RECORDS AND TRADITIONS

OF

DEANE CHURCH, VILLAGE,

AND PARISH,

&c.

RECORDS & TRADITIONS

OF

Deane Church, Village, and Parish,

IN LANCASHIRE,

A.D. 597 to 1904.

Together with the Histories of
THE SAXON KINGDOM OF DEIRA, OF WHICH LANCASHIRE FORMED A PART
AND ITS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY;
THE MONKS OF WHALLEY ABBEY, TO WHOM BELONGED SAYNTE MARIDEN,
THE EARLY CHAPEL OF DEANE;
THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE, THE DOWNFALL OF THE ABBEY OF WHALLEY
AND ALL OTHER ABBEYS;
AND
THE LIFE AND TIMES OF GEORGE MARSH,
THE DEANE MARTYR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Compiled and Edited by
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Warden of Deane Church, 1867-72; St. Bartholomew's, London, E.C., 1879-90:
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City of London College, B.C.
1904.

"Be just and fear not;
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's."

Shakespeare.

PREFACE.

IT has been said that a man need not be very clever to write history, provided he has ascertained his facts. Encouraged by this observation, founded probably on the well-known saying that “facts speak for themselves”; and without any pretension to literary ability, the humble collector of historical facts connected with his native village, church, and parish, now ventures to publish in two volumes the result of his many years’ patient research.

This work is the outcome of “a labour of love,” a sentiment ever cherished by the writer for the old place of his birth and the venerable church which adorns it.

He owes its accomplishment, he is thankful to say, to opportune leisure and continued health, granted by an ever-gracious Providence—blessings always to be held in grateful remembrance.

The Rector of Barkham, author of “English Villages,” tells us that “to write a complete history of any village is one of the hardest literary labours which anyone can undertake.

“ The soil is hard, and the crop, after the expenditure of much toil, is often very scanty; in many cases, the records are few and difficult to discover, buried amidst the mass of papers at the Record Office, or entombed in some dusty corner of the Diocesan Registry,” and, we may add, the library of the British Museum.

“Days may be spent in search for these treasures of knowledge with regard to the past history of a village, without any adequate result; but sometimes fortune favours the industrious toiler, and he discovers a rich ore which rewards him for all his pains.

“Shortly his store of facts grows, and he is at last able to piece together the history of his little rural world, which time and the neglect of past generations had consigned to dusty oblivion.

“In recent years several village histories have been written, with varied success, by both competent and incompetent scribes; but such books are few in number, and we still have to deplore the fact that so little is known about the hamlet in which we live.

“All writers seem to join in the same lament, and mourn over the ignorance that prevails in rural England with regard to the treasures of antiquity, history, and folk-lore, which are to be found almost everywhere.

“There are few villages in England which have no objects of historical interest, no relics of the past which are worthy of preservation.

“ And a great service may be rendered, not only to the cause of history, but also to the villages of rural England, by those who have time, leisure, and learning sufficient to gain some knowledge of bygone times; it adds greatly to the interest of their lives to know something of the place where they live.

“ To live in memory of what has gone before, of the lives and customs of our forefathers, of the strange events that have happened on the very ground upon which we are standing—all this will make us love our village homes and delight in them exceedingly.”

These notes by the Rector of Barkham are very interesting, and we are glad to say that our own notes throw some light, not only on the history of Deane village, church, and parish, in the old days, but also upon the times generally to which they refer.

And it is not without pleasure that, to use another’s words, “ we rescue some quaint old document from the dust of ages, and that we arrest the floating memories of men and things as they pass down the stream of time toward the ocean of oblivion.”

Our hobby—for so we may call it—has been to rescue from oblivion whatever may tend to elucidate the history of bygone days, and to show us what our village, church, and parish were in the past. .

With the study of our local history we have, whenever it seemed desirable, combined that of our country so far as it relates to the times and events contemporaneous with those herein recorded under Deane, Church, and Parish.

And in compiling this work, we have sought, in a plain and continuous narrative, to present a true and readable account of the records and traditions in question.

Submitted, at sundry stages, to friends, the manuscript has met with encouraging comments, as may be seen from the following extracts taken from their letters :—

“I have,” says a lady, “read your manuscript, and I am greatly interested in a lot of the information.

“The part about the Cistercians I enjoyed immensely.

“I think it very readable and a very concise manuscript, for I notice the knowledge has been picked up from so many sources which are utterly unreachable to the ordinary reader.

“I trust we shall not have long to wait for its appearance in print.”

A well-known and respected citizen of Bolton makes the following remarks:—

“I have made a very careful perusal of your excellent work, and I do not know that I could suggest any amendment in any form.

“ It is concise, easy to understand, and, I have no doubt, thoroughly accurate; and everything contained in the work, so far as it goes, leads up to what I have no doubt will be delightful reading when ready.

“I must congratulate you on your wonderful perseverance and literary ability, for the amount and quality of what is already prepared is evidence of enormous effort.

“Let me have the first opportunity, if possible, of saying I will gladly become a subscriber, and, when I get it complete, no book shall have a more honoured place on my bookshelves than this one.

“May your great and praiseworthy efforts be crowned with abundant success.”

“The more I see of these documents,” writes an old friend at a distance, “the more I wonder how you have managed to get together such a mass of valuable information, the result of research of the most persevering character, and which could only have been done by one who had possessed himself of the most intimate knowledge, and had a most heartfelt love for the place of which it treats in such a lucid and interesting fashion.

“Sure I am that the good folks of Deane ought to treasure such a wealth of history and tradition regarding their old church and its vicinity.”

Well, it has been said that “the dearest spot to any man was the spot in which he was born,” and the writer can truly say that in every place where he has been, in every post he has filled, the thought of Deane has always been at the back of his mind.

J.B.
Park Road,
Lytham.

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CHAPTER I

RECORDS and traditions of the ancient Parish of Deane, written *Dene* in early times, carry us back to the dark and remote period of the Saxon Heptarchy, when Lancashire formed a part of the little kingdom of Deira, and Ella, the king, occupied Smithills Old Hall, in the parish, as a royal palace, the residence since then of many noble families; vide Clegg's "Annals of Bolton," 1888, page 39.

This is said to have been in the year 579[1], nearly 1,000 years before the ancient hall witnessed the memorable scene of George Marsh's defence of the Protestant faith, which led to his immediate imprisonment and ultimate martyrdom at Chester.

While long before Ella's time, 467, four great battles between the Britons, led by the renowned King Arthur and his sixty knights of the Round Table, and the Saxons had, tradition asserts, been fought on the banks of the Douglas, a little stream which, rising in Rivington hills, flows in its course to Wigan, at the foot of Blackrod village, the prominent church of which is, looking west, visible at Deane.

The ancient village of Blackrod is situated in a township named after it, adjoining the west side of ancient Deane parish, and is in Bolton parish.

It also lies on the old Roman road which, built by the Roman Agricola, in 79, and leading from Manchester to Lancaster, passes through four of the ancient townships of Deane parish.

Here the Romans maintained a military station up to the time, 427, of their vacating our island, never to return.

Landing on our shores, soon after this event, on the pretext of befriending the Britons against the troublesome incursions of the Picts and Scots, but really with the intention of acquiring Britain for themselves, the Saxons, gradually extending their armies as far as Lancashire, appear to have made this Roman fort and the banks of the Douglas the centre of their military operations against the Britons.

Fought near Blackrod, the first of the four battles just referred to "was so uncommonly bloody," continues tradition, "that the Douglas was crimsoned with blood to Wigan;" vide the Rev. Mr. Whittaker's "Manchester," 1773, vol. 1, p. 159, and Clegg's "Annals of Bolton," page 39.

Victorious in these sanguinary engagements with the Saxons, the brave Britons retained their hold upon this part of our island until the death, in 559, of Ida, the first Saxon king of the adjoining kingdom of Bernicia.

Ella was one of Ida's noted chieftains at this time, and had fought under him seventeen years before, when he wrested Bernicia from the Britons.

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1 'Whittle's "Bolton," 1855, page 422, says: "A.D. 579. Smithill's Hall, a royal Saxon palace, inhabited by Ella, King of the Deiri [that is, the people of Deira], vide 'Eddin's Chronicle'."

And, now that his master was dead, “Ella quitted that kingdom and sought with those who followed him a new fortune, by attacking the British kingdom of Deira," and, conquering it, he became its first Saxon king.

“The kingdom of Deira,” says Sharon Turner, Anglo-Saxon historian, 1834, “consisted of the counties of Lancashire, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham, while Bernicia comprehended Northumberland and the South of Scotland between the Tweed and the Frith of Forth.”[2]

It was probably in Ella’s time that some Saxon families, enamoured of its picturesque surroundings, settled on the banks of the little Kirkebrook of ancient documents—running at the foot of the venerable church, then an open stream, and, in the early days of the writer, prettily wooded—and named the spot Dene, now the village of Deane, their own beautiful word for valley, “sweet interchange of hill and vale,”[3] as the poet loves to term it.

In support of our interpretation of the little word, let us turn to the following authorities “Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,” by the late Joseph Bosworth, D.D., F.R.S., Rawlinsonian Professor of Anglo- Saxon in the University of Oxford, edited and enlarged by T. Northcote Toller, M.A., 1882:—

“Dene—a valley.
[Saxon] ‘Aelc dene bip gefylled.’) Homl. Th. i. 360, 33.
[Translation] ‘Every valley shall be filled’)
[Saxon] ‘Seo dene waes afylled mid manna sirwlum’) Homl. Th. ii.
[Translation] ‘The valley was filled with men’s souls’) 350, 9.”

“The Century Dictionary” of Dr. Whitney:—

“Dene (Anglo-Saxon) — a small valley.
“Den—a narrow valley; a glen; a dell.”

“New English Dictionary,” by Dr. Murray, 1899:—

“Dene—a (wooded) vale.
“Dean, Dene—a vale.
“Den, Dene, Deyn—a deep hollow between hills; a dingle.”

“The Imperial Dictionary,” by Ogilvie:—

“Dene—Old English for dell, or valley”

“Richardson’s English Dictionary”:—

“Den (Anglo-Saxon)—a valley, a vale, or a dale. Den is a frequent termination in English names of places, and always implies a situation in a valley.”

“Johnson’s English Dictionary,” by R. G. Latham (1870):—

“Dean—a corrupt way of writing and pronouncing what means a valley, Den.
“Den (Saxon)—the termination of a local name, may signify either a valley or a woody place, for the Saxon Den imports both.”

Whittle, the historian of Bolton, of 1855, says:—

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2 The people of Deira were called Deiri, and those of Bernicia, Bernicians.
3 “Vale” is used in poetry, and “valley” in prose.

"Dene, or Den (Deane), a valley in the Saxon, very justly expresses the situation of the church in the township of Rumworth[4] ; it is in a dene, or den—thus, Deane Church.

Baines, the historian of Lancashire, of 1836, says "The name Den, a valley, is obviously Saxon, and expresses not inaptly the situation of the township of Rumworth, in which stands the church of Dean."

And here let us add that Farrar, in his history of the City of Ripon, tells us that "the Saxons gave such names to their cities, towns, and villages, as in their language had relation to the situation or nature of the place"; and what more appropriate name for the village could have suggested itself to them, when they first settled in it, than Dene, overlooking as it does one of the most picturesque of Lancashire valleys.

That there were places named Dene in Saxon times is evident from Asser's "Life of King Alfred the Great," an interesting work written in Latin.

Asser was a learned monk of St. David's, in Wales, then known as Western Britain; and the King, desirous of learning the Latin language, sent for him, " for," says Sharon Turner, " almost all the learning of the nation at this time was clothed in the Latin phrase, so that he who knew not Latin could not possess much learning."

The King had already with him teachers on other subjects, and Asser, after remarking that "the King's mind was much enlarged by these men," goes on to say:

"In these times, I also came into Saxony, out of the furtherest coast of Western Britain; and when I had proposed to go to him through many intervening provinces, I arrived in the county of the Saxons, who live on the right hand, which in Saxon is called Sussex, under the guidance of some of that nation, and I first saw him in the royal vill, which is called Dene." [Extract from translation by Giles, and published by Bohn, London, 1848.]

Let us add the following few words from Sharon Turner's work:—

"I was called by the King," says this plain but interesting biographer [Asser] "from the western extremities of Wales. I accompanied my conductors to Sussex, and first saw him in the Royal City of Dene. I was benignantly received by him."

"This royal city," says Elwer's 'Western Sussex,' "is now supposed to have been East Dean, a village situated in a dene or wooded valley of the south Downs [near Chichester.]"

Few places, historians tell us, can trace their origin back 1,000 years except by their names or historical remains, and Deane village is one of this number, for its early name Dene proves it to be of Saxon origin, and like its namesake, the Royal City of Dene, may claim existence from Saxon times.

It was while making researches in the library of the British Museum that Asser's "Life of King Alfred" and Sharon Turner's Anglo-Saxon work came under our notice, and we cannot describe the pleasure it gave us to find the little word Dene, the name of a Royal City, in which good King Alfred had dwelt and studied the Latin language.

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4 An easy transition from "Rumwell," Saxon for "spacious, wide," says the A.-S. Dictionary, and not inappropriate, seeing the township contained the ancient Deane Moor, now enclosed.

"In 887 Alfred obtained the happiness he had long coveted," Says Sharon Turner, "of reading the Latin authors in their original language."

He is said to have translated many books, one of them, considered the most expressive exhibition of his own generous mind, is his translation of the celebrated book " De Consolatione Philosophie," the work of " Boetius, who flourished at the close of the fifth century and was master of the offices to Theodoric, King of the Goths."

The object of the book "is to diminish the influence of riches, dignity, power, pleasure, or glory, and to prove their inadequacy to produce happiness."

The following beautiful lines, extracted from King Alfred's translation, are copied from Sharon Turner's able work:—

"O Thou, whose power o'er moving worlds presides,
Whose voice created, and whose wisdom guides;
On darkling man, in pure effulgence, shine
And cheer the clouded mind with light divine.
'Tis Thine alone to calm the pious breast
With silent confidence and holy rest.
From Thee, great God! we spring; to Thee we tend ;
Path; motive; guide; original and end."

Alfred is said to have expressed himself as follows, shortly before his death:—

"This I can most truly say, that I have desired to live worthily while I lived, and, after my life, to leave to the men that should be after me my remembrance in good works"; and how much happier would the world be if men but followed Alfred's example.

He died in 901, and a little over a century and a half later, the Saxons, defeated by the Normans at Hastings—attributed to the reduced forces of Harold, their last king, through a serious encounter with his revolting brother, Tosty, and followers outside York, in Deira, just before—succumbed to the will of William, Duke of Normandy.

When he had reigned sixteen years, William the Conqueror, for so the Duke came to be known, desirous of ascertaining the extent of the wealth of the nation he ruled over, "sent," says the Saxon Chronicle, "his servants through all the country to make a survey of every possession, and to register every hide of land in every county, and what was the money value, and what cattle were maintained upon each property."

Seen by the writer, this register of survey, contained in two volumes, and called Domesday Book, and up to recently kept in the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey, is now, placed in a glass case, with its old receptacle, a large wooden box, near it, preserved in the Record Office in a room specially set apart for it and a number of other objects of public interest.

In this remarkable and historical survey we find one more place of the name of Dene, the veritable Deane village, we believe, of our time, and, just as might be expected, from their

close association from time immemorial, Bolton recorded with it in one and the same line, as under:—

"In Bodeltun vi. Car. In Dene i. Car"

Here it will be desirable to explain that the details of the survey are written in Norman Latin, and, except as regards the names of places, in a compact and much abbreviated, but intelligent, form.

In the above extract, Car. for Carucate has a twofold meaning ; it represents both "plough-land" and also from 100 to 110 acres of the same, according to locality, "or as much arable land as could be cultivated by a plough in a year, with sufficient meadow arid pasture for the team," says Plantagenet Harrison.

Now to make it thoroughly clear that this extract refers to the Bolton and Deane of our own time, we must here turn to the early history of Deane parish, make further references to the survey, and also learn the views of other writers on the subject.

"Deane parish, at a very early period, was," says Baines, the Lancashire historian, " divided into manors, each of which had its distinct lord, but he was probably subfeudatory to the two great feudal proprietors of this part of Lancashire—the Lacies, Earls of Lincoln, and the Ferrers, Earls of Derby."

The year after the Conquest, William the Conqueror bestowed upon his Norman cousin, Roger de Poictou, all the lands between the rivers Ribble and Mersey, which, we need hardly say, included all the manors constituting the ancient parish of Deane.

The numerous manors in Lancashire which thus fell to his lot, Roger de Poictou conferred on his Norman friends; but the records of Lancashire, at this unsettled period, are so scanty that they give us little or no information of these new owners of the land; nor does the historical Domesday Book, compiled in 1086, throw any light on the subject.

The Royal Commissioners visited the North of England but made what is considered a very imperfect survey of Lancashire, Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland.

The last two counties have no survey at all in the Domesday Book due, it is said, "to the fact that they had been laid waste,[5] and offered little profitable attraction to the royal commissioners;" and Lancashire does not, unfortunately, appear under its proper name.

The northern portion of it, with the south of Westmoreland and a part of Cumberland, appears in the West Riding of Yorkshire; while the southern part, the land between the river Ribble and Mersey goes with the survey of Cheshire as " Terra inter Ripam et Mersha," land between the rivers Ribble and Mersey.

Baines, referring to the survey, says, "It is remarkable that in this survey the name of Lancashire does not occur; but that part of it which lies between the Ribble and the Mersey is surveyed under Cheshire, while the northern part of the county, including Amounderness and the Hundred of Lonsdale, north and south of the sands, .is comprehended under Yorkshire.

5 By William the Conqueror, the inhabitants opposing his rule.

“In the north of Lancashire, included within the ancient limits of Richmondshire [part of Yorkshire] several vacancies are found, and in the south-eastern part of the district, between the Ribble and the Mersey; the scanty return of names may be accounted for by the vicinity of that part of Salford Hundred to the devoted county of York.”

Manchester, Salford, Rochdale, and Radcliffe appear in Cheshire, while the only other places, Bolton and Deane surveyed in the Hundred of Salford, are accorded a place on the last line of a number of miscellaneous surveys referring to other districts in Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire, a pardonable slip when we consider the complicated character of the work and the little knowledge the Royal commissioners—said to be Normans—must have possessed of this part of the country.

“Some manors,” Walter de Gray Birch tells us in his interesting account of Domesday Book, 1887, “have been transferred from one Hundred to another, or, at any rate, are now, and for a long time past, have been thus dislocated; or perhaps the case may be stated differently thus, that the places are entered under a wrong Hundred in the manuscript,” and a similar inadvertence would account for Bolton and Deane appearing some lines apart from the rest of the survey of the Hundred of Salford.

Scholes, a recent historian of Bolton, in his valuable work of 1892, writing on this important subject, says: “As the question of Bolton being mentioned in Domesday Book, 1080-1086, has long been a contentious matter, a few remarks on the subject may be accepted.”

“Baines,” continues the historian, “says the ancient Saxon orthography of this place is Bolton or Bothel-tun; Whittle says Bolton is of Saxon origin and was termed Bolton-super-Moras.”

The word “Bolton” we make no doubt is of Saxon origin, but the words “ supet Moras ” are certainly Latin, and it was long after Saxon times that the term “ Bolton-super-Moras ” came into use.

Here let us say that the name of Bolton, like the name of Deane village, has been written in various ways since the Saxons ruled our country.

Orthography, the art of correct spelling, had received little or no attention, as far as the English language was concerned, before the time of Dr. Johnson, the author of our first dictionary, a work rightly pronounced “a wonderful achievement of genius and labour.”

“In London,” writes Dean Swift, “they clip their words in one manner about the Court, another in the City, and a third in the suburbs: all which reduced to writing would confound orthography.”

The learned Tyndale is said to have written the word “it” in his works eight different ways.

In records dated 1201 the name of Bolton is written Bodelton ; in 1253 and 1305 Boulton ; in 1341 Bolton, as now; and from Major Perry’s interesting work on Bolton-super-Moras we learn that in an old document, referring to a lawsuit in 1367, Bolton is called “ Bolton-o’-th’-Moor.”

In the account of another lawsuit in 1511, " Bolton-upon- Moors " is the term there used to identify Bolton; and it was not until 1534 that " Bolton-super-Moras " is found in any document, as far as we know, relating to Bolton.

Referring to this latter compound, Major Perry says:—

"It is a curious coincidence that the Latin words 'super,' or, in old Latin 'Supera Moras' not only means 'on the Moors' but also 'conquer the Moors,' and we may add that the motto on the armorial bearings of the County Borough of Bolton is " Supera Moras."

Now Scholes, claiming for Bolton the two records in Domesday Book, will have it that this word " Moras," which adds so much to the Borough's motto, and the word Dene means, as we shall presently see, the same thing, namely " waste land," thus altering the old interpretation of Bolton-super-Moras to Bolton upon waste land.

Fortunately, he is altogether mistaken, for the Latin word "Wasta," and not the Saxon word " Dene," is used in Domesday Book to signify waste land; and while "Wasta" is met with several times in the Lancashire portion of the great survey, as might be expected, " Dene," the ancient name of Deane village, appears only once.

In connection with this, it is very remarkable to say that, while the village of Deane, the modern way of writing Dene, is the only ancient place of that name in Lancashire at the present day, Bolton has several namesakes in North Lancashire and in Yorkshire.

And curiously enough, while claiming Dene for Bolton, Scholes brings to our notice another historian who claims Bodelton for Bolton-with-Urswick, thus depriving Bolton-le-Moors of the honour of being associated, as it has been from, time immemorial, with the ancient village in the interpretation of the two records in Domesday Book.

We hope, however, to show in our subsequent remarks that Bolton and Deane village, taken together, as in the Domesday survey, are the only two places so geographically associated, so ancient, and so named, of which we have any account, and therefore the only places that answer to the Bodeltun and Dene of the Domesday survey.

CHAPTER II

RETURNING to Scholes, he goes on to say: " Harrison is more lucid, and states that Bodelton-cum-Deane was a thorpe existing during the Saxon era, deriving its name from lands appropriate to corls, or persons of distinction."

Whittle, writing in 1855, makes a similar statement at page 22 of his work, while Baines and other historians of Bolton are silent on this compound; and a careful reference to Harrison's work, " Description of the Manners and Customs of Britain in Queen Elizabeth's Reign," a work known to Baines, fails to trace the compound.

Thorpe, too, as we understand it, is identical with the words hamlet, or village, and we can hardly conceive of Bolton-with- Deane, then, as now, quite a mile apart, being considered one village.

"Turning our attention," continues the historian, "to the last page of Domesday Book, under the heading 'Int. Ripa et Mersha Evrvicscire, Terra Regis, West Riding,' we find the following entry: 'In Bodeltun vi. Car; in Dene i. Car.' This interesting item means that there were six carucates of land in Bolton to be taxed by the king, whilst in Dene only one carucate was to be so dealt with."

Scholes evidently errs here in looking upon these two records as one item. Our dictionaries tell us "item" is a word that points only to "a separate particular in an account"; and Bodeltun and Dene, with their respective carucates, certainly constitute two items.

And though Dene is credited with only one carucate, it would, as Deane village, have the benefit of "common pasture" as well as Turbary upon the ancient Deane Moor.

Returning to the historian's remarks, he proceeds to say that " In asking 'Does this Domesday Book entry refer to Bolton-le- Moors? ' we must seek for the answer in the writings of those who, we may suppose, have studied the question :—

"Baines, in his history, would have it understood not to be the case, preferring to credit Bolton-with-Urswick, about three miles from Ulverston, and in the Hundred of Lonsdale, with the cognizance.

"Baines has certainly a reason for his supposition, inasmuch as that in Domesday this entry of Bolton is immediately preceded by Ulverstun, i.e., Ulverston."

Well, no one will presume to disagree with so learned an historian as Baines, but here we are referred to an edition of his "Lancashire," published in 1868, long after his death, and under a new editor; while in his own edition, published in 1836, he has the following translation of the two records :—

"In Bodeltun (Bolton) six carucates to be taxed. In Dene (Dean, alias Deyne) one carucate."

And with regard to the translation of the Lancashire survey, from which we have extracted the above, Baines tells us that "The Latin version is a copy from the Domesday Book published, under the direction of the Commissioners of Public Records, and the English

translation is from the pen of the Rev. William Bawdwen, with a few verbal corrections," an authority evidently appreciated by Baines.

Bawdwen was the Vicar of Hooton Pagnell, and his valuable work, published at Doncaster in 1809, is still to be met with.

In the re-issue of Baines' work, in 1868, under, as we have said, a new editor, there appears a fresh translation of the Lancashire survey, by " W. Beament, Esq., of Warrington," and in this Bodeltun and Dene are translated as follows:—

"In Bodeltun (Bolton-with-Urswick) there are six carucates; in Dene (Dean) one carucate."

Now let us see the account given of Bolton-with-Urswick in the new edition, for Scholes omits all reference to it.

Turning, then, to the parish of Urswick, in which it is situated, we learn that " Urswick, probably derived from Urse, a Norse or Saxon name, is not named in the Domesday survey, unless Hert, which Mr. Beament accounts for as having been washed away by the sea, was the name assigned to it.

"The parish comprises the townships of Great- Urswick, Little Urswick, Adgarley with Stainton, and Bardsen."

Of the last and two first townships we find nothing of importance recorded, but of Adgarley with Stainton we are told "This township is sometimes named Bolton-with-Adgarley, and contains the Manor of Bolton."

Here, then, we may conclude, is the "Bolton-with-Urswick" of Beament's translation, for we find no other place of that name mentioned, and of it we learn the following:—

"The Manor of Bolton was early in the possession of the Couplands. In the former part of the reign of Henry third, Robert (de Denton), Abbot of Furness, granted to Sir Richard, son of Sir Alan de Coupland, a chantry in his chapel of Bolton in Urswick.

"Richard de Coupland, grandson of Sir Alan, granted the Manor to the Abbey of Furness, from whence it passed to the family of Pilkington, and it now belongs to the Earls of Derby.

"Bolton is now a single messuage, forming part of the farm- buildings at Hawkfield, in which the arches, doors, and windows of the ancient chapel or chantry may yet be traced. Bolton, however, still gives its name to the Manor styled Bolton with Adgarley, in which the Earl of Derby holds an occasional court about once in three years."

We have here related all that we find recorded of Bolton-with- Urswick, and in no part of the account do we find any reference made to Domesday Book. Even the name of Urswick finds no place in that book, and the earliest date mentioned takes us no further back than the reign of Henry third, the same reign in which the Chapel of Saynte Mariden, Deane, was bestowed on the monks of Stanlaw Abbey.

Bolton-with-Urswick, after this, can hardly be said to have a greater claim to Bodeltun than Bolton-le-Moors; and, while the former has no village or other place near to represent the Dene associated with Bodeltun, Bolton and Deane village have been closely connected from time immemorial, and thus correspond with the two records of Domesday survey.

Resuming the Bolton historian's remarks, he says: " Brown [a writer on Bolton in 1824] goes so far as to recognise that in Domesday Book, sub titulo evrvicscire, a parish or vill called Bodelton is entered, coupled with Dene; and proceeds to explain that as Deyne, Dene, Dean [Dene, and not Dean, is the word in Brown's work], Dune, Deyne, in almost all parts of the island, signified waste, common, unappropriated lands, the proximity of Dean, Dean Church, Smithills Dean, in the vicinity of Bolton-le-Moors, Bodelton cannot be positively adopted or identified with this important town."

Reference to Brown's work will confirm our correction, Dean to Dene, as above. The alteration seems slight, but it is important.

Dene, Brown tells us, represents "waste land," but produces no documentary evidence in support of his statement, while Dean, as we have seen, he interprets to mean a place, and thus failing to see in the Dene of the survey the name of Dean village, he singularly comes to the conclusion that in its absence "Bodelton cannot be possibly adopted or identified with this important town."

Evidently Brown was not aware that Dene is the ancient name of Deane village, nor had heard of King Alfred's Royal City of Dene, which Asser tells us of; nor noticed that "wasta" and not Dene is the word used in Domesday Book to represent waste land; hence his misinterpretation of the little word.

Baines, referring to the devastation of Yorkshire by William the Conqueror, says "that when the Domesday Book was compiled, many townships remained uncultivated, which is the reason why "wasta"—waste—so often occurs in the Domesday survey of Yorkshire."

Scholes, still quoting Brown, goes on to say: "In the earliest records that have been brought to light in the archives of the Duchy Courts of Lancashire as the same term [Bodelton], spelt in the same manner, appears to have signified Bolton; it is very probable the term applied to certain lands appropriated either to the Bode of a royal palace or the support of the kingly dignity as a portion of the Boedel or Bodel set apart for that purpose."

This explanation being applicable equally to the other Bodeltuns of the Domesday survey would not, alone, distinguish, according to Scholes' theory, Bolton from its other namesakes in Lancashire.

Resuming the historian's remarks, he goes on to say: "It is also noticeable in the survey that Manchester and Salford are included under the head of Cestre-Seire (Cheshire) whilst Bolton—the very next town of note—is, probably inadvertently or promiscuously, classified with the districts of Yorkshire.

"On the other hand the absence of regularity in the latter part of the great survey is suggestive of surveys taken out of the regular course, or in collation of the information obtained by the Commissioners.

"There appears to be little doubt in the minds of modem writers as to the certainty of the Domesday record being identical with, or referring to, the town of Bolton-le-Moors; and in support of this it is noticeable that Deane is repeatedly an adjunct to the word 'Bolton' in ancient documents dating from the Norman times; no doubt because of their close geographical position to each other. Bodelton-cum-Deane is a frequently-occurring compound to distinguish Bolton-le-Moors from its numerous namesakes in the North of England.

"It is believed that at the time of the taking of the Norman survey, Deane was of such importance to Bolton as to create the almost invariable distinction named".

Bolton, after this, will doubtless feel proud of its ancient associate, Deane village; for surely it is to the village—though this word finds no place in the historian's narrative—that these ancient writings refer; for what place other than Deane village can have rendered Bolton so important a service; or what other place except the village can we find to associate with Bolton in the words, "their close geographical position to each other."!

And, certainly Bolton has, since Dean became incorporated with it, conferred upon the village the inestimable benefit of a double tramway line, equipped with splendid electric cars, and connecting the two places, by which one may travel at the low rate of one penny per journey each way.

What a pity, however, that the historian should tell us of documents so ancient and yet give us neither copy of, nor direct reference to, one of them—documents which no other writer appears to have had the good fortune to meet with.

But though Scholes here takes it for granted that Bolton is the Bodeltun of the Norman survey, it is not Deane village, strange as it may appear, that he recognises in the Dene of the Domesday Book.

Putting aside the village, he now turns in the direction of the valley, and the clough named after it, in search of the waste land he thinks the Dene of Domesday Book represents.

But, after all, what will have been the good of bringing these ancient writings to our notice if the village is not found to correspond with the Dene of the survey, for if it was not possible to distinguish Bolton from its many namesakes in these writings without the aid of the village, how can it be possible to identify it in Domesday Book if the village is not found there?

In his next paragraph, the historian goes on to say: "We are informed that the derivation of the word "Dene," or as it is now spelt Dean and Deane, limits the word as referring to a particular kind of [narrow] valley or dale enclosed on both sides with hills, and as often exhibiting woods and streams of water convenient for the use of cattle."

This information, we are told in a foot-note, is taken from Hibbert Ware's interesting work, "The ancient Parish Church of Manchester."

The adjective "narrow" precedes the word "valley" in the original, hence our adding it to the quotation as above. The correction is not, perhaps, very material, though we may say

the Saxon used the word " den " to signify " narrow valley," and " Dene " to represent a more open one: both are primitive words of the Saxon language, and own no other parentage.

Nor is it correct to say that the word "Dene" is limited in its meaning to valley; for, as we have already said, it was used by the Saxons, after they landed on our shores to give name to many places which, like Deane village, still exist, while "Dean" or "Deane" is a modern corruption of the word.

Brown, too, as we have just seen, looks upon the word " Dean" as being the name of a place, but errs when he tells us that "Dene," its parent, means waste land; while Scholes, failing to recognise in the word "Dene" the early name of Deane village, would have us believe that by easy transitions from Dene to Dean, and from the latter to Deane Valley, and thence to Deane Clough, he had found in the clough the waste land he so erroneously supposes to be the Dene of Domesday Book.

Here, before returning to Scholes, let us add a further interesting extract from Hibbert Ware, one unnoticed by the Bolton historian. It is this:—

"In Lancashire we have many of these denes as North Dean, near Manchester, and St. Mary's Dene, near Bolton, where a church dedicated to the Virgin was built; it was simply named Dene."

Hibbert Ware's work was published in 1848, a time when the writer of these lines was a pupil in Deane Schools and knew Deane Valley and Deane Clough, also the venerable Church, very well. All three were then, as now, best known as Deane Valley, Deane Clough, and Deane Church.

Reverting to Scholes, he proceeds thus: "The same writer [Hibbert Ware] gives a very clear and feasible illustration of the derivation of the ancient highway of Deansgate, in Bolton, that is: "There is a Denesgate in the populous town of Bolton-le-Moors, where certainly no Rural Dean is ever recorded to have sojourned; while there is not far from the town a dene to which the Deansgate of Bolton leads."

"This valley," adds Scholes in a footnote, "is now best known as Deane Clough"; while really Valley and Clough are, as we have just seen, as much in separate evidence to-day as ever they were.

As Hibbert Ware says, Deansgate leads to Deane Valley; in fact it is a continuation of it, except for the intervening short length known as "The Spa"; while Deane Clough, commencing at the village of Deane and extending northwards, intersects the valley at right angles at Parson's Bridge, which spans the Middle Brook, and is distant about a mile and a half from the west end of Deansgate.

