

also records that the Mowbray crest closely resembled that of the heir to the throne (on a cap of estate gules turned up ermine, a lion statant gardant or, gorged with a label of three points argent); he quotes the grant of the crest made by Richard II to Thomas Mowbray, 'consanguineus noster', on 12 January 1393/4 (Pat. Rot. 17, Richard II, p. 1, m. 2), ordering the difference of the crest, because of its identity with that of the heir to the throne, to be changed from a label argent to a crown argent.⁹

The appearance of the name Margaret Talbot (the hand is perhaps s. xv ex.) amongst those added on fol. 99r, a blank leaf at the end of Arundel 38, seems to evidence the manuscript's descent in the Mowbray family; John Mowbray, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1444-76, the last duke), the grandson of the John Mowbray under consideration here, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.¹⁰

Given the association of John Mowbray, the second Duke of Norfolk, with the court, it seems very likely that Arundel 38, though not itself the presentation manuscript, is a closely contemporary copy of the volume presented to Henry before his accession on 21 March 1413. A related manuscript, British Library MS Harley 4866, has been described by Michael Seymour as 'an almost exact replica of MS. Arundel 38'.¹¹ Seymour argues that the Harleian

⁹ Loc. cit. and see also Doyle op. cit. ii. 581. The crest appears with a crown on John Mowbray's garter plate, on the garter plate of John Mowbray, the fourth Duke of Norfolk (St John Hope pl. LXXVI, c.1472), the crest has both crown and label. Thomas Mowbray's arms are recorded as per pale dexter Edward the Confessor (azure a cross flory between four martlets or), sinister Brotherton (England with a label of three points argent); see Doyle loc. cit. and Pinches op. cit. 42.

¹⁰ G. E. C. ix. Norfolk, 608-9. For Talbot / Radcliffe marriages which may explain the appearance of the name Philip Radcliffe ('Phelep Ratkelf' and, above, 'Phelep Ratleffe') on fol. 99r see W. Rye, ed., *The Visitation of Norfolk Harleian Society*, xxxii (1891), 279 and Sir George John Armytage, ed., *Middlesex Pedigrees*. Harleian Society, LXV (1914), 18; see also *Middlesex Pedigrees* 162-3 for the Rowdon family ('lane Rodon' appears twice on fol. 99r).

¹¹ Art. cit. (n. 3 above) 269 and see also Rickert op. cit. (n. 2 above) 248 n. 87. The presentation miniature has been excised from the Harleian manuscript. Further insight into the production of Arundel 38 is provided by A. I. Doyle and M. B. Parkes who point out a relationship between the Arundel manuscript and the Ellesmere *Canterbury Tales*; see 'The production of copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the early fifteenth century', in M. B. Parkes and

volume may be the copy to be associated with Edward, Duke of York or John, Duke of Bedford; Hoccleve's dedicatory verses to York and Bedford, surviving in the autograph manuscript, San Marino, Huntington MS HM 111, suggest that presentation copies were prepared (or at least planned) for both men.¹² Now that the patron of Arundel 38 is known, the relation of this manuscript and Harley 4866, granted that Arundel is normally accorded precedence, could probably bear further examination.

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A. G. Watson, eds., *Medieval Scribes Manuscripts & Libraries: Essays presented to N. R. Ker* (London, 1978), 203 n. 106 with a reduced illustration of Ellesmere (fol. 104r) pl. 56 and an actual size illustration of Arundel (fol. 70r) pl. 57. Doyle and Parkes judge the Arundel page design to be an 'imitation' of Ellesmere, writing 'The layout of the page of this manuscript... is a replica of that of the Ellesmere Manuscript... but on a smaller scale'. For the affiliations of the miniature amongst contemporary manuscripts see the works cited n. 2 above.

¹² Seymour, edn. cit. (n. 3 above), 55-7, F. J. Furnivall and I. Gollanz, eds., revised by J. Mitchell and A. I. Doyle, *Hoccleve's Works The Minor Poems*, EETS, c.s. 61, 73 (revised reprint, 1970), 49-51, 56-7.

