BW*, f. 49)

This is the keynote of his whole political philosophy, emphasised time and time again in his writing. Though it sounds like a cliché, it had the strength of a mantra. It was applicable to all situations, even the worst.

After Cheriton the presence of royalist troops became even more of a burden. Trussell paints a nightmarish picture of a "number infinite" of sick and wounded soldiers flooding into the city, converting each house into a hospital, and dying "in every street… famished", without food, shelter or dressings for their wounds. Worse, the city could not be resupplied due to the all-pervading threat of ambushes on the roads round about. In this dire situation "the insulting foe" reappeared to loot Winchester once again. Trussell complains of "stony friends within" who "gave them notice which way to steal in", which does appear to confirm that at least some parliamentary sympathisers were in the city (*BW*, f. 49). As the crimes of the rebels in the cathedral seem to have pushed Trussell into a firm loyalist position, it is quite plausible that the experience of being a royalist garrison had left others with an abiding hatred of the king's party. After this new sack, Trussell was left to reflect that the enemy had done what they set out to do by "making poor and rich men's estate all one". Even the best men in the city now lacked food, fuel and raiment as sorely as any poor wretch, a fact which clearly distressed Trussell as much for its metaphysical ramifications as for the personal difficulties he must have been in. "Woe worth the while; what shall become of me [Trussell, in the persona of Winchester, enquires], when poor and rich are thus in one degree?" He had seen more than enough of 'the world turned upside down'. Any remaining neutralism forgotten, the poem's closing prayer to preserve the king and his nobles was sincere:

> Oh thou which art the Lion and the flower
> of Juda and of Jesse, by thy power
> protect thy servant Charles, my Sovereign king,

and me and mine, under thy sacred wing.
And let those Rebels that do plot his harm
be beaten down by thy all powerful arm. (*BW*, f. 49)

There was no hope of such an outcome. By September 1645 the royalist field armies had melted away, and Cromwell was within striking range of the city. His host was the drawn sword of the continuing reformation, their fanaticism whipped up by the diatribes of Cromwell's chaplain Hugh Peter. On 28 September Cromwell sent a threatening letter to the corporation before the storm, warning that if the gates of the city were not opened, "it will [not] be in my power to save you or it".[45] The Mayor, William Longland junior, could only respond that the issue was not in his power either, but Ogle's; but "in the meantime I shall use my best endeavour with the Lord Ogle to perform the contents of your letter". The corporation knew the city's best chance to escape unscathed was for the royalist garrison to surrender as soon as possible. Some resistance does seem to have been made at the gates of the city, but the rebel army soon entered and laid siege to the Castle.[46] One eyewitness crowed that "with the townsmen's consent we have cooped up in the Castle… all the malignant gentry and clergy of this Hampshire… with many papists and Jesuits", and expressed the pious hope that parliament "will give order these great delinquents shall trouble them no more".[47] Of course, order was not given for a general massacre. Although scholars have recently observed that the breakdown of civilised niceties in the civil wars and the damage inflicted upon civilians was more general than used to be thought, nevertheless the parliamentarians and royalists of England never descended to inhuman barbarism on the scale seen in the Thirty Years' War, in which, as Ronald Hutton noted, twenty-five thousand people, most of them civilians, were massacred at the fall of one city (Magdeburg) in 1631.[48] Peter Clark agrees that the impact of the civil war was "relatively modest by comparison with the devastation wrought by contesting armies in Germany during the Thirty year War".[49] Trussell's remarks on the

[45] HRO: Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 157.
[46] G. N. Godwin, *The Civil War in Hampshire (1642-45) and the story of Basing House* (Southampton: Henry March Gilbert and Son, 1904), pp. 333-4.
[47] Ibid. Because Godwin did not typically provide references for his quotations it is often difficult to determine who is speaking and in what context. This voice is probably a parliamentarian soldier.
[48] Ronald Hutton, *Debates in Stuart History*, p. 32. Cf. Roy, 'England Turned Germany? ', pp. 127-144, and Stoyle, 'Whole streets converted to ashes', p. 129: "Few historians would now regard the English Civil War as a conflict which was 'eminently humane'". In the judgement of the leading military historian of the British civil wars, "the gentlemanly manner of fighting in England… was the exception" to the ubiquitous brutality of warfare, not only in Europe, but also in Scotland and Ireland: Malcolm Wanklyn, *The Warrior Generals: Winning the British Civil Wars* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 213.
[49] Clark, 'Introduction', p. 15.

parliamentary soldiers who had entered the undefended city after the battle of Cheriton must be seen in this light, when he says:

> Entered, nor Scythian, Tartar, Jew or Turk
> more insolence or tyranny could work
> against a Christian, then these dear brethren… for they
> left nothing unassayed that any way
> might mischief me (slaughter & fire except). (*BW*, f. 49)

Outrages on a similar scale as those committed in 1642 and 1644, but no worse, were committed by Cromwell's army. The cathedral archivist John Chase remembered:

> All my ledger register books [were] taken away… divers of the writings and charters burnt, divers thrown into the River, diverse large parchments being made kites withal to fly in the air, and many other old books lost…[50]

Similar acts of vandalism committed in the attack of 1644 were what caused John Trussell to conclude that parliament's soldiers were worse than Jews or Turks:

> Cupboards and chests and trunks they open tear,
> and purchase make of what they could find there;
> books of accompt, bills, bonds and evidences,
> indentures, deeds, and all conveyances
> They tear and burn… (*BW*, f. 49)

Ogle's garrison in the Castle surrendered on 5 October 1645 after a few days of bombardment, and Waller soon repossessed what remained of it.[51] There was no ensuing fire or slaughter, but many prisoners were taken, including the Bishop of Winchester, Dr Curle, who had been hiding in the Castle.[52] One of the mitigating factors for Ogle's surrender, in the view of the officers who conducted his court martial, was that he could raise no contributions to the Castle's defence from the city, due to "the continual charge

[50] W. R. W. Stevens and F. T. Madge, eds., *Documents relating to the history of the cathedral church of Winchester in the seventeenth century* (Winchester: Warren and Son, 1897), p. 57. There is some doubt as to whether the events described by Chase took place in 1645 at the time of the siege, or in October 1646 when some parliamentary troopers were garrisoned in the city once again. See Crook, 'Early historians of Winchester Cathedral', p. 228; but cf. Richard Sawyer, *Civil War in Winchester: an anthology of contemporary 17th century writings* (GB: Rowanvale Books, 2002), pp. 193-95.
[51] *Mercurius civicus, London's intelligencer*, no. 124 (London, October 1645) p. 1089.
[52] Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, pp. 337-8.

lying upon it by sundry armies of his Majesty's".[53] Winchester's war effectively ended in October 1645, and a purge ensued much like that which was occurring on a greater scale in York at about the same time, accomplished at the packed meeting described by Roberts.[54]

The antiquarian legacy

As has been mentioned, in the early 1640s Trussell turned again to his antiquarian writings of the previous decade. The fourth book of the *Touchstone of Tradition* was being written in 1642. At the beginning of it Trussell begs forgiveness for "my presumption in the dedication", as well he might, for Book IV of the *Touchstone* is dedicated not only to Thomas Wriothsley, 4th Earl of Southampton, but also to Sir John Bramston, Sir Richard Tichborne, John Lisle and Christopher Hussey, a senior member of the corporation. Henry Wallop, who died in November 1642, is also on the list, but his name is crossed out and the name of his son Robert inserted. The name of William Viscount Ogle has also been inserted underneath Wriothsley's name in a different-coloured ink. Ogle was created Viscount Ogle in 1645, but only after the fall of the city, which makes the insertion of his name at a time when Winchester was under parliamentary occupation a royalist statement. But royalists and parliamentarians are intermingled in the list, and the dedication is clearly supposed to transcend partisanship.

> Vouchsafe, bright bud of Honour, and all you
> Worthies, that have given faith, aye, to be true,
> To be true and whole to Winchester…
> To find a means whereby from dust to raise
> Old Winchester, though not to pristine praise,
> Yet to some sense of thriving in these days. (*TT*, f. 158)

This is a heartfelt appeal to the oaths they had sworn as freemen of the city, and further evidence of the huge importance in John Trussell's psychology of the oath-swearing thirty-eight years before in which he became a member of the corporate body of the city. But as so often with Trussell's dedications, it is unclear what he hoped to achieve by it. He must have realised that there was no chance of the Earl of Southampton looking at the *Touchstone of Tradition*, which was in any case primarily dedicated to the Marquess of

[53] BL Add MS 27402, f. 101.
[54] For York, see David Scott, 'Politics and government in York 1640-1662', in Richardson, *Town and Countryside*, pp. 50-51.

Winchester. The writing of the *Touchstone* was probably finished by 1644: the date of "this present year" on the flyleaf has been altered to read '1647', but appears to have originally read '1644'. Of the manuscript's four dedicatees, the fourth was originally "William Viscount Ogle, governor of the City and Castle of Winchester", but his name has been effaced. This theory of the dating is further supported by the note on the manuscript of the *Origin of Cities* showing that it was given away as a gift to William Wilshire, a fellow freeman, in 1644, suggesting that Trussell felt by then that he had no need of the first draft.

The first three books of the *Touchstone* are a rewritten version of the *Origin of Cities*. They are substantially the same, but in a few places Trussell introduced changes which were not insignificant. Two changes may indicate how his religious views had hardened. First, the parenthesis in *The Origin of Cities* which extolled the good government of Dorchester has been removed for the corresponding passage of the *Touchstone*. Second, in *The Origin of Cities* Trussell had boasted of the former quantity of Winchester's "religious places, such as the devotion of the people (incited thereto, sayeth the purely wise man (void of charity) by blind zeal)" (*Origin*, f. 27). In the *Touchstone of Tradition*, alongside some minor differences of phrasing, the parenthetical aside becomes "incited thereto, sayeth the Amsterdamian Roundhead (void of all charity) by the blind hope of merit" (*TT*, f. 32). Although both passages display regret for the destruction of Winchester's churches, the second uses more loaded language. In the wartime version the 'purely wise man' has become an 'Amsterdamian Roundhead'. Although the earlier phrase was almost certainly written sourly, nevertheless, referring to someone as "purely wise" for condemning "blind zeal" is not explicitly a slight, and need not have offended any godly readers. But 'Roundhead' is openly a term of abuse, and 'Amsterdamian' makes clear the religious context of Trussell's anger.