It will be well to state here that Hibbert Ware makes this reference to Deane village to aid him in explaining the derivation of the compound word Deansgate; he leaves us, however, in doubt as to whence comes the suffix "gate."

Bolton has a Bradshawgate, as well as a Deansgate, while Deane Village has in one direction its Fernhillgate, and in another, Broadgate; and it is generally supposed that a gate formerly enclosed each of these thorougfares.

But Todd, in his four volume edition of Johnson's Dictionary, 1818, tells us that "In the north of England, gate or gait is common for a path, passage, road, or way," and from this it is natural to infer that Denesgate (Dene's-gate) meant formerly the way to Dene, the ancient name of Deane Village.

Todd is evidently correct for,—turning to Edwin Waugh's Lancashire Sketches, 1881,—written in the Lancashire dialect, we find the word "gate" for "way" frequently occurring. The following are instances:—

" Thea'st have a quart, as how 'tis, owd mon, as soon as ever aw con see my gate [way] to th' bar eawt o' this smudge, at thea's brought wi' tho! I never had my chimney swept as chep in my life." Page 111.

These words were addressed by the landlord ("Owd Neddy") of a country public house, to a man " on the spree," who, to amuse the company present, had, for a quart of ale, climbed the chimney, and " when toward th' top," having " lost his howd," had " coom shutterin' deawn again, an' o'th' soot i'th' chimbley wi' him," hence the " smudge " which interfered with the good-natured landlord finding his " gate " to the bar.

At page 117 we have two instances, as follows:

"Well, thae'll co' a-lookin' at us when tho comes this gate [way] on, winnut to, Jone? So, a-this'n we parted; boh aw markint, aw lost my gate [way] again snap."

CHAPTER III.

BEYOND the footnote referred to, Scholes makes no further reference to his extract from Hibbert Ware's work, and in his next paragraph doubts if the purport of his remarks will have been understood.

" Again," he says, " another very early compound name of the town was Bolton-super-Moras, which alone should suffice to eradicate any still-existing doubt; the word 'Moras' alone indicates 'Dene,' whence the latter word is derived, for we are informed that 'Dene' means lands that are waste, moras, moors, commons, marsh, bogs."

Here again we have another and remarkable transition from Moras to Dene on the mere authority of " we are informed," and without a shred of documentary evidence in support of it, a statement altogether at variance with ascertained facts and our leading dictionaries.

In his next paragraph the historian says:—

"Thus it is clear that Bolton from time immemorial has been associated with Dean in most if not all the ancient deeds and charters relative thereto."

We notice here the return of the historian to Deane and the ancient writings associated with it and Bolton; but though the words " thus it is clear " are evidently intended to connect the passage with the historian's preceding one, we fail to see any connection whatever between the two.

The first one refers to a moras and a dene or waste land, while the other refers to Deane, a place, namely Deane village, which coupled with Bolton in these ancient documents enabled the historian to distinguish Bolton-le-Moors from its numerous namesakes back to the time of the Norman survey.

Clearly the second of these paragraphs which speaks of the ancient writings has got inserted in the wrong place, and to understand its purport we must turn back to the time when Scholes told us:—

"It is noticeable that Deane is repeatedly an adjunct to the word Bolton in ancient documents dating from the Norman times, no doubt because of this close geographical position to each other."

Now let us add here the misplaced paragraph, and we shall see how appropriately it fits in:—

"Thus it is clear that Bolton from time immemorial has been associated with Dean in most if not all the ancient Deeds and Charters relative thereto."

With one more paragraph, opening with the mysterious "hence" and ending with the "Parish of Deane," the historian brings to a close his interesting remarks. It runs thus:—

"Hence there need be no wonder why the Bodelton and the Dene of Domesday are now claimed as referring to the town of Bolton-le-Moors and the neighbouring parish of

Deane."

Here we have the historian adding one more to his other transitions, and this time he finds a better substitute than waste land to correspond with the Dene of Domesday Book.

He forgets, however, that the parish which he takes to be the "Dene" of the great survey was not ordained until 1542, and that it received the name of Deane after the ancient village, and this nearly 460 years after Domesday Book was compiled.

Apart, however, from the historian's remarks, we not only claim Dene for Deane village, but also Bodeltun for Bolton-le-Moors, its ancient associate from time immemorial, and we do so for the following reasons:—

Firstly, because Deane village is the only ancient place named Deane in Lancashire, and therefore the only place that can claim to be identified with the Dene, its early name, mentioned in Domesday Book.

Secondly, because Bolton and Deane village are the only two places in Lancashire so closely connected and so named, and therefore correspond as no other two places can do with the Bodelton and the Dene associated together in Domesday Book.

And we venture to think that Beament errs in claiming Bodelton for Bolton-with-Urswick; when, unlike Bolton-le-Moors, there is really no ancient Deane village or other place of that name near to join with it in the interpretation of the Bodelton and the Dene of Domesday Book.

Leaving Deane for the present, let us now return to Deira. Wrested, as we have seen, from the Britons by Ella, it made the sixth kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons; two more were added later, East Anglia in 575, and Mercia in 582.

Thus by the latter year Britain had become parcelled out into eight Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; and from the Angles being a more numerous tribe than Saxons or Jutes, it now began to be called Anglo-land, and from that, by an easy transition, England.

The names of the eight kingdoms and the dates on which they were founded are as follows:

	A.D.
Kent	458
Sussex	491
Wessex	519
Essex	527
Bernicia	547
Deira	559
East Anglia	575
Mercia	582

From this time the government of England became known to history as "the Heptarchy, though really an Octarchy, from the habit," says Sharon Turner, "of mentioning the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia under the appellation of Northumbria.

“But though they were at times united under one sovereign, yet as they became consolidated, Essex, Kent, or Sussex ceased to be separate and independent kingdoms; so that the term was still improper.”

Unlike other rulers of the Saxon kingdoms, Ella succeeded in conciliating the Britons he had conquered; and satisfied with his little territory, sought no further conquest the rest of his life.

Of the other Saxon kings it may be said that they spent most of their time either in fighting one another for supremacy, or when not so engaged, following the chase.

Ella, however, more peacefully inclined than the rest, appears to have confined himself to the enjoyment of the latter, and in all probability in the then Royal forest of Horwich, which covered the whole range of hills seen on the north side of Deane Valley.

Ella was a pagan, as were all the Saxons up to his time; and in that part of our island conquered by them, they had so far forced their idolatrous worship upon the brave Britons, as to have well-nigh extinguished Christianity introduced centuries before the British king, Vortigern, invited them over from Saxony to repel the incursions of the Picts and Scots from Scotland.

But the touching sight of Ella’s fair little subjects exposed for sale in the market place at Rome, related by the venerable Bede, so affected the good monk Gregory that when he became Pope he sent over forty monks under Augustine, Prior of the monastery of St. Andrew at Rome.

At this time the Western Church, of which Rome was the centre, had from the departure of the Romans ceased to take any interest in the spiritual welfare of our island.

And the pagan Saxons, who had now gained the full possession of it, still remained unconverted to the Christian faith; while to the evil of Paganism they added that of the slave trade, and in Christian Rome found the best market for their inhuman traffic.

Gibbon, the illustrious historian, tells us: “ Slaves were employed by the Romans as the cheapest and more laborious instruments of agriculture, and quoting Pliny, says ‘it was discovered on a very melancholy occasion that 400 slaves were maintained in a single palace at Rome, and were all executed for not preventing their master’s murder.’ ”

Gregory, the pious monk referred to, walking one bright day through the streets of Rome, was, Bede tells us, struck with the sight of some young slaves offered for sale in the market place.

Having bright blue eyes, light hair, rosy cheeks, and white skin, their beauty arrested his attention, and on being told they were Angles, that is English, “Angles,” he cried, “they look like angels, and ought to be heirs with the angels in heaven.”

“What was the name of their king,” was the next inquiry, “Ella,” was the reply. “Ella! then Allelulia shall be sung in the land of their birth.”

On being further told that they came from the kingdom of Deira, he replied, “Ay, De-

Ira, indeed, from the wrath of God they must be plucked."

Sharon Turner, from whose work the above extract has been copied, says, "a purer philanthropy perhaps never breathed from the human heart than in these sudden effusions of Gregory's.

"This succession of coincidences, though verbal, affected his mind with a permanent impression of the most benevolent nature.

"He went immediately to the Pope, and prayed him to send some missionaries to convert the Saxon nation, and offered himself for the service; his petition was refused, but the project never left his mind till he was enabled by his own effort to accomplish it."

Gregory was, at the time of this incident, attached to a monastery on the Caelian Hill at Rome, where he lived with the strictest austerity from 576 to 590, the year when he was chosen Pope.

In the year 597, according to the Saxon Chronicle, he chose forty monks, and making Augustine their leader, sent them forth on their perilous task.

Augustine and his monks landed at Ebbsfleet, Kent, in 597, and with the influence of Queen Bertha, daughter of the Christian King of France, her husband Ethelbert, the King of Kent, welcomed him and his missionaries, and at their preaching, and that of other missionaries from Iona, later on, the Saxons in course of time became converts to Christianity.

Bede attributes the success of the missionaries, in the work of conversion, to the purity of their lives and the sweetness of their heavenly doctrine.

Augustine, not being a bishop, could not ordain men for the work of the ministry, and, without such power, a Christian mission could not be successfully carried on; to obtain this authority he went over to France, not to Rome, and was consecrated Bishop of the Angles by Vigilus, Bishop of Arles, and Etherius, Bishop of Lyons. The consecration gave him no jurisdiction over the British bishops driven by the Saxons into Wales, though he soon after attempted to claim it, and it was not until some years after, 601, that he received from Gregory the pall, which constituted him Archbishop of Canterbury and Metropolitan of the Angles.

The pall was a white woollen collar, with pendants behind and before, made from the wool of lambs that had been blessed by the Pope on St. Agnes Day, and embroidered with purple crosses.

Gregory promised to send another pall to York whenever the Archbishopric should be revived there, and arranged that when either Archbishop should die, the surviving metropolitan might ordain a successor to the vacant see.

In the same year that Gregory sent the pall he also sent over a number of clergy he had selected to co-operate with Augustine, three of whom, Mellitus, Justus and Paulinus, subsequently occupied positions of very great importance in our island. They brought with them, "for the worship and ministry of the Church, holy vessels and altar vestments," says

Bede; “ornaments also for the Churches, and priestly garments, relics, too, of the apostles and martyrs, and a number of books.”

Augustine having gained full particulars of the British ecclesiastics, and received the necessary authority from Gregory, arranged for a conference with the British bishops.

He met the representatives of the ancient British under the spreading branches of an oak tree on the confines of the kingdom of Wessex, where the river Severn divided it from Wales.

His object at this meeting was to test the willingness of the British to unite their forces with his in the conversion of the Saxons; but there were many points of divergence to be overcome before the two partners could work in harmony.

The Britons, holding to the old western rule laid down at the Council of Arles, A.D. 314, kept the 14th day of the Paschal moon, if it were a Sunday, as Easter Day. This had also been the practice of Christians at Rome until the Council of Nicea decided that when the 14th day of the Paschal moon fell upon a Sunday, Easter Day must be the Sunday after. The British Church had not heard of this change, and their representatives could not adopt it without further consideration.

The Roman Clergy and Benedictine Monks cut their hair in the form of a crown, while the Britons wore theirs in the shape of a crescent.

At Baptism, the Britons were content with a single immersion; the Romans dipped the candidate three times, first on the right side, then on the left, and the third time with the face downwards.

No question of doctrine was raised, only these minor details, but the underlying principle was the right of Augustine to impose new conditions upon an undoubtedly Apostolic and orthodox Church, and the Britons refused to acknowledge his right to interfere with their time-honoured usages and customs.

Unable to argue with Augustine at the time, the Britons stipulated for a second meeting.

Bede relates that before the second meeting the Britons inquired from one of their most holy men, who lived the life of a recluse (hermit), whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the bidding of Augustine. The pious man replied, “If he be a man of God, follow him.” “And how can we ascertain this?” said they. He replied, “The Lord saith, ‘Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.’ If, therefore, this Augustine is meek and' lowly in heart, it is credible that both he himself bears the yoke of Christ, and offers it to you to bear; but if he is stern and proud, it is evident that he is not of God, and that his discourse ought not to be regarded by us.” And they said, “And how can we discern this?” “Contrive,” said he, “that he and his people may come first to the place of the Synod; and if, at your approach, he rise up to you, hear him with submission, knowing he is a servant of Christ; but if he slight you, and will not rise up in your presence, when you are more in number, let him also be disregarded by you.”

The British deputation was a large one ; seven bishops attended, accompanied by

many learned monks from the famous monastery of Bangor, but, unfortunately for his policy, Augustine was not of an humble frame of mind, he neglected to rise and bid them welcome. This was enough. He could not have the spirit of Christ, and they refused to yield. They would observe none of his customs nor accept him as their chief, for “if he would not rise up to us just now, how much more will he despise us if we begin to be subject to him.”

“ Dinooth [Abbot of Bangor] one of their number, explained that although they owed fraternal love to the Church of God and to the Bishop of Rome, and indeed to all Christians, they owed no other obedience to him whom Augustine called Pope.”

Augustine now failed in the art of conciliation as he had before done in the art of courtesy. “If they will not accept peace with their brethren,” said he, “they should receive war from their enemies [the Saxons], and if they would not preach the way of life to the nation of the Angles, they should suffer at their hands the vengeance of death.”

The Archbishop of Canterbury returned, in great mortification, to his work among the Kentish people, and did not live to extend it far beyond that kingdom.

Acting on Gregory’s instructions, Augustine, in 604, made Mellitus bishop of the adjoining kingdom of East Saxons, and Siebert, the King, welcomed him and was baptised.

In the same year, Justus was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, and divided with Augustine the supervision of Kent.

On the death of Augustine, Justus became Archbishop of Canterbury and, in 626, he made Paulinus a bishop, having selected him to accompany Ethelburga, daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, and his wife Bertha, who was about to marry Edwin, the Pagan King of Northumbria.

Edwin was the son of Ella, who had also a daughter named Acca; she married Ida’s grandson, Ethelfrid, the third in the list of Kings of Bernicia.

Unrestrained by his close relationship, Ethelfrid, on the death of Ella in 589, invaded Deira and, expelling Edwin the rightful heir, then only three years old, united that kingdom to his own, and thus became the first King of Northumbria.

Edwin was carried to North Wales, and there generously educated by Cadvan, the British King of Wales.

Ethelfrid continued his conquest until he reached Chester, where he found himself opposed by a Welsh army under Brocmail, King of Powys, who was accompanied by the monks of Bangor, numbering about 1,300.

Noticing these monks engaged in prayer for the success of their countrymen, Ethelfrid exclaimed “ If they are praying against us they are fighting us,” and he ordered them to be first attacked; they were destroyed, and appalled by their fate, the courage of Brocmail wavered; he fled from the field in dismay, and Ethelfrid obtained a decisive conquest.

Ancient Bangor itself soon fell into his hands and was demolished ; the noble monastery was levelled to the earth; its library, a large one, the collection of ages, the

repository of the most precious monuments of the ancient Britons, was consumed; half ruined walls, gates, and rubbish were all that remained of the magnificent edifice.

As Edwin grew up he was compelled to leave Wales, and for many years wandered about in secret, through various provinces, to escape the increasing pursuit of Ethelfrid.

Reaching East Anglia, he went to the court of King Redwald and, avowing himself, besought his hospitable protection.

Redwald received him kindly and promised what he asked.

Impatient that Edwin should be alive, Ethelfrid sent repeated messages with presents to Redwald requiring him to surrender the youth.

Redwald, remembering the unvarying success of Ethelfrid, and fearful of encountering his hostility, promised either the death or surrender of Edwin.

But the Queen of Redwald secretly pleaded for the youthful exile, and with noble sentiments:

“A King should not sell a distressed friend,” she said, “nor violate his faith for gold; no ornament is so ennobling as good faith.”

Interested by her intercession, and inspired with her fortitude, Redwald resolved to keep sacred the duties of hospitality, and Edwin was informed by his watchful and kind friend of the generous determination of the king.

The preparations of Ethelfrid, disappointed of his prey, compelled him to arms; and Redwald, acting with judicious care, attacked him with an army before he had collected all his troops, on the east bank of the Idel in Nottinghamshire.

Redwald and his army fought with such determination that Ethelfrid, unused to such resistance, and impatient for the event, rushed on the East Anglicans with a dangerous impetuosity.

His friends did not follow his injudicious courage, he was separated from them, and perished among the swords of the surrounding East Anglians.

Edwin also signalised himself, and Redwald, not only re-instated him in Deira, 617, but enabled him to subject Bernicia to his power in 623.

Redwald ascended to the national pre-eminence which Ethelbert had possessed under the title of Bretwalda, paramount King; and on his death it was assumed by Edwin.

The vicissitudes of Edwin’s life had endued his mind with a contemplative temper, which made him more intellectual than any of the Anglo-Saxon kings that had preceded him, and which fitted him for the reception of Christianity.

And it was soon after his accession to the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia in 623, that Edwin married Ethelburga, the daughter of the late Ethelbert, King of Kent, and his

Christian Queen Bertha.

Ethelburga was permitted to enjoy the full exercise of her religion and to take with her to Northumbria various churchmen, the chief being Paulinus, the great missionary of the north of England, a tall, pale, black-haired monk, to reside at her court, where by the simple force of a good and upright life he won the respect of the pagan king; and it was due to the combined influence of Paulinus and Ethelburga that Edwin, eventually, became converted to Christianity.

It was shortly after Edwin's conversion that Pope Boniface, in a letter addressed to him, A.D. 625, styled him King of the Angles or English.

And Fabyan, in his chronicle, tells us that before his conversion Edwin received letters of exhortation from Boniface, the Bishop of Rome, to take upon him baptism.

"And the said Bishop likewise exhorted the Queen, and sent unto her a glass to look in, with a comb of ivory richly garnished and a shirt for the King wrought in sundry places with letters of gold; but all this prevailed nothing at all.

"Howbeit, it was not long after, that the King assembled his council, and by their agreement he was of the said Paulinus, Bishop of York, baptised within the said city, the eleventh year of his reign and the year of our Lord 627.

"He was the first Christian King that reigned in that country, and after him many of his lords and subjects were also christened of the said Paulinus."

CHAPTER IV.

EDWIN was baptised on Easter Day, 627, in a small chapel of wood, hastily erected for this purpose, on the very spot where the Cathedral of York now stands, and immediately after the ceremony Paulinus was appointed bishop of York; Edwin also, soon afterwards, commenced an appropriate church of stone, which King Oswald afterwards finished.

At the same time there were also baptised Osfrid and Eadfrid, sons of Edwin, born to him while he was an exile, of Quenburga, the daughter of Cearl, King of the Mercians.

During the lifetime of King Edwin, Paulinus christened continually in both the provinces, Deira and Bernicia, using the rivers of Gueny and Swale for his fonts.

The success of Paulinus was, according to Nennius' History of the Britains, remarkable, the crowds of converts being so great that, on one occasion, he baptised twelve thousand in the river Swale, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Camden tells us that Paulinus first consecrated the river Swale, and then commanded the people that they should go in two by two, and baptise each other in the name of the Holy Trinity, an explanation which accounts for so many people receiving baptism in one day.

"Christianity," says Baines, referring to this period, "now became the prevailing religion, and the people of Lancashire, like those of Yorkshire, embraced the true religion.

"The venerable Paulinus was indefatigable here in the discharge of the duties of his mission, and the waters of the Ribble, as well as those of the Swale, were resorted to for the baptism of his converts.

" The British churches, which the Saxons had not demolished, had fallen into decay, but they were now repaired, and the heathen temples of the Saxons were many of them converted into places of Christian worship, with appropriate dedication.

"The feasts of dedication were instituted to preserve the memory of the consecration of churches, and these annual festivals were called church wakes."

"Edwin," says Sharon Turner, "reached the summit of human prosperity; a considerable part of Wales submitted to his power, and he was the first of the Angles that subdued or defeated the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms but Kent."

In 624 he assumed the title of monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, which Redwald had enjoyed during his life; and by an ensign, carried before him in the form of a globe, as a symbol of the union of the Heptarchical government in his person, he gave them to understand that he was not only their head, but their master.

Edwin's reign is the brightest in the annals of the Saxon Heptarchy; "his power and virtues, however, could not protect him from the malevolence of wicked men."

In 633, Penda, the pagan King of Mercia, joined with Cadwallon, the British King of Wales, to destroy the Christians.

Edwin met them at Heavenfield, since corrupted to Hatfield, a village seven miles from Doncaster, and in a most desperate battle, fought October 12th, 633, lost his crown and life, and all his army was either slain or dispersed, Osfrid, his son, being included with the former. Another son, Eanfrid, was taken prisoner and eventually treacherously put to death.

"At this time a great slaughter," says Bede, "was made in the church or nation of the Northumbrians, and the more so because one of the commanders by whom it was made was a pagan, and the other a barbarian more cruel than a pagan.

"For Penda, with all the nation of the Mercians, was an idolator and a stranger to the name of Christ; but Cadwallon, King of the Britons, though he bore the name and professed himself a Christian, was so barbarous in his disposition and behaviour that he neither spared the female sex nor the innocent age of children, but with savage cruelty put them to tormenting deaths, and ravaged all their country for a long time.

"Nor did he pay any respect to the Christian religion which had newly taken root among them, it being to this day the custom of the Britons not to pay any respect to the faith and religion of the English, nor to correspond with them any more than with pagans.

" The affairs of the Northumbrians being in confusion by reason of this disaster, without any prospect of safety except in flight, Paulinus, taking with him Queen Ethelburga, whom he had before brought thither, returned into Kent by sea, and was honourably received by the Archbishop Honorius and King Eadbald.

" He came thither under the conduct of Bassus, a most valiant soldier of King Edwin, having with him Eanfleda, the daughter, and Wusefrea, the son of Edwin, as also Iffi, the son of Osfrid, his son, whom afterwards the mother, for fear of Eadbald and Oswald, sent over into France to be bred up by King Dagobert, who was her friend, and there they both died in infancy, and were buried in the church with the honour due to royal children and to innocents of Christ."

The church of Rochester at this time had no bishop, for Ramanus, the late prelate, had been drowned at sea when on his way to Rome on a mission to the Pope.

Paulinus, at the request of Archbishop Honorius and King Eadbald, now took upon him the charge of that see, and held it until his death in 644.

He had left behind him, in his church at York, "James the Deacon, .a holy man, who from that time employed himself in baptizing and teaching, until, peace being restored, he became precentor or master of church song, after the Roman custom," now called the Gregorian chant.

On Edwin's death, the ancient division of Northumbria again prevailed, Osric, son of Elfric, the uncle of Edwin, took upon him to be King of Deira, Eanfrid, the long-exiled son of Ethelfrid, obtained the kingdom of Bernicia.

The young princes had been baptised while in exile in Scotland during King Edwin's reign, but as soon as they became kings they returned to heathenism. Their reigns, however, were of short duration.

Osric venturing to besiege Cadwallon in York, the British king sallied out on a sudden with all his forces, and taking him by surprise, destroyed him and his whole army.

Eanfrid's fate was no less unfortunate, for he was basely slain by Cadwallon, to whom he unadvisedly went with only twelve of his followers to sue for peace.

At length, in 634, Deira and Bernicia became once more united under Oswald, another son of Ethelfrid and Acca, the sister of King Edwin. He had fled to Scotland immediately his father fell in battle, and there received baptism from the monks of Columba, in the little' island of Iona.

Oswald was known to be a good Christian, and his accession to the throne proved a blessing to Deira and Bernicia.

Raising a force, "small, indeed, in number, but strengthened by faith in Christ," he advanced against Cadwallon, "who, triumphant with the fame of fourteen great battles, despised Oswald and his little army."

The two armies met at Hexham, and the piety of Oswald previous to the battle is expressed by the venerable Bede thus:—

" Raising his voice, after erecting the sign of the holy cross, he cried to his army, 'Let us all kneel, and jointly beseech the true and living God Almighty, in His mercy, to defend us from the haughty and fierce enemy, for He knows that we have undertaken a just war for the safety of our nation.'"

There Cadwallon and the flower of his army were destroyed, and the return of the Britons to their ancient country never became probable again.

In 673, Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, founded a monastery and erected a church on the site of this battle which, according to Richard of Hexham, was the most beautiful and magnificent ecclesiastical edifice in the kingdom. Wilfrid was born in the same year that Oswald triumphed over Cadwallon. He studied at Lindisfarn, and as a priest took a prominent part in the famous Synod of Whitby.

Speaking of this Church, Bede says: "It has attached additional sanctity and honour to that place, and this with good reason, for it appears that there was no sign of the Christian faith, no church, no altar erected throughout all the nation of the Bernicians before that commander of the army, prompted by the devotion of his faith, set up the cross as he was going to give battle to his barbarous enemy."

Having restored peace, Oswald devoted his wealth to the erection of churches and monasteries.

Referring to Oswald's reign, Baines says: "A new era was now opening in the ecclesiastical history of the province, the effects of which were to be felt through a long series of ages, and influence in no small degree the future interests of the nation.

"Monastic institutions began to prevail in Northumbria about the middle of the seventh century, under the fostering hands of Wilfrid, sole bishop of Northumberland, and in

a few years numbers of monasteries and nunneries sprang up in Lancashire and other parts of the province."

Oswald sent to the monks of Iona for missionaries to aid him in restoring Christianity, which had been seriously interfered with in Deira and Bernicia by the armies of Penda and Cadwallon.

"From that time," says Bede, "many of the Scots came daily into Britain, and with great devotion preached the word to those provinces of the English over which King Oswald reigned.

"Bishop Aidan was himself a monk of the island called Hii, whose monastery was for a long time the chief of almost all those of the northern scots, and all those of the Picts, and had the direction of their people.

"That island belongs to Britain, being divided from it by a small arm of the sea, but had been long since given by the Picts, who inhabited those parts of Britain, to the Scottish monks, because they had received the faith of Christ through their preaching."

Abbot Columba, in 565, founded the monastery at Hii, or Iona, as the island is now called. He had already built one in Ireland before passing over into Britain to convert the Picts and Scots; "many others had their beginning through his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland, but the monastery in the island where his body lies is the principal of them all."

It is one of the most romantic of the Scottish islands, separated from the west point of Ross by a narrow channel called the Sound of I, and is about three miles long and nearly a mile in breadth.

Aidan, the pious and learned monk referred to, was, on his arrival in Northumbria, made the first bishop of Lindisfarne, as he desired; "which place, as the tide flows and ebbs twice a day, is enclosed by the waves of the sea like an island; and again twice in the day, when the shore is left dry, becomes contiguous to the land." The island, nearly two miles from the mainland, lies about half-way between Bainborough Head, once the site of a noble castle, to the south, and Berwick to the north of it.

The bishop knew nothing of the Saxon language, but King Oswald, who had learned to speak Scotch during his banishment in that country, used to interpret the words while Aidan preached to his people.

"It was a fair sight," says the venerable Bede, "to see a Christian king so employed, and a striking instance of the care of Providence turning the misfortunes of youth to a means of blessings."

Civilisation was making rapid progress in Oswald's kingdom through the medium of Christianity, when that enemy of the Christian faith, Penda, once more entered Northumbria to check its progress; and Oswald, like his uncle Edwin, was slain in a great battle with that pagan monarch in 642, at a place called Maserfield, in the thirty-eighth year of his age.

Historians differ about the site of Maserfield. Some place it at Oswestry; others at Winwick, in Lancashire, a well-known village not many miles beyond the parish of Deane;

“and to support this their view there is an inscription on the outside of the south wall of the parish church,” says Baines.

After slaying Oswald and ravaging Northumbria, Penda turned his army against the King of East Anglia, and, glad at his departure, the Northumbrians lost no time in making Oswy, the brother of Oswald, their king.

In the third year of his reign, however, Oswy admitted Oswin, the son of King Osric, a partner in the royal dignity. Limiting his own power to Bernicia, he placed him over Deira; but after a prosperous reign of seven years, Oswin’s rule excited the jealousy of Oswy, and he treacherously caused him to be slain.

“Oswin,” says Sharon Turner, “was of a tall and graceful stature, and distinguished for his humanity and generosity, but could not allay the jealousy of Oswy, who, becoming eager to destroy the image he had set up, caused him to be murdered while visiting a friend, who also perished with him.”

The people of Deira, exasperated at Oswy’s terrible crime, immediately elected Ethelwald, Oswald’s son, their king. He lived, however, only three years, and, dying without issue, Deira and Bernicia became again united under Oswy’s rule.

Bede, referring to Oswin’s death, says it happened in the ninth year of Oswy’s reign, and, to atone for his crime, the king built a monastery at Ingethlingum [near Leeds], the place of the dreadful deed, “wherein prayers were to be daily offered up to God for the souls of both kings; that is, of him that was murdered, and of him that commanded him to be killed.”

In the same year that Oswin was murdered, Bishop Aidan died, and Finan was raised to the bishopric in his place, being consecrated and sent by the Scots.

In 651 King Oswy sent a priest named Utta, “a man of great gravity and sincerity,” to Kent, to bring from thence, as wife for the king, Eanfleda, the daughter of King Edwin, who, it will be remembered, was carried thither when he was slain in battle by Penda.

It was arranged that Utta and his company should go by land and return with the princess by sea, and Bishop Aidan, after blessing and commending them to our Lord, gave them some holy oil to cast into the sea in the event of a storm overtaking them, which he anticipated, and the wind would then, he promised, cease immediately, and they would return home safe.

All this fell out as Utta and his company, with the princess, were on their voyage home again, so the venerable Bede tells us.

“For, in the first place,” he says, “the winds raging, the sailors endeavoured to ride it out at anchor, but all to no purpose; for the sea breaking in on all sides, and the ship beginning to be filled with water, they all concluded that certain death was at hand. The priest at last, remembering the bishop’s words, laid hold of the phial and cast some of the oil into the sea, which, as had been foretold, became presently calm.”

Nennius says: “Oswy had two wives, Riemelth, the daughter of Royth, son of

Rum; and Eanfleda, the daughter of Edwin, son of Ella.”

CHAPTER V.

NOT long after marrying Eanfleda, Oswy received a visit from King Penda's son, Peada, who, being an excellent youth, his father had placed him over the southern Mercians, also known as Middle Angles, as their king; and he now came to Oswy requesting to have his daughter Elfleda given him to wife, but could not obtain her unless he would embrace the faith of Christ, and be baptised with the nation which he governed.

And, says Bede, "when he heard the preaching of truth, the promise of the heavenly kingdom, and the hope of resurrection and future immortality, he declared that he would willingly become a Christian, even though he should be refused Elfleda, being chiefly prevailed on to receive the faith by King Oswy's son Alfred, who was his relation and friend, and had married his sister Cyneberga, the daughter of King Penda."

Penda was accordingly baptised by Finan, Bishop of Landis- farne, with all his earls and soldiers and their servants that came along with him, and he returned home with much joy, accompanied by his wife Elfleda and four priests—Cead, Adda, Betti, and Dinma— the last a Scot, the others English, and at their preaching many Mercians were converted and baptised.

Nor did Peada's father, King Penda, says Bede, obstruct the preaching of the word among his people, if any were willing to hear it, "but he hated and despised those whom he perceived not to perform the works of faith when they had once received it."

Singular to say, two years after Peada married Elfleda, his father, Penda, at the age of eighty, again invaded Northumbria, and "though Oswy promised him greater gifts than can be imagined, to purchase peace, the perfidious king refused to grant his request, having resolved on exterminating the people of Oswy."

"Oswy was, however, destined," says Sharon Turner, "to free Northumbria from Penda.

"He had filled up the measure of his iniquities, and Providence released the country from a ruler whose funeral honours recorded him as the destroyer of five Anglo-Saxon monarchs.

"With trembling anxiety, Oswy met him with his son Alfred and a much inferior force; but the battle is not always given to the strong, nor the race to the swift.

"Penda rushed into the battle with Oswy, confident of victory, but perished with thirty commanders before the enemy he had despised; and the country happening to be overflowed, more perished by the waters than by the swords."

The battle was fought in 655, on the northern banks of the Aire, near the site of the present city of Leeds.

After this, King Oswy governed the Mercians, as also the people of the other southern provinces, three years, when the Mercians, setting up for their king Whulhere, son to Penda, a youth whom they had kept concealed, expelled the officers of King Oswy and recovered their liberty and their lands.

According to the custom of the age, Oswy, after slaying Penda, made a rich donation of lands and founded twelve abbeys, six in Deira, and six in Bernicia, in testimony of his gratitude.

He also dedicated to God his infant daughter Ethelfreda, not a year old, and she was put into the monastery called “The Island of the Hart” [Hartlepool], where at that time was the Abbess Hilda, whose father was Hereric, son of Eadfrith, son of Edwin.

St. Hilda, as the abbess is now called, removed two years later to the vale of Whitby, where she founded her double house for nuns and monks, a famous monastery of the middle ages.

Hither Oswy summoned the English and Celtic clergy to the memorable synod of 664. Here lived Cedmon, the celebrated monk, “who received from heaven the free gift of poetical inspiration.”

In 661 Bishop Finan died, and was succeeded by Colman, who was also sent from Scotland.

Some of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy having, as the reader will have noticed, been converted by missionaries from Rome, and some by missionaries from Scotland, it soon followed that the rites and usages of the churches, observed by different clergy, were not in unison.

And the Easter festival, with other observances, became, unfortunately, the subject of controversy in Oswy’s reign, as it had been in Augustine’s time.

“Those churches planted by the missionaries of Rome kept Easter on the first Sunday after the fourteenth, and before the twenty-second day of the first moon after the vernal equinox; while those planted by the Scotch kept that festival as the British churches generally did, on the first Sunday after the thirteenth, and before the twenty-first day of the same moon.