HENRY PETER PEGLAR, CAPTAIN OF THE FORETOP (1811-48)

IN the nineteenth century, hundreds of officers served in the Royal Navy, but only a very small number of them made any mark on history. The number of men on the lower deck must have run into many thousands, some serving in the Navy from one commission to another, some drifting in and out between the Navy and the merchant service, some deserting, some dying, and some finding work ashore. Until long-service engagements were introduced later in the century, this floating population were able to choose between two worlds, as described by Captain Marryat in *Masterman Ready* when Peglar was serving in Africa and the Far east,

I left off at the time I was sent on board of the man-of-war, and I was put down on the books as a supernumerary boy. . . . I did my duty, and the consequence was I was never punished. For a man may serve on board of a man-of-war without fear of being punished, if only he does his duty, and the duty is not

very hard either; not like on board of the merchant vessels, where there are so few hands – there it is hard work. Of course there are some captains, who command men-of-war, who are harsh and severe. . . . The only thing which was a source of unhappiness to me was that I could not get to England again. . . .

(Ch. XXXIX)

Through accident, it is possible to trace Henry Peglar's history from birth to death, and that is most unusual for nineteenth-century seamen. This shows Peglar to have been a man who was probably a good seaman, but a man who would get into scrapes from time to time.

The same sources make it possible to trace the career of Thomas Armitage, Gun Room Steward, another man who would otherwise be no more than a name.

The late Dr R. J. Cyriax took the trouble to transcribe the papers that Peglar left on King William Land, an intriguing jig-saw of trivialities.

I

The story of the Franklin expedition can be told briefly. In 1845 H.M.S. *Erebus* and *Terror* sailed from England to make the North West Passage. In 1846 they were beset in the ice off the west coast of King William Land. In 1848 the crew abandoned their ships and tried to make their way to the Great Fish River and the mainland of Canada. They marched slowly, with sledges and boats, along the west and south coasts of King William Land, and as an old Eskimo woman later told M'Clintock, 'they fell down and died as they walked along'.¹ None returned home.

In the spring of 1859 M'Clintock examined that coast, and a few miles from Point Gladman he came across a partly exposed skeleton with a few fragments of clothing, among which was a pocket book. From the neck-kerchief, the jacket, and buttons he formed the opinion that the victim had been a steward or officers' servant. He believed the man had fallen face downwards, but Carl Petersen, his interpreter, thought he had sat down on a stone to rest and

had fallen forwards when trying to rise.² However that may have been, he was so hungry and exhausted that he died.

When M'Clintock came home in 1859, the papers were examined carefully and found to include the parchment certificate of Henry Peglar and a number of papers in his hand, as well as papers in another hand. The certificate is almost illegible, but the narrative of Peglar's services at sea, illiterate and incomplete as it is, makes it possible to follow his career in some detail, which is seldom possible for a man on the lower deck in the nineteenth century.³

Peglar gave his age variously on entering different ships, but most probably he was born in 1811 or 1812. His father was a working gunsmith at 12 Buckingham Row, Petty France, Westminster, a radical who voted for Sir Francis Burdett.⁴

Peglar's early years are not recorded. Near his home was a charity school, the Blue Coat School; he may have been there, but we do not know as the records have been lost. It is evident that he received some degree of schooling somewhere, as he was shown in the records of the Marine Society as being able to read and write.⁵ In some muster books he was described as having been born in Bristol where, indeed, there were a hairdresser and pawnbroker of that name, possibly relations. The muster books were not always accurate, as was shown by the differing physical descriptions of men on joining.

The Marine Society was established to help unfortunate boys and to provide seamen for the navy and merchant service: at this time it was admitting destitute boys or those in abject distress, apprentices charged with petty offences, town boys (and country boys if there were not enough of them), and those of a daring disposition.⁶ Peglar was received by the

² R. J. Cyriax and A. G. E. Jones, 'The Papers in the Possession of Harry Peglar, Captain of the Foretop, H.M.S. *Terror*, 1845', *The Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 40, no. 3 (March 1954), 186-95.

³ M'Clintock, *ibid.* 278-9.

⁴ *The Poll Book . . . for the City and Liberty of Westminster*, 1818 (Westminster City Library).