The word is not merely a vague reference to the Protestantism of the United Provinces. In England around this time, presumably due in part to the large English separatist congregations residing there, the city of Amsterdam seems to have been associated with radically unorthodox, dangerous, possibly comical religious sects, including Brownism. As early as 1621, Robert Burton referred to "Brownists, Barrowists, Familists and all those Amsterdamian sects and sectaries… led by so many private spirits", in an attack on religious malcontents which is couched in much the same terms as Trussell's attacks on the puritans in *Annalia Dubrensia*: "they will admit of no holy days, or honest recreations, no Churches, no Bells some of them, because Papists use them. No

discipline, no ceremonies, but what they invent themselves".[55] A broadsheet of 1641 attacking the Brownists refers to "Amsterdamian tunes" and "th'Amsterdamian Brat".[56] John Taylor, a committed literary royalist who wrote in support of the king's cause, referred to "These Amsterdamian Zealots [who] can breath five hours in a Text" in *The Diseases of the Times* (1642), an insulting comparison of the puritans to the Brownists of Amsterdam. Of all uses of the word, Taylor's is most similar in intention to Trussell's in the *Touchstone.*[57]

Trussell goes on to say:

> Marvel not then if by… the leaving of so many pockholes in her face by the demolishing so many admirable structures, of which long since Necham said
>
> Hinc facies urbis toties mutata, dolorem.
> Prætendit, casus nuntia vera sui,
> Her face so often changed her grief doth show
> And is the certain messenger of her woe,
>
> her body be not now so complete as it hath been, nor her countenance so comely as it might be which enforceth me in her behalf (though a stranger born, yet now an inhabitant) to cry
>
> O tibi praeteritos referat si Jupiter annos. (*TT*, f. 32)

The references to pockholes in the city's face and the emaciation of her body are already present in the 1630s version, which highlights how gloomy Trussell's historical understanding made him about Winchester's present, even before the war: from the early 1630s to the late 1640s his attitude displays more continuity than change. But the outrages of the parliamentary soldiers in the cathedral give this passage on the literal 'defacement' of the city by the destruction of its churches an added latter-day resonance, and Trussell

[55] Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1621), p. 756.
[56] Anon, *The Brownists' faith and belief opened* (London, for T.W., 1641).
[57] The word 'Amsterdamian' appears as a slight earlier in the seventeenth century. In a work recording his questioning by James I concerning a religious matter, Daniel Featly, a divine and the personal chaplain of Charles I, attacked Robert Parker, a puritan of awkward views who fled to the Low Countries after his attack on 'Antichrist' in the form of signing the cross in church was misliked. He described Parker as a "brain-sick Amsterdamian", albeit presumably because Parker actually lived there for a time: Daniel Featly, *Cygnea cantio, or learned decisions…delivered by our late sovereign of happy memory King James* (London, 1629), p. 19; Keith L. Sprunger, 'Parker, Robert (*c.*1564–1614)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21334, accessed 30 Nov 2012].

amplifies it with the addition of the quotation of Alexander Neckam's lines, which also describe the city's face as 'changed' and displaying grief.

A significant addition to the opening section of the *Origin* finds Trussell resorting to the powerful eloquence of Lipsius, in a long quotation which reveals his heightened preoccupation with the decay and death of cities and nations. The passage appears to have been translated directly from Lipsius rather than via Sir John Stradling's 'Englished' version of *De Constantia* (see Appendix C):

> as each particular body hath its youth, its strength, old age, and death, so is it with great cities; they begin, they increase, they stand and flourish, but all to this end, that they may decay… Venice that hath flourished above 2340 years, London and Antwerp, the beauty of cities, their days must likewise come at length and in the end turn to nothing. (*TT*, f. 9)

What Lipsius called "the fatal whirlpool of necessity" now threatened to pull Europe, the present seat of world power, into its vortex of destruction. The passage had been written half a century ago, but its gloomy and fatalistic tone obviously resonated with Trussell, and probably with most loyal Englishmen, more than ever before. As he reached the end of the *Origin of Cities*, too, how bitterly he must have looked at what he had written a short decade before: "few if any brag what themselves are; but spero meliora". This phrase does not appear in the *Touchstone*. There was no hope left now; it had been shattered by war. Instead the passage reads:

> Hoc patet exemplis oppida posse mori
> Examples plainly do affirm,
> Cities may fail, towns oft have their term
> And still her Genius cries
> O mihi praeteritos referat Jupiter annos. (*TT*, f. 155)

The character of the passage is darkened by the addition of those same terrible words of Virgil which echoed remorselessly through his brain in those days. It was the Genius of Winchester, the immortal spirit Caerguent, who cried for the lost years; but of course, the Genius was Trussell himself. His account of Henrietta Maria's arrival in 1625, and the superb speech delivered for the occasion by the then Mayor, provide the moving conclusion to the history. It is clear that this was a happy memory, happier than the present day, at least, despite the stressful circumstances of the queen's visit. Then the work ends

with a passage Trussell had first written for the curtailed *Origin of Cities*, and now reproduced in its proper place:

> Thus long, and thus far, alone without guide or companion, follower or friend, without either helpful diversion or hopeful encouragement of any, have I roamed in the rosemary heath of ancient history, and if in my passage I have lighted upon any corn fields, and thence with Ruth have gleaned after the reapers and leased any scattered ears sufficient to make this book, I presume, since Boaz was not offended with her, no gentle disposition will be displeased with what is done. (*TT*, f. 194)

It is almost, but not quite, a self-penned epitaph; a resigned laying-down of the pen by a man who has at least written what he set out to write, though knowing that it will never be acclaimed, and who still believes in the work's essential value.

It seems that the final compilation of the manuscript now known as *The Benefactors of Winchester* is also a legacy of these years. Although most of the contents of the collection had been written by the beginning of 1637 (when Trussell wrote the letter to Mayor Ralph Riggs which stands as an introduction to the work), elements were being written here and there until at least 1647, namely the poems on the occasions of Mayoral elections, these having resumed in 1643 when Trussell narrowly lost to Richard Brexton. When exactly the materials were collated into the manuscript miscellany they now constitute is unknown; no copies or alternative versions of any part of the contents have survived. But since many of the contents were evidently intended for circulation and response – that is, the letters and poems – the fact that they are present in the manuscript in their current form shows that at some point Trussell took the decision to make the manuscript a self-vindicating retrospective on the events of his career. The poetry acts as a spine in the *Benefactors of Winchester* manuscript, developing the themes which give the miscellany its fundamental cohesion – in particular, Trussell's insistent rejection of private interest and selfish individualism in favour of public works and service. Together, the poetry and the three letters give the manuscript thematic wholeness, subsuming the situational relevance and purpose of each into a broader scheme delineating the whole arc of Trussell's career in public life. The manuscript, however disparate its contents, is an expression of a coherent worldview that is characterised by a thorough engagement with socio-political and historical matters, across the entire spectrum of Trussell's 'endeavours'. These endeavours, as expressed in the *Benefactors of Winchester*, were essentially threefold: to preserve the city of Winchester's past, reform it in the present, and create

literary monuments to its glory which would edify the future. As the quotation from John Owen's *Epigrams* which concludes the manuscript declares,

> Sit verbum vox viva licet vox mortua scriptum
> Scripta diu vivunt non ita verba diu. (*BW*, f. 49) [58]

But if Winchester was the object of Trussell's writing, the reader of the manuscript is never allowed to forget the subject. *The Benefactors of Winchester* is about a man as much as it is about a city. In its final form it was intended to live on after Trussell, and justify his ways to men who would come after – men who, he must have hoped, would be more easily persuaded of the worth of his endeavours than his own hard-hearted contemporaries. This idea also found expression in the motto on the flyleaf of the *Touchstone of Tradition,* a quotation from the *Elegies* of Albinovanus:

> Marmore Maeonii vincunt monimenta libelli;
> Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt.[59]

One lives in one's Genius – the rest is death.[60]

Sickness and death

Such was the state of Winchester after three years of war that parliament felt able to reduce the city's complement of churches to a mere two parishes, 'Maurice' and 'Thomas' – the order pointedly omitted to call them 'St Maurice' and 'St Thomas'. Next to the record of the order from the parliamentary committee which is copied in the ledger book, an unknown hand (perhaps the copyist) has added his marginal comment: "What! the black saints on earth have unsainted the glorious saints in heaven".[61] Indeed, the grip of puritanism was being swiftly tightened over Winchester and the surrounding countryside. Dean Young and his chapter were not officially abolished until 1649, but the ejection of ministers who lacked sufficient commitment to further reformation in the church reached

[58] 'Though a word is a living voice, writing a dead one,/ Yet writings survive a long while; words do not.' Trussell, *Touchstone of Tradition,* f. 49; John Owen, *Epigrammatum Ioannis Owen Cambro-Britanni libri tres* (London, 1607), Lib. III, No. 208.
[59] C. Pedo Albinovanus, *Elegiae*, trans. J. Plumptre (Oxford, 1807), p. 82.
[60] This is only one of the ways the motto could be interpreted. 'Ingenium' means innate quality, nature, character, disposition, intelligence. It has been translated as 'worth': Plumptre, op. cit., p. 83. As Trussell habitually used the poetic device of the 'Genius' of a place, which refers to something like its innate intelligence, the use of 'ingenio' here could feasibly be intended to call this use to mind.
[61] Fifth ledger book, f. 1.

its height earlier, in 1645-46.[62] G. N. Godwin, in his history of Hampshire in the civil war, claims that "Trussel, of Week, the Rev." was one of the clergy ejected by parliament after the war as a malignant, but this is not confirmed by Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, which he implies is his source.[63] It would not be surprising for William Trussell to have been put out of his rectory, since the rate of ejections in Hampshire was probably greater than 25% of all ministers.[64] Nor would it be wholly surprising if William Trussell shared his brother's hostility to puritanism and loyalty to the Crown, and that this would prompt his ejection from his living.

In 1646 John Trussell was officially excused from his obligation to keep standing for election to the office of Mayor "in respect of his impotency and infirmity".[65] It is tempting to wonder if he was being eased out of the corporation due to his royalist sympathies. But old and infirm he certainly was. He had been suffering from the 'podagrian infirmity' for some years, and as time went on new ailments afflicted him. The final dedication of the *Touchstone* was written in 1648 to Edward White, in honour of his unprecedented fifth Mayoralty. In the three poems to White which preface the work Trussell described himself as "with palsy-passion hardly strained", and apologised for the fact that, because of this, he could "write nor firm nor fair, but badly scribble" (although it must be said that his writing remained perfectly legible). Not only shaking of the hands, but rheum, croup and aches and pains all meant that "with great pain I shape the smallest letter" (*TT*, f. 1). It would not be surprising if the pain was as much mental as physical. The *Touchstone* dedications were accompanied by the sad reflection that of the original "four Props" with which Trussell had intended to support his manuscript's "weak fabric… the [one] is clean foundered and the other too visibly in danger of diruption [sic]". These two were Walter Curle, the ruined ex-Bishop of Winchester, who had died in 1647, and John, the Lord Marquess himself, a prisoner of parliament since his heroic stand at Basing House had ended in defeat. The third prop was the Mayor of Winchester for the time being, and the fourth prop, which had been Viscount Ogle, ended up being the collective body of freemen of the city; Trussell had evidently run out of suitable dedicatees in high places.

In December 1648 King Charles came to Winchester, where the Round Table still hung in the Great Hall, as though in mockery of how far the ideals of chivalry and kingship had fallen in this upside-down world. Indeed the old order had changed, and yielded place to new. But as the king was taken by his captors through the city on his final journey, the

[62] Andrew Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire, 1649-1689* (Cambridge: University Press, 1987), p. 10.
[63] Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, p. 65.
[64] Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities*, p. 10.
[65] Fourth Book of Ordinances, f. 161.

spirit of the former age glimmered briefly once again. Joseph Butler, the Mayor that year, led the city's aldermen out to greet Charles, surrendering to him the keys and mace of the city – the last magistrate of any in the realm to make this formal submission.[66] John Trussell had been Ruth, gleaning after the reapers in the field of Boaz; now his beloved Caerguent was to be Veronica, kneeling to offer solace on the Martyr's dolorous way. As he passed, December winds were wailing through the shattered unglassed windows of the cathedral, among the defiled urns of English kings, heralding a freezing winter. In the bleak new year, King Charles was executed; with his head was struck off the *fons et origo* of the Mayor and corporation's authority, which would henceforth depend upon the whims of the 'black saints' now enthroned at Westminster, a parliament without a sovereign. Among the regicides was John Lisle MP, Recorder of the City of Winchester, so often the voice of reason in Dean Young's vexing disputes with the city over seats and maces. Trussell, however, was fortunate enough not to live to see these events. An indenture of 18 September 1648 between the city and Margaret Trussell, widow, leases to her "the messuage on the south side of the High Street under the Penthouse, late in the tenure and possession of John Trussell, gent., her late husband, deceased".[67] His brother William died at around the same time, and, according to tradition, is buried in the cloisters of Winchester College, where he had been made a Fellow in 1642.[68]

Winchester struggled on through the Commonwealth, until the return of the king; whereupon, as Adrienne Rosen describes, "Winchester's fortunes gradually revived".[69] Kinder years lay ahead. Yet for all that, the voice of her good Genius had been silenced: John Trussell, whose calling was to be her interpreter and speak with her voice among men, had been gathered up to her bosom at last, *in aetatis suae* 73. Previous mayors had been buried in the cathedral: the memorial stone of George Pemerton can still be seen in the north aisle (with a date that is inaccurate by ten years). He had been buried there in 1640, when it must still have seemed that John Trussell would be too. But after the eviction of the Dean and Chapter, the burial registers cease; so Trussell's bones lie we know not where. The likelihood must be that fate was kind; that they remain in the city which is his home. But whether or not that is so, there can be no question where his spirit rests – in the white city's bourn, awaiting that day when the bygone years will be returned.