“By this means, when the fourteenth day of the moon happened on a Sunday, those of the British or Scotch communion celebrated the feast of Easter on that day; while those of the Romish communion did not celebrate theirs till the Sunday following.

“ Oswy’s queen, who was the daughter of the good King Edwin, had been taught by the Roman clergy, who attended her, to keep Easter-Day at quite a different time to her husband, which caused a good deal of confusion and inconvenience.” Natl. His. Eng.

Turning back to the beginning of Oswy’s reign, it so happened at this time that there was no Archbishop either of Canterbury or York, and Oswy, wishing to have the vacant see of Canterbury occupied, sent to request the Pope of Rome to send him some holy man suited for the post.

The choice fell upon a monk named Theodore, “ who proved well worthy of the honour, and although he was sixty-six years of age when he was appointed Archbishop, he left his own polished home in Italy without a murmur, and spent the few remaining years of his life toiling hard for the good of a strange, half-savage people.”

He was an enlightened prelate, for his age, and is said to have advanced the establishment of parish churches by allowing founders to become their patrons, and divided some of the larger bishoprics.

Through his means chapels and oratories were erected in every diocese, in order to remedy the precarious supply of preachers, who had hitherto been attached to the cathedrals, under the direction and control of the bishops, and had imparted religious instruction to the population by open-air preaching; hence the remains of ancient crosses, which, like the relics of the one at Deane, were, Green tells us, erected at this time to fix the place for such meetings.

Oswy, just before the arrival of Theodore in England, called together at Whitby, in 664, a number of clergy, with Colman, the Scottish bishop of Lindisfarne, at their head, to try and settle this troublesome question about the time of keeping Easter.

"He seems justly to have held the followers of St. Columba in great respect, and was most anxious that they should agree to settle the matter peaceably with the followers of St. Augustine and Paulinus.

"Possibly it would have been better had he let the matter rest quietly for a time, and waited for the arrival of the gentle and wise Archbishop Theodore.

"As it happened, the Council, which was held in the old Abbey of Whitby, ended much in the same, manner as the famous meeting of St. Augustine with the British bishops. Nothing was settled after all, and, what was worse, the good Bishop Colman, together with all his earnest clergy, took offence at the King's deciding in favour of Wilfrid—a young monk who spoke on the side of Rome— and soon afterwards resigned his bishopric, retiring with his whole party of monks to a monastery in Ireland.

"It was a sad loss to the English when these hard-working Christians left the country. They had gained great influence over the people by their holy teaching and self-denying lives, and though they refused to obey, as the British bishops did, any foreign bishop or pope, they cheerfully submitted to the authority of their own bishop.

"Theodore, the new archbishop, was a wise and charitable man, and one cannot help hoping that, had the Scottish bishop and his monks remained at their posts, the two different parties might have become good friends, and joined in teaching the people, particularly as we afterwards find the Scottish church, in the year 710, agreeing to keep Easter at the same time as the English church; so at last this troublesome matter was settled." [Mrs. Stapley's His. Eng. Ch.]

Green, in his short history of the English people, page 28, speaking of this "great Council," as he calls it, says:

"The points actually contested were trivial enough. Colman, Aidan's successor at Holy Island [Lindisfarne], pleaded for the Irish fashion of the tonsure, and of the Irish time of keeping Easter; Wilfrid pleaded for the Roman.

"The one disputant appealed to the authority of Columba, the other to that of St. Peter.

‘You own,’ cried the puzzled king at last to Colman, ‘that Christ gave to Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven; has he given such power to Columba? ’

“The bishop could but answer ‘No.’ ‘Then will I rather obey the porter of heaven,’ said Oswi, ‘lest when I reach its gates he who has the keys in his keeping turn his back on me, and there be none to open.’

“The importance of Oswi’s judgment was never doubted at Lindisfarne, which Colman, followed by the whole of the Irish-born brethren and thirty of their English fellows, forsook the see of St. Aidan, and sailed away to Iona.

“Trivial, in fact, as were the actual points of difference which severed the Roman church from the Irish, the question to which communion Northumbria should belong was of moment to the after fortunes of England.

“Had the church of Aidan finally won, the later ecclesiastical history of England would probably have resembled that of Ireland. Devoid of that power of organisation which was the strength of the Roman church, the Celtic church in its own Irish home took the clan system of the country as the basis of church government.

“Tribal quarrels and ecclesiastical controversies became inextricably confounded; and the clergy, robbed of all really spiritual influence, contributed no element save that of disorder to the state.

“The Church of England, as we know it to-day, is the work, so far as its outer form is concerned, of a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, whom Rome, in 668, despatched after the victory at Whitby to secure England to her sway, as Archbishop of Canterbury.

“When Theodore came to organise the Church of England, the very memory of the older Christian church which existed in Roman Britain had passed away. The first Christian missionaries, strangers in a heathen land, attached themselves necessarily to the courts of the kings, who were their first converts, and whose conversion was generally followed by that of their people.

“Theodore’s first work was to add many new sees to the old ones; his second was to group all of them round one centre of Canterbury. The new prelates, gathered in synod after synod, acknowledged the authority of their own primate.

“The organisation of the episcopate was followed by the organisation of the parish system. The loose system of the mission station, the monastery from which priest and bishop went for a journey after journey to preach and baptize, as Aidan went forth from Lindisfarne, or Cuthbert from Melrose, naturally disappeared as the land became Christian.

“The missionaries became settled clergy; the holding of the English noble or landowner became the parish, and his chaplain the parish priest,' as the king’s chaplain had become the bishop, and the kingdom his diocese.”

In the same year that this synod was held, Alfred, then assisting his father Oswy in the government of Deira, sent Wilfrid, the priest and monk, to France, that he might there be ordained Archbishop of York, and he was accordingly consecrated by Agilbert, the bishop of

Paris, assisted by many other bishops.

But while Wilfrid was sojourning at Paris, King Oswy, evidently not aware of his son Alfred's arrangement with Wilfrid, sent Cedda, "a holy and modest priest," to the chief priest of the West Saxons, named Winar, who consecrated him Bishop of York.

When, however, Theodore, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, arrived, two years later, in Britain, he degraded Cedda, who he decided had been irregularly promoted to the Archbishopric of York, and recalled Wilfrid, who had been unjustly expelled; but Cedda, afterwards known as Chad, yielded with humility, and received the bishopric of Lichfield to govern.

The zeal, learning, and piety of Theodore obtained for him the particular favour of the Saxon monarchs.

"It appears that it was under their auspices he convened a synod of bishops and presbyters, at Hereford, A.D. 673.

"At this synod, the bishops of the East Angles, West Saxons, Mercians, and Rochester were present; while Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, was represented by proxy.

"It was at this synod that the Anglican church was settled according to the Roman model. The vexed question of the Easter festival was finally decided; it was to be observed on the Sunday after the full moon; as well as other matters connected with the conduct of the clergy in general." Nat. His. Eng.

Oswy died in the year 670, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and " is ranked by Bede," says Sharon Turner, " the seventh, as Oswald had been the sixth, of the kings who preponderated in the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy; but the fate of the amiable Oswin, whom he destroyed, shades his memory with a cloud."

Ecgfrid, the son of Oswy by Anfleda, the daughter of Edwin, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Bernicia and the monarchy of the Saxons.

Turning to Deira, Oswy's affection for his natural son Alfred had induced him, soon after the death of Ethelwald, already mentioned, to divide his dominions and make Alfred governor of Deira.

The Deirans now revolted against Alfred, and put themselves under the dominion of Ecgfrid, who thus became King of all Northumbria, whereupon Alfred retired into Ireland and devoted himself to piety and literature.

It was in the third year, 673, of Ecgfrid's reign that the venerable Bede was born, at a spot in the neighbourhood of the two monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, in Northumbria, and dedicated respectively to St. Peter and St. Paul.

Of his parents nothing has been recorded, but in a short narrative of himself he tells us that, when seven years of age, he was placed under the care of Abbot Benedict, surnamed Biscop, formerly a Thane of Deira in King Oswin's reign, but, becoming a monk, he founded the monastery of St. Peter in 674 on a large tract of land granted him by King Ecgfrid.

Eight years later, the same pious abbot built the monastery of St. Paul at Jarrow, on the banks of the Tyne, at the distance of about five miles from the one on the north bank of the Wear.

The two establishments were for many years controlled by Abbot Benedict and his associates Ceolfrid, Easterwin, and Sigfrid.

On the completion of the second establishment, Bede appears to have gone thither under Ceolfrid, and, spending, he tells us, "all the remaining time of my life in that monastery, I wholly employed myself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and in the intervals between the hours of regular discipline and the duties of singing in church, I always took pleasure in learning, or teaching, or writing something."

In his nineteenth year he was made a deacon, an exceptional privilege at his age, and in his thirtieth year ordained a priest at the bidding of Ceolfrid, by John, Bishop of Hexham, better known as St. John of Beverley, and mentioned in high terms by Bede.

Sharon Turner, quoting from Anglo-Saxon writers, says of priests:

"Priests! you ought to be well provided with books and apparel as suits your condition.

"The mass-priest should at least have his missal, his singing- book, his reading-book, his psalter, his hand-book, his penitential, and his numeral one.

"He ought to have his officiating garments, and to sing from sunrise, with intervals and nine readings.

"His sacramental cap should be of gold or silver, glass or tin, and not of earth, at least not of wood.

"The altar should be always clean and well clothed, and mass celebrated only in churches and on the altar, unless in cases of extreme sickness, and there should be no mass without wine."

Bede died in 735.

" In Ecgfrid's reign, 676," says Mathew of Westminster, " Cadwallon, King of the Britons, being worn out by old age and infirmity, died, after he had reigned forty-eight entire years, and the Britains embalmed his body with balm and spices, and placed it in a larger image, made with wonderful skill in his likeness and of his size, over the west gate of London; and the figure was sitting on a brazen horse, in token of the severe tyranny which he exercised over the English."

We have already, in Oswy's reign, referred to a synod convened at Hereford in 673, the third year of Ecgfrid's reign. At another synod, says Baines, convened in 678, at which the king and his barons being present it was by an unanimous decision that, as the number of Christians was daily increasing, new sees should be erected.

“Wilfrid still remained the sole bishop amongst the Northumbrians, and his diocese reached from the Firth of Forth to the Humber on the east of the kingdom, and from the Firth of Clyde to the Mersey on the west.

“By one of the decrees of this synod it was directed that the bishopric should be divided into two, Deira and Bernicia, of which York was to be the capital of one, and Hexham of the other.”

Persisting in his opposition to this essential proposal, Wilfrid was removed by the king from the see, whereupon he went to Rome and submitted his case to the pope, who decided against the king and Theodore.

Thus supported by the pontiff, Wilfrid returned to England to repossess himself of the archbishopric, but the king, displeased at the pope’s interference, sent Wilfrid to prison, an incident clearly showing that the early Saxon kings had the control of ecclesiastical as well as civil matters in England.

Turning to Bede, he tells us, under date 678, that:

“The same year a dissension broke out between King Ecgfrid and Wilfrid, who was driven from his see, and two bishops substituted in his stead, namely, Bosa to preside over the nation of the Deiri, and Eata over that of the Bernicians, the former having his see in the city of York, the latter in the church of Lindisfarne ; both of them promoted to the episcopal dignity from a society of monks.”

Bosa and Eata were ordained at York by Archbishop Theodore.

After Wilfrid had been kept in confinement a year, the king set him at liberty, and he went to preach to the people of Sussex, now the only kingdom in the Heptarchy which had not received Christianity.

In 683 Ecgfrid sent an army into Ireland, under his general Beorht, “who miserably wasted the inoffensive inhabitants, though they had been always friendly to the English.

“The very next year afterwards,” says Henry of Huntingdon, “that same king, rashly leading his army to ravage the country of the Picts, much against the advice of his friends, and particularly of Cuthbert, of blessed memory, lately ordained bishop—for the same year the king had made him Bishop of Lindisfarne—he was drawn by a feigned retreat of the enemy into the recesses of inaccessible mountains, where he was cut off with the greatest part of his army.

“It was his lot to fail of hearing the shouts for his recall raised by his friends, as he had refused to hear the voice of Father Egbert, dissuading him from the invasion of the Irish, who had done him no wrong.”

Having thus led Ecgfrid into dangerous defiles, the Piets, under their king Brude, made a fierce assault upon him, and he perished with most of his troops.

His body was taken to the celebrated Isle of Columba, and buried there.

The consecration of St. Cuthbert, here referred to, took place on Easter Day, 683, in the presence of King Ecgfrid, seven bishops assisting at the solemnity, of whom Archbishop Theodore was primate. He died four years later, and was buried in the church of St. Peter at Lindisfarne.

Although, says Baines, " the Britains lived- securely in Furness, relying upon the fortifications with which nature had guarded them, nothing proved impregnable to the Saxon conquerors; for it appears that in the early part of the reign of Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria, that monarch gave St. Cuthbert the land called Cartmell and all the Britons in it."

In Ecgfrid's reign Horwich forest is said to have been overrun with wolves, and Smithills walled round to keep them at bay.

CHAPTER VI.

ECGFRID'S elder brother, Alfred, who had been rejected before, was now unanimously accepted his successor, and he was crowned King both of Deira and Bernicia.

Invited by King Alfred, Bishop Wilfrid, after a long exile, returned to his see and bishopric of the church of Hexham in 686.

"The good Archbishop Theodore died soon afterwards, 690, but not before he and Wilfrid became good friends again, and their old quarrel was quite forgotten.

"Theodore was of a peaceable, gentle character. His chief desire was to make his people agree among themselves, as he himself could not bear to live at enmity with anyone.

"It would have been well had Wilfrid tried to imitate the archbishop in this respect, but his haughty and overbearing temper seriously hindered his efforts to do good. When he got his own way again, and became rich and powerful, his quarrelsome temper would not allow him to live at peace with other bishops." Mrs. Stapley's His. Eng. Ch.

In the year 701, at a council assembled by Alfred, in which Wilfrid was summoned to appear for the purpose of answering certain charges, he boldly charged its members with despising the apostolic see, and preferring the canons of Theodore.

This he said in answer to the charge that he had refused to submit to the sentence of the archbishop and synod, whose decrees it was declared could not be altered by the pope.

The council punished Wilfrid by depriving him of all his preferments except the Abbey of Ripon, which was left him for a retreat.

"Alfred reigned over the province, which his knowledge enlightened, and his virtues cherished, for nineteen years." He died in 705 at Driffield.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Osred, a child of eight years of age. His minority was attended with much trouble.

A nobleman named Edulf usurped the sceptre and besieged the royal infant and Berthfrid, his guardian, in the strong fortress of Bebbanburgh, capital of Bernicia, built by Ida: but the nobles and people rising in defence of their sovereign, Edulf was forced to raise the siege, and, being taken prisoner, was put to death.

Bishop Wilfrid died in this reign, 709. His remains were buried with great pomp in the church of St. Peter, in his original monastery of Ripon.

"Osred, as he advanced toward manhood," says Allen, the historian of Yorkshire, "lost by his licentious conduct the affections of a people by whom Alfred, his father, had been idolised.

"Ceonred and Osric, two brothers, descendents of a natural son of Ida, the first Anglo-Saxon King of Northumbria, perceiving that Osred was despised by his people, formed a party against him, and at length raised the standard of revolt, and Osred being defeated and

slain, in the nineteenth year of his age and the eleventh of his reign, Ceonred mounted the throne in 716."

It was in the first year of Ceonred's reign, says Bede, that the monks of Iona, by the instruction of the priest Egbert, adopted the English rites, under Abbot Dunchad.

Ceonred died in 718, and was succeeded by his brother Osric, who had assisted him in the government of his kingdom.

In Osric's reign, 720, Cuthburga, the sister of Ina, King of the West Saxons, founded a monastery for nuns at Wimborne.

"This Cuthburga," says Mathew of Westminster, "was given in marriage to Ecgfrid, King of Northumbria but separated herself from him in his lifetime."

Osric, after reigning peacefully twelve years, died in 730, leaving his kingdom to his cousin Ceolwulf, the friend and patron to whom Bede addressed his ecclesiastical history of the English nation.

"In this dedication," Sharon Turner informs us, "the venerable father of the Anglo-Saxon learning says that it was the king's delight not only to hear the Scriptures read, but to be well acquainted with the deeds and sayings of his illustrious predecessors. From this feeling he had desired Bede to compose his history.

"But the love of letters, which Alfred had kindled in his dominions, was soon afterwards quenched there by the sanguinary civil contests that succeeded. It spread, however, with a cheering influence to the other provinces of the Heptarchy.

"Bede and Alcuin may be considered as two of the valuable minds which it had excited.

"The Saxon Heptarchy, amidst all its vicissitudes, presented in one province or the other an uninterrupted succession of great men. From Hengist to Egbert, talents were never wanting on some of the Anglo-Saxon thrones.

"The direction of the royal capacity varied; in some kings valour; in others military conduct; in some piety; in some learning; in some legislative wisdom predominated."

"The result was, that the Anglo-Saxons, though fluctuating in the prosperity of their several districts, yet, considered as a nation, went on rapidly improving in civilisation and power."

Alcuin was a native of York. He conducted a famous school there, and later on became the tutor of Charlemagne. He died at the Abbey of St. Martin, "lamented as the pride of his age."

In King Ceolwulf's reign, Northumbria had four bishoprics— York and Hexham in Deira; and Lindisfarne and Withern, Pictish territory, in Bernicia.

The venerable Bede died in this reign, 735, in the sixty-second year of his age. "He

composed an account of most of the events which occurred in his own country down to this period in a clear style, and his life and his history ended together."

"We may pause," says Turner, "a moment to cast a rapid glance on Northumbria. Ceolwulf, the friend of Bede, had succeeded to the United Kingdom; but so perilous was the regal dignity in this perturbed kingdom, that he voluntarily abandoned the disquieting crown, and sought the tranquility of the cloister [in 737]." He passed the remainder of his life in the monastery of Lindisfarne.

"Eadbert succeeded, but his kingdom, left unprotected by his march against the Piets, suffered from an invasion of the Mercian [King] Ethelbald; but he afterwards enlarged his dominions, and had the ability to maintain himself in his crown for twenty-one years; but religious impressions then came upon him, and he assumed the religious life. His brother Egbert was thirty-six years Archbishop of York.

"He was the eighth Anglo-Saxon king who had exchanged the crown for the cowl.

"But, on his abdication, all the fruits of the wise example and wiseful reign of Alfred seemed to vanish in the turbulent activity of the excited mind of the country, taking now a mischievous direction. The turbulence of civil murders again broke loose.

"His son, Oswulf, in the first year of his accession, perished from domestic treachery, and Moll Ethelwald ventured to accept the crown.

"In his third year, his life and honours were fiercely assaulted by one of his leaders, Oswin, whom he slew at Edwin's-cliff [in 761].

"At no long interval afterwards, the tomb received him, and Alhred, of the race of Ida, was elevated to the crown [in 765].

"After a few years he was driven out, and Ethelred, the son of Moll, was chosen in his stead [774].

"In his third year, this king fraudulently procured the death of two of his generals by the instrumentality of two others.

"In the very next year, these men rebelled against himself, destroyed in two successive attacks others of his commanders, and expelled him from his kingdom [and raised his brother Alfwold to the throne]

"Alfwold was their next king, but such was the spirit of the country, that in the following year two chieftains raised an army, seized the king's ealdorman, Beom, and his justiciary, and burnt them to ashes, because, in the estimation of the rebels, their administration of justice had been too severe [780].

"Alfwold, to whom a chronicle applies the epithet 'King of the innocent,' was treacherously killed by his patrician Sigan [a Thane], and was interred in the church of St. Peter, Hexham [in 789].

"Osred, his kinsman, son of Alhred, succeeded, and in the next year he was betrayed

and driven out, and Ethelred, the son of Moll, was recalled.

"But as adversity, though it correct many dispositions into virtue, yet sometimes only exasperates the stubborn, so it appears to have rather increased than diminished the obduracy of Ethelred.

"In the year of his restoration, he left Earduff weltering in his blood at the gate of a monastery; and in the following year he dragged Elf and Elwin, the children of Alfwold, from York, and slew them."

It was in Ethelred's reign, 787, that the Danes made their first invasion of our shores. Henry of Huntingdon tells us, "they landed in Britain, from three ships, to plunder the country.

"The king's officer [the Reeve], descrying them, set upon them incautiously, making no doubt but he should carry them captives to the king's castle, for he was ignorant who the people were who had landed, or for what purpose they had come; but he was instantly slain in the throng.

"He was the first Englishman killed by the Danes, but after him many myriads were slaughtered by them; and these were the first ships that the Danes brought here."

Returning to Sharon Turner: "Osred, who had been deposed, attempted to recover the crown. His army deserted him, he fell into the hands of Ethelred, and perished [in 792].

"This prince now endeavoured, by a marriage with [Elfleda], the daughter of Offa [King of Mercia], to secure his authority, and for this purpose he repudiated his previous wife; but his policy and his murders were equally vain.

"Whoever, by an example of cruelty, lessens the public horror at deeds of blood, diminishes his own safety and gives popularity to his own assassination.

"In the fourth year of Ethelred's restoration, 794, his subjects, whom he had assisted to brutalize, destroyed him, and set up Osbald."

The year previous, 793, the Danes invaded Northumbria and "destroyed the churches of Christ, with the inhabitants, in the province of Lindisfarne; at the same time Sigan, the Thane, who murdered King Alfwold, perished as he deserved."

"After a reign of twenty-seven days, Osbald was deposed, and he obtained security in the cloister.

"Eardulf, who had been recovered from his assassination by the charity of the monks, who found him apparently lifeless near their cloister, had fled to Charlemagne, and visited Rome.

"The emperor [Charlemagne] of the west, in conjunction with the papal legate, assisted him in his efforts to regain his kingdom, and he was crowned in 794 at York."

Under date 795 the Saxon Chronicle says Eardulf was consecrated king by

Archbishop Eanbald, of York, and Ethelbert, Bishop of Hexham.

"Before four years elapsed," says Sharon Turner, continuing, "they who had murdered Ethelred revolted from Eardulf, and, under their leader Wadda, endeavoured to destroy him. The sword of the king prevailed, and the rebels fled."

Referring to this revolt of Eardulfs subjects, Simeon, the monk of Durham, informs us that "a league or confederacy was made by the murderers of King Ethelred. Wadda [Henry of Westminster says Duke Wad], leader in that league, went with his forces to fight against Eardulf, the king, in a place called by the English Billangaholl, near Whalley, and many were slain on both sides, and Wadda, the leader, fled with his troops."

Whalley, with its ruined abbey, we need hardly say, is in Lancashire, and within a distance of twenty-two miles of Deane,

The Saxon Chronicle also refers to this battle as follows:—- "A.D. 798.—This year a severe battle was fought in the Northumbrian territory, during Lent, on the fourth day before the nones[1] of April, at Whalley, wherein Alric, the son of Herbert, was slain, and many others with him."

From Allen, the historian of Yorkshire, we also learn that "civil dissensions still prevailed in Northumbria after Eardulf was chosen king.

"Eardulf was supported on the throne by the party which was then the most powerful, but the opposite faction endeavoured to gain its superiority.

"Alenmund, a son of Alfred, formerly King of Northumbria, who was at its head, appeared so formidable that Eardulf found it expedient to sacrifice him to his own safety.

"Alenmund's death afforded the malcontents a pretext for rising in arms under Alric, one of their chiefs; but this general being defeated and slain [evidently in this battle at Whalley], and his army dispersed, the rebellious faction remained quiet for some time."

Returning to Sharon Turner: "Happy is the country," says this interesting historian, "in which the regal office is not elective, nor the right of succession permitted to be questionable.

"An hereditary monarchy, though, like all human institutions, it has its inconveniences, yet has not been the contrivance of childish thinkers or half-way politicians; it was the benevolent invention of human wisdom, profiting from the most disastrous experience.

"No contests have been more baneful to human life and happiness than those which have sprung from the uncertain right of accession, and from the practicability of attaining power by violence.

"It was a noble effort of advancing civilisation which strove to annihilate the evil by accustoming mankind to revere as sacred laws of hereditary succession."

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1 One of the three periods, calends, nones, and ides, into which the Romans divided the month.

The Saxon Heptarchy was now rapidly drawing to a close. The kingdom of Sussex had been annexed to Wessex, and East Anglia to Mercia; while Kent and Essex were already tributaries to Mercia; and now Northumbria and Mercia were about to succumb to the more powerful kingdom of Wessex.

Brithric, who had usurped the throne of Wessex, on the death by violence of King Kenwulf, in 796, and had caused the rightful heir, Egbert, to flee to France for safety, now, in 806, met with his own tragic death.

He had been supported on the throne by Offa, the Mercian king, whose daughter, Eadburgha, he had married.

Her evil influence over the king had procured the innocent death of many of his subjects.

There was one young nobleman, however, whose life the king regarded with exceptional esteem, and for him the queen mixed poison with a cup of wine; but her husband drank unwittingly of it too, and thus perished with the friend whose life he had thought to save.

Eadburgha was driven out of the country, and the title she had disgraced was taken from her. She wandered to Pavia, a town in Italy, and "there died a ragged beggar-woman, without a shelter for her wretched head."

Egbert now returned to Wessex from his exile of fourteen years at the court of Charlemagne, and was received by the nobles and people of his kingdom with open arms.

His residence at the court of Charles the Great in France had been of great service to him. He had not only learned the art of war, but the still more difficult art of ruling a kingdom.

The French at this period were far more polished than the Anglo-Saxons, and Egbert had acquired many accomplishments not yet attained by his people, all of which tended to engage their affections.

The first years of Egbert's reign were spent in promoting the prosperity of his kingdom; nor does he appear to have formed any design upon the other kingdoms until the King of Mercia became ambitious of obtaining the absolute sovereignty in the Heptarchy.

Acting in self-defence, Egbert met the invaders of his territory at Wilton in Wiltshire, and there Bernulf, King of the Mercians, sustained so signal a defeat that Egbert met with little further opposition in the conquest of Mercia and its dependencies.

The tributary kingdoms of Kent and Essex quietly submitted; and the East Angles threw off the Mercian yoke, and placed themselves under Egbert's protection.

CHAPTER VII.

EGBERT now advanced into Mercia, and in 823 completed the conquest of that kingdom, leaving only the adjoining kingdom of Northumbria unacquired, and this soon after submitted without the usual resort to arms.

Sharon Turner, resuming his account of Northumbria, the thread of which he had broken to refer to events transpiring in other parts of the Heptarchy, says: “Northumbria had not yet felt Egbert’s power. Eardulf, whom we left reigning at the beginning of this, the ninth century, had assumed a hostile posture against Kenwulf of Mercia, but the clergy interposed and procured a reconciliation.

“In 806, Eardulf, after reigning eighteen years, was driven out, and the province continued without a king for a long time. Obliged to fly from his rebellious subjects, he found refuge at the court of Charlemagne.

“ Alfwold [who had taken part in expelling Eardulf] is mentioned afterwards as a fleeting monarch of two years; and Eanred, the son of Eardulf, then succeeded for thirty-three years, and transmitted the kingdom to his son [in 843].

“It was against Eanred that Egbert marched, after the conquest of Mercia.

“The Northumbrian prince was too prudent to engage his turbulent and exhausted kingdom in a war with Egbert; he felt the imperious necessity, and obeyed it.

“At Dore, beyond the Humber, Eanred met the West Saxon prince, and amicably acknowledged his superiority”; and thus ended the kingdoms of the Heptarchy in the year 827; but the Northumbrians were still permitted to elect their own king, subject and tributary to Egbert.

“The victorious Egbert, however, did not at once assume the title of King of England, but continued to style himself ‘King of the West Saxons.’

“ But that he was absolute ‘monarch of all he surveyed,’ notwithstanding, is clear; for his authority became predominant in all parts of the country, from the [English] channel to the Tweed, Cambria [Wales] alone excepted.

“Having reduced all England to his rule, the only enemies that now troubled Egbert were the Danes, Northmen or Norsemen, as they were variously called.”

Remarkable to say, the names, Egbert and Dane, are perpetuated in the range of hills which, seen from Deane village, lies on the north side of Deane valley.

“In our ancient maps,” says Doming Rasbotham, “one part of this range is distinguished by the name of Egbert’s den,[1] and in my walk I crossed the remains of a very remarkable trench, to this day known by the name of the Dane’s Dyke.”

Doming Rasbotham died at Birch House, Farnworth, in 1791, and a handsome marble

1 Egbert’s hill, in “Blome’s Britannia,” 1661.

tablet to his memory adorns the wall of the north aisle of Deane church.

He was High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1769, and spent many years in collecting material for a history of the county, but died, unfortunately, before he was able to publish it.

Baines, allowed access to it, made considerable use of the manuscript in his history of Lancashire, particularly of that portion referring to Deane parish, and from it we have taken the above quotation.

In another part of the MS referring to Smithill's Hall, a still more interesting reference to King Egbert is found, namely:

"Tradition tells us that King Egbert held his court at this place, and in the old maps the hill above the house is called Egbert's den; this is a part of the extensive common which still goes by the name of Smithills Dean."

This extract is taken from Chetham Society's Vol. 41, part 2, page 333, which, edited by Harland, contains particulars of the house and farm accounts, 1582-94, of the Shuttleworths of Smithills Hall.

Among the entries are the following quaint ones referring to cattle sent to graze in Egbert's den:—

"Monies recevede for Besse [beasts] taken in Egburden.
Hugh Woode, a twinter [two years old stirk] and a stirke iiijsvij d [4.7]
Raufe Bleasdale, onne [one] twinter, ijs"viij a [2.8]
Robert Heaton onne Besse, iijd [3d.] "

In the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society's publication, vol. 4, page 131, we have the following further reference to Egbert's den:

" On the hill called Turton Heights, about one mile north by east of this burial place (Wamsley) is a stone circle, hereafter described, and at about a mile and a half S.W., on a part of Smithills Dean, called Egbert Dean, were found, about forty years since, a stone hammer and a bronze paabstal, now, 1852, in my possession."

While Baines' Lancashire, 1868, referring to Smithills Dean, tells us "a small bronze spear-head and British stone celts, one of the latter in the form of a battle-axe, have been found here within the present century, as old probably as the first Roman Conquest of Britain."

These interesting references to Egbert's den, and the latter's close connection with Dane's Dyke, would seem to lend support to the tradition that King Egbert had at some period of his reign sojourned in the, nighbourhood of Smithills, if he did not actually hold his court there.

The Danes made themselves very troublesome in his time, and he may, with his army, have encountered them in the range of hills referred to, and, after fighting them in a succession of battles, driven them out of their stronghold, this remarkable trench.

Then with regard to Smithills Old Hall, Egbert may have taken a long rest in Deira, the opportunity presenting itself, after Eanred's submission and previous years spent in subduing the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and, as a guest of this king or some nobleman resident at the mansion, hunted in the royal forest of Horwich, which included Smithills and Egbert's den, hence the tradition that he held his court there.

Leyland, the historian, in his Itinerary, vol. 7, folio 57, page 47 [1540], states that wild bulls, boars, falcons, and other game fitting for the chase, the ring, and the falconry, were, in times past, bred in the woods at Horwich, which were sixteen miles in circumference, and had their eyries, beagles, herons, and hawks." Vide Whittle, pages 325-6.

Alluding to Smithills Hall, a recent writer, Leo H. Grindon, author of "Lancashire Historic and Descriptive Notes, 1892,"says: "Smithills, a most beautiful structure placed at the head of a little glen, occupies the site of an ancient Saxon royal residence.

"After the Conquest the estate and the original hall passed through various successive hands, those of the Radcliffes included.

"At present it is possessed, fortunately, by one of the Ainsworth family, so that although very extensive changes have been made from time to time, including the erection of modern windows for the primitive casements, the permanency of all, as we have it to-day [1892], is guaranteed.

"The interior is rich in ancient wood-carving; quaint but charmingly artistic decoration prevails in all the apartments; some of the panels are emblazoned in colours; everywhere, too, there is the sense of strength and comfort.

" In the quadrangle, open on one side and now a rose garden, amid the flower borders and in the neighbouring shrubberies, it is interesting to observe again how the botanical aspect of old England is slowly but surely undergoing transformation, through the liberal planting of decorative exotics."

From Canon Raines' foot-notes to Bishop Gastrell's Notitia Cestriensis, 1849, vol. 2, part I., page 39, we learn the hall was the residence of William de Radcliffe, son of Robert, a younger son of Richard de Radcliffe, of Radcliffe Tower, in the time of Edward III. [1327-77],[2] and was conveyed by Joanna, daughter and heiress of Sir Raphe Radcliffe, living in 1447, to her husband, Ralph Barton, of Holme [near Newark], Esq., after 29th Henry VI.

And at page 95 of the same volume we also learn, under the head of Salford Hall, that Cecilia, daughter and heiress of Ralph Radcliffe, married her second cousin, John Barton, of Smithills, where she and her husband were living in 1506.

" The marriage deed," says " Historical Gleanings of Bolton," 1883, page 265, "is dated 6th October, 1486, and he [John] thus became of Smithills 'jure uxorsis,' and they were parents of Andrew Barton, the first named in visitation, 1517.

"Robert, son of Andrew Barton, married Margery, daughter to Piers Legh, of Bradley. Their daughter Margaret died unmarried. Margery survived and married, secondly, Sir Richard Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe." He died at Smithills in 1599, after being Chief Justice

2 Whittle says, "Smithill's-hall secondarily erected in this reign, 1361."

of Chester for many years, and the accounts we recently referred to were those of his household at Smithills.