⁵ National Maritime Museum, Marine Society, 1822-4, Register of Boys sent as Servants to Officers of the Royal Navy, 1825, Xmas Quarter, [no] 20830.

⁶ N.M.M., Marine Society, *Bye-Laws and Regulations of the Marine Society*, 7th edn. (1829), 72.

¹ F. L. M'Clintock, *The Voyage of the 'Fox'* (1908), 210.

Society on 4 August 1825, and a month later sent to the *Solebay*, the training station where he had a strict and practical training, having been cleaned, examined by the surgeon and apothecary, and fitted out with clothes. Then the boys were 'Initiated into their profession, reduced to habits of subordination and obedience and inured to gentle discipline . . .'. They were taught to row, go aloft, loose and take in sail, knot, splice, use compass and tourniquet, work the great guns and use small arms. They were instructed in reading and writing. Strict attention was paid to morals and religion, and as many as the church could hold went to Deptford church on Sundays.⁷

In the *Solebay*, Peglar was fitted out with bonnet, jacket, trousers, shirts, canvas frock, hose, shoes, kerchief, woollen cap, comb, knife, needles and thread, canvas bag, prayer book and Revd Mr Sellar's *Abridgement of the Bible*. Peglar was discharged with a good character on 14 December and sent by the *Star* tender to join HMS *Clio* at Chatham. With him were some eighty boys, nearly all Londoners, carpenter, weaver, parchment maker, errand boy, plasterer, paper stainer, sweep, printer, brickfield worker, coffee shop boy, farmer's boy, and others.⁸

In the *Clio*, on passage to Portsmouth, he was supernumerary for victuals.⁹ He wrote in his account:

Joined H.M. Ship Magnificent at Spit Head sail for Jamaker Under the Command of Letenant Mundel. . . .

He joined the *Magnificent*, 74, hospital and convalescent ship, being rated as Boy, supernumerary for wages and victuals, being given clothes in sick quarters. This ship called at Plymouth and then sailed for Port Royal, where she was employed as store ship with a small complement under Lieutenant John Mundell.¹⁰

Then, as he quaintly wrote, he was 'tern over to H.M. Hulk Serreapis Commander Elliott'. The *Serapis* was a fifty-gun ship at Port Royal under Commander Charles Elliot; but

strangely, Peglar's name did not appear in the muster book.¹¹

It was in his next ship that Peglar had his first real experience of the duties of a seaman. As he wrote:

Tran. . . . H.M. Ship Rattlesnake Captain T. Leath Searved Under him two years.

It would probably have been in February 1826, at Port Royal, that he was turned over to the twenty-nine-gun ship, *Rattlesnake*, Captain John Leith, in which ship he remained until paying off at Woolwich in September 1827. In a year and a half he visited most places on the West Indies station, Inagua, Bermuda, Halifax, Santiago de Cuba, Chagres, Port au Prince, Montego, and Havana, with no noteworthy events.¹²

Peglar had no time at home after his service abroad. HMS *Perseus* was the receiving ship by the Tower of London, commanded by Captain James Crouch, who in nine and a half years received 13,000 men, and who had a name as being 'a very scientific and ingenious officer'. On 3 September 1827 Peglar was entered in the muster book as Boy, 1st Class. He described it:

Joined H.M. tender Pearsis captain . . . late Chief Press Master tower Hill, London.

The *Perseus* was no more than a depot ship for collecting men to make up the complements of ships in commission,¹³ so on the 14th Peglar was sent to the *Prince Regent*, 120, Captain the Hon. George Poulett, at Chatham.¹⁴ It is not clear how long he served in that ship or why he left. He said:

Joined H M Ship Prince Regent discharged for . . . apprentice.

and what he did to an apprentice is not legible today.

Before long-service engagements, men were free to come and go as they pleased, so Peglar entered the service of the East India Company:

Sail under the Command of Tommy Larkings to China left Jos Tallis and His Lady

⁷ Ibid., 1829, 34-5.

⁸ N.M.M., Register . . ., 1822-4.

⁹ Public Record Office, Adm 37/7087, *Clio*, muster book, 1825.

¹⁰ Adm 37/6822, *Magnificent*, muster book, 1825-6.

¹¹ Adm 37/7007, *Serapis*, muster book, 1824-6.