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[66] *CSPD 1661-1662*, p. 270; Richard Sawyer, *Civil War in Winchester*, p. 202.
[67] HRO: W/F3/142/4.
[68] Baigent, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of Wyke*, p. 13. Cf. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, p. 13. Inquiries at Winchester College could not confirm the truth of the tradition. In the opinion of Suzanne Foster, college archivist, "he probably was buried here but we have no means of confirming this" (in correspondence with the author, February 2013).
[69] See Rosen, 'Winchester in transition, 1580-1700', pp. 170-184.

Conclusion

This thesis has shown something of the character of John Trussell. In some ways he was a man out of time, swimming against several tides: as a writer, he fought a rearguard action against both the puritan zeitgeist which threatened England's future and the new historical learning which threatened its past. But in another aspect, as a freeman and Mayor of Winchester, he was a pillar of the establishment, upholding the corporate community, and very much a man of the world. There is an air of contradiction and paradox around Trussell. Even after a detailed survey of his life it remains difficult to pin labels on him, and to get a clear idea of how his political and religious attitudes were associated. Politically, his writings sought to bolster divine and royal authority in a polity that drew its entire legitimacy from these two sources but was prone to destabilising personal influences from individual members of its elite, ironically including Trussell himself. His concepts of the nature of authority and the role of obedience in public service were traditional, Biblical and firmly associated with the context of the city. One thing is clear: Trussell, though a stranger born, was a Winchester man, and his loyalty was to Winchester. In my researches I have seen little to suggest there was much of a county context to Trussell's life. I am not arguing that the county model is an inappropriate one by which to understand early modern history, but it does not seem to have much relevance in this particular case – the civic model is clearly the right one. Trussell may be unusual in the strength of his civic patriotism, but contemporaries can be understood in the same way. Across the ideological chasm which divided them, there is a detectable similarity between Trussell's rhetoric of the "white city", the "holy city", with its air "healthful and sweet", and Ignatius Jordan's desire to make Exeter a "godly city on the hill".[1] One was essentially backward-looking, the other essentially revolutionary, but both have their civic-patriotic aspect. The surprising manner in which the chasms can be bridged is an important conclusion of this thesis.

Of course, this is not to deny that the chasms existed. Trussell and Ignatius Jordan were divided in a fundamental way by religion. If there is one perennial feature of John Trussell's thought, it is his opposition to the views of the "precisian[s]" whom he knew would criticise Southwell, who in their "standings, lectures, exercises" condemned the "harmless mirth" of holiday sports and dismissed the charitable foundations of pre-Reformation times as worthless. The hearts of people like Jordan, he thought, were "hollow" and "void of charity", despite the Bibles they carried. By the 1630s, it is apparent that there was a 'culture war' in England between the godly reformers and the rest, which

[1] See Stoyle, 'Whole streets converted to ashes', p. 131.

is expressed in publications like *Annalia Dubrensia.* It is natural to look at this in the knowledge of the looming civil war. In hindsight, it seems inevitable that the culture war would break out into real violence. In the immediate aftermath, some thought it was obviously the case: as one anonymous writer bitterly remarked, "what miseries the Puritan faction (so long lying like the Canaanites, as thorns in the sides of our Israel) would bring upon this Nation, England wanted not Ezekiel's watchmen to foretell".[2] For their part, some of the puritans believed they were taking up arms against crypto-popery and the limbs of Antichrist. We are not required to accept so absolute a picture now, however, and in fact the biography of John Trussell offers an insight into the difficulty of understanding culture war in binary terms. Even if contemporaries used them, simple oppositions are not well suited to the discussion of early modern ideology and belief, but they are easy to reach for and rely on. Scholars even occasionally succumb to the temptation to talk about 'liberal' and 'conservative' positions in early modern history as though they can be meaningfully related to the notions modern academics often have about 'liberalism' and 'conservatism'. Arthur B. Ferguson, for example, seems to imply something like this in his discussion of the mythical British history in early modern scholarship. Having characterised the belief in Brutus the Trojan, etc., as a "patriotic religion" and the defenders of the tradition as "conservative" defenders of a "fundamentalist orthodoxy", he then describes the scholars (like Camden and Selden) who undermined it as "the more liberal segment of the learned community".[3] It is not quite clear what the word 'liberal' means in this context. The suspicion arises that Ferguson (an American academic writing in 1993) was partly thinking in terms of a contemporary culture war, and believed that someone who is not a conservative is automatically a liberal.

Once the question about the 'liberals' has been raised, we must then wonder about the 'conservatives'. Describing as 'conservatives' the learned men who, in the seventeenth century, still sought to argue that the British mythic history could be substantially relied upon, may seem an unobjectionable use of the word. In Chapter Four I argued that Trussell's deep love of "Antiquity", and an associated desire to believe the truth of noble traditions, was the motivating factor in his defence of the Galfridian pseudo-history. This probably can be described as conservatism in a narrow sense of the word. But other aspects of Trussell's 'conservatism' are less obvious than they seem. Arguing against J. W. Trotman's contention that Trussell was a Roman Catholic, Martin Shaaber wrote that the

[2] Anon., *Persecutio undecima*, p. 1.
[3] Ferguson, *Utter Antiquity*, p. 95.

quotations Trotman cited "do not necessarily prove more than conservatism".[4] The quotations he referred to were, in particular, those defending medieval expressions of faith from the 'Amsterdamian Roundhead' and lamenting the "frozen devotion of these times" which permitted churches to remain unfrequented and unroofed. Shaaber was not aware of Trussell's horror at the destruction of organs, cushions, hangings and ornaments by parliament's soldiers in 1642, or of Trussell's remarks on bishops, written in the same year. Trussell commenced his series of the names of the bishops of Winchester with quotations from scripture and the early fathers, using his authorities to prove that a bishop is "he that watcheth as a superintendent over others… to reduce him to the degree of a presbyter is mere sacrilege, for a bishop is he (sayeth Ignatius) that manageth the whole power of authority over the clergy, whose government is of apostolical institution" (*TT*, f. 203). Had Shaaber been aware of these, he would probably have taken them, too, as evidence of 'conservatism', because it is natural to think of statements like these as part of an associated complex of views encompassing monarchism, the beauty of holiness, and a Laudian belief in a strongly hierarchical church ruled by the authority of bishops. But it is now more widely recognised that elements of this complex of views were not necessarily 'conservative' at all, but rather new, even potentially revolutionary themselves. Certainly the enemies of the Laudian tendency, and of holiday pastimes, regarded them as 'innovative'. George Bernard has written compellingly of the inherent contradiction or ambiguity in the post-Reformation Church of England which enabled some to see a campaign of innovation in shifts of practice that were regarded by the authorities as affirming the traditions of a monarchical church.[5] Conrad Russell shared this outlook, arguing that it was quite reasonable for the religious policies of Charles I and Archbishop Laud to be understood in different ways by different people:

> I see very considerable differences, but not between Puritans and Anglicans. I see differences existing between rival claimants to the heart of the Church of England itself, as a contest…between rival orthodoxies… People living under Charles were therefore entitled to believe the Church had changed when they saw that, as Dr Sharpe admits, what was actually done in it was changed.[6]

[4] Shaaber, '*The First Rape of Faire Hellen* by John Trussell', p. 414.
[5] George W. Bernard, 'The Church of England c.1529- c.1642', in *History* vol. 75 (1990), pp.183-206.
[6] Conrad Russell, 'Draining the Whig bathwater', review of *The Personal Rule of Charles I* by Kevin Sharpe, in *London Review of Books* vol. 15, no. 11 (1993), pp. 23-24 [http://www.lrb.co.uk/v15/n11/conrad-russell/draining-the-whig-bathwater; Accessed 6 May 2013].

In this conclusion I had to re-evaluate my first inclination to say that, although John Trussell may not have been a Roman Catholic, he was still 'conservative in religion', because it became apparent that even this would not carry enough meaning. Not only their modern resonance, but the very ease and familiarity with which words like this come to hand, mean they risk obscuring more than they illuminate.

We also need to be careful not to make plain facts, like Trussell's authorship of two poems in the collection dedicated to Robert Dover in 1636, carry too great a weight of interpretation. Trussell's participation in *Annalia Dubrensia* is evidence that his attitude to the book of sports was favourable. But it does not necessarily imply unusual love of or partisan loyalty to the established church: Robert Dover's own slight directed at the "refined clergy" in his poem could be read as suggesting that he thought the Church of England was full of stuffy and puritanical killjoys. Leah Marcus has shown that the defence of holiday sports and pastimes could be explicitly "Laudian" in the verses of poets who were also Anglican priests, such as Robert Herrick and Richard Corbett, and even suggests that holiday customs became "part of the symbolic language of Stuart power".[7] But this does not mean that everybody who enjoyed 'maypoles, hock-carts, wassails, wakes' was necessarily a Laudian, or that these things would have had no defenders, nor anyone who regretted their passing, if the early Stuart kings had not come out in favour of them. The fact that Trussell later sang the praises of prelacy does not make it any less surprising that a Mayor and alderman so concerned with public order, who enacted an ordinance in 1625 that can be described as 'sabbatarian', should have been enthusiastic about recreations which other provincial administrators loathed because of their tendency to encourage disorder. Marcus also quotes an allegation of 1646 against a Laudian priest who promoted maypoles, dances and skittles, in which the aggrieved parishioners describe him as "a great Innovator in the church" – further confirmation that if we insist on thinking of one side in early modern England's culture war as merely 'conservative' (and the other side presumably as 'progressive' by default), confusion will ensue.[8] There is, after all, a notable irony in the fact that Trussell was hurling defiance at superior and subordinate alike by counselling obedience to the proper authorities, and insisting that "citizens should be of agreeable disposition, like singers" (*BW*, f. 42) in outspoken opposition to everyone around him.