Whittle, writing in 1855, says that "during the latter end of the reign of Henry VII. the Radcliffe's were lords of Smithills, Joan, the daughter of Sir Ralph Radcliffe, having nuptialled Roger Barton, Esq.

"Roger became seized of the manor and lordship, where his posterity continued until Grace Agnes, sole daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Barton, the last male heir, became the consort of Henry, first Viscount Fauconberg.

" His descendent, Thomas Bellasyse, Viscount Fauconberg, sold the manor, with other lands at Blackburn, in 1721, and it then passed into the hands of the Byroms of Manchester, by whom it was resold, in 1801, for £21,000 to Mr. Ainsworth, of Halliwell, an opulent bleacher.

"The present Mr. Peter Ainsworth [late M.P. for Bolton] came into possession in 1833, and has been the means of restoring this antique and venerable structure to its pristine beauty."

Baines, in his reference to Smithills Hall, says: " The date of its erection cannot be accurately fixed ; the Rebus[3] of a tun [wooden wine cask] seen in one of the apartments, crossed by a bar, and inscribed A. B., indicating Andrew Barton, serves to fix the date when the mansion was rebuilt, probably in the reign of Henry Seventh.

"This Andrew Barton," continues Baines in a footnote, "was certainly not, as has been imagined, Sir Andrew Barton, the Paul Jones of Henry Eighth's reign, whose fame is celebrated in Reliques of ancient poetry."

Baines was evidently referring here to a writer, "W. D.," who, visiting Smithills in 1787, and alluding to this Rebus in a letter,[4] describing Smithills Hall, says: "The pun [Bar-tun], if not one of the best, tends to prove this spot the residence of Sir Andrew Barton.

"Indeed, he could not have chosen a more effectual retreat. There is not a good road to this [place], nor any public one near it for almost two miles. How then must it [the road] have been in the year 1500, when this edifice was probably built? "

In a preceding paragraph this writer tells us that "much has been said on the erection of this building; the most general opinion is that it was built by the great pirate Barton, who retired thither to avoid being taken by the Government."

Clearly we have here, regardless of history, a stretch of the imagination, and yet the following narrative of his life given us by the writer, fails to connect the great pirate with the ancient hall he is, so erroneously, said to have built.

Continuing, he tells us: "Sir Andrew Breton or Barton was descended of a good family in Scotland," and adopting a seafaring life when very young, "he so distinguished himself by his bravery as to procure himself knighthood by James Third."

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3 Coat of arms bearing allusion to a name. Here, tun for "ton," and bar for "B," meaning Andrew Barton.
4 Seen with reprint of Fox's Life of George Marsh and other works, in one vol., published by Johnson, Bolton, 1787.

With the pirate's brave deeds up to this time we are not made acquainted; apparently, they were confined to Scotland.

And it is not till 1511 (though we have just been told he retired to Smithills about the year 1500) that we find him plundering on our seas and interrupting all navigation "with two stout vessels, one named The Lion and the other Jenny Perwin."

The Earl of Surrey, learning of the pirate's proceedings, sent two English ships, well equipped, and commanded by his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir Edward Howard, in pursuit of him.

Encountered soon after, "the fight was long and doubtful, for Barton, who was an experienced seaman, and who had under him a determined crew, made a most desperate defence, himself cheering them with a boatswain's whistle to his last breath."

The death of their captain was the only thing that could induce them to submit, which at last they did, and were received to quarter and fair usage.

The great pirate's two ships, " with as many men as were left alive, being 150, the English brought, the 2nd of August, 1511, into the river Thames, as trophies of their victory.

" Thus fell Sir Andrew Barton, a victim to the ' insulted laws of nations,'" and as his history, so far as our own country is concerned, is confined to a single year, 1511, it is quite evident he never retired to Smithills or set foot on our shores.

Nor can we say this writer is more happy in his way of dealing with tradition regarding Smithills.

" There is," he says, " a tradition that King Egbert founded[5] this place, and here kept his court, but as we find no trace of this in history, I cannot allow it, especially as from the order of Egbert's conquests, it is natural to imagine, his court would be fixed in a more southernly part of his kingdom."

Here we find, for the first and only time, the writer referring to history, but his love for his pet theory will not allow him to give more than a partial account of the result.

For while he tells us that he finds no trace of Egbert holding his court at Smithills, he avoids making known the same truth as regards the king's fixed court in the south, for history is silent as to both.

And so, bringing his imagination into play once more, he says, as we have just seen, "It is natural to imagine," etc., etc.

Clearly, in his research, he traced neither court, and, doubtless, this king kept his court at many other places besides Smithills during the years he was engaged in subduing the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, but history is equally silent as to all.

And so, after all, it is no discredit to the tradition to say that the court of Smithills is

5 All other writers are silent as to this part.

unknown to history when other courts fare no better.

Opposed to the statement, emanating from Whittle, already noticed, that King Ella resided at Smithills Old Hall in 579, Scholes, after quoting the foregoing tradition re King Egbert, says:

“It will be seen that three-quarters of a century before Whittle’s time there was a discredited tradition regarding the ‘Royal Court at Smithills,’ not attributed to King Ella but to King Egbert, who did not live for nearly 300 years after Ella.”

To this he adds: “We know, however, that tradition loses nothing by age and repetition, and that it should always be accepted with caution.” Good advice, applicable alike when discrediting (though overlooked here) as when accepting tradition.

Putting aside Egbert’s tradition, on “ W. D.’s ” authority, the historian now resorts, like him, to theory ; for, continuing his remarks, he directs our attention to Bolton near Skipton, “ the records of which,” he tells us, “ have often been mistaken for Bolton-le-Moors, and vice versa." Nothing, however, supporting this is found in his own history of the latter, and Baines is equally silent.

“In the late Saxon times,” he proceeds to say, “Bolton near Skipton was known as Bodeltone, which manor and lands formed part of Earl Edwin’s possessions, and were among the last to remain in the hands of their Saxon owners.

“At this period, Bolton near Skipton is said to have been a principal seat of Earl Edwin.

“On Robert de Romille becoming possessed of the honour and fee of Skipton at the Norman Conquest, the residence at Bolton was discarded by him as inadequate for a place of defence, whereupon he made Skipton the head of his barony.

“It is very probable that the Bolton near Skipton and Bolton- le-Moors have been in this instance confounded, and that by lapse of time tradition has converted the residence of Earl Edwin to that of King Ella, father of Prince Edwin of Deira.”

Baines characterised “W. D.’s ” theory as one of imagination, and so may we this one, for of what value are statements made on the mere authority of “ It is said to have been,” or “ It is very probable,” as we have just seen, when the fair fame of so ancient a place as Smithills is concerned.

And how inconsistent! Egbert’s court at Smithills was discredited because its tradition was not traced in history. Here the historian’s statements are backed up by neither history nor tradition.

But this is not all. At page 59 of his work, he not only discredits the statement of another historian, that Ella resided at Smithills, but also charges him with having “led other writers astray.” His remarks are as follows:

“Whittle says that King Ella resided at Smithills in 679. Now this ruler founded Deira in 547, soon after the beginning of his reign; while his son Edwin succeeded him in 617. How

is it possible to make the two statements agree? Granting it to be a printer's error for 579, the date given in Mr. James Clegg's[6] Annals of Bolton, which would then be in King Ella's lifetime, — there is no proof forthcoming. Whittle's statement has led astray still more recent writers."

These are strong terms to come from one who would despoil Smithills of its ancient traditions on the mere authority of "it is said to have been," or "it is very probable."

Then, too, there need have been no comment as to dates had the historian but extended[7] his perusal of Whittle's work to page 422, where, referring again, in his chronology, to King Ella, he says:

"A.D. 579. Smithills Hall, a royal Saxon palace, inhabited by Ella, King of Deiri [that is, the people of Deira], vide 'Eddin's Chronicle.'" Thus correcting misprint 679, and adding authority for his statement.

Here we may appropriately turn to Roby's Traditions of Lancashire, 1829, and from preface quote the following:

"Tradition is not an unacceptable source of historical inquiry. " And the writer who disdains to follow these glimmerings of truth will often find himself in the dark, with nothing but his own opinions, the smouldering vapour of his own imagination, to guide him in his search.

"Though not consisting of a recital of bare facts, they are in most instances founded upon facts."

Now the historian, when he quoted " W. D." to discredit the tradition referring to King Egbert, told us, by way of discrediting also Whittle's reference to King Ella, that the former King " did not live for nearly 300 years after Ella."

Well, Ella lived nearly 500 years before Earl Edwin's time, for we find from the Saxon Chronicle that the latter was the Ealdorman, that is the governor, of Mercia at the time of the Conquest, 1066; also that he was the grandson of Leofric and the Lady Godiva of famous renown; and, doubtless, his court would be at Coventry, the seat of government when, as we know, his father before him was Ealdorman.

What, then, has Earl Edwin's supposed seat at Bolton near Skipton to do with the Ella of 579? Surely, the historian would not have us infer that this Edwin and Ella's son, Edwin, are one and the same person.

And where, we ask, is the authority for saying "that by lapse of time tradition has converted the residence of Earl Edwin to that of King Ella, father of Prince Edwin of Deira?"

Returning to "W. D.'s" letter, in a paragraph preceding the one we have just been referring to, he tells us:

" I saw a stone placed over the portico, to be more conspicuous, on which was cut the

6 The much respected editor of the "Bolton Chronicle."
7 He referred to page xviii. of the introduction

figures 680, which ill agreed with the times in which Barton lived; the building, though old and in a ruinous state, by no means could have existed so long."

Certainly, as the Barton of the sea the dates could not refer to him, nor, as we have seen, did he either build this venerable hall or reside at it.

And as to its ruinous condition, &c., nearly 120 years have passed since then, and to-day it is seen not only in the highest state of preservation, but more handsome than ever, and if so well cared for in future as in our time, it will continue " a thing of beauty and a joy for ever."

At the end of the letter we are told that from this Barton "was immediately descended the Sir Roger Barton who examined George Marshe for his resistance to the Popish faith."

A reprint of those portions of the letter referring to " The Age of Smithills Hall " and " Sir Andrew Barton and his Adventures " will be found, at pages 15 and 23 respectively, in "Bolton and District Historical Gleanings," 1881, without, however, any attempt to correct, in these days of research, its misleading statements

CHAPTER VIII.

RETURNING back to King Egbert, he died in 836, and was succeeded by his only son Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred the Great.

Alluding to Ethelwulf, Mathew of Westminster says: “This king, so devoted to God, before the death of King Egbert, his father, had been ordained Bishop of Winchester; but after his father’s death, though he was very unwilling, he was created king, as there was no one else in the royal family who was entitled to reign.”

From the same author we learn also that in 855 Ethelwulf gave, by charter written in the city of Winchester, “a tenth part of his kingdom—free from all secular services, exactions, and tributes —to God and the blessed Mary and all the saints.”

“And it has seemed good,” continues the charter, “to Alstan, bishop of the church of Sherborne, and to Swithun, bishop of the church of Winchester, with their abbots, and with the servants of God, namely, the religious men and women, on whom the above benefits have been conferred, to adopt a rule that all the brethren and sisters shall, every week, on Wednesday, sing in every church fifty psalms; and that each priest shall celebrate two masses, one for the king, and another for his dukes who consent to this measure, for the salvation and refreshing of their souls.

“And after we are dead, they shall discharge the same duty for the king separately, and for all his dukes together. And let this deed be firmly established for all the days of Christianity, as firmly as liberty is established, and let it last as long as the faith flourishes among the nation of the English.”

Here we have the beginning of tithes which have continued to the present day. From this period also dates the worship of the Virgin Mary, which is no less fervent to-day on the Continent than it was ten centuries ago.

In addition to the celebration of mass, Wednesday was also set apart for prayer against the Danes.

Ethelwulf died in 857, leaving four sons—Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred the Great—all of whom in turn held the throne, and their reigns were not exempt from incursions of the Danes.

Returning to Northumbria, King Eanred, after a reign of thirty years, died in 840, and was succeeded by his son Ethelred, who, after reigning four years, was driven from his kingdom. The cause of this does not appear.

Redwulf succeeded Ethelred, and “immediately after he was invested with the crown,” says Mathew of Westminster, “he fought a battle against the pagans [Danes] at Aluethelie, in which he fell with the greater part of his troops; and after this, Ethelred became king a second time.”

In 848 Ethelred was slain; why we are not informed. He was succeeded by Osbert, who, after a reign of fourteen years, the Derians, grieved at his licentious conduct, declared him unworthy to govern; and electing a second Ella, a favourite of the people, their king,

Osbert's rule no longer extended beyond Bernicia.

The incursions of the Danes at this time appear to have become more frequent, and, taken prisoner in Deira, one of their noted chieftains, Ragnor Lodrog, is said to have been put to death by Ella in a barbarous manner.

Sharon Turner says: "Ella doomed his illustrious prisoner to perish with lingering pain in a dungeon, stung by venomous snakes.

"It was the lot of Ragnor to have a numerous posterity, ten sons by his three wives; and all his passions were infused into his children. He educated them to be sea kings like himself.

"When his sons heard of his fate in prison they determined on revenge, and bands of warriors from the north joined them in their vindictive object.

"Eight kings and twenty earls, the children of relatives and associates of Ragnor, were the leaders.

"Halfden, Inguar, and Hubba, three of Ragnor's sons, assumed the command as the army sailed out of the Baltic, and conducted it safely to the English coast.

"But by some error in the pilot or accident of the weather, or actual policy, it passed Northumbria and anchored off the shores of East Anglia."

Ultimately, however, "the army," says the Saxon Chronicle, "went from the East Angles over the mouth of the Humber to the Northumbrians as far as York [in 867]."

"When the Danes arrived," says Mathew of Westminster, "Osbert and Ella made peace with one another for the common good; and then, uniting their numerous forces, they marched upon the City of York; and on their arrival the pagans at once retreated within the walls of the city.

" But the Christian Kings pursued them, making a vigorous attack upon the enemy, and, battering down the walls, they entered the City, and fought a battle against the pagans in which they themselves suffered severe loss, for in that battle fell the Kings Osbert and Ella, and with them eight generals with a great number of common men.

"At last the wicked Danes being victorious ravaged the whole province of Northumbria as far as the Tyne, and having subdued their enemies made themselves absolute masters of the whole country; then a person of the name of Egbert, an Angle by birth, obtained the Kingdom under the power of the Danes."

And this power the Danes retained over Deira and Bernicia for nearly a century. Emboldened by their success in Northumbria, the Danes, in rode through Mercia into East Anglia, under the command of Inguar, "causing entire ruin to the inhabitants."

" Edmund, their king, was seized by the infidels," says Henry of Huntingdon, "and his sacred body fastened to a stake and transfixed by their arrows in every part "; and, another writer tells us, "finally beheaded." This king is now best known as St. Edmund.

Among the many monasteries the Danes destroyed we may mention two, Croyland and Peterborough.

The monks of Croyland were performing matins when news arrived to tell of their impending destruction; and that while some of the more timid among them took boat to hide themselves in the marshes, the more bold and aged remained at their altars, where they fell in one general slaughter.

Only a little boy escaped, and when the abbey was in flames, he was led away by one of the Danish chiefs.

At Peterborough the abbey was bravely defended, but in vain; there was a great slaughter, and it was burnt to the ground, and with it perished its rich library of illuminated manuscript writings.

From East Anglia the Danes carried the war into Wessex, in 871, where Ethelred the King is said to have engaged them in seven great battles; but, unsuccessful in all, the English were glad to make terms.

In the last of these battles Ethelred received a wound, from which he soon after died. He was succeeded by his brother Alfred, who had fought bravely on his side against the Danes.

Alfred now made peace, and on paying the Danes a large sum, they withdrew from Wessex, but only to renew their ravages elsewhere.

Leaving Wessex, the Danes marched into Mercia, and were there joined by Halfdene; and the third year they had their winter quarters at Repton, "where, in 874, they levelled to the ground that most famous mausoleum of all the kings of Mercia," so we learn from Ingulph.

"With Halfdene were confederated," says Henry of Huntingdon, "three other kings—Guthrun, Oskytel, and Anwynd—so that they became irresistible, and drove beyond the sea King Burhed, who had reigned twenty-two years over Mercia." He fled to Rome and died there.

"But the Danes transferred the kingdom of Mercia to one Ceolwulf, a weak king, who was to do their bidding.

"In the fourth year of King Alfred [875], the army broke from Repton into two divisions; the larger division followed the before mentioned three kings to Cambridge; with the other, King Halfdene marched into Northumbria, and fixed his winter quarters on the Tyne.

"And he took possession of the land, and divided it amongst his followers, and they cultivated it two years." Referring to the same subject, the Saxon Chronicle, under date 876, says: "They thenceforth continued ploughing and tilling it."

Another writer tells us: "Halfdene divided the Northumbrian territories among his

followers, who, settling among the Anglo- Saxons, and intermarrying with them, became, in the course of several generations, one people."

Turning back to the year 872, Mathew of Westminster informs us: "The Northumbrians in that year expelled Ulfer, their archbishop, and also Egbert, their king, who,'dying next year in Mercia, whither he had fled, Ricsius succeeded him."

After a reign of three years, Ricsius died, "being now worn-out internally with grief of heart, and was succeeded by [another] Egbert."

What was the end of this Egbert we are not informed, but the same author tells us, under date 877, that "Sithwell, a Dane, reigned over Bernicia; and Reginald, who was of Danish extraction, governed Deira."

Here may be said to end our history of Deira, this being the last mention we have in the Chronicles of both it and Bernicia; not that their histories cease, but that their records appear, as we have, with some few exceptions, seen for some time, under the appellation of the one kingdom, Northumbria.

Still we think it desirable to continue our extracts from the Chronicles until we come to more peaceful times.

Proceeding then, we may say that at the same time Halfdene was parcelling out Northumbria among his followers, Guthrun was ravaging East Anglia, and "thus by 878 the Danes," says Henry of Huntingdon, "were in possession of the whole Kingdom from the north bank of the Thames.

"King Halfdene reigned in Northumbria, and his brother in East Anglia, while the other three Kings before-named, with Ceolwulf, the King they had appointed, reigned in Mercia, the country about London and Essex, so that there only remained to King Alfred the Kingdom of Wessex, and even that was grudged him by the Danes."

Reinforced by fresh swarms of men from Denmark, and having fortified

Cambridge, the Danes under Guthrun took to their ships next year, 877, resolved to carry the war into Alfred's territory.

Landing in Dorsetshire and by a sudden march upon Chippenham, Alfred's stronghold, they surrounded his army before resistance could be offered. Many Saxons were slain, but Alfred, escaping with a few followers, fled to the Isle of Athelney in Somersetshire, a tract of country then covered by a dense wood and tenanted only by wild beasts.

Here took place the well-known incident of the burnt cakes. The following lines, taken from Mathew of Westminster's Chronicle, are supposed to convey the scolding administered to the disguised King by the angry swineherd's wife:

"You see the cakes burn,
But ne'er give them a turn;
Though you won't be so slow
To eat them, I trow!"

“ That same winter the Devonshire West Saxons,” says Freeman, “ slew in battle Hubba, a chief of great renown, and captured the magic raven banner which was said to have been woven in one noontide by the three daughters of Ragnor [Ladbrog] and to be endowed with the power of foretelling victory or defeat,”

“ They say, moreover,” we add from Asser, “ that in every battle, whenever that flag went before them, if they were to gain the victory, a live crow would appear flying on the middle of the flag; but if they were doomed to be defeated it would hang down motionless, and this was often proved to be so.”

Florence of Worcester, speaking of this battle, tells us that “ Hubba, the brother of Hinguar, and Halfdene [sons of Ragnor Ladbrog], having wintered in Deimetia [ancient name of Pembrokeshire] , and made great havoc among the Christians, crossed over with twenty-three ships to the coast of Devon, and there was slain, with twelve-hundred of his followers, who thus perished miserably in their wicked aggression before the stronghold of Cynuit [Castle of Renwith], in which many of the king’s Thanes had shut themselves up with their families as a place of refuge.”

Mathew of Westminster, in his account of this great battle, numbers Hinguar and Halfdene, as well as Hubba, with the slain.

Hinguar was the chieftain at whose command Edmund, King of East Anglia, after being bound to a tree and scourged, was finally beheaded in 870.

Things now began to look more hopeful for Alfred, and, issuing from his retreat, in 878, at Athelney, with a small force he surprised and defeated the Danes at Ethandune, now called Edington.

Guthrun and some of his warriors, however, escaped to their fortress, but, after being surrounded and cut off from all supplies for fourteen days, they surrendered at discretion to Alfred.

Guthrun offered to give hostages and to quit the kingdom of Wessex, but this time Alfred would not trust to the oaths of the Danes in making peace with them; they had only been made hitherto to be broken.

Nothing less than the conversion of the Danes to Christianity would now satisfy Alfred. If Guthrun and his followers, he said, would become Christians and join with him to prevent the ravages of other Danes, then he would spare their lives and assign to them homes and land in his own territories.

So Guthrun, seven weeks after his submission, was baptised, with thirty of his officers, Alfred being his sponsor, and he received the name of Athelstan.

A compact was then entered into whereby the Danes were allowed to retain the kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria, under the name of Danelagh or Danelaw, Guthrun at the same time being allowed, with his followers, to colonise East Anglia.

And, after entertaining him for twelve days, Alfred dismissed Guthrun with many gifts, and, departing with his army into East Anglia, he remained true to his compact to the day of his death, 890.

He had not been settled long in East Anglia before Northumbria was also placed under his rule; Ethelred, the husband of Elfleda, a daughter of Alfred, being at the same time appointed military commander in Mercia.

Having thus established peace with the Danes, Alfred, from this time, enjoyed many years of tranquility, during which he repaired his cities and castles, and put his military and naval forces on a better footing to guard against future invasion.

To secure order and good government, he drew up a wise code of laws, and saw the law courts did their duty.

In his days the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was compiled from old traditions, and from his time a narrative of the events of each year was kept in various monasteries and added to the Chronicles, so that since Alfred began to reign we have a history of English events written by men who were living at the time.

"This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England, for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted."—*Vide* Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series, 1640-41.

Alfred died in 901. "He was king," says the Saxon Chronicle over the whole English nation, except that part which was under the dominion of the Danes, and he held the kingdom one year and a half less than thirty years; and then Edward his son succeeded to the kingdom."

Though we have here and in the early part of our work referred to Alfred, much remains to be recorded of this good king's remarkable reign. Space, however, will not admit of our adding more than the following lines by Henry of Huntingdon:

"Toilsome thy onward path to high renown,
Thorny the chaplet that entwin'd thy crown,
Unconquered Alfred! Thine the dauntless mind
That in defeat could fresh resources find.
What though thy hopes were ever dash'd with care,
Still they were never clouded with despair:
To-day victorious, future wars were plann'd;
To-day defeated, future triumphs scann'd.
Who else, like this, throughout the wide world's space,
Bore in adversity so brave a face?
Peaceful thy end: May Christ be now thy rest!
Thine be the crown and sceptre of the blest!"

Edward had no sooner ascended the throne than Ethelwald, his uncle's son, aspiring to the kingdom, seized, with his followers, the castle of Wimborne. On the approach,

however, of the king with an army, “he stole away by night, and sought the army in Northumbria; and they received him for their king and became obedient to him,” says the Saxon Chronicle.

Later on, 905, “Ethelwald enticed the army in East Anglia to break the peace, so that they ravaged the land of Mercia” until overtaken by King Edward’s forces, and, in the encounter which ensued, Ethelwald was slain and many of his followers.

Next year peace was concluded, “as well with the East Angles as with the Northumbrians.”

In 911, however, the Northumbrian army again overran the land of Mercia; “then sent the king his forces after them, both of the West Saxons and of the Mercians, and, overtaking them, many thousands of them were slain, including King Halfdene.”

After this, the Northumbrians, we are pleased to say, made no more adventures beyond their own territory.

The following notes from Florence of Worcester’s Chronicle, referring to Manchester, under date 920, is somewhat interesting:

“In the time of autumn, the invincible King Edward proceeded to Thelwall [south of the Mersey and near Lymm], and built a town there, leaving some of the bravest of his soldiers as a garrison. He also sent troops into Northumbria, with orders to repair the town of Manchester, and station some good soldiers there.” Evidently South as well as North Lancashire, though doubted by some, was included in Northumbria.

Edward is said to have been a fortress-builder. In every piece of territory he acquired he fortified some strong place in it, and then used that as a base of operations against the Danes.

Referring to Lancashire, Baines says: “It is remarkable that in the whole of the Saxon Chronicles the term Lancashire never occurs, though the neighbouring counties in the kingdom of Northumbria are mentioned in those ancient annals.”

In the following year “ the King [Constantine] of the Scots, and Reginald, King of the Northumbrians, came to King Edward, and made submission to him, and also made a thoroughly lasting treaty with him,” so we learn from Mathew of Westminster.

“King Edward died in 924, and was succeeded by his son Athelstan,” and, “not long before,” says Henry of Huntingdon, “Sihtric, King of Northumbria, had slain his brother Nigel; after which outrage King Reginald won York.”

To this Sihtric, Athelstan “married his sister Eadgitha, in honourable matrimony, a prince descended from the Danish nation, and, forsaking paganism, embraced the faith of Christ.

“But not long afterwards he rejected Christianity, and restored the worship of idols; and a short time after his apostasy he ended his life in a miserable manner.”—*Vide* Mathew of Westminster.

Referring to this marriage, under date 925, the Saxon Chronicle says: “This year Athelstan and Sihtric, King of Northumbria, came together at Tamworth, and Athelstan give him his sister.”

And in the following year, we are told, “Sihtric perished; and King Athelstan obtained the kingdom of Northumbria.”

CHAPTER IX.

IN 938, Constantine, still King of Scotland, breaking his treaty, entered into a confederacy with some Welsh princes and Anlaf, his son-in-law, King of Ireland, against King Athelstan. These allies entered the mouth of the Humber with a powerful fleet, and Athelstan encountered them at Brumenburgh, in Northumbria.

"A battle was fought which," Mathew of Westminster tells us, " lasted from daybreak till evening, in which the English slew five kings and seven dukes of the enemy, and shed such a quantity of blood as one had never heard of being shed in England up to that time, but Constantine and Anlaf escaped to their ships."

With this victory all England was reduced under the dominion of King Athelstan, and all Wales to a state of vassalage.

Two years later, 940, "the brave and glorious King of England departed this life at Gloucester."

In his reign the Bible was translated into the Saxon language, and one copy placed in every church.

His brother Edmund succeeded to the throne, in the eighteenth year of his age, and the event was made the occasion of a further disturbance in Northumbria.

"In 941," says the Saxon Chronicle, "the Northumbrians were false to their plighted troth, and chose Anlaf of Ireland to be their king."

Marching from York with a large army, Anlaf entered Mercia in a hostile manner to make himself master of England by a sudden attack, but Edmund went to meet him with an equally numerous army, and "the two kings met," says Mathew of Westminster, "in hostile fashion near Leicester, and, for the greater part of the day, fought a battle which was only too murderous on both sides.''

And at the interposition of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who foresaw the impending destruction of the kingdom, peace was arranged between the two parties.

To Anlaf was surrendered the whole Island of Britain on the northern side of Watling Street, and to Edmund the southern region; "and whichever of the two lived the longest was to have the whole kingdom after the death of the other."

Anlaf died next year. "He was visited," says Mathew of Westminster, "by the judgment of God while plundering the church of St. Balter and burning Trimingham with fire, and soon after died miserably.

"And King Edmund, invading Northumbria, expelled Anlaf the son of Sihtric, and Reginald the son of Cuthred, from that province by force, and became a second time master of the whole of England."

Not long after their expulsion, however, these princes appear to have made their submission to Edmund, for we learn of their being received at court in 943.

“In that year,” says the foregoing historian, “King Edmund received King Anlaf out of the laver of holy regeneration as his godfather, and honoured him with royal gifts; he also held Reginald, Viceroy of Northumberland, while he was being confirmed by the bishop, and adopted him as his own son.”

In a foot note the translator of Mathew of Westminster’s Chronicle tells us that it is not the modern county of Northumberland, but the old kingdom of Northumbria that is here meant.

In 945 King Edmund marched into Strathclyde, which at that time comprised the land between the river Derwent in Cumberland and the Frith of Clyde, the inhabitants of which had been the allies of the Danes in all their revolts.

“And,” says Mathew of Westminster, “after plundering it of all its riches, and having put out the eyes of the two sons of Dummail, king of that province, he granted that kingdom to Malcolm, King of Scotland, to be held of himself, in order that Malcolm might defend the northern district of England by land and sea from the incursions of enemies who might arrive from foreign countries.

The following year King Edmund met with his untimely death, while at Gloucester, sitting with his nobles at dinner, at the hands of an outlawed robber, who slew him with a dagger.

He left two sons, Edwy and Edgar, but, they being too young for the throne, his brother Edred received the crown.

Edred had only just ascended the throne when, the spirit of insurrection again asserted itself in Northumbria.

“The same year,” says Henry of Huntingdon, “Edred led a strong party of troops into Northumbria, the people of which submitted with impatience to the yoke of his dominion, and he completely subjugated it.”

And from the Saxon Chronicle we learn that, “ In 947, Edred came to Tadden’s-Cliff, and there Wulfstan, the Archbishop, and all the Northumbrian ‘Witan’ plighted their troth to the king; and within a little while they belied it all, both pledge and also oaths.”

Returning to Henry of Huntingdon, he records that, “In 949, Anlaf, who had been expelled from Northumbria, returned thither with a powerful fleet. He was welcomed by his adherents, and reinstated in his kingdom, which he held by the strong hand for four years.

“But in the fourth year, the Northumbrians, with their usual fickleness, expelled Anlaf, and raised to the throne Eric, the son of Harold [King of Norway, who had banished Eric on account of his cruelties].”

King Edred then “ravaged all Northumbria because,” says the Saxon Chronicle, “they had taken Eric to be their king; and as the king went homewards, the army of York overtook him. The rear of the king’s forces was at Chesterford, and there they made great slaughter.

“Then was the king so wroth that he would have marched his forces in again, and wholly destroyed the land. When the Northumbrian ‘Witan’ understood that, then forsook they Eric, and made compensation for the deed with King Edred.”

Sharon Turner says: “Edred improved the moment by exciting all the power of conquest; he carried away in bonds the proudest nobles of the country, and overspread it with devastation.”

After the subjugation of the Northumbrian kingdom, Edred assumed the title of “Sovereign of the fourfold empire of the Anglo- Saxons and the Northumbrians, Pagans, and Britons.” He did not, however, enjoy the “fourfold empire” long, for he died in the flower of his youth, A.D. 955.

Edwy, or Edwin, as he is by some writers called, was, as the eldest of the two sons of King Edmund, now chosen king, and his reign, unfortunately, turned out as unhappy as it was short.

Though only sixteen, he had already made his beautiful cousin, Elgiva, his wife, and this near-kinship became, ultimately, one cause of his unhappiness.

Another misfortune was that he banished Dunstan, his late uncle’s prime minister, Abbot of Glastonbury, for presuming to enter the royal presence to bring back the king to the coronation festival, from which he had hurriedly, as the company present thought, retired to join the society of his queen and her mother.

Dunstan’s banishment gave great offence to his friends, the bishops and the clergy, and a conspiracy followed.

Edwy had been crowned by Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, the day of the festival; and now “among the most prominent,” says Sharon Turner, “in avenging his friend [Dunstan], he divorced the king from his wife on the plea of their kinship.

“So powerful was his party that soldiers were sent to the palace to seize the queen; she was taken violently from it, her face was branded with red-hot irons, and she was sent to Ireland.”

“Both Henry of Huntingdon and the Saxon Chronicle are silent,” says the translator of the former’s work, “ on the subject of the unhappy tragic passages of Edwy’s reign, related or invented by later writers.

“This king wore the diadem not unworthily,” Henry himself tells us; while Ingulph speaks of him “as by no means fitted by character to be a king, for at the beginning of his reign he sent that most holy man Abbot Dunstan into exile.”

Mathew of Westminster blames the queen’s mother, “who,” he says, “ did not desist from persecuting the blessed Dunstan till she had raised in the king’s mind a mortal hatred against the venerable abbot.”

Florence of Worcester, after telling us that in 955 Edwy was crowned at Kingston by Odo, the Archbishop of Canterbury, reserves further reference to him till 957, when he says:

“The people of Mercia and Northumbria then threw off their allegiance to Edwy, disgusted at the folly of his government, and elected his cousin [brother] Edgar their king.

“So the kingdom was divided between the two kings in such a manner that the river Thames formed the boundary of their respective dominions.

“Dunstan was now recalled with honour to Edgar’s court, and, three years after the rebellion of his subjects, Edwy died of a broken heart, before he had reached the full age of manhood.”

Edgar then succeeded to all the Anglo-Saxon dominions. His reign proved peaceful arid prosperous, and, by maintaining a strong fleet, he kept the country free from Danish invasion.

“ During his reign,” says Florence of Worcester, “ he formed a fleet of 3,600 stout ships, and after Easter, every year, he used to collect a squadron of 1,200 ships on each of the eastern, western, and northern coasts of the island; and made sail with the eastern squadron until it fell in with the western, which then put about and sailed to the eastward, while the western squadron sailed northward till it met with the northern, which in turn sailed to the west.

“Thus the whole island was circumnavigated every summer, and these bold expeditions served at once for the defence of the realm against foreigners.

“In the winter and spring he used to make progresses through all the provinces of England, and enquire diligently whether the laws of the land and his own ordinances were obeyed, so that the poor might not suffer wrong and be oppressed by the powerful.”

As he went from county to county, audiences and feasts were given, appeals heard, and acquaintances made by Edgar among all the leading men in England, both Danes and Saxons.