¹² Adm 51/3394, *Rattlesnake*. Captain's log, 1823-7. (No muster book is held.)

¹³ Adm 37/7191, *Perseus*, muster book, 1827.

¹⁴ Adm 37/6839-40, *Prince Regent*, muster book, 1827.

and douhters at . . . aint Helena Struck with lighting on the Passage out tow men Struck dead a Seargent and Privite Retern to England 182

The *Marquis Camden*, 1,200 tons, had been commanded by Thomas Larkins since 1816, and was now on her ninth voyage to the Far East.¹⁵ Brigadier General Charles Dallas was going out as Governor of St Helena, with his wife and three daughters, and he landed there on 29 April 1828 under a salute of nineteen guns, with the men manning the yards. The ship then proceeded to the Paracelas, Singapore, Linton Peak, Crakatoa, and then home. At St Helena the ship was visited by the Governor, and the yards again manned. The ship anchored in the Downs on 7 July 1829, and two days later the ship's company was discharged.¹⁶

Peglar's next ship was the *Ramillies*, 74, Coast Blockade ship in the Downs, carrying 64 supernumerary Lieutenants to help to check smuggling which was then active between France and England. Peglar's time cannot have been happy as a few years earlier Captain Sir Hugh Pigot had come on board one morning and awarded 1361 lashes to 28 men, bringing the total up to 2000 in the next few months, while one of the seamen ashore fell over a cliff. Although Peglar gave no dates, this time in the *Ramillies* would have been short for, to use his words:

tern over to H.M. Cutter antelope lev-tenant loveless Johns and lappel and . . . Paid off at Chatham.

The names agree with the *Navy List*, the missing officer being Lieutenant Craig. The *Antelope* was a tender to the *Ramillies*, employed in the same work and raising volunteers.¹⁷

In his account Peglar wrote:

Reentred for the Tallavara Cap Coalby Supper Seaed by Cap Brown Rit for my discharg and got

That was after a gap of a year or two, when he

¹⁵ C. Hardy, *A Register of ships employed in the service of the United East India Company* (1835), 325, 339, 349.

¹⁶ India Office Library, H.E.I. Company's ships' logs, vol. 58, G-I, 1828-9, *Marquis Camden*.

¹⁷ Adm 37/7676, *Ramillies*, muster book, 1827.

might well have been in the merchant service; if so, it would be quite impossible to trace him. His memory for names was good, the Captains being David Colby and Thomas Buckmaster Brown. The ship seems to have been stationed in the Downs. It would then have been of no great interest to him that the supernumerary clerk, Cyrus Wakeman, had served with Parry in the Arctic in 1819-20, in the *Griper*.¹⁸ Men with Arctic service often crossed each other's paths.

When Peglar 'Rit for his discharg and got' it, he rejoined the *Marquis Camden* under Tommy Larkins on a voyage to St Helena, Bombay, Penang, Singapore, and Macao' He served from 14 February 1832 to the following year, being discharged on 31 May. His conduct was unsatisfactory, a point that he did not mention in his account. He was disrated to Ordinary Seaman in January 1833, confined in irons, and awarded two dozen lashes for drunkenness and mutinous conduct. One point that he did mention was confirmed by the log book:

. . . lost our Chief Mate shot going into Bombay.

The HECC schooner, *Royal Tiger*, fired across the poop of the *Marquis Camden*, killing John Fenn, who was buried ashore on the following day.¹⁹

Then there was a gap of about a year before Peglar entered HMS *Gannett*, 16, Commander John Balfour and then Commander W. H. G. Whish, at Sheerness. He served in this ship from April 1834 to February 1838, when he was paid off. His service was on the North America and West Indies station; he visited the usual ports,²⁰ including Cumana (which was mentioned in one of the manuscripts found on King William Land: 'A description of how a stranger met with a very friendly reception from people who were singing and dancing in a tent at Cumana'). His conduct may have been unsatisfactory, as he was rated in turn Captain of the Foretop, A.B., Gunner's Crew, Captain's Coxswain, and A.B. Once more he met some 'Arctic' men, C. H. Osmer, a purser who was to

¹⁸ Adm 37/8446, *Talavera*, description book, 1831-2.