Overall, Trussell's political views caution us against relying too much on fixed standpoints on the civil war period. Historiography of the civil war period has sometimes

[7] Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defence of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 5-18.
[8] Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth*, p. 17.

imputed a polarisation which was not really so distinctive as it seems. The simple dichotomy of opposed ideological structures should always be scrutinized carefully. It is here that biography and chronological narrative come into their own, because they allow us to understand the texture of life, which is invariably messy and complicated, and not usually a matter of easy ideological definitions. This complexity is often reflected in Trussell's own writings, in which the fear of misunderstanding, misrepresentation and incomprehension is so prevalent. His works display a preoccupation with that shadow which may fall between an author's word and a reader's comprehension, between intent and achievement. That is what Trussell's favourite quotation from Horace really means: *amphora cepi/ Institui currente rota nunc urcens exit*. The writer sets out to do one thing, but the work turns out as something less than he hoped; Trussell thinks he has said one thing to the corporation-men, but finds in due course that they thought he was saying something else. He began his letter to the twenty-four by complaining that "the fate of words and writings consists in the understanding part only, so that there is no construction made of either but secundum affectum rescipientis, by means whereof many things well meant are diverse times ill taken". In his 1622 letter to Edward White Trussell quoted St Augustine to the effect that "two things are necessarily required in a Christian, that is Reputation and Conscience": his motivation in writing the letter was that "[I know] how hard a thing it is in these days to play well an after game at Reputation". The battles of the 1620s forced Trussell to take this lesson to heart. In 1636, dedicating his *Continuation* of Daniel to the judges of the court of King's Bench, he wrote:

> sithence words and writing are not real according as they are spoke or writ, but as they are approved by others, let your noble dispositions but make a favourable exposition of what is done. (*Continuation,* Epistle to the Reader)

A similar note is struck in one of the Cotswold poems: "Fame is the life of action, for report/ Makes good, or bad, each action, every sport".[9]

This has a strangely postmodern resonance. In her study of English neostoicism Adriana McCrea identifies a strain of mistrust of the senses and of language in the work of Fulke Greville, a mistrust which is not unrelated to the conclusions of Montaigne regarding the "absence of any universal reason", and which she suggests illustrates the "vulnerability of the state of language – of the vernacular – in the early modern period".[10] But it is also symptomatic of the incipient intellectual and ideological breakdown in early seventeenth-

[9] *Annalia Dubrensia* , p. 105.
[10] McCrea, *Constant Minds,* pp. 118, 135.

century English society. As Glenn Burgess argued, several 'languages' were spoken in early modern England, and the collapse of understanding which resulted was a factor enabling a civil war that few, if any, really wanted to take place.[11] Conrad Russell once opined that "the civil war itself is the ultimate example of… the called bluff", happening almost by accident as the two sides found their enemies were not backing down as they expected them to.[12] It was only once the two sides had shuffled reluctantly into it, and the reciprocal distrust and contempt between the John Trussells and the Ignatius Jordans redoubled, that the violent continuation of the culture war developed a momentum of its own which sustained it until one of them was unable to continue fighting; the development of Trussell's attitude from a kind of neutralism to partisan royalism, charted in his *Declaration of Caerguent*, illustrates this process in action. Although in 1644 he was beseeching God to 'preserve King Charles and prosper all his ways', as recently as two years before when re-writing the beginning of his *Origin of Cities* probably in 1641 or 1642, he had written the following eulogy of the city of London:

> it would ask a long time and make too large a volume to enter into a particular discourse of… the continued loyalty formerly to the prince, of the courteous behaviour and civil deportment of the citizens, of the stately and magnificent buildings therein, and the rich and sumptuous furniture thereof… (*TT*, ff. 26-7)

Granted that, as Blair Worden remarked, "the detection of political allusions in 17th-century literature has become as undisciplined as it is widespread"; nevertheless, considering the circumstances of the time, Trussell's assertion of London's 'former loyalty' is still enough to make us wonder what point is being made about the conduct of London's citizenry in the political crisis developing between the king and parliament.[13] By referring to 'former' loyalty, Trussell leaves open the suggestion that London has ceased to be loyal. But, since it appears in the context of a eulogy, should the remark in fact be read as drawing attention to London's continuing loyalty? Long after 1642, some rebels continued to maintain the pretence that they were loyally seeking to free the king from the evil counsels of the cavaliers and papists surrounding him; could Trussell, participating in that narrative, have interpreted popular stirs of the kind which saw bishops prevented from

[11] One of the contentions of Glenn Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* (Macmillan, 1992).
[12] Conrad Russell, 'The First Army Plot of 1641', p. 101.
[13] Blair Worden, 'Insolence', review of *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* by David Norbrook, *Restoration Theatre Production* by Jocelyn Powell, *Theatre and Crisis: 1632-1642* by Martin Butler, *The Court Masque* edited by David Lindley and *Ben Jonson, Dramatist* by Anne Barton, in *London Review of Books* [Online] vol. 7, no. 4 (1985), pp. 13-14 [http://www.lrb.co.uk/v07/n04/blair-worden/insolence; accessed 6 May 2013].

taking their seats in the House of Lords by angry mobs as the loyal actions of true Englishmen? Or was the remark totally without contemporary political significance? We do not know.

Little-studied figures like Trussell are particularly useful for the work of recreating the past as it was lived, because less familiar historical lives and experiences have the simultaneous benefits of both providing a rich new store of material, and (with fewer preconceptions surrounding them) of helping us confront more squarely what we do not know and cannot assume. Trussell's personal reaction to another significant politico-religious question, the disputes between the Dean and chapter and the corporation of Winchester from 1637 to 1641, is also unknown – and we must acknowledge that, from the evidence, it is impossible to guess whose side he was on. As a loyal Wintonian and member of the corporation we could expect him to take the city's side, but as an episcopalian and a man for whom the parliamentary attack on the cathedral seems to have been decisive in fixing his own allegiance in the civil war, he could be expected to support the government's 'High Church' programme. Even if we accept that Ralph Riggs and John Lisle were motivated by ideological hostility to the form of religion the cathedral chapter represented, Trussell's 'anti-puritanism' is not conclusive either: there is no suggestion that he felt any animosity to either Riggs or Lisle, in fact quite the reverse. The evidence points instead to a civic and perhaps personal loyalty between members of Winchester's oligarchy which, as I put it earlier, bridged the ideological chasms which seem so wide and deep to historians.

The religious question is a very important one. Despite all the evidence set out in the preceding pages, Trussell's religious views remain as difficult to describe in simple denominational terms as they were initially. In fact, they are marked by a frustrating tendency to imply one thing without directly stating it – namely, crypto-Catholicism. His greeting to Henrietta Maria in 1625 accommodated her Catholicism very generously, and seems heartfelt. His invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the saints was not forced on him. But it cannot be said, in itself, to go beyond proper devotion to the queen. There is the fact that Trussell continued to wish to dedicate the *Touchstone of Tradition* to the Marquess of Winchester, even after Paulet's Roman Catholicism had been officially revealed to the world after the sack of Basing – but should this be understood as religious solidarity, or a principled statement of continuing deference to the aristocracy of England in a world which was being turned upside down? Even Trussell's preference for alms-giving over useless doctrine in his benefaction poems is less revealing than it first seems, since staunch puritans were often the most generous of civic benefactors. Obviously, there is the

Southwell connection, in the light of which it could be said to be obvious that Trussell's crypto-Catholicism was revealing itself on these occasions. It is true that, if it could be shown beyond reasonable doubt that Trussell's youthful association with Southwell proves he was a Catholic and not an orthodox member of the Church of England, we would be justified in looking at these points in a different light. On the face of it, it appears to show exactly this, and it is not surprising that, as a result, more than one scholar has assumed Trussell was a Roman Catholic. Why else would young John Trussell be found publishing a posthumous work of the most famous and fascinating English Jesuit? But it is a contention of this thesis that, in fact, there is reasonable doubt, and it is quite possible to understand Trussell's interest in Southwell's writing in a different way – in the light of humanist philosophy, not religion. And once the Southwell connection has lost its mystique, it is remarkable how all the subsequent points begin to diminish in size.

Instead, a key contention of this thesis is that even the question 'was Trussell a Catholic or not?' is too simplistic, not least because it takes no account of the fourth dimension: the fact that, over time, people's views and allegiances can change. Even if Trussell had been a Catholic in the 1590s, we would hardly be justified in assuming that he remained one all his life, complaints about puritans and roundheads notwithstanding. Indeed, there are parallels in his life with a man who was also a Westminster scholar tutored by Camden, and a fellow contributor to *Annalia Dubrensia* – Ben Jonson. These become more striking when seen in the light of Ariana McCrea's discussion of Jonson's confessional shifts. Jonson converted to Catholicism under stress as a young man, and was an admirer of Robert Southwell (as a writer, at any rate). He remained a Catholic for some years, but then was reconciled to the Church of England, particularly as the threat to established order from puritanism became clearer. As a reconciled 'Anglican', Jonson outspokenly attacked puritan sectarianism in his literary works (he objected to puritanism in part because he saw it as hostile to antiquity and learning). McCrea draws a parallel with Lipsius, an internationally-renowned example of a religious 'trimmer' who repeatedly changed his confessional stance, and in so doing, elided the distinction between Catholic and Protestant – showing to the world that even those whose fame derived from evangelising 'constancy' could be turncoats.[14] People like Jonson and Lipsius may seem like 'exceptions that prove the rule', but the porousness of confessional and ideological boundaries which their lives evince can be seen in the life of John Trussell too.

What, then, can the life and work of John Trussell tell us about the society and culture in which he lived? Arthur B. Ferguson wrote that "the Renaissance mentality is one

[14] Ariana McCrea, *Constant Minds*, pp. 149-153.

of diversity, ambivalence and paradox"; Trussell's biography supports that conclusion.[15] Often, Renaissance people offer passive resistance to our attempts to impose too much structure and order on the richness of their lived experiences or to shoehorn them into too-rigid categories; that is one rearguard action John Trussell has very successfully fought, against his biographer. Trussell could attack drunkenness and 'unlawful games' as great evils, and write in defence of Whitsun-ales and May-games; defend Brutus, and honour the memory of his 'master' Camden; serve happily alongside a puritan and a future regicide, and pray for a royalist victory in the civil war; support the established church against those who would undermine it, and praise a convicted Jesuit openly to the world. Many of the historians whose work I have drawn upon during this thesis have represented early modern England paradigmatically, in terms of opposed dichotomies, whether political (royalist/parliamentarian), historiographical (conservative mythologiser/liberal moderniser), religious (Catholic/Protestant) or cultural (the puritans/the rest). Whitfield, Jordan, Ferguson, and the Catholic biographers of Robert Southwell have all done this in various ways. Of course the familiar paradigms are useful and all encapsulate aspects of the truth about early modern England. But the life of John Trussell is a reminder that we must never put paradigms before individuals; we must always try to make sure we have allowed the men and women of seventeenth century England to emerge in their full complexity before we seek to understand them. They did not live to serve our purposes, but rather God's, and their own.

[15] Arthur B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perception of the social and cultural past in Renaissance England* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1979), p.417.