Thus on one occasion, 973, when he held his court at Chester, “eight tributary kings, namely, Kenneth, King of the Scots; Malcolm, King of Cambrians; Magnus, King of several isles, and five others, named Dufnal, Siferth, Huwal, Jacob, and Juchil, rowed him up the river Dee, followed by his whole retinue of earls, to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, Edgar himself guiding them.

“And having paid his devotion, then he returned to the palace with the same pomp.”

This monastery has been in ruins many centuries, yet its walls are still beautiful to look upon, while the grand abbey church has, fortunately, been restored.

Within it, adorning the north wall of the chancel, may be seen a small but ornamental marble tablet, erected to the memory of George Marsh, the Deane Martyr, bearing the following appropriate inscription :

"THE NOBLE ARMY
OF MARTYRS
PRAISE THEE

A X O
SACRED
TO THE
MEMORY OF
GEORGE MARSH,
APRIL XXIV.
A.D. MDLV."

The three Greek initials or signs, A X O, represent, respectively,

Alpha, the beginning;
Christ, the beginning and the end;
Omega, the last or the end.

These three also stand for Eternity, or Immortality, or Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.

Having travelled thus far beyond the time of Reginald, the last King of Deira, and arrived at a period when peace and quietness, so long broken, reign again in Northumbria, let us now retrace our steps to the year 793, and resume our records of Deane Church, Village, and Parish.

In that year the same bishops who crowned King Eardulf are said to have consecrated the venerable chapel at Smithills. Clegg, referring to this, at page 39 of his work, says: "793, Eanbald, Archbishop of York, and Ethelhert, Bishop of Hexham, consecrated the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Smithills."

While Whittle, entering into more detail, at page 365 of his history tells us that, "from the history of Ebor [York], vol 2nd, page 394, printed for the booksellers, 1701, 2 vols., we read that ' Eanbald, Archbishop of York, and Ethelbert, Bishop of Hexham, in Northumberland, consecrated the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, at Smithills, near unto Bolton-in-the-Mooras, A.D. 793.'"

"The chapel," continues Whittle, "was re-edified in 1552 and 1704, and has been renovated since as a domestic chapel for Mr. Ainsworth, the present owner; it is extremely clean and unique.

"Within is a fine window of brilliant colours; ten heraldic bearings grace the compartments: Bellasyse's, Barton's, Radcliffe's, Ainsworth's, the bishop of the diocese.

"It is well paved with oak—the Communion table, pulpit, reading-desk, and small gallery are well adapted; Divine service is performed here."

The ancient hall and chapel at Smithills are precious relics of Saxon times, and form with the ancient church, village, and parish of- Deane, and the interesting Norman house of Hulton, an ancient group of historical associations never met with in a modern, and seldom exceeded in interest in an ancient parish.

These gems of bye-gone ages unite as it were with a charm the present with the past, and are objects of special regard to lovers of all such old and interesting associations.

And to no relics of the past is this laudable feeling more extended than to the ancient churches we have inherited from our ancestors, in which so many generations have worshipped before us, and, with an ever reverential care for their preservation, have handed down to us to follow their good example.

“A thing of beauty is a joy for ever ” is a happy saying of the poet Keats, and very true of the ancient churches which so beautifully adorn the villages and towns of our delightful country.

“O! how amiable,” exclaims the Psalmist, “ are Thy dwellings Thou Lord of Hosts.”

“The churches of this land of ours,” says an interesting writer, describing his visit to Lancashire some sixty years ago, “are to be held among the best bequests of the past to the present, and cannot be contemplated otherwise than with most respectful regard by those who love their country, or honour their faith with an enlightened and cultivated mind.

“To us, certainly, the village church has long been an object of deep respect. In what various moods have we been pleased to cast our eye upon its interesting outline: in joy and in sorrow, with a heavy and with an elastic step; at the earliest matin of the lark, and under the lengthened shadows of departing day.

“What then is the secret of the church? To us there is something in its proximity to a large and unsightly town; it is the first truly rustic sight on which the eye rests, dimmed by the smoke, as you pass on to the west.

“There is something in old and frequently renewed associations; the sacred edifice serves as a link to bind together different parts of our moral being. It serves as a memento of early, as well as of recent emotions; early and recent, those of the youth and those of the mature man—all now, alas ! irrevocably gone.

“ But chiefly is the church venerable from the holy purposes for which it is designed and the sacred results which it has secured ; it is a Christian church in a retired village of our own mother country” *Vide* “Lancashire in the 19th Century.”

Another charming writer tells us an interesting story of a visit he paid to a country church when finding himself under the necessity of staying a short time in the village:

“The church doors, like the heaven to which they lead, were wide open, and readily admitted an unworthy stranger. Pleased with the opportunity, I resolved to spend a few minutes under the sacred roof.

“It was an ancient pile, reared by hands that, ages ago, were mouldered into dust. Situate in the centre of a large burial-ground, remote from all the noise and hurry of tumultuous life, the body spacious, the structure lofty, the whole magnificently plain. A row of regular pillars extended themselves through the midst, supporting the roof with simplicity and with dignity. The light that passed through the windows seemed to shed a kind of luminous obscurity, which gave every object a grave and venerable air.

"The deep silence, added to the gloomy aspect, and both heightened by the loneliness of the place, greatly increased the solemnity of the scene. A sort of religious dread stole insensibly upon my mind while I advanced all-pensive and thoughtful along the inmost aisle; such a dread as hushed every ruder passion, and dissipated all the gay images of an alluring world. And why do we not carry this religious feeling into all our ordinary life? Why do we not in every place reverence ourselves as persons of the Godhead? For if we are real, and not merely nominal Christians, the God of glory, according to his own promise, dwells in us and walks with us. Oh ! that this one doctrine of our religion might speak, with an abiding efficiency, upon our conscience. Under such a conviction we should study to maintain a purity of intention, a dignity of action, and walk worthy of that transcendent majestic Being who admits us to a fellowship with Himself and with His Son Jesus Christ." *Vide* "Harvey's Meditations."

These are beautiful and instructive extracts from the writings of two interesting authors, written, however, without reference to Deane Church, and yet, not inappropriately, express the picturesque surroundings and sacred character of that venerable edifice.

"Reared with hands that ages ago were mouldered into dust," Deane Church is a noble relic of the- past, and cannot fail to excite the kindred emotions of veneration and respect from whatever point we contemplate it.

It is the mother church, erected four and a half centuries ago, of an ancient parish of ten townships possessing now some twenty- five additional churches, and yet, old as it is, not, by many centuries, the first sacred edifice erected on the same hallowed spot.

We know from existing records that the Norman chapel of Saynte Mariden, St. Mary, Deane, occupied the same ground in 1228, and tradition assigns the erection of it and the church of Eccles to the year 1111, the one in the north with ten and the other in the south with five townships forming together the then extensive parish of Eccles.

This early date takes us back to that period of the Middle Ages when Europe began to emerge, though slowly, from the gloom of universal ignorance, called the "dark ages," which commenced with the downfall of the Western Roman Empire in 476, to struggle against which the Roman soldiers, in 427, forsook our island never to return.

It was during this dark period that, learning neglected and schools ceasing to exist, Latin, the mother tongue of the Romans, ceased also to be a living language; and by the eighth century few persons besides the clergy and monks in the monasteries could be found able to read or write.

Almost every distinguished man was either the member of a chapter or of a convent; and Hallam, the historian of the Middle Ages, tells us that the monasteries were the only secure repositories for books, and that all our ancient manuscripts have been preserved in this manner.

While, however, we have just said there was an improvement taking place in the condition of society when the sacred edifices of Eccles and Deane were first erected, we learn from Hallam that at this time nothing was so conspicuous as the belief in perpetual miracles.

“Every cathedral or monastery had its titular saint, and every saint his legend, fabricated, in order to enrich the churches under his protection, by exaggerating his virtues, his miracles, and, consequently, his power of serving those who paid liberally for his patronage.

“It was now, too, that the veneration paid to the Virgin, in early times very great, rose to an almost exclusive idolatry”; hence we find the churches of Eccles and Deane and all the Cistercian monasteries, including Stanlawe and Whalley, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

Hallam adds, however, later on, in his “Supplemental Notes,” that:

“Beyond every doubt, the evils of superstition in the Middle Ages, though, separately considered, very serious, are not to be weighed against the benefits of the religion with which they were so mingled.”

CHAPTER X.

BUT though dedicated to St. Mary, the early chapel at Deane is only known to us in ancient writings as “Saynte Mariden,” or, as written in one instance, Maridene, a compound name partaking of the names Mary, the patron saint, and Dene, the village name, thus showing, in those early days, alike deep regard for the sacred edifice and the place of its foundation.

Still admired, this interesting name, has in our times, been revived at the baptismal font, three of the writer’s lady friends being so named.

And of Deane it may be said, as has been remarked of a less ancient place, that it is “a village whose charm ripens with acquaintance until, when one has known it long enough dwarfs all others; a village which, like the folks who live in it, shows only to the eye of intimacy its rugged front.”

The oldest of all the places in the ten townships forming the early parochial district of Saynte Mariden, Dene may be considered the little capital of the ancient parish it gave name to 300 years later, 1542.

The advowson of Eccles originally belonged to the ancient family of Barton, lords of the manor of Barton-upon-Irwell, a manor under the Barony of Manchester.

“Editha, domina [latin for lord] de Barton, circa [about] 1190, married Gilbert de Notton, the son of William de Notton, the first on record of his name; Gilbert had three sons, the eldest of whom, William Notton, succeeded him.

“William de Notton had two sons, Gilbert and Mathew, the first named eventually succeeding him.” *Vide* Coucher Book, vol. 1, page 44, Chetham Society.

Gilbert de Notton assumed the name of Barton, and in 1235 the church of Eccles and the chapel of Saint Mariden were together bestowed upon the. Cistercian Monks, first of Stanlawe and afterwards of Whalley Abbey, by deed of gift of John de Lacy, eighth Baron of Halton, Cheshire, who had, the same year, bought the advowson from this Gilbert de Barton, by payment of 250 marks of silver to “Aaron the Jew, of York,” to whom Gilbert had evidently pledged it.

From the Coucher Book we also learn that “Gilbert married twice; first, Margery, daughter of John de Elond; and secondly, Cecilia, living 1277, the mother of John de Barton and Agnes.

From Cuerden’s[1] Abstract of Deeds it appears that he sold the wardship of his daughter Agnes to John de Blackburne, who sold it to Thomas de Grelley. Gilbert de Barton died ante 1277. The direct male line becoming extinct, the inheritance passed to the Booths of Barton, Agnes, the heiress, having married John del Bothe.”

We have an earlier reference to Saynte Mariden than that of 1235 in another deed in which Thomas, chaplain of Flecho (supposed to be Flixton), states he has granted, “in the

1 A literary gentleman, resident in Preston, 1686; MS. collection in the Chetham Library, Manchester.

third year of the seventh cycle of nine years from the translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr, the portion in the church of Eccles, assigned him by Roger de Notton, to William, clerk (or parson) of Eccles, for life, at the yearly rent of six marks."

William, by the same deed, grants in return to Thomas, "all obventions [special offerings] of the said portion to be received in the mother church of Eccles for four years ensuing; saving to himself the obventions of Saynte Mariden."

The martyr here referred to is Thomas a Becket; he was assassinated in Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1171, and if to that date we add six times the cycle of nine years, plus the three years of the unexpired seventh cycle, we shall arrive at the year 1228, the date of this curiously worded deed.

Transcripts in Latin of these and other documents, referring to Saynte Mariden, are to be found in the Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey, a thick volume of 749 pages, written on vellum, as the most durable; a relic of the long defunct monks of that once noble abbey, and of great value and interest to the local historian.

This book contains copies of all the deeds, grants, and evidences relating to the extensive possessions of the abbey, arranged in parishes or townships, and throwing much light on the history of many ancient churches and places, and the habits and customs of those far distant times.

The original deeds from which the Coucher Book was compiled were unfortunately scattered about at the dissolution of the abbey in 1537, and small portions only of them remain in existence, some of which are preserved amongst the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

The book remained in manuscript till 1847, when it was printed in Latin, as written, in four quarto volumes by the Chetham Society, the late W. A. Hulton, Esq., Preston, being the editor, and copies were issued only to members of that society.

The writer was delighted to meet with a copy of this most interesting work in the British Museum, some time ago, and from it copies have been made and translated, for our use, of such records as refer to Saynte Mariden.

Now it may be of interest to the reader, who has, probably, heard more of the evil than of the good deeds of the monks of olden time, to give a short sketch of the early history of the Cistercian order of monks, to which body the monks of Stanlawe and Whalley belonged.

The Cistercians, we are told, were a branch of the Benedictine Monks, and took their name from Cisteaux, a desolate place not far from Dijon, in France.

Stevens, in his history of the ancient abbeys, published in 1723, tells us that the Cistercians became a most flourishing and illustrious congregation in Europe, and justly deserved the praises bestowed on it by popes, emperors, kings, and celebrated writers.

The following particulars, gleaned from this valuable and interesting work, briefly recount the early history of this order of monks.

Sir Robert, the first founder of Cistercians, was born in the Provence of Champagne in France, and when scarcely fifteen years of age joined the order of St. Benedict in the abbey of Montier la Celle, and some years later became prior of that monastery, and afterwards abbot of St. Michael de Tennere.

Certain anchorites of a neighbouring forest having read of the abbot, prayed him to take upon him to direct them, a request he declined at first, but on receiving a further and more pressing invitation, he no longer refused to comply, and set out accordingly, and arriving at the desert of Coulan, he was received by the anchorites as an angel sent by God to guide them in the desert.

Robert finding that solitary place unwholesome, led them to the forest of Molesme, where they built themselves little cells made of boughs of trees, and a little oratory of the Holy Trinity.

The poverty of these religious men was extraordinary at first; they were almost naked, and lived upon nothing but herbs and roots, until several men of quality of the country round about took pity on them, and supplied them with all necessaries for their support, and also made them gifts of money.

Wealth, however, made them fall into such relaxation that the " Holy Robert " left them, and retired into a desert called Haur, where there where religious men who lived in much unity and simplicity of heart. They received him with extraordinary affection, and made him their abbot; but he had not been there long before the religious men of the forest of Molesme, repenting of their past folly, prayed him to return to them.

" Holy Robert " did not, however, comply with their request, but with the sanction of the Pope he picked out twenty-one of those that were most zealous for religious observance at Molesme, and with them went to settle in a place called Cisteaux, five leagues from Dijon, in the diocese of Chalons in France.

" That was a desert covered with woods and brambles watered by a little river rising from a fountain about a league distant, called Sansfonde, that is, bottomless, because they never have been able to find the bottom of it, and which has this quality that when there is rain it decreases very visibly, and when there is drought it overflows."

They settled there on the 21st of March, 1098, being St. Benedict's Day, which that year fell on Palm Sunday. "Those religious men began to grub up that solitude, and took up their lodgings in little cells they made of wood." The place, however, was so barren that the Duke of Burgundy, moved by their zeal, finished at his own cost the building of their monastery which they had begun, and for a long time supplied them with all necessaries for the support of life.

He also gave them much land and abundance of cattle; and the Bishop of Chalons gave Robert the pastoral staff erecting that new monastery into an abbey.

The following year, 1099, the religious men of Molesme, with the consent of their new abbot Godfrey, went to Rome, and complained to Pope Urban that religious observance was quite lost in their monastery, and that on account of Robert's withdrawing himself they were become odious to the great men, and to their neighbours, for which reason they

entreated his holiness to compel him to accept again of the government of their monastery for the redressing of all those evils.

The pope, yielding to their importunity, gave orders to his legate to procure Robert's return; the abbot was well pleased to accept that order, "as well in obedience to his superiors, as to satisfy those good anchorites," and accordingly returned to Molesme, with some of the monks who did not like the desert, and continued to govern the monastery until his death in 1108.

When Robert had left Cisteaux to return to Molesme, St. Alberic succeeded him in the government of that new monastery, and was chosen abbot the same year, 1099; he had taken the habit in the monastery of Molesme, and was one of those monks who retired in company with Robert into the desert of Cisteaux; and by his zeal and fervour merited to be made prior of that new monastery.

No sooner was he chosen abbot than he sent two of his monks to Rome, who procured a bull from the pope exempting them from temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, that they might remain undisturbed, and serve God according to rule.

St. Alberic and his religious men being thus authorised and confirmed by the pope, drew up the first statutes of the Cistercians; " Among other things it is there expressed that they shall exactly observe the Rules of St. Benedict, and that they shall cut off all customs contrary to that rule." St. Alberic died in 1109, and had for his successor St. Stephen, an Englishman surnamed Harding.

"Though the austerity of life practised at Cisteaux, obstructed the number of monks increasing under his predecessors, St. Stephen nevertheless slackened nothing of those austerities; the love he had for poverty caused him to compose rules which testified how much he valued that virtue."

The success of the order in his time was remarkable, he himself founded twelve monasteries within ten years of his appointment; and within fifty years of its institution there were five hunded "abbies," and in 1251 there were over 1,800 "abbies" of that order.

"This great progress is to be ascribed to the sanctity of the religious men of this order, who on account of their exemplary lives were admired by all the world."

It is said of this order "that they lay upon straw beds in their tunics and cowls. That they rose at midnight and spent the rest of the night, till' the break of day, in singing God's praises, and that, after having sang prime and mass, and confessed their faults to the chapter, they spent all the day in labour, reading, or prayer, without ever giving way to sloth or idleness, and that in all their exercises they observed strict and continued silence, excepting the hour they allotted for spiritual conference, and they exercised hospitality towards the poor with extraordinary charity."

The picture of monastic life here brought before us is strange to our present ideas, but we see it brightened by a spirit of sincere religion and true charity, which helps us to understand the attraction the convent had in troublesome times.

"The habit was a white robe in the nature of a cassock, with black scapular and hood;

their garment was girt with a black girdle of wool; in the choir they had over it a white cowl, and over it a hood, with a rochet hanging down, round before, to the waist, and in a point behind to the calf of the leg; and when they went abroad they wore a cowl and a great hood, all black, which was also the choir habit."

Turner, in his Notitia Monastica, says: "The abbots had the power and authority of bishops within their several abbeys; gave the solemn benediction, and conferred the lesser orders; wore mitres, sandals, etc., and carried crosses or pastorals in their hands; and some of their houses [monasteries] were exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops.

" In every great abbey there was a large room called the scriptorium, where several writers made it their whole business to transcribe books for the use of the clergy; they sometimes indeed wrote the leiger[2] books of the house, and the missals, and other books used in divine service; but they were generally upon other works, viz., the fathers, classics, histories, etc.; and so zealous were the monks in general for this work that they often got lands given and churches appropriated for the carrying of it on.

"In all the great abbeys there were persons appointed to take notice of the principal occurrences of the kingdom, and at the end of every year to digest them into annals. In these records they particularly preserved the memoirs of their founders and benefactors.

"The constitutions of the clergy in their national and provincial synods, and, after the conquest, even acts of parliament were sent to the abbeys to be recorded.

"The evidences and money of private families were often times sent to these houses to be preserved; the seals of noblemen were deposited there upon their deaths, and even the king's money was sometimes lodged in them.

"They were schools of learning and education, for every convent had one person or more appointed for this purpose; and all the neighbours, that desired it, might have their children taught grammar and church music without any expense to them. In the nunneries also, young women were taught to work, and to read English, and sometimes Latin also.

"So that not only the lower rank of people, who could not pay for their learning, but most of the noblemen and gentlemen's daughters were educated in their places.

"All the monasteries were in effect great hospitals, and were most of them obliged to relieve many poor people every day. They were likewise houses of entertainment for almost all travellers. Even the nobility and gentry, when they were upon the road, lodged at one religious [monastery] and dined at another, and seldom or never went to inns.

"The abbeys were great ornaments to the country, many of them really noble buildings, equal if not superior to our present cathedrals.

"At the Conquest, 1066, there were in England about 100 monasteries, some of them very rich, and within 150 years after they had increased to nearly 500.

"Some writers have attributed the great number of monasteries founded in this period

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2 "Many leiger books of the monasteries are still remaining wherein they registered all their leases, and that for their own private use." *Vide* Johnson's Dictionary, by Todd, 1818.

to the ignorance of the age, others to the belief of purgatory and men's opinion of the wonderful prevalency of the saints' intercession with God; and others to the natural love of the Normans towards building churches and monasteries which they are praised for by monkish writers.

"The clergy who lived in the monasteries were called regulars, and a certain number of them were employed in taking copies of the Holy Scriptures; each had a separate cell, a small room, allotted to him, and perfect silence was enjoined that all mistakes might be avoided."

And we may add that the clergy who officiated in the parish churches, and lived in their own houses, were called "seculars," and, as a body, were considered not so well learned as the regulars.

CHAPTERXI.

THE first abbey of the Cistercian order of monks, founded in England, was established at Waverley in Surrey, in 1128, and in the year 1178, a period when the religious feeling of mankind for monastic institutions was at its height, Stanlaw Abbey, Cheshire, was founded and endowed for forty monks, by John, the sixth Baron of Halton, and Constable of Chester, or as that important office is now styled, Lord Lieutenant of Cheshire, on the eve of his departure for the holy land.

It was dedicated, as were all the abbeys of the Cistercian order, to the Blessed Virgin, St. Mary, their patron saint.

The founder directed that it should be called Locus Benedictus, that is "Blessed Place," and he endowed it with the manors of Eston and Stanney, and other lands in Cheshire.

The site of it is a small rock which rises from a desolate marsh, formerly covered by the tides, at the meeting of the rivers Gowy and Mersey.

A translation of the curious and interesting Latin charter, by which the abbey was founded and endowed, reads as follows:—

"Charter of foundation of the Blessed Place of Stanlawe,
by John, Constable of Chester.

"To all sons of holy mother church, as well present as to come, John, Constable of Chester, greeting. Know ye that I have given, and by this my present charter have confirmed to God and Saint Mary, and to the abbot and monks of Stanlawe, for erecting an abbey of the Cistercian order, the same place of Stanlawe, which, changing the name, we wish to be called the Blessed Place, and one township which is called Staneye, and another township which is called Eston, and all their appurtenances, in wood, in plain, in meadows, in feedings, in ways, in paths, in waters, in fisheries, in marshes, in mills, and in all other their easements, free and quit from all earthly service and secular exaction, for the health of my soul and [the souls] of my father and my mother, and my wife, and all my ancestors and heirs, in pure and perpetual alms.

"I have also granted to them, in pure and perpetual alms, quittance of toll in the buying and selling of all things throughout my land, and also quittance of toll of their own corn in my mills.

"I have also given to them one messuage in the town of Chester, with all its buildings, which I had, next the Church of Saint Michael, likewise in pure and perpetual alms, with all its liberties and free customs.

"And when [ever] I and my heirs shall please, in the house before named, we shall hold our pleas, and shall be lodged at our own expenses. And all these things I, John, and my heirs will warrant and acquit towards the King and the Earl of Chester from all earthly and foreign service which appertains to the aforesaid lands; and we will warrant, acquit, and defend [them] against all other men in all things and wheresoever.

"And whosoever shall choose to destroy or diminish this my alms, may God destroy

him, and may he have His malediction and [that] of all saints and mine. And these alms I have given and granted [as] free and quiet and honourably as any alms can most freely and quietly and honourably be given, in the year from the Lord's Incarnation 1178, and of his gift and confirmation these are witnesses, Robert, Dean of Donyngton, Nicholas, Parson of Marish, etc." Coucher Book, vol. 1, page 1.

Dr. Inet, in his church history, says: "Some men who had made rash vows of going to the Holy Land, and had a mind to break them, were taught to commute with the building of monasteries.

"Others, in memory of their deliverances from the hazards that war had exposed them to, or in commemoration of their relations and friends who had perished therein, followed their example.

"And within one hundred years after 1092, when the Holy War was agreed upon in the Council of Claremont, there were above three hundred religious houses founded and endowed in this kingdom."

It is due to the founder to say that Stanlawe Abbey was not erected and established under any of these singular circumstances.

John founded and endowed it before undertaking his perilous journey to the Holy Land, though with what object he went there does not appear, seeing, at that time, there was no exciting news from Jerusalem calling for another religious crusade.

But he may, in all probability, have been impressed with the superstitious feeling which had continued to possess the minds of the more well-to-do Christians from the time of Peter the Hermit, "that it was a religious duty and an act of great piety to make a pilgrimage to our Saviour's sepulchre, and that Christians who died in the Holy Land were sure to be received into heaven, let their lives have been ever so bad."

If such an idea possessed John's mind, he had the gratification of realising this world's portion of it, for he died at Tyre, in the Holy Land, in the year 1190.

John was of Norman descent, and his ancestors were Nigel on the paternal, and Ilbert de Lacy on the maternal side, and both came over with the Conqueror and shared his favour.

Nigel received grants of land in Cheshire, and Ilbert de Lacy in the counties of Lancaster, York, and Lincoln.

Robert de Lacy, the last of the male line of this distinguished family, died in 1193, and his possessions were inherited by his sister Aubrey, the wife of Richard Fitz-Eustace, the father of John, and lord of Halton, and constable of Chester. He died some time before John founded the Abbey of Stanlawe.

The example of John's pious benevolence was followed in a notable degree by his descendants, and among their many donations to the abbey we find them contributing the endowments of the churches of Blackburn, Rochdale, Eccles, and the chapel of Saynte Mariden, Deane.

Roger, the son of John, succeeded to the united possessions of the two wealthy houses, which included the three castles of Halton, Pontefract, and Clitheroe; and assumed the surname of Lacy, variously spelt Laci, Lacy, and Lascy.

He conferred upon the monks of Stanlawe, in 1194, the church of Rochdale, with the chapel of Saddleworth, and land in other districts.

Roger died in 1211, and was interred in the abbey of Stanlawe, leaving by Maud de Clare his wife, a daughter married to Geoffrey, dean of Whalley, and John de Lacy, who, after the death of Alice de Aquila, his first wife, without issue, married Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Robert de Quincy, son of Saher, Earl of Winchester.

This Robert had married Hawys, fourth sister and co-heiress of Randulph Blunderville, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, who gave to her, in the distribution of his lands and honours, the latter earldom.

From her it descended to Margaret, her daughter, who, marrying John de Lacy, Henry III., in 1232 re-granted it to the said John and his heirs, issue of Margaret, his then wife, for ever.

Four years later, John de Lacy was present at the marriage and coronation of Queen Eleanor with Henry III., in 1236, and he is referred to by Mathew Paris, in his chronicles, under the title of "Constable of Chester," and the passage is interesting as showing the feudal relationship of the constable to the earl in those days.

"The Earl of Chester, then John le Scot, carried the sword of Saint Edward, which was called curtana, before the king, as a sign that he was Earl of the Palace, and had by right the power of restraining the king if he should commit an error. The earl was attended by the Constable of Chester [John de Lacy], who kept the people away with his staff when they pressed forward in a disorderly manner."

It was this John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who, in 1235, bestowed upon the abbey of Stanlawe, as already mentioned, the church of Eccles and the chapel of Saynte Mariden, and the following is a translation of the interesting Latin charter relating to the same:

"Donation of John, Earl of Lincoln, of the Church of Eccles [and the Chapel of Saynte Mariden].

To all sons of Holy Mother Church present and to come, John de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, greeting.

" Know all of you that I have given and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the Blessed Mary, and to my abbot and monks of Saint Benedict of Stanlawe, there serving God, all right of advowson and patronage of the Church of Eccles with the chapels [including Saynte Mariden] so far as belongs to lay donation, with the lands and liberties which are contained in the charter of Gilbert de Barton made to me, from whom I had bought the same lands with the advowson of the Church of Eccles.

"And these lands, with the advowson of the said church, I have given them, for the salvation of my soul, and (of those) of my ancestors and successors in pure and perpetual

alms, to be had and possessed for ever.

" And I and my heirs will, faithfully warrant and defend this donation to my aforesaid abbott and monks of Saint Benedict of Stanlawe against all men; and that this donation may be valid and unbroken in future times, I have corroborated the present with the security of my seal. These being witnesses, Sir Adam de Newmarket, Sir Roger de Chester." Coucher Book, vol. 1, page 36.

To this the editor adds a footnote as follows:—

" The date of this deed may, most probably, be referred to the year 1235, for the confirmation by Alexander de Stavenley, who was consecrated Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 14th April, 1224, is dated in the eleventh year of his pontificate."

In another deed of confirmation which followed, at the request of the monks, in 1265, by the then Bishop of Lichfield, Roger de Meuland, the gifts of the churches of Rochdale and Blackburn, as well as Eccles and Saynte Mariden, the latter this time by name, are included.

Translated it reads as follows:—

"Confirmation of the Lord Roger de Meuland, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, of our Churches, that is to say, Rochdale, Eccles with the Chapel of Saynte Mariden, and Blackburn.

" Roger, by the grace of God, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, to the abbot and convent of the place of Benedict of Stanlawe, of the Cistercian order, greeting, grace, and benediction. We deem it pious and fitting to accord without difficulty a benevolent assent to the just requests and to the prayer of those petitioners who incessantly serve divine worship. Whereas, therefore, we hold to be sufficient the donation of the noble man Roger de Lascy, Constable of Chester of the church of Rachedale, with the chapel of Sadelwood and other its appurtenances, and the grant and confirmation made to you by William de Cornehull and Alexander, our predecessors, of good memory, and the confirmation of the Chapter of Coventry, with the subsequent confirmations thereupon of the most high Pontiffs, to wit, Honorius the Third, and of Innocent the Third; and also the donation of the noble man John de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln, of the church of Eccles, with the chapel of Saynte Mariden and other its appurtenances, and the grant of Alexander, our predecessor, of good memory, together with the confirmations of the Chapters of Coventry and Lichfield, and of Pope Alexander the Fourth thereupon ; and also the donations of the same noble man John de Lascy, of the church of Blakeburn, with the chapels of Lawe and Samlesbury, and the portion which the said church has in the church of Whalley, and other its appurtenances; and the grant to [your] own uses touching one moiety of the said church of Blakeburn, of Alexander, our predecessor, of good memory, and the confirmations of the aforesaid Chapters, and our own grant touching the moiety of the said church to [your] own uses, with the confirmation of the Chapter of Coventry touching both moieties, with the subsequent confirmation of Pope Alexander the Fourth, as it appeared evidently to us concerning all these things by the exhibition of the instruments of you, the above-named petitioners, and moreover you prayed that the said churches, with the chapels before named and all other their appurtenances, might be confirmed by us to you:—We, following the footsteps of the said lords, and, as is becoming, willing to assent to your requests, by pontifical authority, do grant and confirm the aforesaid

churches, with their chapels and all other things which appertain to them, to your proper uses, to be possessed in all future times for ever. And this our grant and confirmation may remain firm and unshaken for ever, we have thought good to confirm the present writing with the security of our seal. These being witnesses, Masters Alan called le Breton, Treasurer of Lichfield; Adam de Walton, Chancellor of Lichfield ; John de Craven, Dean of Chester; Henry de Stafford, Archdeacon of the same; Sir Roger, Prior of Norton ; Sir William, called le Ponere, Knight; Master Robert de Santhorp, and others.

"Given at Heywood the 14th Kalends of May [18th April], in the year of grace 1267, and in the twentieth of our consecration." Coucher Book, vol. 1, page 69.

How remarkable to find the churches of Deane, Eccles, Rochdale, and Blackburn associated in this interesting Deed of over 600 years ago!

Heywood was one of the episcopal palaces of Lichfield.

Along with that of John de Lacy, we have also the Deed of Gilbert de Barton confirming the sale of the advowson, the translation of which reads as follows:—

"Charter of Gilbert de Barton of the advowson of the church of Eccles, made to John, Earl of Lincoln.

" Know all men who shall inspect the present writing, that I, Gilbert de Barton, have sold, demised, and by this my present charter have confirmed to my lord, the Lord John de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, ten acres of land in the town of Barton, of my demesne, next Henneden, between the great street [Roman road] and the moss, the nearest to the bounds of Penhulbury, with the chapels and all liberties, appurtenances, and easements to the said lands and advowson of the said church belonging, to wit, in woods, in meadows, in feedings, in pastures, in commons, in ways, in paths, in waters, in moors, in marshes, to the town of Barton appertaining, saving to me and my heirs my hedge of Bolsnape; and saving to me fisheries, assarts, ponds, mills, made and to be made, where I shall see most convenient for me.

" These lands, with the before named advowson of the church of Eccles, I have sold and demised, free, quit, and discharged from me and my heirs henceforth to my lord the Earl of Lincoln, to him and his heirs, or to whomsoever he shall choose to give them, for ever.

"To hold and have by the acquittance which he made to Aaron the Jew, of York, for me, to wit, of two hundred and fifty marks of silver, in which I was held bound to the aforesaid Jew. Neither I nor my heirs shall be able to henceforth have any right or claim in the aforesaid lands and in the advowson of the said church, either by writ of last presentation, or by any other [writ] which can be obtained contrary to the sale. And I and my heirs will faithfully warrant and defend the before named lands with the before named advowson of the church of Eccles to my lord John de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, and to his heirs or his assigns, against all men. In witness whereof to the present writing, for me and my heirs, I have affixed my seal. These being witnesses, Sir Adam de Newmarket, Sir Roger de Chester, &c."

CHAPTER XII.

THE unfortunate circumstance, and its disclosure in this Deed, under which Gilbert parted with the advowson, after it had been so long in the possession of his ancestors, must have been a painful episode in the history of the ancient family of Barton.

Aaron the Jew, of York, was a well-known money lender, patronised at Court, and the arrangement under which John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, paid off Gilbert's mortgage, appears to have been made with the good intention of rescuing his servant—for Gilbert was no other than John's steward—from the clutches of this noted usurer.