¹⁹ India Office Library, ships' logs, 58, G-I, *Marquis Camden*.

²⁰ Adm 37/9149, *Gannett*, Complete and description book, 1834-8.

be Purser in the *Erebus*, while J. W. Fairholme, second Lieutenant in the *Erebus* under Franklin was midshipman in the *Gannett*.

After three months ashore, Peglar entered the *Temeraire*, Captain Sir John Hill, at Sheerness as A.B. There seems to have been nothing remarkable about this service. It was Sir John Hill who was in charge of Deptford Victualling Yard when the Franklin expedition fitted out in 1845.²¹

In 1838-9 Peglar was in the *Ocean*, 80, guardship at Sheerness. He entered as A.B. and rated as Captain of the Forecastle,²² which rate he kept when turned over to the sloop, *Wanderer*, 16. This latter vessel was employed on the West Coast of Africa (against the slave trade), the Cape, Singapore, Penang, and China. One of the Mates, G. H. Hodgson, became second Lieutenant in the *Terror* in 1845.²³

Peglar paid off at Portsmouth in June 1844, and had some months ashore before entering the *Terror*, Captain F. R. M. Crozier, on 11 March 1845 at Chatham, as Captain of the Foretop.²⁴ He was probably attracted by the prospect of double pay. A few of the officers could have spoken for him. His own last entry was:

... and now in the *Terror*.

Understandably, nothing is known in detail of his three years in the *Terror*, apart from the general well-known outline of that voyage. The Admiralty deemed him dead on 3 March 1854 with the rest of the crews. His arrears of pay were given to a married sister who was presumably his next of kin. Just over five years later, M'Clintock found his papers on King William Land.

II

It was by the clothing that M'Clintock was able to identify the remains he found. They seemed to be those of a young man, slightly built and perhaps above the common height, with a few light-brown hairs in the pocket comb. When Peglar joined the *Gannett* in 1834, he was 5 ft 7½ ins tall, with dark complexion, brown hair and

grey eyes; in the *Wanderer* and *Ocean* he was said to have a sallow complexion, hazel eyes, and brown hair. When Thomas Armitage, Gun Room Steward, was in the *Gannett*, with Peglar, he was 5 ft 9 ins tall, with fresh complexion, brown hair, and hazel eyes, aged 28 years. The remains were most probably his.²⁵

Armitage was born in Chatham in 1807, the son of Thomas and Jane Armitage. He was baptized at St Mary's church on 24 April.²⁶ So far as the muster books show, he was born in December 1805, but dates of birth were often vague. His first entry, as Boy, was in the *Bulwark*, 76, at Chatham, where he served from 1819 to 1822. As Boy, 2nd Class, he joined the *Gloucester*, 74, also at Chatham.²⁶

At the age of fifteen, he entered direct into the *Briton*, frigate, serving on the South America station. He was rated as Boy, 3rd Class on entry, and 2nd Class almost a year later. In that commission, the *Briton* called at the ports on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of South America, in those troubled times. He paid off at Chatham in August 1827.²⁷

His next seven years cannot be traced, but in May 1834 he entered the *Gannett*, as Gun Room Steward, a month after Peglar. By this time he was married, with no children, living at New Road, Chatham. It was in this ship that he visited Cumanar, mentioned in the longest document found by M'Clintock, hard to read because of decay and because it was written backwards, 'A description of how a stranger ...':

Sir, in one of my jerneys to ... a the old sitty of Cumanar on ... I walk one evening to wards the ... to my great sirprise all at ... udent the sound of muesic. I walk ... a tent that I saw hat a distance ... some very frendly faceess ... dancinge some a singing and ... the liberty of going ... the ... very politely handed a ... old English tar ...

and so on, rambling on to a grog shop. He also wrote a parody of *The Sea, the Open Sea*, by

²⁵ M'Clintock, *ibid.* 1908, 210.

²¹ Adm 37/9965, *Temeraire*, muster book, 1838.

²⁶ Kent County Record Office, P. 85/1/22, Register of Baptisms, Parish Church of Chatham, 1772-1812. Adm 37/6026-8, *Bulwark*, muster book, 1819-21. Adm 37/6502, *Gloucester*, muster book, 1822-4.