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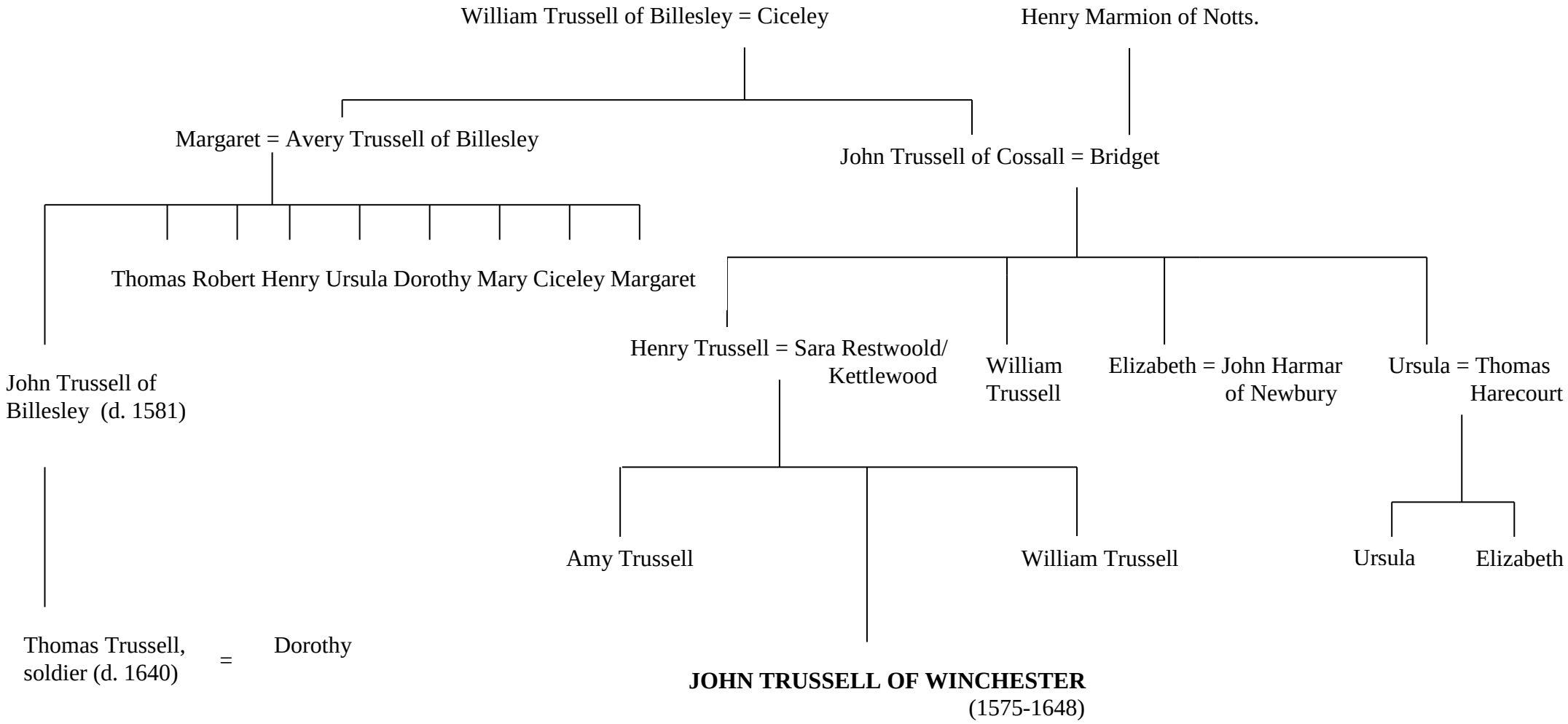
Appendix A

There are three genealogical sources which can inform us about John Trussell's ancestry: the heraldic visitation of Warwickshire of 1619, that of Hampshire (conducted in two parts, in 1622 and 1634), and that of Nottinghamshire (due to a connection by marriage of the Trussells to the Marmions of that county) in 1614.[1] Unfortunately, they do not agree. The Hampshire visitation has 'John Trussell of the City of Winchester' as the son of Henry Trussell and Sara Restwoold; and Henry the fourth son of Avery Trussell of Billesley, in the county of Warwickshire. The eldest son of Avery is named 'John Trussell of Billesley'.

In the Nottinghamshire visitation, John Trussell of Billesley is still the eldest son of Avery. There is also a Henry Trussell, who marries one Sarah Kettlewood, but he is not the son of Avery, but rather of a man recorded as being Avery's brother, John Trussell of Cossall in Nottinghamshire – the Trussell who married into the Marmion family. No issue of Henry and Sarah is recorded, but Henry's father John of Cossall has, among several other children, a daughter Elizabeth, who is recorded as marrying John Harmar of Winchester. John Harmar's brother-in-law was certainly Henry Trussell, and Harmar's will proves that John Trussell of Winchester and William Trussell were his nephews.

A Henry Trussell is mentioned as the fourth son of Avery in the Nottingham genealogy, but no issue is recorded. It is the siblings ascribed to Henry Trussell in the Hampshire visitation which provide the key to the problem of his parentage. They are Thomas, Robert, Henry, Ursula, Dorothy, Mary, Cicely, and Margaret – all of whom, complete with their correct spouses, are called children of Avery in the Nottinghamshire visitation as well. Elizabeth, wife of John Harmar appears nowhere. It is as though in the Hampshire visitation Henry has been taken out of the Cossall line and inserted into the Billesley line, along with his wife Sara and son John of Winchester. It therefore seems most likely that in the Hampshire visitation, the Henry Trussell who married Sara Restwoold, or Kettlewood, has been mistaken for another Henry Trussell, son of Avery, who perhaps died young. In reality Henry, the father of John Trussell of Winchester, was the son of John Trussell of Cossall. This is confirmed by the Warwickshire visitation, which gives John Trussell of Cossall a son named Henry (but neglects to note any further issue). How the mistake could have been made by the heralds in the 1630s, when John Trussell of Winchester was still alive, is a mystery. *(family tree overleaf)*

[1] Rylands, ed., *Pedigrees from the visitation of Hampshire* , pp. 223-4; John Fetherston, ed., *The Visitation of the county of Warwick in the year 1619* (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1877), p. 92; G. W. Marshall, ed., *The visitations of the county of Nottingham in the years 1569 and 1614,* Harleian Society, 55 (1871), p. 28.


William Trussell of Billesley = Ciceley
Henry Marmion of Notts.
Margaret = Avery Trussell of Billesley
John Trussell of Cossall = Bridget
Thomas Robert Henry Ursula Dorothy Mary Ciceley Margaret
Henry Trussell = Sara Restwoold/ Kettlewood
William Trussell
Elizabeth = John Harmar of Newbury
Ursula = Thomas Harecourt
John Trussell of Billesley (d. 1581)
Amy Trussell
William Trussell
Ursula
Elizabeth
Thomas Trussell, soldier (d. 1640)
=
Dorothy
JOHN TRUSSELL OF WINCHESTER
(1575-1648)

Appendix B

a) John Trussell's letter of 1637 to Ralph Riggs and corporation. *Benefactors of Winchester* f. 5.

To the right worshipful Ralph Riggs, Esq., Mayor of the city of Winchester, John Lisle, Esq., Recorder, and the rest of my brethren the worshipful Aldermen thereof, Health in this, Happiness in the next.

Right Worshipful,

At what time I was first chosen freeman, I took (according to custom) an oath to be whole and true man to the City of Winchester, whereupon I seriously pondered in my mind the extent of those words (whole and true). At length I conceived with myself that it could not be enough for me, in performance of that oath, not to do or pro posse suffer to be done what might prove prejudicial to that body. But that I must, per me simul etiam aliis, actuate, at least endeavour, somewhat that might either better, enrich or illustrate that place. Hereupon I took hold of every occasion to express myself to be real in those things whereof I observed some (to my no small grief) to be but nominals, and did not forbear (with more freedom than discretion) to tax some of ignorance, others of negligence, when by their means the places of subordinate ministers were neither so well observed as they ought, or not so well supplied as they might be, and freely both in public and private pro posse et arbitrio meo, did propose, as I conceived, means to stop those breaches in Government which favour and affection (the cutthroats of justice) in some times of election had too overtly discovered. But by so doing (as most of you know, and myself do well remember) I acquired but little thanks, and less love, for suave dictum non vere dictum favorem conciliat. And then perceiving my word and advice to have Cassandra's fate, howsoever true and profitable, yet not credited till too late, I resolved to tack about and steer a new course, and afterwards left finding [fault] and (having authority) endeavoured the amending of those things whereof I had conceited others to have been faulty. But when for want of a willing second my expectation of reformation in that kind was frustrated, I yet resolved (howsoever much discouraged) not to desist from pursuance of my first intention either to do or attempt something that might be or seem to me to be for the good and honour of this city. And after long and serious debatement with myself where or how to begin I pitched upon a way reportatively to show what I had found

authentically recorded concerning the Antiquity, Beauty, and estimation of this so much decayed City, together with respect and dignity (long before the Norman conquest) given to the Guild of Merchants thereof, which in this City had their primitive Institution, and from which all other places of this kingdom took example, the dedication of which Corollary for the motives then expressed I intended to the right honourable John Lord Marquis of Winchester. But calling to mind that the fate of my works at that time were (and still I have cause to fear are) too liable either to misconstruction or misinterpretation or both, I durst not prosecute that my intendment until my endeavours in that kind might be by consent allowed or otherwise determined of. To that end about four years since I tendered to the then Mayor, Recorder and aldermen the view of those my labours with earnest entreaty without prejudicate opinion they or some of them would vouchsafe the reading thereof and accordingly to pass their censure thereon, thereby either to encourage my further proceeding or to give an item to surcease further intermeddling therewith. But in all this time that desire of mine not deriving an answer, either public or private, I took it for granted in that oleum et operam perdidisse, I therefore declined (but not without some deluctation), considering how things stood between the city and the Right Honourable John Lord Marquess, further proceeding in that course, yet that your successors may find and your worship see, I have not altogether deserted my primary resolution, ne videar in urbe vixisse inutilis, I have taken some pains out of the rubbish of blind oblivion and supine neglect, enforced by the name fretting Canker of all devouring Time, to redeem the names of those good benefactors to this City, whose memory ought not to die amongst Christian citizens (yet if not the sooner revised had been in danger utterly to have perished) the catalogue of whom followeth [throughout?] which with all befitting respect and hearty prayers to god to send you and every one of you a peaceable and prosperous new year, I tender signing myself forever,

The true servant to the general and a due observant in particular to every part of that body, whereof I acknowledge myself an unworthy member,

John Trussell

January 1636

b) John Trussell's letter of 1622 to Edward White. *Benefactors of Winchester*, ff. 41-43.

Right Worshipful,

Amongst diverse other cursory passages of speech which the last day passed betwixt an Alderman and myself it pleased him by way of caution (as I took it) to say that the Mayor had a suspicion that there was some more than fitted animation given from me to those that oppose your authority. At that time calling to mind that not many hours before that, one of the Bailiffs told me that I wronged my conscience when I urged their conformity secundum morem antesessorum, wondering from whence those so different opinions should arise, fearing my reputation would be made an anvil to be beat upon with two hammers I debated with my self what course I might take to free myself from these and like aspertions, at least wise to give cause of a better concept of my disposition in the opinion of the judicious, and calling to mind that St Augustine sayeth to a Christian duo sunt tibi necessarie Conscientia (scit) et Fama, fama propter proximum, conscientia propter te ipsum, et qui conscientia sua nimium confidens famam negliget crudelis in se est, In English thus, two things are necessarily required in a Christian, that is Reputation and Conscience, Reputation for your neighbour, Conscience for himself, and he that too much replying upon conscience neglects his reputation is cruel to himself, and knowing how hard a thing it is in these days to play well an after game at Reputation, although I know my conscience to be free from having in thought, word or deed given (to my best remembrance) any the least encouragement to any subordinate officers, in which rank all under the degree of the Mayor for the time being are inclined, either to neglect their service and respect towards the Mayor or to arrogate to themselves a greater extent of power in their allotted places than with conveniency may be tolerated or their office legally bear, yet to clear my credit pro posse from the canker of such like imputations I persuaded my vacant hours of these holy days (which otherwise might have been profusely wasted) to collect such observations touching moral obedience as every member of a civil society by a double tie of oath and duty is bound to show to the Chief Magistrate of this city pro tempore existente, and there withal pro posse et arbitrio meo to examine the state of the question, the unseasonable moving whereof hath given just occasion to all good patriots to take up the words of the Prophet David and cry, I have seen (I wish it were not in the present tense) unrighteousness and strife in the city, and to shoot my bolt thereat.