The Jews at this time, says Lingard, the historian, "were suffered to dwell nowhere but in the royal cities or boroughs, and only in some of them, and in such particular quarters as were assigned for that purpose.

"There the children of Israel formed a separate community, being distinguished from all other classes of men by wearing two tablets, at first of white linen, afterwards of yellow felt, sewn over the breast.

"Their only occupation was that of lending money, either on pledges, which were forfeited by the owner unless redeemed within a year and a day, or upon interest at a certain rate per week, the highest which they could extort from the necessities of the borrower.

"It appears that they exacted from twopence to threepence and from fourpence in the week per pound—that is, from 43⅓ to 65, and 86⅔ per cent. in the year."

Mathew Paris, in his Chronicles, gives us an interesting account of an incident associated with another loan from the same Aaron, this time granted to William, Bishop elect of Valence, one of three uncles of Eleanor, who accompanied her to England to become the queen of King Henry III.

Soon after her marriage with Henry, William became the king's favourite, and, admitted into the council, he assumed the ascendancy in the administration.

The historian writes, after having referred to a previous event: " About this time [March, 1237], William, Bishop elect of Valencia, to whom the king had entirely entrusted the reins of government, seeing that nobles had, and not without reason, conceived great indignation against him on that account, took his departure for his own country.

"His lands and rich farms, which the king had given him, he placed in the hands of Aaron, a Jew, of York, in the form of a pledge, receiving from him, by way of a loan, nine hundred marks of new sterling money in hand.

"He then directed his steps towards Dover, under the guidance of the king himself, with the pack-saddles of his beast of burden full of gold, silver, and divers royal presents.

" And so cunningly had this man managed matters, that the king, abandoning the example set him by the noble Emperor [of Germany] and the careful King of France, who did not permit their backs to be trodden upon by their wives and their relatives and countrymen, deprived and drained of all his money, and become a needy than, suffered this bishop to pull

his kingdom to pieces and, being under the influence of his wife [Eleanor], allowed him, on the least pretence, to consume the produce of his own territories.

" The aforesaid bishop elect of Valencia then went to Provence, and there distributed the presents he had brought from England, together with some horses loaded with an immense sum of money, and then returned empty to England, where he was received by the king with open arms."

There was a good deal of truth in the bitter sarcasm here pointed at Henry; the careful king was the husband of Queen Eleanor's sister, and the noble emperor referred to was Frederick II. of Germany, who had married Henry's sister, Isabel, in 1236.

In Rymer's Foedern we find a very remarkable passage as shewing how torture was practised in those far-off days, relating to the latter marriage, which we give as follows:—

" The person sent over hither on this errand (the marriage of Isabel with the emperor), was one Peter de Vinen, the emperor's chancellor and most familiar counsellor, who afterwards, with others of the emperor's servants, was suborned to murder him, and had accordingly provided a physician and a dose; but the matter being discovered, the doctor was hanged, and Peter had his eyes put out, and was carried up and down by the emperor's command through most of the cities of Italy to make known the design, till he came to Pisa, where in despair he put an end to his life."

Let us now add the following translation oi the charter of Thomas, the- chaplain of Flekho, previously referred to;—

"Charter of Thomas, the chaplain of Flekho, made to William, the clerk of Eccles.

"To all faithful people in Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Thomas, chaplain of Flekho, greeting. Know all of you, that I, in the third year of the seventh cycle of nine [years] from the translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr, have granted and conveyed to William, son of William the clerk of Eccles, a certain portion which I have in the church of Eccles, assigned to me by Roger de Notton; to hold of me at farm during all my life and his life; rendering therefor six marks yearly, to wit, three marks on the morrow of Easter Day and three marks on the feast of Saint Michael. And the same [William] will support all charges of the said portion in all things, for which he shall faithfully answer to me.

" He bound himself to me both by faith and oath bodily taken, and under pain of the said benefice received from me, to observe towards me all manner of fidelity, as well in words as in deeds; and to make payment of the said farm at the appointed terms, faithfully and without difficulty. And that he will alienate neither the said portion, nor the tithes, nor the obventions, or the lands appertaining to it, either by selling or putting to farm, unless with my permission and my goodwill. But if he shall attempt to contravene the aforesaid obligation in anything, he subjected himself to the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Cumbermere and the Archdeacon of Chester, whomsoever for the time shall be, renouncing appeal and privilege of court (*fori*), that they may compel him to depart from the possession of the said farm, without any contradiction of reclaim.

" And the same W. [William] assigned to me all obventions of the said portion to be received in the mother church of Eccles for my farm from the morrow of Easter Day for four

years ensuing ; saving to himself the obventions [special offerings] of Saynte Mariden, and the land of Eccles; and on the expiration of four years, he shall receive the said obventions in his land; having, nevertheless, previously paid to me on the same day the three first marks of the said farm and giving surety such as I shall see expedient faithfully to ensure the terms ensuing.

"In witness and security whereof to the present writing I have affixed my seal.

" These being witnesses : Master R. de Maidestan, Archdeacon of Chester; Robert, Canon of St. John of Chester; Richard de Standish, William and Robert and Henry and Gregory, Chaplains of St. John of Chester; Matthew and Henry, Chaplains of St. Nicholas; J., Precentor of St. John of Chester, and many others." Coucher Book, vol. 1, page 43.

Flekho is supposed to have been the ancient name of Flixton, and was probably the place where Thomas, the chaplain, lived, for in another deed, in which he makes one of several witnesses, he calls himself Thomas, Chaplain of Eccles, and as such may have been chap try priest of one of the ancient chapels or chantries within the parish church.

John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, died in 1240, and was interred with his ancestors at Stanlawe Abbey.

He was succeeded by his son and heir, Edmund de Lacy, born in 1230, who being a minor, was educated at court under the immediate eye of King Henry III.

The claim of a king to be guardian of an heir or heiress, while under age, formed an important part of the feudalism of ancient times, and dates back to the reign of William Rufus, son of the conqueror.

In his reign, when any man, who held land from the king, died, his heir had to pay to the king a large sum of money, called a "relief," so termed because it was paid on taking up the estate.

If the heir was a minor, the king acted as his guardian, bringing him up, but putting the proceeds of the estate into the royal treasury, and when he came of age he had to pay another relief.

If the heir happened to be a woman, the king claimed the right to bestow her in marriage, and in this way rewarded his friends.

All these rights the king exercised, because the landowners were regarded as officers, as well as tenants, of the king, their chief duty being to defend their estates, and to provide soldiers to fight for the king; and the king naturally claimed to see that these matters were not neglected during a minority, and that an heiress did not marry one of his enemies.

This power of disposing of wards in marriage, as well as the right of wardship, was taken away by statute in 1660.

Edmund de Lacy would appear to have removed to court in the same year that his father died, 1240, for in that year we find King Henry granting him a market on Wednesday in his manor of Rochdale, and in the charter he is referred to as the king's page.

The following year the king by charter dated 25th of his reign, 1241, granted Edmund de Lacy free warren in Deane, written at this time Dene.

"Free Warren," says Harland, "denotes either the franchise, or incorporeal hereditament, or the place itself in which, by prescription or grant, the lord of the honour or manor is privileged to keep 'beasts and fowl of warren,' as hares, coneys, pheasants, and partridges.

"The law vested the sole property of all the game in the king alone, and no man was entitled to disturb any fowl of the air, or any beast of the field of such kinds as were specially for the amusement of the sovereign, without express license from the king, by a grant of a chase, or free warren." *Vide* Historic Socy. of Lanc. Pub., vol. 4, page 244.

Major Perry, alluding probably to the same charter, says, in his historical notes on Bolton, that "Edmund de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was lord of the manor of Deane by charter granted by Henry III. in 1241."

Baines also tells us that "In 20 Edward I. (1292), Henry de Lacy [Edmund's son], being summoned on a *quo warranto* to inquire on what ground he claimed free warren, produced a charter dated 25 Henry III. (1241), which was granted by that monarch to Edmund de Lacy."

The records of proceedings connected with this inquiry will be given later on, when we come to speak of Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. We may, however, here say that "*quo warranto*" was the name given to an ancient writ calling on a person, or corporation, exercising any privilege, to show by what authority they did so.

Referring again to the marriage of Queen Eleanor with Henry III., history records that she was the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Provence, in France, and sister to Margaret, the wife of the French king, and from their youngest son Edmund, called Crouchback, from wearing a cross on his back, descended the royal house of Lancashire, rival to that of York.

A nephew of this Edmund, named Henry, was, in 1350, created the first Duke of Lancaster, the second duke created in England, and his daughter Blanche married John O'Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III., who was afterwards created by his father, in 1362, Duke of Lancaster, the county being at the same time made into a palatine, an honour conferring exceptional privileges and of a royal charter.

With the queen and her three uncles came over to England a numerous retinue of relatives, damsels, and other Provencals to share her good fortune.

Her uncles, with many of her friends, received handsome appointments, and the young ladies were married to young nobles, like Edmund de Lacy, of whom Henry had the wardship.

The marriage of Edmund de Lacy, when still a minor of seventeen, to Alice de Saluces, a relative of the queen, and daughter of a nobleman of Provence was, history tells us, one of this character.

Mathew Paris, the interesting historian of Henry III.'s reign, has, in his chronicles, an interesting paragraph referring to this marriage, which translated reads as follows :—

"How some Provencal ladies were married to some nobles of England.

"At the beginning of the month of May [1247], the king having stayed at Woodstock from the feast of St. Vitalis till the morrow of that of the Apostles Philip and James, two ladies of Provence were married to two noble youths, namely, Edmund, Earl of Lincoln, and Richard de Bourg, whom the king had for some years brought up in his palace.

"At this marriage the sounds of great discontent and anger were wafted through the kingdom, because, as they said, these females, although unknown, were united to the nobles against their will."

This is the last record we can trace of Edmund de Lacy until his death, which happened in 1258, at the early age of 28.

He was buried at Stanlawe Abbey, leaving an only son, Henry de Lacy, born in 1251, the founder of Whalley Abbey, and "the last and greatest man of his line."

At the early age of six years Henry de Lacy was affianced to Margaret, eldest daughter of William Longspie, grandson of King Henry II., and Rosamund Clifford, known in legend as "The fair Rosamond."

A minor when his father died, he, like his parent before him, was brought up and educated at court as a ward of the king, and, later on, we will refer to him again.

CHAPTER XIII.

RETURNING to the Coucher Book, we find in 1276 another benevolent gentleman of Norman descent, Thomas de Perpount, bestowing upon “the abbot and monks of Stanlawe and the chapel of Saynte Mariden all his land next the said chapel.”

Though dating back six hundred years or more, there is no difficulty experienced in identifying this interesting gift as the church glebe[1] of the present day, so clearly is the land defined in the donor’s charter, which, translated, reads as follows:—

“Charter of Thomas de Perpount made to us of land next the chapel of Saynte Mariden.

“ Know all men, as well present as to come, that I, Thomas de Perpount, have given, granted, and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the Blessed Mary and to the abbot and monks of Saint Benedict, of Stanlawe, there for ever serving God, and to the chapel of Saynte Mariden, for the salvation of my soul and of the souls of all my ancestors and successors, in pure and perpetual almoign, all my land next the said chapel of Saynte Mariden within these bounds, to wit, from the cemetery of the said chapel on the west side directly into the Kirkebrok, following the Kirkebrok to the Mukelbrok, following the Mukelbrok to the ditch descending to the same Mukelbrok, following the ditch into the hedge which comes across from the cemetery of the said chapel on the east side, and so following the hedge to the cemetery aforesaid. To hold and to have of me and my heirs for ever, freely, well, and in peace and honorably, with all appurtenances and easements in all places and things under the land and upon the land of the township of Rumworth appertaining as any alms or land can most freely and quietly be given or had to a church. Rendering nothing therefrom to any one save prayers and orisons, as the writing of Robert Gredeley, chief lord of the aforesaid fee, which the abbot of Stanlawe and the convent of the same place have in their possession, of the grant and confirmation of the aforesaid land, more fully testifies. And I, the aforesaid Thomas, and my heirs will for ever warrant, acquit, and defend all the aforesaid land within the above written bounds, with the appurtenances and liberties as it is aforesaid, to the said abbot and convent of Stanlawe and to the before-named chapel, against all men and women for ever. And that this our gift and grant may remain ratified and established, I have affixed my seal to the present writing. These being witnesses: Sir John de Biron, David de Hulton, Richard de Workedel; Richard, son of John, son of Meurice; Robert de Schoresworth, and others."

In a foot-note, referring to this charter, the editor tells us:

“These boundaries define the present glebe attached to the church at Deane. The name Mukelbrok has, by an easy transition, been corrupted into Middle-brook, and the term Kirkebrok is now lost. But the brook remains and flows as it did six hundred years since, within a few yards of the western wall of the churchyard, direct to the Mukelbrok.”

Interesting remarks, and as applicable now as when written in 1848, though we may say that, while no longer used, the term Kirkebrok has simply undergone, in modern times, the easy transition to Church brook, the name now, as in the early days of the writer, of the ancient stream, a distinction without a difference, for Johnson’s Dictionary by Todd, 1818, tells us that “ ‘Kirk’ is an old word for church, yet retained in Scotland, and ‘ Broke’ [now

1 Land belonging to an ecclesiastical benefice.

written brook] Saxon for a running water, less than a river."

Of the ancient stream Mukelbrok we may say that it signifies much-brook, mukel being, says the Imperial Dictionary, Saxon for much, thus distinguishing it from the smaller streams which, like the Kirkebrok, run into it.

Undated, the charter may be referred to 1276, that being the year in which, by an accompanying deed, Robert de Gredeley, Baron of Manchester, confirmed Thomas de Perpount's gift of the land to the abbey, that and other land in the neighbourhood of Deane, being at the period, as we shall presently see, held under the Barony of Manchester.

The following is a translation of Robert de Gredeley's charter:

"Confirmation of Robert de Gredeley of the aforesaid land of Saynte Mariden.

"To all to whom the present writing shall come, Robert Gredeley, Lord of Manchester, greeting in the Lord. Know ye that I, out of regard for the charity and for the salvation of my soul and (of those) of all my ancestors and successors, have granted and by this my present charter confirmed to God and the Blessed Mary, and to the abbot and monks of Saint Benedict of Stanlawe, and to their chapel of Saynte Mariden, all the land next the said chapel, with the appurtenances and liberties, which Thomas de Perpount gave them in pure and perpetual alms, within these bounds, to wit, from the cemetery of the said chapel, etc., as in the charter next preceding, as far as that word, following the hedge to the cemetery, as the charter well testifies which the said abbot and convent have of the said Thomas. So that neither I nor any of my heirs may be able to demand or claim anything from the said land for ever, save prayers and orisons.

"But it shall be free and quit from all exaction of me and my heirs, as any alms or land of the church is most fully and quietly held. In witness whereof to the present writing I have affixed my seal. These being witnesses: Sir John de Biron, Henry de Trafford, Richard de Moston, Roger de Penhulbury, David de Hulton, Robert de Schoreswed, William de Radcliffe, and others. Done at Manchester on the day of Saint Boniface, in the fourth year of the reign of King Edward, son of Henry [1276]."

Besides the foregoing charters, the writer came across one more in the British Museum, referring to Stanlawe, Thomas de Perpound, and Saynte Mariden, not found in Whalley Coucher Book.

This is to be seen at page 315 of an interesting note book marked " Harleian 2064," and called, " The Copy of the Ledger [Leiger] Books of Vale Royal and Stanlawe," both in Cheshire.

In addition to those referring to Stanlawe, the book contains transcripts of charters referring to St. Werburg, the Cathedral of Chester since the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539.

It was in one of the chapels of this cathedral, George Marsh, the Deane martyr, was examined before Bishop Cotes and by him condemned to be burnt at the stake in 1555.

Translated the charter reads as follows:

"Charter of the Abbot of Stanlawe made to Thomas de Perpoint.

" To all whom the present writing may come, Brother Robert, dean, abbot of the blessed place of Stanlaw and the convent of the same place, saluting, etc. Be it known that we have resigned and quit claim to Thomas de Perpoint and his heirs certain land of ours which is called Sikilcroft, and all our land beyond the Noteshaye brook towards Snythul, formerly belonging to our chapel of Saynte Maridene, in exchange for a certain portion of land adjoining the same chapel below certain boundaries, which the same Thomas gave to us and to our said chapel in pure and perpetual charity as the charter of the said Thomas proves, and as the writing of Robert Gredley, chief of the lordship of the aforesaid fee, which we have in possession concerning the confirmation of the aforesaid land, more fully testifies, etc. We grant also to the said Thomas and his heirs, on behalf of ourselves and our successors, free power of use for his profit of the waste lands in the further part of Notesthaye brook towards Snythul, in whatsoever manner they may be willing and may see to be advantageous, without objection of any of us, etc. Witnesses: Lord John de Byron, the Lord of Hulton, Richard of Workedeley, Richard son of John son of Maurice, Robert of Sherisworth, and others.

This charter is interesting as evidence of an earlier donation of land than that of Thomas de Pierpount, and as "it formerly belonged," the abbot tells us, "to the chapel of Saynte Mariden," it, apparently, came to the monks, with John de Lacy's gift of the sacred edifice in 1235.

In addition to the date, the charter also omits the name of the donor of the land. Probably both were unknown to the monks, and certainly it is to Stanlawe, rather than to Whalley Abbey, that we are indebted for the preservation of the transcript of the abbot's charter.

Possibly the donor's name may be seen in the prefix Sikil, in the compound word Sikilcroft, while the croft, no longer discernable, may be said to form part of the land lying near the ancient stream Noteshaye.

Flowing, as of old, under the Wigan road, at the bridge named after it, distant less than a mile to the west of Deane, the ancient Noteshaye,[2] now written Knutshaw, still wends its way through Rumworth township to the ancient Mukelbrok, now known as the Middle brook, into which it ran up to some fifty years back.

Intercepted then by the erection of an embankment corresponding to the height of the sides of the wide and deep ravine seen at this end, and through which it flowed, the stream now goes to form a lake of some extent, known as the Rumworth Reservoir.

Thus reserved, the water from the little stream is, in very dry weather, used to augment the Middle brook, upon which—in its course through Deane Valley to join the river Croal at Bolton—the various cotton mills and other works lying on its stream are dependent for their main supply of water.

The reservoir affords also excellent boating and fishing to those enjoying that privilege.

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2 This and the Kirkebrok have their rise in the adjoining township of Over Hulton.

A mile or so to the west of Noteshaye, or rather, Knutshaw Bridge, and adjoining the same Wigan Road, lies Snythul, now written variously Snydle, Snidle, and Snydale, a farm with a house known as Snydle Hall, built in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and in 1578 owned by John Parr, of Kemnough Hall, Worsley.

Wigan Road, extending from Deane to the town of Wigan, commands from its position along the south side of Deane Valley, as far as Snydle and some distance beyond, the picturesque hill scenery on the opposite side of the valley, which, commencing with Smithills on the right, extends to Rivington Pike on the left.

From the Pike—a favourite resort, six miles to the north-west of Deane—"it is said, twenty-six parish churches, sixty-eight gentlemen's seats, seven English counties, and a great part of North Wales may be seen with the naked eye, whilst vessels plying between the Isle of Man and Liverpool are very clearly discernible." *Vide* Annals of Bolton.

Besides the Pike, there were, a little way to the east of it, two more prominent objects of interest, now demolished, visible from Deane in the schooldays of the writer.

These were known as "The Two Lads," or, as Dorning Rasbotham terms them, "Wilder Lads," two rude piles of stones, so called from the tradition of the country that they were erected in memory of two boys who were wildered (bewildered) and lost in the snow.

"They are," continues this historian, "undoubtedly of very high antiquity and were originally united by a circular mound, about three-quarters of which yet remaineth visible. The circumference is about twenty-four feet and a half, and the passage between them about six and a quarter feet."

Returning to Thomas de Perpount, a name variously written, Perfund, Perpoint, Pierpoints, Pierrepoints, and, as above, Perpount, Burke's extinct Peerage says "the Pierrepoints took their name from a castle in Picardy, France, which continued in the family down to the time of Richard the first [1189]."

Baines in his account of Rivington tells us that "according to Dr. Kuerden, confirmed by the Testa [testimony] de Neville[3] Albert Gredley the younger gave to Thomas de Perpoint three carucates of land in Rivington and Lostock for the third part of the fee of one knight, and his heirs,' says that document, ' now hold that land.'"

The historian also adds that "among the tenants of the barony of Manchester, enumerated in Birch's MS. Feodarium, are the heirs of John, son of Henry de Halton [Hulton], who held of this barony the third part of one knight's fee in Rumworth with Lostock which Robert Parpoynte formerly held of the fee; thus showing that the Pierpoints held the three adjoining townships of Rumworth, Lostock, and Rivington, the two former of which passed to the Hultons."

"In Harleian MS, 2063, there is a fine recorded, under date of the 16th year of Edward I., 1287, between William de Anderton and Ameria, his wife, of the manors of Lostock, Ince, etc.; and Randle Holme[4] notes that the fine was copied in 1636 from the 'Coucher [Book] of

3 Compiled from various sources of information about the year 1325.
4 A distinguished antiquary and Herald of Chester, living in 1624.

Lostoc, Evidences,' in the custody of Christopher Anderton, Esq.; and he adds that Ameria was the daughter and co-heiress of Thomas de Perpoint, of Lostock." *Vide* Lanc. and Ches. Notes, vol. 3, page 37.

Since writing the above, we have come across Lanc. and Ches. Record Society's vol. 39, and in the introduction we learn that "A final Concord or Fine is a legal instrument [peculiar to the period 1196-1307] by which lands were conveyed or transferred in the form of a compromise or agreement made between the parties who had been litigating their rights in the King's Court.

"And when once a suit had been commenced, no compromise could be entered into, or agreement made, without the sanction of the court and the payment of a fine."

Singular to say, we find at page 164 of this interesting work particulars of the fine referred to above, namely:—

"At Westminster, on the Octave of St. Martin, 16 Edward I. (18th nov. 1287).

"Between Robert de Condeclive, plaintiff, and William de Andreton, and Ameria, his wife, deforciants of the Manor of Lostock in Rumworth.

"William and Ameria acknowledged the manor to be the right of Robert, and rendered it to him, to hold of them and the heirs of Ameria, in perpetuity, rendering yearly a rose at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and performing the services due to the chief lords,; for this acknowledgment he gave them a sor sparrow-hawk."

We learn further, from a foot-note to the above, that "William, son of William de Anderton, and Ameria, his wife, held Rumworth and Lostock for one-third of a knight's fee in 1282 (Memcestre, p. 154). The said William held this fee of Robert Grelley in 1302, when he contributed to the aid to marry the king's daughter.

"Probably Ameria was the daughter and heiress of Richard de Pierpont, who held this fee in 1242 (Testa, ii., f. 791). This Concord was made in order to confirm some previous feoffment of Lostock to Robert de Cunliffe."

Here let us make a further short reference to Robert de Gredeley, a name illustrating the great laxity of ancient orthography. It is variously spelt Greslie, Greslet, Grelli, Grelley, and, as here, Gredeley.

He was, like Thomas de Pierpount, of Norman descent. The ancestor of the family came over with the Conqueror, and, after the battle of Hastings, appears to have settled in Manchester.

From Roger de Poictou, so called from having married Almodis of Poictou, a relative of the Conqueror, and by whose favour he then owned all Lancashire, the family acquired a considerable tract of land in the Hundred of Salford, which included Deane and the forest of Horwich, over which he exercised lordship.

These possessions, in the time of Robert Greslet, who died in 1231, are said to have comprised a tract of about ten miles from north to south, varying in breadth from six to eight

miles, including Deane, Smithills, Horwich, Heaton, Lostock, Rumworth, Pilkington, Aspule, West Houghton, Hulton, Farnworth, Anglezargh, Sharples, Longworth, Rivington, Turton, Halliwell, Harwood, Little Lever, and Bradshaw.

Robert was succeeded by his son Thomas, then under age, and in 1249, on attaining full age, obtained from the king, Henry III., a grant, dated Woodstock, July 23rd, 1249, of free warren in all his demesne or lordshiplands of Manchester.

Hibbert Ware, referring to this grant, tells us that Thomas Greslet regarded the forest of Horwich as the most valuable appendage of the manor of Manchester.

"It is," he adds, "also rendered highly probable, from an examination of manorial records, that the baron's chief residence was not at Manchester, but at a hunting-seat, which he built for himself, at or near Heton-under-the-forest, for the sake of hunting and hawking upon the grounds of Horwich."

"Although the extent of the forest was," says Harland, "rated at sixteen miles in circumference, its bounds were so much disputed by adjoining proprietors, among whom were the Laceys, that the greatest vigilance was required to prevent intrusion or trespass."

"A forest," according to Manwood's Forest Laws, published in 1598 (cap. 1, sec. 5), "is the highest franchise of noble and princely pleasure; next in degree unto it is a liberty of a frankchase; the diversity between a park and a chase is, that a park is enclosed and a chase is always open; the last in degree is the liberty of franchise of a free warren.

"Every complete forest holds within itself a chase, a park, and a warren."

The forest of Horwich had within its jurisdiction a forest court, consisting of a judge and other officers; and persons guilty of intrusion or trespass, etc., were punished as the Forest Laws direct.

It was guarded by three foresters supported from land in Rumworth, Heaton, Halliwell, Lostock, Sharpies, Longworth, and Anderton.

Two years before Thomas Greslet's death, in 1261, Henry III. constituted him warder of the king's forests south of the Trent.

He was succeeded by his grandson, the Robert de Gredeley who confirmed Thomas de Perpount's gift of land to the chapel of Saynte Mariden; he died in 1282, being then about thirty years of age.

The decline of Horwich forest dates back, probably, to the time of the dissolution of the abbeys, when Henry VIII. seized all the church lands and converted them and their woods to his own use.

How long it had been known as a royal forest does not appear, probably from Saxon times.

CHAPTER XIV.

RESUMING our account of the Lacy family, we find, as already mentioned, King Edward I. summoning, in 1292, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, to appear at Lancaster, to show by what authority or warrant—"quo warranto"—he claimed the hundred of Blackburn, free warren in Deane, etc., and market and fair in Rochdale and Clitheroe; and free chase in all his fees in Blackburn, Deane, etc.

This was not, as it would seem to imply, an unfriendly proceeding on the part of Edward, for Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was among the last of the great landowners to whom the king issued his writ of " quo warranto," and for an explanation we must go back to the year 1274.

In that year Edward returned from his crusade to the holy land to find that his father, Henry III., had died two years before, 1272; and one of his first cares, after ascending the throne, was to ascertain the full rights and possessions of the crown.

Commissions were appointed, Oct. 11th, 1274, whose duty it was to inquire by what title the land-holders held their estates and claimed the liberties and immunities which they enjoyed.

The inquiry excited fierce opposition, and when John de Warrene, Earl of Surrey, was summoned in 1278 to produce his title deeds, he bared a rusty sword, and told the commissioners, "Here, sirs, is my warrant; my ancestors came over with William of Normandy and conquered these lands by the sword, and by the sword I will hold them against all who seek them."

But Edward never faltered in his purpose, and the inquiry went on at intervals through a period of over twenty years.

The method of procedure before the justices was simple; they went down on circuit into the district and summoned the great landowners to produce their titles.

A crown prosecutor stated the king's case, and if—in the absence of documents—prescription or any other plea was advanced by the defendant, a jury from the district was empanelled to give a verdict, and the records of proceedings seem to show that there was no undue influence.

During the lapse of years many families had lost their original deeds, and in that case their lands were adjudged to the king, and withheld from the owners, till the restoration had been purchased by an arbitrary fine.

The records of proceedings in Henry de Lacy's case are preserved in the Record Office, and an abridged translation of that portion referring to Deane reads as follows:

"*Placita de Quo Warranto*, page 369."

" Pleas of *Quo Warranto* and Rangeman before Hugh de Cressingham and his associates, Justices in Eyre, at Lancaster, in the octave of Holy Trinity, in the twentieth year of the reign of King Edward, son of Henry." "Justices in Eyre" were itinerant judges who

rode the circuit, to hold courts in the different counties. The word “Eyre” literally means a journey or circuit.

“Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, was summoned that he should be here at this day to show by what warrant he claims to have the wapentake of Blakeburne, and free-warren in Dene, etc., and market and fair in Clyderhow, and Rachedam, and free chase in all his fees in Blakeburne, Dene, etc.; and to make attachments and distresses by his bailiff in the fees aforesaid, and to have suit concerning all trespasses done within his fees without suit of plaintiffs.

“And by what warrant he claims to be quit for him and his men of the custody of felon and thieves arrested, and from common fines and emercements of the country; and from suits of counties and wapentakes.

“And that none of the bailiffs of the Lord the King may enter into his fees within this county of Lancaster to exercise any office without the presence of his bailiffs—which things appertain to the crown and dignity of the Lord the King—without the licence and goodwill of the Lord the King and his progenitors, Kings of England, etc.

“And the Earl comes and produces a certain charter of the Lord the King Henry, father of the Lord the King that now is, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign [1241], whereby he granted to Edmund de Lacy that he and his heirs may have free-warren in their demesne lands in the places aforesaid.

“And as to having suit of certain trespasses done within his fees aforesaid, it is lawful for him by his bailiff to attach the trespasser to appear before his court, and to punish a convicted trespasser, excepting pleas of the Crown.

“And if any robber or other shall be taken within his fee for any matter which he cannot try in his own court, then his bailiffs shall deliver him to the king’s bailiff; and so he and all his ancestors have done from the time aforesaid.

“And the jurors say upon their oath that the aforesaid Earl and his ancestors, and all other lords holding the aforesaid manors which the Earl now holds, were accustomed to use all the aforesaid liberties which the aforesaid Earl now claims, in the same form as the aforesaid Earl now claims them, from time whereof memory is not, without any interruption of time.

“And that the aforesaid Earl and all his ancestors have had from the aforesaid time free chase in their demesne lands in Blakeburnshire, Dene, etc.” A verdict, doubtless, satisfactory in all respects to the Earl of Lincoln.

The monks had now been located at Stanlawe just upon a century, and from the pious donations of their many benefactors had become possessed of considerable wealth.

In addition to the important endowments already referred to, other proprietors of land in Lancashire and Cheshire had, as shown by the Coucher Book, also contributed of their wealth to enrich the abbey.

Of local families, we notice the Gretleys, Bartons, Hultons, Worsleys, etc., endowing the monastery with tracts of land in Eccles, Barton, Swynton, Pendleton, Worsley, Hulton, Westhoughton, Pendlebury, etc.

Among the gifts of the Hulton family we find Richard Hulton conferring upon the abbey, land in Pendleton, and at the foot of the deed is appended a pedigree of that ancient and respected family, as follows:—

1. Blethyn de Hulton, the first of the family on record, had two sons:
    1 Jorwerth, or Yarwritt de Hulton.
    2 Madoc.
2. Jorwerth de Hulton had a grant of Penhulton from King John, *anno regno primo.* He had four children:
    1 Richard, who succeeded.
    2 Robert de Hulton, who had three children:
        1 Robert de Hulton, seneschal of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, A.D. 1240, married Alice, daughter and heir of John de Pontefracto, and had one child, Richard Hulton.
        2 Jordan de Hulton, parsona de Weryngton.
        3 Elena.

    3 Meurice de Hulton had one son:
        1 John de Hulton, who had one son:
            Richard de Hulton, who was succeeded by his son, Richard.
    4 Meredith de Hulton, who had a son,
        William, whose son and heir,
            Thomas, married Diana de Salebury.
    5 Catherine, married Philip de Malpas.
    6 Cecilia.
3. Richard de Hulton had a grant from Editha de Barton of two broates of land in Hulton, with the assent of Gilbert de Notton, *"domini et sponti mei."* He had four sons :
    1 David de Hulton, who succeeded.
    2 William, married Beatrice de Blackburn.
    3 Roger, living 8 Edward I.
    4 John, parsona ecclesie de Radeclif.
4. David de Hulton, living 36 Henry III., married Agnes de Blackburn, and had four children:
    1 Richard de Hulton, who succeeded.
    2 Adam.
    3 Cecilia.
    4 John de Hulton, who married Joan, daughter of Richard de Mamcestre, and had two sons:
        1 Henry de Hulton de ffarneworth, had issue three sons:
            1 John de Hulton, living 1 Edward III., had issue:
                1 William a quo Hulton of Farneworth.
                2 Henry.
                3 Adam.
            2 Henry de Hulton, living 20 Edward III.
            3 Agnes, married Adam de Lever.

2 Richard Hulton de Wichnese, married Hawisia, daughter of Gilbert de Limme, and had issue:

1 Richard, living 23 Edward I.
2 Hugh, had issue:
John, living 23 Edward I.
3 Adam.

5. Richard de Hulton, had a grant of free warren in Ordeshall and Hulton, 32 Edward I. He married Margery, daughter of Robert de Radecliue, and had issue.
    1 Richard, who succeeded.
    2 Adam, who also succeeded.
    3 John, who also succeeded.
    4 Roger.
6. Richard de Hulton, living 5 Edward II., was succeeded by his only son and heir,
7. Richard de Hulton, living 7 Edward III., and was succeeded by his uncle,
8. Adam de Hulton, from whom the present family descend.

From the Annals of Bolton we learn that " the Hulton family settled at Hulton about the time of the conquest, and have remained uninterrupted lords ever since," and, we may add, were lords also of the manors of Middle and Little Hulton up to the year 1311.

"In that year," according to Canon Raines' foot notes to Bishop Gastrell's Not. Cest., "Geoffrey de Worsely obtained the manor of Middle Hulton in exchange with Richard de Hulton, and from the Worsleys it passed, after several intermediate descents, to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, whose descendant, Francis, the last Duke of Bridgewater, dying in 1903, devised it to his nephew, the Right Hon. Francis Levison Gower, created Earl of Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley in 1846."