²² Adm 37/8629, *Ocean*, description book, 1838-9.

²³ Adm 38/9306, *Wanderer*, complete and description book, 1839-44.

²⁷ Adm 37/6925-6, *Briton*, muster book, 1824-6.

²⁴ Adm 38/1962, *Terror*, muster book, 1845.

B. W. Proctor (or Barry Cornwall): 'The C the C the open C it grew so fresh the Ever Free. . . for I love love a young and Hopen C.' This was dated 21 April 1847, when Franklin's ships were beset off King William Land, hoping for release within a few months, for the completion of the North West Passage. He also wrote, spelling the words backwards, 'Lines upon Trinidad laying in Asham Bay', rambling and badly spelt, an account of a night's adventures.²⁸

From the *Gannett* he joined, in 1837, the *Serpent*, brig, 16, serving at Port Royal.²⁹ After a few missing years, he joined the *Terror*, to die on the shores of King William Land in 1848.

A. G. E. JONES

Tunbridge Wells

²⁸ Adm 37/9149, *Gannett*, complete and description book, 1834-8.

²⁹ Adm 37/9856-7, *Serpent*, muster book, 1836-8.

MORE NINETEENTH-CENTURY EPICS

IN his note 'More Early Nineteenth-Century Epics' (*N&Q*, ccxxviii (June 1983), 213), John Schellenberger mentions the popularity c.1790-1820 of foreign epics rendered into English verse. A particularly striking instance of the period's fondness for mediocre verse translation of epic poems is George Harvey's redaction in rhyming couplets of *Ossian's Fingal*, published by Cadell and Davies in 1814. Macpherson's prose poem was still accepted by many people at this time as a genuine translation of a Gaelic epic. George Harvey's version begins:

Near Tura's wall, beneath the spreading trees,
Whose verdant foliage murmur'd to the breeze,
Cuchullin sat—his spear reclined at rest.
Against a rock, his shield the ground possessed.

There is a copy of this work in the British Library.

ULRIKE BOLTE

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BLAKE AND WIMBLETON

ON Plate 35 of *Milton* Blake tells us that 'there is a Moment in each Day that Satan cannot find'. From this moment, when the odour of the Wild Thyme, with other morning odours, first

reaches our nostrils, a fountain feeds two rivers, which are also conceived as two routes for the messengers of Los, the Wild Thyme and a relay of larks.

In the apotheosis on Plate 42 the scent of the Wild Thyme, Los' messenger, rises 'from Wimbletons (i.e. Wimbledon's) green & impurpled Hills'. Why Wimbledon, of all the 'Hills of Surrey'? A pub on the edge of Wimbledon Common still stands to remind us with its name, the Telegraph, that here in 1795-6 Lord George Murray established one of his line of telegraph stations which by a semaphore system passed messages from the Admiralty in London to the Fleet at Portsmouth. The Admiralty signalled to Chelsea, Chelsea signalled to Wimbledon, Wimbledon signalled to Cabbage Hill, Cabbage Hill signalled to Netley Heath, and so on, rather like Blake's relay of larks passing the message one to another as they meet, wing-tip to wing-tip.

JOHN ADLARD

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AN UNNOTICED BORROWING FROM THE *ODYSSEY* IN COLERIDGE'S 'THE ANCIENT MARINER'

JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES and others have pointed out the relation between the Ancient Mariner's supernatural return voyage —

For slow and slow that ship will go,
When the Mariner's trance is abated

(428-9)

— and Odysseus' return to Ithaca by courtesy of the Phaeacian seamen:

And as soon as they leaned back, and tossed the brine with their oar-blades, sweet sleep fell upon his eyelids, an unawakening sleep, most sweet, and most like to death. . . . Thus [the ship] sped on swiftly and clove the waves of the sea, bearing a man the peer of the gods in counsel . . . but now he slept in peace, forgetful of all that he had suffered.¹

It is strange that no one (so far as I know) should have called attention to Homer's description of the ship's departure:

And as on a plain four yoked stallions spring

¹ Loeb translation, II, 9 (XIII. 78-80, 88-9, 93).