All community is confusion if by order it be not kept in unity, for Order est parium impariumque aequa distributio, it is the light of decency, the beauty of Nature, the master of arts, the nurse of amity and the only life of traffic and commerce without which no republic, private family or city can long subsist: for as the body without the soul, the elements without light, so is that place where no Order is observed locus sempiterni horroris. Now a City is a societas civilis simul ordine vivens et cooperans, a civil society cooperating and coinhabitant in order; if then therein either supine negligence or arrogant ignorance, the parents of error and nurse of Disorder be permitted to break and invert Order what can be expected but that dissention, the step, if not the ladder, to confusion, will follow.

Civitas ordine non multitudine consistit, it is not the multitude but the number of orderly disposed persons that make a City, and hence a Citizen is accompted to be one of civil and orderly conversation and is opposed by way of comparison to a rustic swain. Now Order setteth it down for a positive rule citizens must govern and obey by turns, ordine quisque suo. The magistrate must command, he is vita, the multitude must obey being via civitatis, sine hac languscit sine illa perit, the Mayor for the time being is regia authoritate the chief magistrate, the King's lieutenant, to whom the guard of this city upon oath safely to keep and orderly to govern the same is committed, he it is that may justly challenge both by precept precisely commanded in the Gospel Roman the 13 chapter, verse 12, and by pattern of all (as well moral as orthodox people) from all the inhabitants of this city, though not unto eodemque gradu, aliquot modo tamen et **respective**, Reverence, Obedience and willing Readiness. The first is a pious subjection in heart to the king and to his Lieutenant in word and deed with befitting respect and acknowledgement, not looking to the person but whom he representeth, that is the Mayor the King, the King God. This must be done with all decent and becoming lowliness of gesture and modest carriage, interpreting his actions and speech to the best, concealing his defect (if any), always remembering that we are by God commanded to give fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour belongeth. Obedience is legis essentia, better than sacrifice, is the dutiful performance of all things feasible and lawful, though hard and unequal, not expostulating why but doing because commanded. Willing readiness is a cheerful undergoing of all services and payment of all impositions and duties without murmuring or turbulency. These three duties of inferiors are set to counterpoise the power, skill and will of the chief magistrate, for from him are expected these three inseperable adjuncts of execution: power by authority to search out and punish the disturbers of peace, skill understandingly to know suum cuique tribuere, will to see offences duly punished, to curb and correct the

exorbitancy of dissolute and disorderly citizens, to recompence the good that they may be made better and punish the bad lest they grow worse, ut pena ad paucos metus ad plures pax ad omnes proveniat.

> Justice like lightning ever should appear
> To offenders' punishment but all men's fear.

It was of late both learnedly and religiously taught by a Right reverend Doctor in the Church that every Christian in all his actions ought seriously to consider of the End, of the means by which that End is procured, and the efficient power that directs that means, that so by that power we might be enabled with Care to see how to observe the means whereby with Judgement we might foresee how to obtain the End.

Now if all in general for their particular actions are commanded to this precise course of observation, I cannot see how those that have taken upon them the congnizance of citizens and fastened the same to their bodies with many indissoluable knots of oaths for their performance of their duties in their several places for the public good of this city, can any way be exempted from this religiously commanded course of their carriage in those things that concern good government. I take it therefore for granted that there is a necessity that as every one of us in particular for our private, so every one in generality and particularity for the public, must observe and follow the observation of the End, the means and the efficient power that directs this means in all the passages in this city as well of consultation as action. Now I take this End, at which all our duties though in diverse degrees carries the level of our endeavour, is the peace and prosperity of this city, for as D. Case in his Sphera Civitatis judiciously affirmeth, Civitas quasi navis est ad instar nautarum Cives sunt etc., cities are like ships and the citizens like sailors, the scope and aim of the other is or should be the peace and prosperity of the city. Salus publica suprema lex est.

The means by which this end is compassed is the unity and agreeable Disposition in a modest way of the citizens, nulla est digna societas ubi non est copula tam cordium quam corporum. There is no worthy society where there is not a selected company of citizens living and loving together. This made Theopompus the Spartan, in answer to the Roman legates' demand how he durst oppose the senate of Rome considering he had never a well fenced City, say, 'Though Sparta wants walls and bulwarks yet it is sufficiently guarded with the unanimous courage of well-agreeing hearts whose well-knit concord your tenth legion hath not strength sufficient to shake', et si aliquam tenet Chronica nostra fidem.

Lucius the first Lamp that ever gave true light to Majesty to embrace Christianity wrote as followeth to his subjects, 'We have seriously consulted with our sages as well of the Clergy as nobility what might be most advantageous for the establishment and increase of the quiet of our realm and the propagation of religion, and in general it seemeth to all most commodious and we likewise most earnestly desire it that neighbourly love and mutual society may be by all means incited and cherished amongst you'.

Citizens should be of agreeable disposition like singers though the number be great and noise loud ex consonantiae suavitate delectabilis tamen, so then the means of the prosperity of this city is and ought to be the indissoluable union of modest citizens, and the efficient power that directs this means is that Almighty and all sufficient God, in whom, through whom and from whom we breath move and have our being, the lord of Order, the essence of Love and the king of Peace, he it is that only can, and I doubt not but will (if devotedly invoked), direct and give power to the means and protect your worship in the End, and with you all that wish well to this ancient city, that all stops might be removed which any way might hinder the effect of good intentions for Love, Order and Peace, which I humbly and with all earnestness pray for and shall while I am
John Trussell.

Amphora Cepi
Currente rota iam urceus exit.

The late (but too soon) question moved was whether the two Bailiffs per se severally have not equal authority in the Court of the City, and as two distinct persons in judiciature have not two distinct and several voices in giving of judgement. I must confess at what time I was aliorum injuria meaque in curia thrust into the High Bailiff's place, I thought prima facie myself and mate and our predecessors wronged in having their sergeants chosen without their approvement, next in paying the whole fee farm yet to have but a share of the rents, fines and perquisites, then to be kept in ignorance and not permitted to have the sight of the books of ordinances or copies of compositions or other things that concern them and do belong unto them, and lastly to have the land named upon the tarrage book the Bailiff's land without any composition or fine made or paid to them leased and granted away.
This diverse times moved me as occasion was offered to speak more than my share in their behalf. But upon better information I rectified that error and find that the not well understanding the true meaning of the words of the Charter and the orderly observation of the constant continued custom in the passage of those things bred scruples without ground,

which I doubt not hereafter but to remove (with conference) from others as well as from my self.

But to the point in question: the Bailiffs' place as it is used in this city must be either merely judicial, merely ministerial, or mixed; if it be merely judicial, then of necessity they must have equal authority in the court with the Mayor, for the puny may lawfully say to the Chief Judge iam sumus ecce pares, and then they may absent, yea, invito maiore, make orders, nay, give judgement, but what warrant is there for this? The charter hath given authority to the Mayor, Bailiffs and Commanalty and to their successors tenere placita before the Mayor, Recorder or his deputy and the Bailiffs. The Recorder's deputy (if no other by him be authorized) is by express words of the Charter the Town Clerk, but doth the Charter give authority or prescription warrant to the Town Clark or other deputy to be of equal power with the Mayor in judiciature? It cannot be granted, for how can one and the same person at one and the same time in one and the same place simul et semel judex et minister esse. Should not the ancient solemnity of giving judgement so much required in the law be much abased and abused when the judge must be his own clerk to enter his own judgement; nay, more, can any one una eademque hora be judge and juror? Do not the Bailiffs return the juries and can they be said to be indifferent to take the verdict of the jury by themselves returned; can any one at the same time be Judge and Gaoler, or can any one judge command his colleague to be the minister of the court and do execution; no, pari in parem imperium non dat. Have the Bailiffs at any time heretofore had any part of the fee accustomably given for giving of judgement? No. Are they sworn to give true judgement? The Mayor is sworn so to do, and that oath is precisely annexed to all judicial places. Therefore I conclude the Bailiffs' place is not merely judicial. What then; is it merely ministerial; surely salvo meliore Juditio, I take it, no, but mixed, for howsoever they have no such absolute power that they may justly contest for voice yet have they place in Court to see plaints orderly entered, attachments returned, the king's duties duly paid, and to this they are sworn both together as one for they have both but one office. They may in all things do as the sheriff at large may, but more authority or further extent of power the Bailiffs of this city to my best understanding cannot have, either by the charter or custom. I could wish therefore that every stream were thoroughly guided to keep its current in its proper channel, lest it overflow the banks and cease to be known for a river but appear a flood, and I desire we may all follow that father's rule that sayeth, vide quid corrigas non quid reprehendas, and every one tend to amend what is amiss in himself and not reprehend others for intrusion or substraction of right or priviledge. God forbid my poor opinion should any way extenuate the extent of the

Bailiffs' allowable authority or any way prejudice their lawful power; I only set down what I conceive of their prerogative, but affirm nothing concludingly, But I confidently profess I have many forcible reasons to induce me to maintain what I have avouched to be consonant to law and agreeable to common use. Nevertheless my conceit and whatsoever else I have or know I submit myself to better judgement and to the censure of the modest whilst I rest

Your worship's in all acknowledgement of due respect,
John Trussell.

Presented to Mr Edward White when he was the second time Mayor.

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.

c) John Trussell's letter of 1623 to the twenty-four. *Benefactors of Winchester*, ff. 43-45.

The fate of words and writings consists in the understanding part only, so that there is no construction made of either but secundum affectum rescipientis by means whereof many things well meant are diverse times ill taken, et quae ad unum sensum loquntur al alium sepe torquntur. It is no marvel then to me if that of late, if both my pen and tongue have undergone the hazard of misconstruction and misinterpretation, some troubled with the yellow jaundice pronounce all objects to the optic yellow, and others, measuring all things by the crooked level of their own perverted will, will allow nothing straight that their round square approveth not. These fear not to say and those forbear not to affirm that I have written and spoken what is neither true nor justifiable concerning the point in question of the Bailiffs' power in the court and some unnecessary challenge of the xxiiii. Letting slip the first, for it boots not me verbosis contedere**,** to let the other hereby understand that what twelve months since I but sicco calamo proposed I now positively set down and confidently maintain (invito contradicente gradu meo laborante) as a tenet both in Religion and Policy that obedientia is legis essentia, better than sacrifice, and that none but such as troubled with a pruritical itch of scratching against authority, or those that for private respects tie their tongues **[to]** the private observance of some great man's pleasure more than their duty of love to the Republic, will deny it to be necessarily commanded, yea, of

necessity to be expected, nay, exacted; and forasmuch as some in public, but more in private, have not only not approved what I have as afore written, howsoever warranted by the law of God and man, but reproved me for endeavouring to assail this question whether a subordinate officer in a well governed society may jure verbum verbo magistrate retalliare and question the extent of his authority before he shall undergo what by him is lawfully commanded, and that those of the four and twenty which are indeed but the common counsel extraordinary should have equal power with the Aldermen in the managing of the private affairs of the city and necessary to be acquainted with the same as far forth as the Mayor and his brethren are or ought to be, I have therefore adventured to set down what I conceived convenient for the Mayor to challenge and all under him in point of observance to perform.

The Mayor as the prime magistrate is an absolute person placed in authority betwixt our sovereign and his people; his office consisteth principally in upholding the dignity and preserving the rights of the crown and maintaining the peace and honour of the city gerere personam Regis dignitatem et tranquillitatem civitatis officium magistratus est, he is pro tempore regia authoritate concessa, the head, the laws are the soul and people the entrails of the Republic, all are members of one body but diversified in the politic as the they are in the natural, ut membrum ipsius corporis recipit ab hepati humores a corde vitam a capite sensum, and as every member of the body draws from the liver the humours, from the heart the life, from the head sense and motion, so this corporation taketh from the freemen matter, from the four and twenty form, from the Mayor the life of direction and correction, and as if the liver be ill affected the head will be in pain and all the body distempered and all the parts out of sound health, so if the commons be licentious, the Bailiffs ambitious and the four and twenty pragmatical, the Mayor will be disquieted, the Magistrates troubled and the peaceable government of the City general perturbed. And that cannot be a well governed commonwealth that hat not a curb to keep in the exorbitancy of dissolute and refractory Citizens for the bad must be punished lest by sufferance they prove worse and good cherished that they may prove better.