"The ancient possessions of the Hultons of Hulton," says Brown, writing in 1825, "were, probably, in part cleared and cultivated at a very remote period, as a Roman road—leading from the camp Manchurium [Manchester] to a station on the spot upon, or near, which Blackrode is now seen—passed through a part of these manors or townships." In addition to these townships of Little, Middle, and Over Hulton, the road traverses another township in the ancient parish of Deane, namely, Westhoughton.

Speaking of relics of the past, the Rector of Barkham, in his English Villages, says: "Near your village perhaps a Roman road runs; these roads remain, and are evidences of the great engineering skill which their makers possessed;

"You may see these roads wending their way straight as a die, over hill and dale, staying not for marsh or swamp.

"In central places, as at Blackrod, in Lancashire, the roads extend like spokes from the centre of a wheel, although 1,800 years have lapsed since their construction.

"The Romans called their roads strata, or streets, and all names of places containing the word street, such as Streatley, or Stretford "—and, we may add, Street-gate, the name, until changed in recent years to Manchester Road, of that part of the road traversing the townships referred to above—"denotes that they were situated on one of these Roman roads."

Hulton Hall, the seat of the Hulton family from time immemorial, lies within two miles to the south-west of the venerable church at Deane, the ancient burial-place of the ancestors of the family. Erected in the early days of the writer, the family vault is now seen in the burial ground of the church, near the south boundary wall, and facing the church tower, a tall cross marking the spot. Here rest the parents and grandparents of the present squire.

Whittle, writing in 1855, says: “The park in which Hulton Hall stands is a beautiful spot; the pleasure grounds and plantations are very extensive. The present hall stands upon the site of the ancient one; it is elegant, with a semi-circular wing and portico. The ancient chapel, attached to the hall, no longer exists.”

Returning to the monks, wealth, however, might alleviate, but could not compensate for the hardship of a habitation like the abbey, rendered uncomfortable through frequent inundations from the sea

Stanlawe, notwithstanding the name, “Locus Benedictus, the Blessed Place,” appears to have had its share of misfortunes, and the monks, not unnaturally, longed for translation to a more congenial spot.

Ormerod, the learned historian of Cheshire, and in his youth a private pupil of the Rev. Thos. Bancroft, formerly vicar of Bolton, says the situation of the abbey was low and unpleasant, at spring tides nearly inaccessible, and sometimes overflowed.

“No wonder,” he says, speaking of the year 1272, “the monks, had long wished for a change of residence, and their anxiety for removal was shortly to be increased by further distresses of more than ordinary character.

“In 1279 the sea broke in upon Stanlaw, interrupted the highway, and washed down the bridge leading to Chester; and in 1287 the great tower of the church was blown down in a violent storm.

Two years later, 1289, the greatest part of the abbey perished in a conflagration; while in the same year the lands of the abbey suffered so severely by a second inundation that an indulgence of forty days was granted to all who assisted the abbey by contributions.

“And to direct the aid of pious charity into the same channel, other indulgences were granted by Roger, Archbishop of Montroyal, and Aimo, Bishop of Versailles, to all who should undertake a pilgrimage to Stanlawe to pray for the souls of Edmund de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and those of his ancestors buried there.”

The anxieties of the monks for removal under so many calamities found a more than sympathiser in Henry de Lacy, the great and good Earl of Lincoln, who purchased and bestowed upon them the advowson of the church of Whalley, with its numerous chapels.

After some unexpected difficulty, the pope and others interfering with their translation, the monks, at last, removed to Whalley in 1296, and took possession of the old deanery, or parsonage, pending the erection of their monastery at that favourable spot.

It was not long, however, before another appeal was made to the Earl's generosity, this time, however, from the monks of Kirkstall Abbey, and for quite a different purpose to that prayed for by the monks of Stanlawe.

The foundation of this abbey, in 1152, was due to the benefaction of a de Lacy, and now the convent had become so involved in debt to a Jew and other creditors that in order to relieve the monks of their financial embarrassment, it was found necessary to dispose of the Blackburnshire and other estates of the abbey, and a generous purchaser was found in Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln.

Henry, at this critical moment in the affairs of the abbey, was attending upon the king in France, and Abbot Hughes travelled all the way to Gascony to effect this arrangement.

"Here," says the abbot, writing to his monks, "we found our patron, the Earl of Lincoln, with other great men of the court, attending upon the king; and to him we explained fully and to the best of our ability the distresses of the house [abbey].

"He was touched with pity at our representation, and promised us all the information and assistance in his power."

The sale of the lands being arranged, the wily abbot concluded his letter by urging his monks to remove everything movable from the land, except the crops, before the Earl's messenger arrived to take possession.

We next find Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in Scotland, assisting at the defeat of the Scots under Wallace at Falkirk, 22nd July, 1298, when he led the vanguard of the English army, which contained 1,000 men from Lancashire, including a number from Bolton and district.

From the records we possess of the accounts of the Earl's several estates, Henry would appear to have been in Lancashire in 1305, for his receiver at Clitheroe, between May and September in that year, paid 1/8 for carrying the Earl's bed to his castle at Denbigh in Wales.

A later entry in the accounts seems to indicate that Henry was staying at his Tottington manor in 1306, and, in the same year, we find him attending at Whalley to lay the foundation stone of the new abbey in person.

"The building," says Dr. Whittaker, the learned historian of Whalley, "was to be of a spacious and magnificent character, estimated to cost £3,000, a great sum in those days, and calculated to represent at the present time (1801) £45,000, no extravagant estimate if the parts which have perished were equal to those that remain."

CHAPTER XV.

ON January 9th, 1307, a royal commission empowered Walter, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, treasurer of the exchequer, and the Earl of Lincoln, to open the Parliament at Carlisle; and on the roll of that assembly, in February, the Earl's name comes next to that of the Prince of Wales.

A commission of array, for raising an army, towards which Lancashire contributed one thousand foot soldiers, including a further contingent from Bolton and neighbourhood, was attested at Carlisle, 19th March, the troops being needed to pursue Robert Bruce on the moors and marshes where he was lurking.

The army left Carlisle 4th July, 1307, accompanied by the king, with whom was Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and while on the march the king was taken ill at Burgh, and died there on the 7th, the Earl of Lincoln being present with the monarch in his last moments, and received from him the request to be faithful to his son, Edward II., at whose coronation he bore one of the swords of state.

Returning to Whalley, the Earl of Lincoln did not live long enough to see much of the beauty of the new abbey, for it was built by degrees, and not finished until about 140 years after his death, which took place in February, 1311, at his mansion, Lincoln's Inn, which, named after him, bears his arms.

He was buried with great pomp at St. Paul's Cathedral, to which edifice he was a munificent contributor. A stately tomb, set up in his memory, was consumed in the great fire of London, 1665.

The Earl was unfortunate in his offspring. His eldest son, Edmund, was drowned in a well at Denbigh Castle, which Edward I. bestowed upon him in 1284; and his son John was killed by falling through a window in Pontefract Castle, another of his castles.

His surviving daughter, Alice, and heiress, born about 1283, was affianced at nine years of age, says Camden, to Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, eldest son of Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed Crouchback, that is, Crossback, or Crusader, the son of Henry III., on condition that if they died without heirs the Earl of Lincoln's property should go to the aforesaid Edmund. Coucher Bk., vol. 1, p. 4.

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, with the accession of property brought by his wife Alice, became the most opulent and powerful subject in the reign of Edward II., possessing in his own right and that of his wife no fewer than six earldoms, attended with all the jurisdictions and power which in that age were annexed to landed possessions.

In 1312, the Earl headed a conspiracy of the nobles against King Edward's early favourite, Piers de Gaveston, whom Edward I. had banished and forbidden his son, the present king, to hold further intercourse with him; and seizing him in the castle of Warwick, struck off his head without the formality of a trial.

Not long after this untoward event, the king found another favourite in Hugh de Despenser, who soon became as distasteful to the irritated barons as Gaveston had been.

The Earl of Lancaster again headed a fresh conspiracy of his order, formed to force the king to banish this second favourite, but the king, speedily raising an army of 30,000 men, soon overpowered and defeated Lancaster and the other turbulent nobles.

The unfortunate Earl of Lancaster was taken prisoner, and being, shortly after, brought into the hall of his own castle at Pontefract, received, in the presence of the king, sentence of death.

He was then paraded through the streets upon a wretched horse without bridle, and, with a friar's hood upon his head, led to the foot of a hill outside the town and there beheaded.

The Earl is considered to have been a great benefactor to the poor, a devoted adherent to his own order, and a man of more than ordinary ability; while, at the same time, he is said to have been ambitious and disloyal.

Many miracles are reported to have been wrought at his tomb, and so great was the veneration paid him that people worshipped his picture, which was painted on a tablet in St. Paul's Cathedral, till King Edward III. found it necessary, in 1323, to inhibit them from doing so.

Soon after the Earl's death his widow, Alice, married Eubulo le Strange, whom she survived many years, and, dying in 1348, was buried by his side in the conventual church of Barlings, in Lincolnshire; the abbot and monks of which abbey played an important part in the rebellion called the Pilgrimage of Grace, nearly two hundred years after.

On the death of Edward II., one of the first acts of his son, Edward III., was to reverse the attainder of Earl Thomas, and to place his brother Henry, who succeeded to the title, in possession of the princely inheritance of that illustrious house, which, as we have seen, included the manor of Deane.

Whalley Abbey, from its foundation to the breaking up of the monastic system in England, in 1539, affords, says Dr. Whittaker, the historian of Whalley, little matter for history.

Describing its situation, he says, "a copious stream to the south,, a moderate expanse of rich meadow and pasture around; and an amphitheatre of sheltering hills clad in the verdant covering of their native woods beyond, were features in the face of nature which the earlier Cistercians courted with attractive fondness; in this favoured situation the monks of Stanlawe fixed their habitation."

" Whalley, previously venerable for its ecclesiastical antiquity, became," he continues, "the seat of a flourishing establishment, which continued for two centuries and a half to exercise unbounded hospitality and charity, to adorn the site which had been chosen, with a succession of magnificent buildings; to protect the tenants of its ample domains in the enjoyment of independence and plenty; to educate and provide for their children; to employ, clothe, feed, and pay many labourers, herdsmen, and shepherds; to exercise the arts and continue the learning of the times."

At the time the translation to Whalley took place the monks numbered thirty-five, and

of them five preferred to remain at Stan- law with the old abbot, Robert de Haworth.

Stanlaw Abbey seems to have subsisted as a small cell down to the general dissolution of monasteries, and in recent years is said to be merely a farm house, and the demesnes belonging to it, a rich grass farm, appears to be fertilized rather than injured by the periodical inundations of sea-water to which it is still exposed.

In the able work just referred to, Dr. Whittaker gives interesting information about the monks and their abbey from the time of Gregory de Norbury, the first, to John Paslew, the last abbot; and of this we hope to make considerable use as our own little work proceeds.

Abbot Norbury had not been long installed in his office before he and seventy-eight other abbots and priors were summoned to the Parliament held in London on the 6th March, 1300; not being well enough, himself, he appears to have sent an apology and appointed a proxy.

As was the, custom of the time, Abbot Norbury appears to have made merchandise of his native families. The sale or transfer of one of them is set forth in a deed, of which the following, taken from Baines' Lancashire, 1870, vol. 2, page 9, is a translated copy:

"To all, etc., Gregory, Abbot of the Convent of Whalley, etc., health. You shall know that we for ourselves and each of our successors have given, granted, and delivered to our beloved in Christ, John G. and his assignees, R. son of I., son of A. de W., our native, with all his family, and all his effects, for 100 shillings sterling to us by the said John delivered and paid: so that the said John, with all his family, be free, discharged, and quit of all challenge. So that neither we nor our successors, for the future, shall be able to claim any right in the aforesaid, on account of his nativity, saving to us our right and challenge with respect to any others our natives. In witness whereof, we have affixed our seals."

Turning to the Coucher Book, we find the editor appends to one of the charters, page 523, the following interesting foot-note on the subject of buying and selling men :—

"It was made a reproach to the monastic orders that they purchased men contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. The defence of Peter of Clugni to such an accusation affords so striking a view of the miseries the villein [farm-labourer] was ordinarily exposed to, and the benefits he received by being transferred to a religious establishment, that no apology for its insertion is necessary :—

"'Every body sees how secular masters rule over their peasants, servants, and handmaids; for they are not satisfied with their accustomed and due service, but always unmercifully claim their persons with their property, and their property with their persons.

"'Hence it is that, beside their accustomed payments, they, three or four times in the year, or as often as they please, spoil them of their goods; they oppress them with innumerable claims of service; they lay upon them grievous and insupportable burthens; hence they force many to leave their native soil and fly to foreign parts; and (what is worse) their very persons, which Christ has redeemed with so rich a price—even His own blood—they are not afraid to sell for one so mean, that is, for money. Now monks, though they may have such possessions, do not possess them in the same way, but very differently; for they employ only the lawful and due services of the peasants to procure the conveniences of life.

"'They harass them with no exactions, they impose no intolerable burdens, and if they see them in want they maintain them at their own expense. They have servants and handmaids, not as servants and handmaids, but as brethren and sisters; and, receiving from them reasonable service according to their ability, take care in return that they shall suffer no want or injury ; so that they are, to use the words of the apostle, as having nothing, but possessing all things.' "

Robert Norbury died in 1309, and Helias de Workesley, D.D., succeeded him, of whom "it may probably be conjectured that he was descended from a celebrated hero in the Crusades called Elias the giant, who was born at Worsley, and, after many triumphs over the Infidels, died and was buried at Rhodes."

Of this abbot nothing is related except that he resigned his charge, and died in 1318 in the monastery of Baxley.

John de Belfield was the next abbot, and a grant in his time, 1319, from Adam de Huddleston of his quarry beyond the bridge of Calder in Billington, proves that the monks were at length setting about the building of their abbey in earnest.

Abbot Belfield died in 1323, and Robert de Topcliffe succeeded him.

This latter abbot is memorable for having begun "that spacious and magnificent pile, the Conventual Church, on the festival of St. Gregory the pope, Feb. 13th, 1330. The great work appears to have been slowly but regularly pursued, for within fifteen years from its foundation, John de Kuerdale, who had left lands to the annual value of five marks, was interred in the new Conventual Church. The work, however, was not yet carried beyond the nave."

It was in this abbot's time that, in 1337, Flemish refugees, weavers by trade, settling in Bolton and neighbourhood, introduced wooden shoes, now known as clogs, and Jannock, bread made from oatmeal; the former still worn and appreciated by many of the working classes in Lancashire; the latter, though seldom seen now, was, in the early days of the writer, preferred to white bread by many old people.

Aitkin, the historian of Manchester, etc., writing in 1795, tells us that "Jannock was formerly the only kind of bread used at Bolton, and was proverbially as noted as Cheshire cheese."

Another writer, but of a date fifty years later, tells us that passing down one of the streets of Bolton with a friend, " we heard a tall, stout, clog-footed man say to one who walked beside him, 'Noa wonder he betrayed thee, he is not jannock.'"

Enquiring the meaning of this phrase, they were told that "Jannock is a loaf made of oatmeal leavened, and, as this kind of food is considered good and nutritious, the word has come to signify that which is fair and honest."

John Lyndellay, D.D., succeeded Abbot Topcliffe, who appears to have resigned from old age in 1342.

"Abbot Lyndellay was a man who, for many reasons, ought not to be forgotten. For to his care and industry we are indebted for the Coucher Book of Whalley, which is a complete and accurate chartulary or transcript of evidences belonging to that and the parent-house of Stanlawe, digested into twenty titles, every title referring to a distinct parish or township, and to the title page is prefixed the following inscription :—

"Maria. I.A., I.H.S. Johannes, N.E.S.
Hic liber fuit scriptus tempore Conae memorial
Magistre Joh. Lyndelay sacre paginae professoris.
1347."

In 1349, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, patron of the house, granted in trust to the abbot and convent, " 2 cottages, 7 acres of land, 183 of pasture, 200 of wood, called Rommesgrove, in the chase of Blackburn; likewise 2 mess., 126 acres of land, 26 of meadow, 130 of pasture, called Standen, Hulcroft, and Grenelache, lying in the towns of Penhulton and Cliderhou, with the fold and foldage of Sanden, to support a recluse in a certain place within the churchyard of the parochial church of Whalley.

"As also two women servants to attend her, there to pray for the soul of the said Duke, his ancestors and heirs, and to find them every week 17 loaves of bread, such as is usually made in the convent, each weighing fifty shillings sterling, and seven loaves of an inferior sort and the same weight; also eight gallons of their better beer and three-pence for their food.

" Moreover, at the feast of All Saints, yearly, to provide them ten large stock fishes, one stone of tallow for candles, ten loads of turf and one load of faggots ; also to repair their habitations, and to find a monk, chaplain of the said abbey, of honest conversation, and a clerk to minister to him at mass daily for ever in the chapel of the said recluse with vestments, chalice, bread, wine, light, and other ornaments necessary for the said mass. The successor of the recluse to be nominated by the Duke and his heirs." Coucher Book, p. 1155.

Digressing for a moment, we find that Henry, Duke of Lancaster, was the son of Earl Henry of Lancaster, who inherited the possessions of the Lacy family, and died in 1345.

He had distinguished himself during King Edward III.'s invasion of France, and for his services there he was raised to the rank of Duke, being the second of that rank in England.

Abbot Lindelay appears to have died about the year 1377, the same year that Wycliffe, the earliest church reformer, who, having denounced the pope as antichrist and denying his supremacy, was compelled to appear a second time before Pope Gregory's commissioners at Lambeth, where he was so well protected by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and the citizens of London, that the judges feared to pronounce sentence against him.

He was born in 1324, near Richmond in Yorkshire, and died in 1384, at Lutterworth, of which place he was rector; and for his translation of the Holy Scriptures out of Latin into English, and other works, he has been appropriately called "the rising sun of the Reformation."

William Selbie, vicar of Whalley, was the next abbot, of whom nothing is remembered but the name.

Nicholas de Eboraco, who appears to have succeeded him in 1392, died in 1417, without, so far as can be learned, leaving any further record.

He was succeeded by William Whalley, and “after an interval of sixty years,” says Dr. Whittaker, “we meet with another notice relating to the progress of the building, for on the eve of Saint Thomas the Apostle, 1425, the convent took possession of a new dormitory with a ceremonial thus described.” Here follows a Latin quotation from Harleian MS., 1830, f. 24, a translation of which we append as under:—

“Be it remembered that in the year of our Lord 1425, on the vigil of St. Thomas the Apostle, the convent of Whalley entered into the new dormitory immediately after the compline had been sung by all in the church.

“Moreover, Sir William, the abbot, and the whole convent standing in procession sung the hymn ‘Te Deum laudamus,’ etc., and singing, the abbot having put on the cope, with the pastoral rod sprinkled all the beds of the dormitory with holy water; and after the end of the hymn, the collect ‘We beseech thee, O Lord’ having been said by the abbot, and the benediction having been given, they went out.”

“This was a striking ceremony,” continues Dr. Whittaker, “and serves to show with what judgment and knowledge of the human heart the gloomy uniformity of monastic life was occasionally varied by exhibitions calculated to strike the senses and arouse the imagination.”

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTRARY to what we are apt to suppose, the lives of the monks were very peaceful, entirely free from care, and lighted by the whole-hearted friendship which existed between the brethren.

It is recorded that when Peter de Blois left the abbey of Croyland, to return to France, he stopped seven times to look back and contemplate again the place where he had been so happy.

Another learned monk, Alcuin, when called from the cloister to the court of Charlemagne, is said to have lamented as follows:

"O my cell! sweet and well-beloved home, adieu for ever! I shall see no more the woods which surround thee with their interlacing branches and aromatic herbs, nor thy streams of fish, nor thy orchards, nor thy gardens where the lily mingles with the rose.

"I shall hear no more those birds who, like ourselves, sing matins and celebrate their Creator, in their fashion, nor those instructions of sweet and holy wisdom which sound in the same breath as the praises of the Most High from lips and hearts always peaceful.

"Dear cell! I shall weep thee and regret thee always."

The world owes much to these dwellers in monasteries. "They prayed," says the Rector of Barkham, "they wrote and studied; they were never idle; they emerged from their cells to preach and teach at the universities, to build churches and cathedrals, and astonish the world by their skill and learning.

"They were the true nurses of the poor; they supplied the wants of all who suffered from poverty, privation, and sickness; no poor laws, workhouses, or hospitals existed in their days.

"With wonderful assiduity the monks poured forth works of erudition, of history, of criticism; recorded the annals of their own times, and stored these priceless records in their libraries, which have done such good service to the historians of modern times" Hence our indebtedness to the monks of Whalley for the records they have left us of the early chapel of Saynte Mariden.

Abbot Whalley survived the benediction of the dormitory nine years, and seems to have devoted his latter days to the erection of the choir of the church, which, however, he did not live to see completed, for he died in 1434, after an active and useful presidency of seventeen years.

"He was succeeded by John Eccles, who must have been an aged man at his election, as he was considerably senior in order of admission to his predecessors.

"There can be little doubt that he was a native of the town whose name he bore, and of which his house had the appropriation.

"This abbot had the honour of putting the last hand to the fabric of his abbey, at least

according to the original plan, after a period of 142 years from the first foundation, for in 1435, *in vigilia omnium, sanctorum ad vesperes intravit conventus de Whalley in nova stalla, tempore Johannis Eccles Abbatis*."

Translated, this Latin reads as follows: "On the vigil of all saints, at vespers, the convent of Whalley entered on the new stall, in the time of Abbot John Eccles."

Dr. Whittaker here asks, "to what circumstances it was owing that the completion of an edifice, of which every part was wanting, either for the accommodation of its inhabitants, or for the pomp of worship, had been deferred so long?"

Continuing, he says: "The answer is obvious. The abbey of Whalley, with great revenues, was never rich, and, though the monks had not only neglected to increase their number to sixty, as they were bound to do by the Bull of Pope Boniface, but had even reduced their number beneath the original establishment of forty, yet, from the two statements of their affairs which have been made, they appear to have been usually in debt.

"Their founder had indeed bestowed upon them, in addition to their other possessions, a valuable rectory, and a rich and extensive glebe, but this was all. He permitted them to take possession of the old parsonage-house, and to provide for themselves better accommodation at their leisure; and, thus circumstanced, they judged wisely to adopt a magnificent plan, and to pursue it, though slowly yet with uniformity, rather than to disgrace themselves and what they conceived to be the cause of God, by mean and hasty erections.

"But by what mismanagement, it will be asked, were their funds inadequate to the completing of the present building in a much shorter period? Perhaps by no mismanagement at all.

"The claims upon their hospitality were immense, and sometimes drew from them complaints on a subject which, to do them justice, rarely excited their murmurs without cause.

"Hospitality was a virtue common to all religious houses; but the peculiar situation of Whalley, almost at an equal distance between Manchester and Lancaster, in the centre of a barren and inhospitable tract, and in the great route of the pilgrims from north to south, rendered these demands singularly oppressive here.

"Their liberality in money was also great. The nobility and gentry of the country had corrodies, or pensions. The poor friars, the minstrels, the officers of the ecclesiastical court in their visitations, and even the servants of ordinary visitants, partook of their bounty.

"Then again, the most hopeful of their novices were educated at the universities, and encouraged to proceed to the higher degrees, when degrees cost at least half as much in terms of money as at present.

" On the whole, it will leave no very unfavourable impression of the monks of Whalley to assert, what may be proved from their accounts, that no more than a fourth part of their large income was consumed in their own personal expenses.

"Of the adjoining hermitage, founded by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, nothing has

occurred since the foundation; but in the time of Abbot Eccles, the conduct of a votress of this establishment affords a pretext, which may seem to have been willingly embraced, for petitioning the king, who was now become patron as Duke of Lancaster, to dissolve an institution which did no credit either to itself or the monastery on which it depended."
Here follows a paragraph in Latin, which, translated, reads thus:

'"It appears King Henry VI., by writ of privy seal, nominated one Isold de Heton, widow, that she, for the term of her life, could be an anchorite in the place appointed therefor by the parish church of Whalley.'

"The vow was probably taken in the fervours of sorrow, which soon wore off, so that the widow grew weary of her confinement, and broke loose from her vow and her cell together.

"However, the behaviour of this Isola or Isold de Heton occasioned a representation to the king, which contains the following passages:

'"To the Kyng oure Sovereign Lord, etc. Be hit remembryd that the plase and habitacion of the seid recluse is within place halowed, and nere to the gate of the seyd monastre, and that the weemen that have been attendyng and acquayntyd to the seyd recluse have recourse dailly into the seyd monastre, for the livere [delivery] of brede, ale, kychin, and other thyngs for the sustentacyon of the seyd recluse accordyng to the composityon ententyd above rehearsyd, the wyche is not accordyng '(fitting) to be had withyn such religyous plases.

"'And now that dyvers that been anchores and recluses in the seyd plase aforetyme, contrary to theyre own oth and professyon, have brokyn owte of the seyd plase, wherein they were reclusyed, and departyd therfrom wythout eny reconsillyation.

"'And in especyal how that now Isold of Heton that was last reclusyd in the seyd place, at denomyatyon, and preferment of oure Sovereign Lord and Kyng that nowe is, is broken owte of the seyd plase, and hath departyd therfrom contrary to her own liberte by this two yere and more, like as she had never bin professyd, to the grete displeasaunce of hurt and disclander of the abbeye afore- seyd, etc.

"'Please it your Highness of your espesyal grase to grant to your orators the abbot,' etc.

"This petition had the desired effect of delivering the abbey from the vexation occasioned by these recluses. Henry VI. dissolved the hermitage, appointing in its place two chaplains to say mass daily in the parish church of Whalley for the soul of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and for his own good estate while living, and on the anniversary of his own death for ever, ordaining an obit[1] to be celebrated by thirty chaplains."

Referring to this dormitory, the Rector of Barkham says: "In the churchyard of Whalley, Lancashire, there are two cottages which stand upon the site of a reclusorium, founded by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in 1349.

"Here, in the reign of Henry VI., lived one Isole de Heton, who, wearied of her lot, left the anchorhold, an example which was followed by several of her successors. A scandal

1 Religious service for the soul of the departed.

having arisen, the hermitage was dissolved.

" Many a sad story of ruined hopes and broken hearts could these walls tell, which were the living tombs of many a devout erring sister, who, wounded in the world's war, sought the calm seclusion of a cell, and found there the peace which elsewhere they had failed to find."

Alluding to another dormitory, one at Salisbury, the same author tells us: "The cell had an altar, where the anchoress frequently prayed; also a table, a fire, and a cat lying before it.

"An unglazed window, with a shutter, was covered by a black curtain, through which she could converse with anyone outside without being seen; she was not allowed to put her head out of the open window.

"The long hours of solitude were spent in devotions, working embroidery, reading her few books, talking to her servant or those who desired to speak with her through the curtained window."

Abbot Eccles died in 1443, after retaining the abbacy for nine years.

Coming from the mother church of Eccles, he would, doubtless, be interested in the chapel of Saynte Mariden, then more than three hundred years old; and we are inclined to think that the erection of the succeeding sacred edifice, the grand old church of the present day, may be referred to his time, rather than to the year 1450, the supposed date, and only seven years later.

" In the space of twenty-nine years after this abbot's death, we find," says Dr. Whittaker, " a succession of four abbots, of whom nothing is remembered but their names, namely :—

Ralph Cliderhow, Vicar of Whalley.
Nicholas Billington.
Robert Hamond.
William Billington.

Whittle, however, tells us that the last-named abbot appointed Wilfred de Whalley minister of Deane in 1471, information he possibly gleaned from the abbey manuscripts preserved among the Harleian collection in the British Museum.

The next abbot was Ralph Holden, elected about the year 1473. "It is in the highest degree probable," says Dr. Whittaker, "that this abbot was the younger son of Adam Holden, of Holden, and Alice, his wife, daughter of William Holland, of Heaton.

"Adam Holden occurs in charters of the year 1411, and is known to have had a son, Christopher, whose eldest son, the first of that name in the direct line, was Ralph, and probably so called after the abbot."

In the latter part of this abbot's time, an incident occurred which gave rise to some

unpleasantness between the monks and the Rector of Slaidburn for some time.

"Some servants of the abbey, with Christopher Thornbergh, then treasurer of- the abbey, at their head, driving away a few tithe calves from certain lands in the neighbourhood of the forest of Bowland, were set upon by a mob instigated by the Rector, who with dreadful outcries of 'kill ye monke, slay ye monke,' attacked the tithing party, sent them home cruelly beaten and in a very evil plight.

"Their next step was to swear the tenants of those rateable lands, upon the crosse of a groat to pay no tithes but to the Rector, whose conduct on the whole appears to have been extremely violent and unwarrantable.

"After much wrangling between the two parties, without effecting a settlement, it was mutually agreed to refer the dispute to King Edward IV., who, after a hearing before the privy council, determined it very rightly in favour of the abbey, and the award was confirmed by letters patent, from which is taken the following passages as a specimen of the language and orthography of that time:—

"'We therefore remembering well that wee be thair founder and protector, by reascn whereof wee owe to succor tham in all theyr rights, wole and charge you and every of you that unto tham in contynuyng tham in the same yee be helping aidyng and assistyng to your powers.

"'And in especial our tenants of Bowland, that yee do pay the said abbot and convent as ye have done aforetyme after the tenor of the said jugement, havyng no consideracyon to noo awarde, bounde, ne dome made contrary to the said jugement withouten assent and wyll of the said abbot and convent, and that ye ne faile to do the permissez as yee will avoyde our great displeasir.'"

Administering an oath upon the cross of a groat was evidently one of the singular rites of this superstitious age.

The ceremony of cursing by bell, book, and candle was another superstitious rite practised at this period.

Andrews, in his "Antiquities and Curiosities of the Church," mentions a religious ceremony of this kind which is said to have taken place in 1474 in the parish church of Leigh, in connection with some disputed land in Westhoughton, a township in the ancient parish of Deane.

The quaint record tells that a certain Nicholas del Ryland, aged 78, was in possession of lands in Westhoughton, and that his son William had, without his knowledge, made a deed of feoffment to Thomas Stanley, of Leigh, and others, and had forged his father's hand and seal:—

"On Sunday, December 4th, 1474, the said Nicholas came to the parish church of Leigh to disclaim all knowledge of the transaction in the presence of the vicar of Leigh, many of the principal gentry of the neighbourhood, and the general congregation.

"And after solemnly swearing that he had given no authority to his son to part with

any of his ancestral lands, he ‘kneiled downe under the hand of the seid vicker, and there the seid vicker cursed the seid Nicholas if ever he was gilte [guilty] in the poynts before rehersett, with bokke, bell, and candle; and there-opon, the candel done out [put out], the said viker prunounset [pronounced] as acurset all those ichon [each one] be them selfe, that were of assent and consell with the seid Willm Rylands of forging and making the seid forgett deide before rehersett.’”

CHAPTER XVII.

RETURNING to the abbey, the historian gives the following figures as the income of the abbey from tithes for the year 1478:—

			Rec. Ecclesiarum.		
P. Ecclesia de Whalley cum Capellis,			£129	4	4
„	„	Blackburn „ „	89	16	9
„	„	Rachdale „ „	64	0	0
„	„	Eccles et de Deyn	73	17	5

“ Abbot Holding died in 1480, after having sat about nine years, and was succeeded by Christopher Thornberg, junior bursar of the house, whose activity and suffering, already related, might possibly recommend him to this dignity, which he only enjoyed six years, and dying in 1486, was followed by William Rede.”

This short reference to Abbot Rede is all we learn of him, except that he retained the abbacy for the next twenty-two years, a period in history Dr. Whittaker refers to as follows:—

“Abbot Rede’s government began nearly with that of Henry VII., and ended about a year before it, 1508, a period of great tranquility, such as usually precedes a storm.”

King Henry came to the throne in 1485. A descendent of John of Gaunt, he belonged to the house of Lancaster, the rival to that of York.

Married, soon after he was crowned, to Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., he thereby mingled the red with the “white rose,” and thus put an end to that fatal quarrel which had so long desolated England. Hence the long tranquility referred to by Dr. Whittaker.

Henry’s reign may be regarded as the first dawn of the Protestant Reformation, and perhaps it was this the historian had in his mind when he mentioned the word storm.

“What was most generally objected to was the image-worship of the saints and the blessed Virgin.

“The churches were covered with her images and other saints, to which greater homage was paid than to the Supreme Being.

“The people were wholly, through the teaching of the clergy, both secular and regular, given to superstition.

“The shrines of saints were made rich with the offerings of pious devotees, whilst no man brought his gift to the altar of the Saviour; there was not a saint, however humble, to whom the people did not make their offerings.

“It was now that the cup in the holy sacrament was taken from the laity as too mystical and sacred for their profane lips. The people were taught that the body and blood of Christ were given at once in the bread.” Nat. His. Eng.

That the blessed Virgin was held in like veneration in Deane parish will be seen from a transcript the writer came across in his researches, of the quaint will of John Hulton, made at this time.

Singular to say, the first portion of the will is in Latin, the rest in the English of the day. With the former translated, the following is a copy of the will:—

"In the name of God, Amen.

"The 5th day of the month of November in the year of our Lord 1486, I, John Hulton of Farnworth, Esquire, sound of mind and of sound memory, make my testament and last will.

"I dispose in this manner:—

"First, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, the Blessed Mary, mother of Christ, and to all the saints, and my body to be buried in the parish church of Deyne.

"Item:—I bequeath my best beast, in the name of a mortuary,[1] to present my soul before the highest Judge.

"Item:—I bequeath and give 20 marks to build a chapel on the north part and side of the said church of Deyne.