Neither can that commonwealth be durable where links of Order are not equal in proportion of dependence betwixt the superior and the inferior, for as in Nature we see the elements are joined in symbolization, the air to the fire by warmth, the water to the air by moisture, the Earth to the water by coldness etc, and as it sufficeth not to endeavour to keep the body in good temper by drawing ill humours from the head except the heart and other members hold a correspondency of good temperature with the same, so if the commons in their several places do not express their duty to their superiors freely, perform

their offices of love to their equals fully, and manifest their humanity to their inferiors fitly, they shall fail to receive good respect of any and hazard their loss of Reputation with all, so that no part must be pert, but every one must use his function without faction, for he that shall rather expostulate with his officer to interpret the command then execute it will be found more apt to stir strife then stint it, but such may easily be punished though hardly possible to be ruled. Again God is the God of Order, and he hath appointed some to be sovereigns, some subjects. The sovereign hath power by himself or his lieutenant to command, the inferior must have will to obey. Such was Christ's precept, such his apostle's practice, and both confirm obedience to be the fruit of charity. Now obedience consisteth in these three points chiefly: in Reverentia ad hibenda, in mandata suscipienda et in judita subeundo. The inferior must yield Reverence to the Magistrate, he must perform his commands and undergo his censure; by doing his reverence he sheweth his love, in taking directions and being commanded he performeth his duty, and the submitting himself to censure and undergoing judgement is an argument of his wisdom, modesty, discretion. This writeth an heathen, but a grave and learned Divine sayeth that Order and Government, without which through confutation all things quickly would come to ruin, is the greatest earthly blessing that God hath given to man, for as a ship without a pilot, so is society without a lawful magistrate. Now what availeth the skill of the pilot to the preserving of the ship or the authority of the magistrate for the conserving of the peace of the city if the mariners and inhabitants do not attend direction and be obedient to instruction? To that end it is therefore required that the inferior to the superior should use reverence which is a discreet subjection in thought, word and deed, thinking and judging of him honourably, looking not to his person but to his place and him whom he representeth, speaking reverently of him, using unto him all lowly and befitting gestures. Next Obedience, which must be performed in all things possible, though hard and unequal, not examining what it is that is commanded (except expressly against God's word or the law of the kingdom), but being content with this, that he is commanded. Thirdly, modesty, that is to be of a quiet and peaceable condition, not of a seditious, turbulent, Salamandrine spirit but declining all occasion of dissention or innovations and the deserting the frequent company of such that shall attempt to set on foot any thing that may cross the quiet continuance of a long established course of government; and, lastly, thankfulness, which is a cheerful readiness to bear, pay and perform all taxes, payments and services which by the use of the place shall be necessarily imposed upon them, not for fear of man but for conscience towards God, who accounts himself neglected when his deputies or their delegates are resisted, opposed or neglected, as may be gathered out of the sacred text expressed in the first of

Peter 2nd chapter, 15 verse, and Romans the 13. 5. Are not all sworn to this Obedience; from whence then proceedeth this humour of contradiction which of late was used to thwart the well intended propositions in the assembly, or what warrant is there in humanity or divinity for your alehouse private conventicles or your close consultations to make confederacies against the Mayor and his brethren; sure it must either arise from presumption or from an overweening conceit of your own abilities, neither of which are commendable, if either lawful. Are you persuaded that some of less ability are preferred to place before you, or that you exceed them in wealth or popular applause; yet you must be contented to stay your turn, for it is the fate of citizens alternis vicibus to rule and obey. Can you take just occasion of exception to the deportment of the Aldermen, or the form of government, and think you could amend therein what is amiss? Do not flatter yourselves, remember what's painted in the cloth:

> Men do not know what they themselves will be
> When that themselves more than themselves they see.

When your turn comes to possess the prime place be assured you may wish as well as any but you cannot perform more than you are able. Are not citizens fitly resembled to a set of counters which are esteemed as they are placed, this stands for a million, that stood for a mite, and that for a penny, that stood for a pound, but when the accompt is passed and the sum cast, being all of one metal they are all put together? Let patience therefore possess your souls, and be contented with the place wherein you are seated until the heavenly providence shall in due time promote you higher. Observe the Philosopher's rule, look not how many are ranked above you but how many below you, and then the itch of desire to go before will not scratch at those that stand in the higher step.

But methinks I hear a general muttering; we are not guilty of having the king's evil, we swell not about the head, we are not puffed up with vainglorious conceits, are not carried away with ambitious devices, we challenge but our own, we are of the council of the city, are wronged if we are not called in to the council house and made acquainted with the affairs of the city and the passages of things there as well and as far forth as the Mayor and his brethren; therefore why should we be debarred of our birth right? Without us they can pass away nothing for this by express words is granted unto the four and twenty in the charter.

Give me leave to tell you I have perused the Charter as well in Latin as English oftener than any of you have been years of this new raised opinion, yet I confess my

ignorance I can find no words therein that can carry any such construction as you would enforce, neither can I think that any other exposition can be truly made of these words auxiliantes and assignantes then that by the charter you are not to come to council before you be called. But admit the sense of those words, as those are all in the charter that concern you, will speak as you would have them: have you or any your predecessors at any time since the renewing of the Charter which is well near fifty years by use or usurpation enjoyed the challenged liberty; are you persuaded there hath not been before your time some of that rank every way of as daring spirits and bold stomachs as any of you? I judge charitably of the dead yet I hope I say truth there have been of them of more overweening conceits and were more audaciously bold then are amongst you, and yet none of them ever obtained it. This methinks should be a sufficient motive to persuade you to sit still rather than rise and fall.

Let prudence guide you to gain the wished end of what you enterprise, and then you will attempt nothing that with innovation m ay disturb the quiet of government. Truth will best appear when Opinion wants eyes and suggestion ears; set therefore that aside which is but a sickness of the mind bred by the perverseness of the will and nursed by self conceit which taketh semblances for substances and things seeming for realities; I mean prejudicate opinion. And then enquire of the cities of Exeter, Worcester, Oxford, the towns of Newcastle upon Tyne and Wallingford which are incorporated by the same words of mayor Bailiffs and Commonalty as Winchester is, and have the same title for common council of four and twenty in their several charter respectively as we have. Interrogate their usage and demand of them their course of government and if they vary from us by admitting the xiiii to intermeddle with the private affairs of the council house uncalled, then say you are wronged. But in the interim suspend your overhasty censuring of the present proceedings in this city, and with this spirit of meekness labour not only to know or to be known, but truly to inform yourselves and thereby to better yourselves and others. This lesson being taken out I presume you will be contented not to be reputed more curious inquisitors of the proceedings of the council house than others of your rank have been or are, here, or in other the like places. Then give no ear to the private suggestion of such that for sinister respects go about to abuse your credulity and obtrude upon your belief unwarrantable conjectures for verity and things neither agreeable to Religion or Policy for allowable courses in government. Then will truth like herself appear and make manifest unto you your yet embraced error, and God I hope will put it in your minds on this day the first of the new year to begin a new course of more respective behaviour and love towards Mr Mayor and his brethren and join with them both with heart, head and hand to pray for

and procure the peace and prosperity of this City in general and every member thereof in particular. In expectation whereof with you,

John Trussell

Written and directed to the 24, Anno 1622.

Appendix C

a) Comparisons of three versions of a passage (lib. I, capt. XVI) from Lipsius' *De Constantia*: Lipsius, Sir John Stradling and Trussell

LIPSIUS: Ut hominibus singulis adolescentia sua, robur, senecta, mors, sic istis. Incipiunt, crescunt, stant, florent: et omnia ideo, ut cadant. Unus sub tiberio terraemotus duodecimo celebres Asiae urbes evertit, totidem Campaniae opida alius, sub Constantino. [**Marginal note**: Urbius magnarum exitia aut excidia]. & unum aliquod Attilae bellum, plus centenas. Veteres Aegypti Thebas vix retinet: centu Cretae urbes vix fides. & ut certiora veniam, cadavera Cathaginis, Numantiae, Corinthi, prisci viderunt et mirati sunt: nos Athenarum, Spartae, & tot illustrium urbium ruinas. Illa ipsum rerum gentiumque [**Note**: Rome sentio] domina et falso Aeterna urbs, ubi est? obruta, diruta, incensa, inundata; periit non una leto et ambitiose hodie quaeritur nec invenitur in suo solo. Byzantium illud vides quod sibi placet [**Note**: Romani et Turcici] duplicis imperii sede? Venetias istas, quae superbiunt mille annorum firmitate? veniet illis sua dies: et tu, nostra Antwerpia ocelle urbium, aliquando non eris. Diruit videlicet construitque et (si fas dicere) ludit in rebus humanis magnus ille architectus: et velut plastes, varias sibi formas et imagines fingit ac defingit ex hac argilla. Opida adhuc loquor et urbes : sed regna etiam et provinciae trahuntur in hanc labem. Olim Oriens floruit [**Note**: De Assyria historici : de Judea sacrae litterae. At de Aegyptiorii olim potentia, praeter alios Tacitus : qui non minus magnificam eam facit, qua vim Parthorum aut imperium Romanum 11 Annal.] et Assyria, Aegyptus, Judea valuere armis ingeniisque : fors ea in Europam transiit quae tamen ipsa, ut corpora instante morbo, vibrari mihi nunc videtur, et praescentiscere magnum suum casum. Quod amplius et numquam satis miremur, hic a quinque annorum milibus et quingentis habitatus orbis senescit : et ut Anaxarchi explosae olim fabulae iterum applaudamus, surgunt alibi succrescuntque novi homines et novus orbis. O mira et numquam comprehensa Necessitas lex! abeunt omnia in hunc nascendi pereundique fatalem gyrum: et longaevum aliquid in hac machina est, nihil aeternum.

STRADLING: And if these great bodies which to us seeme everlasting, be subject to mutability and alteration, why much more should not towns, commonwealths, and kingdoms; which must needs be mortal, as they that do compose them? As each particular man hath his youth, his strength, old age, and death, so fareth it with those other bodies. They begin, they increase, they stand and flourish, and all to this end, that they may decay.

One earthquake under the reign of *Tiberius* overthrew twelve famous towns of *Asia*, and as many in *Campania* in *Constantine's* time. [**Note:** The decay & subversion of great citties.] One war of *Attila*, a Scythian prince, destroyed above an hundred cities. The ancient *Thebes* of *Egypt* is scarce held in remembrance at this day, and a hundred towns of *Crete* not believed ever to have been. To come to more certainty, our Elders saw the ruins of *Carthage, Numantia, Corinth*, and wondered thereat. And our selves have beheld the unworthy relics of *Athens, Sparta*, and many renowned cities, yea even that [**Note:** R*ome is meant.*] Lady of all things and countries (falsely tearmed everlasting), where is she? Overwhelmed, pulled down, burned, overflowed. She is perished with more than one kind of destruction, and at this day she is ambitiously sought for, but not found in her [**Note:** *For it is now in Campo Martio, and not amid the* 7 *hills where it was first founded*.] proper soil. Seest thou that noble [**Note:** *Now called Constantinople, having been the seat of two Empires, the Roman and Turkish.*] *Byzantium* being proud with the seat of two Empires? *Venice* lifted up with the stableness of a thousand years continuance? Their day shall come at length. And thou also, our *Antwerpe*, the beauty of citties, in time shalt come to nothing. For this great Master-builder pulleth down, setteth up, and (if I may so lawfully speak) maketh a sport of human affairs, and like an image-maker, formeth and frameth to himself sundry sorts of portraitures in his clay. I have spoken yet of towns and cities: countries likewise and kingdomes run the very same race. Once the East flourished: [**Note:** Of Assyria Historians write. Of Jewry, the holy scriptures. And of the magnificent power of the Egyptians, besides others, Tacitus, who maketh it equal with the Parthians and Romans 11. Annal.] *Assyria, Egypt* and *Jewry* excelled in war and peace. That glory was transferred into *Europe*, which now (like a diseased body) seemeth unto me to be shaken, and to have a feeling of her great confusion nigh at hand. Yea, and that which is more (and never enough) to be marvelled at, this world having now been inhabited these five thousand and five hundred years, is at length come to his dotage; and that we may now approve again the fables of *Anaxarchus* in old time hissed at, behold how there ariseth elsewhere new people, & a [**Note:***The west Indies and all those new found countries commonly called the* new world. The conclusion by heaping together examples of alterations & mutability] new world. O the law of NECESSITY, wonderful, and not to be comprehended; all things run into this fatal whirlpool of ebbing and flowing; and some things in this world are long lasting, but not everlasting.

TRUSSELL: as each particular body hath its youth, its strength, old Age, and Death, so is it with great cities; they begin, they increase, they stand and flourish, but all to this end,

that they may decay. One earthquake in the reign of Tiberius overthrew twelve famous cities in Asia, in the time of Constantine as many in Campania, and Attila destroyed above one hundred Cities. Thebes in Aegypt at this day is scarce remembered. An hundred great towns not generally believed now to have been, are buried in their ruins. Our forefathers saw the ruins of Carthage, Numantia, Corinth, and wondered thereat. Of late days were the so worthy relicts of Athens and Sparta and many other famous cities beheld. Nay, the lady of the world, great Rome, where is she? Pulled down, overwhelmed, buried and overflowed. And though at this day she is superstitiously sought for, yet she cannot be found in her proper place, or primitive station:: for it is now in Campo Martio, and not in the midst of the seven hills, where she was at first seated & reared. Byzantium, now Constantinople, that may boast of having been, and being, the seat of the Roman and Turkish emperors, Venice that hath flourished above 2340 years, London and Antwerp, the beauty of cities, their days must likewise come at length and in the end turn to nothing. For the great Master Builder pulleth down, setteth up, and, if it may be lawful so to speak, maketh a sport of human affairs; and, like as the potter, fashioneth to Himself sundry sorts of shapes in His clay. Countries likewise, and kingdoms tread the same path. Assyria, Egypt, Judea, were excellent in peace and war. That glory is now transferred to Europe which now, like a diseased body, seems to shake as having a feeling of confusion near at hand, for all things run into the fatal whirlpool of necessity – now ebbing, now flowing – and though some things in this world may be long lasting yet nothing can be everlasting.

b) Comparison of a passage from Trussell's *Touchstone of Tradition* and Pico's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*

TRUSSELL: Now Cabala sayeth Picus Mirandola significat illam secretiorem divina legis exposisionem ex ore dei a Mose acceptam promulgatamque et prophetarum animis a deo infusam continua denique successione a patribus una voce susceptam.

Translation:

Cabala is that holy divine exposition of the law out of the mouth of God, accepted and made known to Moses and poured into the souls of the prophets by God, and after unbroken succession taken up by the Fathers with one voice]

PICO: Venio nunc ad ea quae ex antiquis Hebraeorum mysteriis eruta, ad sacrosanctam et catholicam fidem confirmandam attuli, quae ne forte ab his, quibus sunt ignota, commentitiae nugae auf fabulae circumlatorum existimentur, volo intelligant omnes quae et qualia sint, unde petita, quibus et quam claris auctoribus confirmata et quam reposita, quam divina, quam nostris hominibus ad propugnandam religionem contra Hebraeorum importunas calumnias sint necessaria. Scribunt non modo celebres Hebraeorum doctores, sed ex nostris quoque Esdras, Hilarius et Origenes, Mosein non legem modo, quam quinque exaratam libris posteris reliquit, sed secretiorem quoque et veram legis enarrationem in monte divinitus accepisse; praeceptum autem ei a Deo ut legem quidem populo publicaret, legis interpretationem nec traderet libris, nec invulgaret, sed ipse Iesu Nave tantum, tum ille aliis deinceps succedentibus sacerdotum primoribus, magna silenti religione, revelaret. Satis erat per simplicem historiam nunc Dei potentiam, nunc in improbos iram, in bonos clementiam, in omnes iustitiam agnoscere, et per divina salutariaque praecepta ad bene beateque vivendum et cultum verae religionis institui. At mysteria secretiora, et sub cortice legis rudique verborum praetextu latitantia, altissimae divinitatis arcana, plebi palam facere, quid erat aliud quam dare sanctum canibus et inter porcos Spargere margaritas? Ergo haec clam vulgo habere, perfectis communicanda, inter quos tantum sapientiam loqui se ait Paulus, non humani consilii sed divini praecepti fuit. Quem morem antiqui philosophi sanctissime observarunt. Pythagoras nihil scripsit nisi paucula quaedam, quae Damae filiae moriens commendavit. Aegyptiorum templis insculptae Sphinges, hoc admonebant ut mystica dogmata per aenigmatum nodos a profana multitudine inviolata, custodirentur. Plato Dionysio quaedam de supremis scribens substantiis, »per aenigmata, inquit, dicendum est, ne si epistula forte ad aliorum pervenerit manus, quae tibi scribemus ab aliis intelligantur«. Aristoteles libros Metaphysicae in quibus agit de divinis editos esse et non editos dicebat. Quid plura? Iesum Christum vitae magistrum asserit Origenes multa revelasse discipulis, quae illi, ne vulgo fierent communia, scribere noluerunt. Quod maxime confirmat Dionysius Areopagita, qui secretiora mysteria a nostrae religionis auctoribus "ek nou eis noun dia meson logon", ex animo in animum, sine litteris, medio intercedente verbo, ait fuisse transfusa. Hoc eodem penitus modo cum ex Dei praecepto vera illa legis interpretatio Moisi deitus tradita revelaretur, dicta est Cabala, quod idem est apud Hebraeos quod apud nos receptio; ob id scilicet quod illam doctrinam, non per litterarum monumenta, sed ordinariis revelationum successionibus alter ab altero quasi hereditario iure reciperet.

Translation:

I come now to those matters which I have drawn from the ancient mysteries of the Hebrews and here adduce in confirmation of the inviolable Catholic faith. Lest these matters be thought, by those to whom they are unfamiliar, bubbles of the imagination and tales of charlatans, I want everyone to understand what they are and what their true character is; whence they are drawn and who are the illustrious writers who testifying to them; how mysterious they are, and divine and necessary to men of our faith for the propagation of our religion in the face of the persistent calumnies of the Hebrews. Not famous Hebrew teachers alone, but, from among those of our own persuasion, Esdras, Hilary and Origen all write that Moses, in addition to the law of the five books which he handed down to posterity, when on the mount, received from God a more secret and true explanation of the law. They also say that God commanded Moses to make the law known to the people, but not to write down its interpretation or to divulge it, but to communicate it only to Jesu Nave who, in turn, was to reveal it to succeeding high priests under a strict obligation of silence. It was enough to indicate, through simple historical narrative, the power of God, his wrath against the unjust, his mercy toward the good, his justice toward all and to educate the people, by divine and salutary commands, to live well and blessedly and to worship in the true religion. Openly to reveal to the people the hidden mysteries and the secret intentions of the highest divinity, which lay concealed under the hard shell of the law and the rough vesture of language, what else could this be but to throw holy things to dogs and to strew gems among swine? The decision, consequently, to keep such things hidden from the vulgar and to communicate them only to the initiate, among whom alone, as Paul says, wisdom speaks, was not a counsel of human prudence but a divine command. And the philosophers of antiquity scrupulously observed this caution. Pythagoras wrote nothing but a few trifles which he confided to his daughter Dama, on his deathbed. The Sphinxes, which are carved on the temples of the Egyptians, warned that the mystic doctrines must be kept inviolate from the profane multitude by means of riddles. Plato, writing certain things to Dionysius concerning the highest substances, explained that he had to write in riddles ``lest the letter fall into other hands and others come to know the things I have intended for you." Aristotle used to say that the books of the *Metaphysics* in which he treats of divine matters were both published and unpublished. Is there any need for further instances? Origen asserts that Jesus Christ, the Teacher of Life, revealed many things to His disciples which they in turn were unwilling to commit to writing lest they become the common possession of the crowd. Dionysius the Areopagite gives powerful

confirmation to this assertion when he writes that the more secret mysteries were transmitted by the founders of our religion *ek nou eis vouv dia mesov logov*, that is, from mind to mind, without commitment to writing, through the medium of of the spoken word alone. Because the true interpretation of the law given to Moses was, by God's command, revealed in almost precisely this way, it was called “Cabala”, which in Hebrew means the same as our word “reception”. The precise point is, of course, that the doctrine was received by one man from another not through written documents but, as a hereditary right, through a regular succession of revelations.

[http://vserver1.cscs.lsa.umich.edu/~crshalizi/Mirandola/]

Appendix D

Non-exhaustive list of authors cited by Trussell in the Touchstone of Tradition *and not otherwise referred to in this thesis.*[1]

Classical

Aelianus, *Varia Historia.*

Ausonius, *Edyllia*.

Caesar, *De Bello Gallico.*

Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpine*.

Diodorus Siculus, *Biobliotheca Historica*?.

Isidore, *Etymologiae.*

Josephus, *Contra Apionem.*

Juvenal, *Satyrae*.

Lucan, *Pharsalia*.

Ovid, *Fasti* & *Metamorphoses.*

Pliny, *Naturalis Historia.*

Plutarch, *Vita Numa.*

Polybius, *Histories.*

Seneca, *Epistolae.*

Tacitus, *De Origine et situ Germanorum.*

Virgil, *Aeneid* & *Georgicon.*

Post-classical

David Chytraeus, ? [regarding the date of the foundation of Winchester].

Edward Coke, *La Neuvieme Part des Reports* (London, 1627).

Guillaume du Bartas, *Divine Weeks*, trans. Joshua Sylvester (London, 1605).

Charles du Moulin, *Tractatus de Origine… regni… Francorum* (Lyon, 1564).

John Harding, *Chronicle of John Harding*, ed. Richard Grafton (London, 1543).

Peter Heylin, *Microcosmus* (London, 1627).

[1] This list does not include authors whom I have not been able to identify, e.g. 'Lisleius the Scottish historian', 'Slateir', 'Sigisbert', 'Petrus Putanensis' and several others.

Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England* (London, 1577-1587).

William Lambarde, *Archaionomia* (London, 1568) and *The Duties of Constables* (1584).

Alexander Neckam, ? [a poem on Winchester quoted in Camden's *Britannia*].

Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*?.

Francesco Petrarch, *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae* (1492).

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Thomas Smith, *The Commonwealth of England* (London, 1594).

John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (London, 1611).

John Stow, *A Survey of London* (London, 1599).

Richard Verstegan, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (London, 1605).

Robert of Gloucester (c. 1260-c. 1300), *Chronicle.*

Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia*?.

William Warner, *Albion's England* (London, 1586).

Ulrich Zasius, ?. [regarding the origin of the dignity of earls].