"Item:—I give and bequeath 12 marks to provide an honest and discreet priest to celebrate and say, and devoutly to celebrate and pray for two years for my soul and [the souls] of my relations.

"Item:—I bequeath 10 marks to maintain the service of the Blessed Mary in the said church, that a chaplain be perpetually found to celebrate for my benefactors, and to maintain the said services.

"Item:—I bequeath to John Chaydocke, my godson, a cow and calf to increase and grow to his profit.

"Item:—I bequeath to Sir James Smetherley, my kinsman, 40 shillings."

Here we come to that portion rendered in English:—

"And also it is my will yt [that] yf my goodez [goods] will not p'forme [perform] my will, As in making of A chappell and in fynding of A p'st [priest] to syng if zer [there].

"And also in gyffyng X. mrc [ten marks] to ye sustentacion and vppeholding [upholding] of ye divine service of our ladye afor sead [aforesaid]. Then my will is yt [that] wher as my goodez [goods] lakyth [lacketh] yt [it] shall be taken vppe [off] ye residue of ye linlodes yt [that] remayneth."

"Farnworth Hall," the probable residence of this John, "was," says Raines, in his foot-

1 "The gift of a beast left by a man at his death to his parish church, for the recompense of his personal tithes and offerings, not duly paid in his lifetime."—Johnson's Dictionary by Todd, 1818.

notes to Not. Cest., vol. 2, part 1, page 39, " the seat of a parent stock of Hulton, settled here in the 4th of Edward second [1311], and continued to be the residence of the family in the 35th of Elizabeth [1593], shortly after which it was abandoned to decay, and is now [1849] occupied as cottages. It is the property of the Earl of Bradford."

Returning to the abbey, John Paslew, D.D., was the next abbot, and, as it unfortunately turned out, the last of the numerous abbots honoured with that distinction at Whalley Abbey.

Among the records of his abbacy we find one more statement of the abbey's receipts from tithes. It is for the year 1521, and as follows:—

Rec. Ecclesiarum.

P. Ecclesia de Whalley cum Capellis,	£228	11	8
„ „ Blackburne - -	133	1	0
„ „ Eccles et de Deyn - -	119	10	4½
„ „ Rachedale cum Capellis	111	0	1

According to Whittle, three vicars of Deane were appointed in the time of Paslew, namely:—

Willus de Cledesham, 1520, by Abbot Trafford.
Galfrid de Catherall, from Whalley, 1522, by Abbot John Paslew.
Theodore de Paslew, 1531, by Abbot John Paslew.

Dr. Whittaker, however, makes no mention of an abbot named Trafford, or of any appointments.

"The first twenty years of this abbot passed like those of his predecessors, in the duties of his choir, in the exercise of hospitality, in attention to the extensive possessions of the abbey, or in the improvement of its buildings; but a storm was now approaching before which either conscience or bigotry prevented him from bending, and which brought quick and premature destruction on him and his abbey."

Dr. Whittaker is here alluding to the coming dissolution of the abbey, and untimely end of the abbot, "whose rashness and intemperate zeal had pushed him into the foremost rank of rebellion. He joined the Pilgrimage of Grace, which ended in the confusion of its authors in 1537."

Froude, the historian, referring to this period, says: "The paths trodden by the footsteps of ages were broken; old things were passing away, and the faith and the life of ten centuries were dissolving like a dream; chivalry was dying; the abbey and the castle were soon together to crumble into ruins; and all the forms, desires, beliefs, and convictions of the old world were passing away never to return."

Learning had been revived, accompanied by a bold spirit of enquiry among philosophers and divines, which called for reforms in religion.

The art of printing had been discovered, and so far put into practical use that in 1526 Tyndale's translated copy of the New Testament, hitherto confined to the monks and clergy,

was multiplied with great facility at Antwerp, and propagated throughout England, notwithstanding the extreme opposition of priests and monks.

The public circulation of the Bible, with the rich treasures of religion and lessons of inspired teachers it contained, helped in a great measure to bring about the suppression of the monasteries which was soon to follow.

Wherever the Bible could be seen, the people flocked to hear it read, and many persons learned to read for the sole purpose of perusing it.

It was the Bible that created the spirit of moral and religious intellect which soon spread over the whole country, accompanied with a dislike to the idolatry and other evils then practised in church and abbey.

To quote Froude again, "Every monastery, every parish church had its special relics, its special images, its special something, to attract the interest of the people.

"The people brought offerings to the shrines where it was supposed that the relics were of greatest potency; the clergy, to secure the offerings, invented the relics and invented the stories of the wonders which had been worked by them.

"Bishop Shaxton's unsavoury inventory of what passed under the name of relics, in the diocese of Salisbury, will furnish an adequate notion of these objects of popular veneration. 'There be set forth and commended unto the ignorant people,' he said, 'as I myself of certain—which be already come to my hands—have perfect knowledge, stinking boots, rugged rochettes, rotten girdles, pyld purses, great bullocks' horns, locks of hair, and filthy rags, gobbetts of wood, under the name of parcels of the holy cross, and such pelfry beyond estimation.'

" Besides matters of this kind, there were images of the Virgin or of the saints; above all, roods[2] or crucifixes, of especial potency, the virtues of which had begun to grow uncertain, however, to sceptical Protestants; and from doubt to denial, and from denial to passionate hatred, there were but a few brief steps."

One of the most famous of the roods, he tells us, was at Dovercourt, in Suffolk, and of this he gives the following striking narrative:—

"This image was of such power that the door of the church in which it stood was open at all hours to all comers, and no human hand could close it.

"Dovercourt therefore became a place of great and lucrative pilgrimage, much resorted to by the neighbours on all occasions of difficulty.

"Now it happened that within the circuit of a few miles there lived four young men, to whom the virtues of the rood had become greatly questionable. If it could work miracles it must be capable, so they thought, of protecting its own substance; and they agreed to apply a practical test which would determine the extent of its abilities."

"Accordingly, Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debenham of Eastbergholt, Nicholas

2 Carved wood figures of our blessed Lord on the cross,

Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham, their consciences being burdened to see the honour of Almighty God so blasphemed by such an idol, started off on a wondrous goodly night in February 15, with hard frost and a clear full moon, ten miles across the wolds to the church.

"The door was open, as the legend declared, but, nothing daunted, they entered bravely, and lifting down the 'idol' from its shrine, with its coat and shoes, and the store of tapers which were kept for the services, they carried it on their shoulders for a quarter of a mile from the place where it had stood, without any resistance of the said idol.

" There setting it on the ground, they struck a light, fastened the tapers to the body, and, with the help of them, sacriligiously burnt the image down to a heap of ashes, the old dry wood blazing so brimly that it lighted them a full mile of their way home.

"For this night's performance, which, if the devil is the father of lies, was a stroke of honest work against him and his family, the world rewarded these men after the usual fashion. One of them, Robert Gardiner, escaped the search which was made, and disappeared till better times; the remaining three were swinging in chains six months later on the scene of their exploit. Their fate was perhaps inevitable.

"Men who dare to be the first in great movements are ever self-immolated victims. But I suppose it was better for them to be bleaching on their gibbets than crawling at the feet of a wooden rood, and believing it to be God."

Speaking of roods, the Rector of Barkham tells us that "the most striking feature of the pre-Reformation church was the rood- loft, a narrow gallery above the beautifully decorated screen which separated the chancel from the nave.

"In this loft was erected the rood or figure of our blessed Lord on the cross, together with figures of the Virgin and St. John on each side.

"Both the screen and the loft were richly panelled and ornamented with tracery and carvings, and before them hung one or more lamps. A staircase of stone constructed in the wall, near the chancel-arch, led to the rood loft, and the blocked-up archway of this rood staircase frequently remains.

"The priest stood in the rood-loft to read the Gospel and Epistle, and sometimes preached there.

"The Reformers played havoc with these old rood-lofts, which were regarded as monuments of idolatry and superstition."

Fox, in his Book of Martyrs, giving a somewhat similar account to Baines of the Dovercourt idol, tells us that its destruction took place in 1532, and that the three men, found guilty of felony, were hanged in chains.

He adds, also, "that in the same year and the year before there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places."

Remarkable to say, ten years before this, the chapel of Saynte Mariden had been the

scene of as great an act of sacrilege as that just related of Dovercourt.

It was at this period, too, that the name of the blessed Virgin, coming to be regarded with less reverence than formerly, the sacred edifice at Deane ceased to be called Saynte Mariden, and received the less saintly name of Deane Church, and by this name it is best known at the present day.

And at the time of this scene, the venerable church had within its sacred walls a chapel of timber dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Anne, the recent erection of a member of the Heaton family, who lived to see his work of devotion ruthlessly demolished by a determined band of twenty-six aggrieved parishioners.

This little army assembled at the church at the early hour of three o'clock of a summer's morning in August, 1522, "arrayed, after the manner of war, with swords, bucklers, bills, bowes and arrows, and other weapons," a startling sight for George Marsh, the martyr, then about seven years old, and the rest of the villagers.

Unopposed, they entered the church, "pulled and cutt down as well all the tymbre worke of the said chapell, as well also the auter [altar] and posts whereupon the ymages of the Holy Trinitie and Seynt Anne stode within the seid chapell, and the seid tymbre toke, breke, and cutt in pieces; and that so broken and cutt in pieces caste oute of the seid churche and oute of the churchyard."

The religious feeling which prompted these men to commit so serious an act of sacrilege must have run very high in the parish, seeing that Richard Heaton appears to have been the only parishioner interested in bringing the offenders before a court of justice, and that court so far distant as London.

A copy of Richard Heaton's petition, praying the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster to command the offenders "to appear before the King's highness in his Duchy Chamber at Westminster to answer for their conduct" is preserved in the public record office.

The document is written in the orthography of the day, and the following is a literal copy of it:—

"Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings.
Henry 8, vol. 21, H. 24.
To the right worshipfull Sir Richard Wyngfeld, Knight,
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancashire.

"In the most humble wise complayneth unto your maistership your dayly orator Richard Heton of Heton, within the County of Lancaster, Gentilman, that where as he of his good mynd and devocon had to God and to our blessed lady within the Parishe Churche of Dene in the said county caused an lie to be made and bylded within the same churche and the grete part of the chargs thereof at the costs of your said besecher. And also within the same lie be oonly att his farther costs and chargs edifyed a chapell of tymbre, and the same chappell so by your seid orator edifyed and bylded oon [one] Edmund Grenehalgh, Hugh Grenehalgh, Olyer Grenehalgh, Jamys Grenehalgh, Olyer Lockwood, Gilbert Grenehalgh, Edmund Turnor, Roger Makynson, Nicholas Mather, Nicholas Kyrshawe, Wyllyam Kyrshawe, Arthur Bradshawe, Thomas Grenehalge, and Robert Grenehalgh, and dyvers other

evill disposed and riottouse persons to the nombre of xxvj. [26] to theym associate, to your seid besecher unknowyn, arrayed after the manner of warr, that is to say with swords, buklers, bills, bowes and arrowes, and other weapons invasyve of their maliciouse and cruell mynd the xxiiij.th [24th] day of August in the xiiij.th yere of the reign of our Souvraign Lord King Henry the viij.th [1522] in the nyght tyme aboute thre [three] of the clok in the mornyng in riottouse warlyke and vnlawfull [unlawful] manner entered into the seid churche called Deene Churche and then and there riottously pulled and cutt down as well all the tymbre worke of the same chappell soo [so] by your seid orator edifyed and bylded as is aforeseid, as also the auter and posts whereupon the ymages of the Holy Trynytie and Seynt Anne stode within the seid chapellj and uppon the which auter ther was too massis celebrated and seid to the honour of the Almyghty God the day next before the seid ryott comytted, and the seid tymbre toke, breke, and cutt in pees [pieces] and that soo broken and cutt in pees caste oute of the seid churche and oute of the churchyard to the perillous and evil ensample of all such riottouse persons in tyme to come if they should not have condigne punyshement for the same. In considercon whereof it may please your maistershipp, the premysses considered to grant vnto your seid besecher, the Kyngs most graciouse Ires [letters] of Privey Seale to be directed to the seid Edmond Grenehalgh and other the seid evill disposed persons commandyng theym and every of theym by the same, personally to appere before the Kyng's Highness in his Duchye Chamber att Westminster at a certen day vnder a certen rayn by your maistership to be lymyted, then and there to make answere to the premysses according to right and good conscience, and your seid besecher shall dayly pray to God for the presracon [preservation] of your good maistership long to endure.

Hereupon a privey seale to Edmond Grenehaugh, Thos. Grenehaugh, Roger Makynson, and Gilbert Grenehaugh, to apper xv. Hill. [15th Hilary].

"On dorse [endorsed]: Heton v Greehalge."

How the matter ended does not appear to have been recorded.

Jamys [James] Laithwaite would appear to have been minister of Deane Church at this time, so we gather from another lawsuit re title to messuage and land in Westhoughton, recorded the year previous in Vol. 12, G. 2, 13th Henry VIII., of the same Duchy Pleadings.

This case is also interesting, but somewhat too lengthy to print in full, and we have therefore summarised it as follows:

"Elyn Gorton, widow of Roger Gorton,
versus
John Haryson and Katherine his wife and others,
re
Title to messuage and lands at Westhoughton."

The Roger Gorton here referred to was an old man when he married Elyn the plaintiff, and shortly before his marriage, he had his lease of the property in question renewed by the monks of Cockersand for a further term of nineteen years; this would appear to have been about the year 1503, and in less than three years time he died leaving his wife Elyn a widow, and "sixteen years then to come of the said term."

From Roger's death in 1506, and nearly to the end of the lease, Elyn, his widow,

appears to have been supplanted in the property by three successive claimants.

Haryson and his wife Katherine, the defendants, the third claimants, were in possession when legal proceedings commenced.

They claimed the property as being a marriage gift from Katherine's father, William Hodschkynson, to whom it is said to have been willed by his wife's brother, Bryant Lee.

Of the last-named gentleman it is also said that he bought the property from Roger Gorton soon after the latter married Elyn, the plaintiff, "to hold one moiety thereof at once, and the other moiety immediately after the death of the said Roger," and Bryant after the death of the said Roger obtained a convent seal from the said Abbot of Cockersand.

Many witnesses were called on both sides, and the evidence given appears to have been of a somewhat conflicting character; it resulted, however, in a verdict for Elyn, the plaintiff, notwithstanding that the old adage says "possession is nine points of the law"; and the judge's decision may possibly have been largely due to the death-bed utterances of the two men, Roger Gorton and Bryant Lee, related by "Jamys Laithwaite, our Lady's priest of Deane Church.''

The evidence of this priest we extract as follows:—

"Jamys Laithwaite, 'our Lady's prest' [priest] of the Deane Church, says that he was with Bryan Lee when he lay on his death bed [about 1517], and the said Bryan wished that the said convent seal which he had obtained should be delivered to Gorton, together with the tenant-right.

"Witness was also with Sir Peris Crompton, then parish priest of the said Deane Church, when he anoynted Roger Gorton, at which time he asked him whether he had sold his tenant-right of his house in Westhalghton, and the said Roger replied most solemnly that he had never sold any part thereof to the said Bryan Lee, except a parcel of land called the Wodhey for 16/-, this sum he had repaid, and had entered again into his close.

" Plaintiff had often, since the death of her husband, made suit to the Abbot of Cockersand to be restored to her tenant-right, but without success at Michaelmas next, after the decease of the said Ellys Gorton [Roger Gorton's brother], the said Elyn entered again but the said John Haryson turned her out."

To this evidence of the priest at Deane, it will be desirable to add, in reference to Bryan Lee, the following statement of another witness, though, being hearsay evidence, it would not be recognised in our law courts of to-day.

" John Heeton, of Heeton, in the County of Lancaster, gentleman, aged about 60, says he heard Sir Thomas Strete, parish priest of Deyne Church and curate of Westhalghton, say that he was present when Richard Lee asked the said Bryan, then lying sick and in the ' article of death,' how he came by the said tenement, and the said Bryan answered that he bought the tenant-right of the said Roger, and had truly paid for it, and was admitted tenant with the t consent of the Abbots of Cockersand."

Having regard to Jamys Laithwaite's evidence, we may take it that Sir Peris

Crompton, when he ‘anoynted’ Roger Gorton in 1506, was the parish priest of Deane; and from the evidence of John Heeton it would appear that Sir Thomas Strete, about the year 1517, was again fulfilling the same office.

While in the year 1521-22, we find Jamys Laithwaite installed in that office and described as “ our Lady’s priest of the Deane Church,” and it is possible he may have continued in office up to the time of the dissolution of the monks of Whalley in 1537, a time of excitement when the ‘godes’ [church goods] found missing in 1552, by the King’s Commissioners, in all probability disappeared; and among the distinguished persons charged with their misappropriation we find the name of Sir James Lathewhatt, priest.

CHAPTER XVIII.

RETURNING to Saynte Mariden, while the people were thus occupied in clearing the churches of idolatrous and superstitious ornaments, their representatives in Parliament were no less busily engaged in abolishing, though gradually, the objectionable power acquired over the church, by the pope, for many centuries.

Up to this time the pope had been, theoretically, head of the church. Appeals had constantly gone from the ecclesiastical courts to Rome, though prohibited by the Act of Præmunuire; tenths and first fruits had been paid by the clergy, and Peter's pence by the laity to the pope for centuries; and the pope had practically appointed the bishops and a good many of the clergy, though forbidden to do so by the Act of Provisors.

All these ties connecting the church with Rome, Parliament now, in a very short time, entirely swept away.

In 1531, Parliament acknowledged Henry VIII. as head of the church, and in the following year he compelled the clergy, in convocation, to address him as supreme head of the church and clergy; but, at their request, he permitted them to add, " so far as the law of Christ will allow."

In the same year, 1532, an Act for restraining all appeals to Rome was passed. Two years after, another Act forbade the payments of tenths to Rome, and at the same time the pope's power of influencing the election of bishops was done away with.

The clergy were not, however, allowed either to keep the tenths or to elect whom they pleased; on the contrary, they had to pay the tenths to Henry's exchequer, and from this time forward the election of bishops was arranged as follows:—

When a see became vacant, the king sent to the dean and chapter a letter, called a "congé d'élirè," authorising them to elect a new bishop; at the same time he sent another letter, called a letter missive, suggesting whom they should elect, and consecration followed thereupon.

To complete the separation, an Act was passed in 1534 abolishing the authority of the pope in England ; and the next year, by the Act of Supremacy, Henry took the title of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England," the final breach with the pope.

The suppression of monasteries was next taken in hand, and to Thomas Cromwell, who had been Wolsey's secretary, the king gave complete control of the church, with the title of Vicar-General, and in the same year, 1535, appointed commissioners to visit all the monasteries and report upon their condition.

Many people held there were good grounds for this step. The monks, they said, led dissolute lives, and that many of the monasteries were dens of iniquity.

Others looked upon the monasteries as valuable institutions, which diffused some culture in country places, educated the children of their neighbours, sent poor lads to the university and maintained them there, relieved the distressed, succoured the wayfarer, and performed a number of kindly offices which could ill be spared.

Some coveted the lands of the monks, and hoped to profit by their misfortunes; the needy King Henry VIII., it is said, saw in the wealth of the monasteries a good reason for their fall; members of Parliament thought that if this wealth were given to the king, there would be no more need for taxes.

The commissioners made their report to the king, and he laid it before Parliament in the following February.

Froude, commenting on the report, remarks that "It appeared, on the authority of this, that two-thirds of the monks in England were living in habits which may not be described. The facts were related in great detail. The confessions of parties implicated were produced, signed by their own hands. The vows were not observed. The lands were wasted, sold and mortgaged. The foundations were incomplete. The houses were falling to waste. Within and without, the monastic system was in ruins.

"There were exceptions. In the great monasteries [of which Whalley was one] there was decency and honourable management, but when all the establishments, large and small, had been examined, a third only could claim to be exempted from the darkest schedule.

"In the course of their enquiry, the commissioners informed every such monks as were under twenty-four, and such nuns as were under twenty-one, that they might go where they pleased.

"To those .among them who preferred to return to the world a secular dress was given, and forty shillings in money, and they were restored to the full privileges of the laity."

"How the business went through the two Houses of Parliament," says Bishop Burnett, "we cannot know from the journals, for they are lost. But all the historians of that time tell us that the report which the commissioners made to the king was read in Parliament, which represented the manners of these monasteries so odiously that it was enacted that all houses which might spend yearly two hundred pounds, or within it, should be suppressed, and their revenues converted to better uses, and they [the monks] compelled to reform their lives.

"Thus fell the lesser abbeys to the number of 376; and soon after, this Parliament, which had done the king such eminent service, and had now sat six years, was dissolved on the 14th of April [1535]." Fortunately for the monks of Whalley, their abbey was not of this number.

The Act came into operation the same year, and " the religious persons," continues Bishop Burnett, " that were undone went about complaining of the sacrilege and injustice of this suppression ; that what the piety of their ancestors had dedicated to God and His saints was now invaded and converted to secular ends.

"The nobility and gentry whose ancestors had founded or enriched these religious houses, and who provided for their younger children or impoverished friends by putting them into these sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they sustained by it.

"The people that had been well entertained at the abbots' tables were sensible of their loss, for generally, as they travelled over the country, the abbeys were their stages, and were

houses of reception to travellers and strangers.

"The devouter sort of people of their persuasion thought their friends must now lie in purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a priest, who should daily say mass for their souls. The poor that fed on their daily alms were deprived of that supply."

There was no poor-law then, and the needy had no sure resource in time of sickness and distress excepting the food, alms, and medicine which were given away at every monastery. The monks, too, had been driven from their homes and scattered over the country without any adequate means of support, and no steps were taken by the Government to meet so unfortunate a state of things. Popular tumults took place in many parts of the country.

"The discontent," says Froude, "extended to the county families who shared or imitated the prejudices of their feudal leaders; and those families had again their peculiar grievances. On the suppression of the abbeys, the peers obtained grants, or expected to obtain them, from the forfeited estates.

"The country gentlemen saw only the desecration of the familiar scenes of their daily life, the violation of the tombs of their ancestors, and the buildings themselves reduced to ruins.

"The abbots had been their personal friends, 'the trustees for their children and the executors of their wills'; the monks had been the teachers of their children; the free tables and free lodgings in these houses had made them attractive and convenient places of resort in distant journeys.

"From the Trent northward a deep and angry spirit of discontent had arisen which could be stirred easily into mutiny."

At this time, too, "the second portion of the subsidy (an income-tax of two-and-a-half per cent, on all incomes above twenty pounds a year), which had been voted in the autumn of 1534, had fallen due.

"The money had been required for the Irish war, and the disaffected party in England had wished well to the insurgents, so that the collectors found the greatest difficulty either in enforcing the tax or obtaining correct accounts of the properties on which it was paid.

"Imagination, as usual, hastened to assist and expand the nucleus of truth. Thomas Cromwell had formed the excellent design, which two years later he carried into effect, of instituting parish registers.

A report of his intention had gone abroad, and, mingling with the irritating inquiries of the subsidy collectors into the value of men's properties, gave rise to a rumour that a fine was to be paid to the Crown on every wedding, funeral, or christening; that a tax would be levied on every head of cattle, or the cattle should be forfeited; 'that no man should eat in his house white meat, pig, goose, nor capon, but that he should pay certain dues to the King's Grace.'

" In the desecration of the abbey chapels and altar plate, a design was imagined against all religion; the clergy were to be despoiled; the parish churches pulled down, one

only to be left for every seven or eight miles; the church plate to be confiscated, and ‘chalices of tin’ supplied for the priest to sing with.

“Every element necessary for a great revolt was thus in motion—wounded superstition, real suffering, caused by real injustice, with their attendant train of phantoms. The clergy in the north were disaffected to a man; the people were in the angry humour which looks eagerly for an enemy, and flies at the first which seems to offer.

“The working people had a just cause, though disguised by folly; but all honest sufferers soon learnt that in rising against the Government they had mistaken their best friends for foes.”

In Yorkshire and Lincolnshire the stories of the intended destruction of parish churches had been circulated with a violent outcry, particularly in the latter county, in which, at Louth, the first serious outbreak began soon after.

Of this and like outbreaks which followed, known in history as “ The Pilgrimage of Grace,” Froude writes at great length, and the following particulars, compiled from his interesting work, briefly recount the history of the insurrection.

On Monday, the 2nd of October, Heneage, one of the commissioners appointed to carry out the Act of Suppression, was coming with the Chancellor of the Bishop of Lincoln into Louth itself, and the clergy of the neighbourhood were to appear and submit themselves to inspection.

The evening before, being Sunday, a knot of people gathered on the green, carrying the great silver cross belonging to the parish, and as a crowd collected about them, a voice cried, “ Masters, let us follow the cross; God knows whether ever we shall follow it hereafter or nay.” They formed a procession and went round the streets, and after vespers a party headed “by one Nicholas Melton, who, being a shoemaker, was called Captain Cobler,” appeared at the doors of the church, and required the churchwardens to give them the key of the jewel chamber.

The chancellor from Lincoln, they said, was coming the next morning, and intended to seize the plate. The churchwardens hesitating, the keys were taken by force; the chests were opened; the crosses, chalices, and candlesticks, were showed openly in the sight of every man; and then, lest they should be stolen in the night, an armed watch kept guard till daybreak in the church aisles.

At nine o’clock on Monday morning Heneage entered the town with a single servant (the chancellor was ill and could not attend), and as he rode in, the alarm bell pealed out from Louth Tower. The inhabitants swarmed into the streets with bills and staves.

The commissioner, in panic at the disturbance, hurried into the church for sanctuary. He was brought out into the market-place, a sword was held to his breast, and he was sworn at an extemporised tribunal to be true to the commons, upon pain of death.

“Let us swear! let us swear! ” was then the cry, and the townsmen and all strangers resident swore that they would be faithful to the King, the Commonwealth, and the Holy Church.

Other commissioners were reported at Castre, a few miles distant, and Captain Cobler and a tailor named James, with a voluntary army of horse, set out to seize them. The alarm had spread; the people from the neighbouring villages joined them as they passed.

At Castre they found the commissioners fled, but a thousand horse were waiting for them, and the number was every moment increasing. Whole parishes marched in, headed by their clergy, and a rendezvous was fixed at Rotherwell, where next day, besides the commons, there were priests and monks to the number of seven or eight hundred. They had, as yet, no plans. What would the gentlemen do? was the question. “Kill the gentlemen,” the priests answered; “if they will not join us, they shall be hanged.”

This difficulty was soon settled. “The gentlemen were swept up from their halls,” or wherever they could be found. The oath was offered them, with the alternative of instant death, and they swore against their will; but when the oath was once taken, they joined with a hearty unanimity, and brought in with them their own armed retainers and the stores from their houses.

On Tuesday the country rose at Homcastle in the same manner, only on a larger scale. On a heath outside the town there was a great muster, the gentlemen of the county attending in large numbers, with the sheriff at their head.

The Abbot of Barlings, Dr. Macarel, was present, with his canons, in full armour; from the abbey came a waggon load of victuals ; oxen and sheep were driven in from the neighbourhood, and a retainer of the abbey carried a banner, on which was worked a plough, a chalice and a host, a horn, and the five wounds of Christ. A gentleman ‘wrote on the field upon his saddle bow’ a series of articles which were to form the ground of the rising.

Six demands were to be made upon the Crown, namely:

The religious houses should be restored.
The subsidy should be remitted.
The clergy should pay no more tenths and first fruits to the Crown.
The statute of uses should be repealed.
The villein blood should be removed from the Privy Council.
The heretic bishops, Cranmer, Latimer, Hilsey, Brown, and Longlands, should be deprived and punished.

The deviser and the sheriff sat on their horses side by side, and read these articles one by one aloud to the people. “Do they please you, or not?” they said, when they had done. “Yea, yea, yea!” the people shouted, waving their staves above their heads; and two messengers were chosen instantly and despatched upon the spot, to carry to Windsor to the king the demands of the inhabitants of Lincolnshire.

Here, during the meeting, a sad and deplorable incident occurred. The Chancellor of Lincoln had been the instrument through whom Thomas Cromwell, the king’s secretary, had communicated with the diocese, and was, in consequence, a special object of hatred.

It does not appear how he fell into the people’s hands; we find only that he was very sick, and in this condition he was brought up on horseback into the field at Horncastle, and

there received with a loud yell—‘ Kill him! kill him!’ Whereupon, he was violently pulled off his horse, and as he knelt upon his knees, two of the rebels slew him with their staves.

The body was then stripped bare; the garments were parted among the murderers, and the sheriff distributed the money found in the chancellor’s purse. ‘And every parson and every vicar in the field counselled their parishioners, with many comfortable words, to proceed in their journey, saying unto them that they should lack neither gold nor silver.’

The same day there was a rising at Lincoln; Bishop Longland’s palace was attacked and plundered, and the town occupied by armed bodies of insurgents.

CHAPTER XIX.

PENDING the reply of the king, Lincoln became the focus to which the separate bodies from Castre, Horncastle, Louth, and all other towns and villages flocked in for head quarters. The messengers sent from Horncastle were Sir Marmaduke Constable and Sir Edward Madyson. They did not spare the spur, and, riding through the night, they found the king at Windsor the day following.

The king on the instant despatched a courier to Lord Hussey, the nobleman answerable for the peace of Lincolnshire, and another to Lord Shrewsbury, in the adjoining county of Nottingham, directing them to raise all the men whom they could muster, sending at the same time private letters to the gentlemen who were said to be with the insurgents, to recall them, if possible, to their allegiance.

Lord Hussey had already refused to take action against the insurgents, even when appealed to by yeomen and gentlemen, and he stole away and left the country to its fate.

Lord Shrewsbury had not waited for instructions; he had called out his retainers and gone forward to Sherwood with every man he could impress, on the instant that he heard of the rising.

Henry's letter found him at Sherwood, but all the force the royalist leader could collect—although he had been in communication from the first with the nobility in his own and other counties— did not exceed three or four thousand, a number less than one tenth of the insurgents, then assembled at Lincoln.

Ominous news, at the same time, had reached him from Yorkshire, and he found it prudent to wait at Nottingham until he heard again from the king.

Meanwhile, Madyson and Constable had been detained by the king in London, to which place it was feared, at first, the rebels might march before a sufficient force could be collected to check them, the king having no standing army, and with feudalism now on the verge of extinction.

At his urgent request, however, volunteers flocked in, man and horse, in larger numbers than required, from all parts of London and neighbourhood, and under the "commander-in-chief"—the Duke of Suffolk—left for the north without delay.

Reaching Stamford on the nth of October, the duke learnt that time was doing his work swiftly and surely. The insurrection was embarrassed by its own magnitude; there was no forethought, no efficient leader, and no commissariat.

Each man had brought with him a few days' provisions, and when these were consumed the multitude dissolved, with the same rapidity with which it had assembled, until nearly reduced to half its original strength.

Suffolk could now act safely, and, before advancing, he sent forward the king's answer to the Horncastle Articles.

Henry tells the insurgents, in his letter, how presumptuous it is of them, the rude

commons of one shire, to take upon them, contrary to God's law and man's law, to rule their prince whom they were bound to obey and serve, and for no worldly cause to withstand.

The suppression of religious houses and monasteries, he would have them know, was granted by all the nobles, spiritual and temporal, and by all the commons of the same Act of Parliament, and not set forth by any councillor, or councillors, upon their mere will, as they falsely would persuade the realm to believe.

He tells them not to shame their native country of England with their follies and traitorous demeanour, and commands that they withdraw, every man of them, to their own homes and "submit to such condign punishment as we and our nobles shall think you worthy to suffer. For doubt ye not else that we will not suffer this injury at your hands unrevenged; and we pray unto Almighty God to give you grace to do your duties, and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our lieutenant a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerits, than by your obstinacy and wilfulness to put yourselves, lives, wives, children, lands, goods, and chattels, besides the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction."

"When the letter was brought in, the insurgent council were sitting in the chapter-house of the cathedral, and some of the cooler-headed among the gentlemen had seen by this time that success was doubtful, and that, if obtained, it would be attended with many inconveniences to themselves. The yeomen's tenures would be revised, the enclosures would go down, and the cattle farms would be confiscated."

The gentlemen portion of the council were inclined to read the letter secretly among themselves, but the commons, perceiving this, insisted upon it being read openly, which, having been done, a canon made the observation that it had been falsely read, and the assembly at once broke into confusion.

The alarm spread that the gentlemen would betray them, and the monks and the leaders of the commons clamoured to go forward and attack Suffolk.

A mob, threatening their lives, assembling, the gentlemen retired by a private entrance into the house of the murdered chancellor and barricaded the door.

It was now evening, and the cloisters of the cathedral growing dark, the mob retired, threatening to return at daybreak.

Meanwhile, the divisions in the council had extended to the camp. The farmers and villagers were disposed in large numbers to follow the example of the gentlemen, while the monks and their party were bent on fighting. The former moved off in the darkness in a body, and joined the gentlemen in the cathedral.

There was now no danger, and when day broke, the gentlemen and their party marched from the cathedral into the town, and told the people that for the present their enterprise must be relinquished; the king had said that they were misinformed on the character of his measures.

There was no resistance. They made their way to the king's army, and, soon after, the Duke of Suffolk rode into Lincoln. The Streets were crowded, but no opposition was offered.

The cathedral was turned into an arsenal, fortified arid garrisoned; the gentlemen offered Suffolk their services, and laboured for the restoration of orders

Towns one by one sent in their submission, and Louth surrendered fifteen of the original leaders of the insurrection; Abbot Mackarel and about one hundred others were taken prisoners.

“In less than a fortnight a rebellion of sixty thousand persons had subsided as suddenly as it had risen. Contrived by the monks and parish priests, it had been commenced without concert, it had been conducted without practical skill.”

But the insurrection in Lincolnshire was immediately followed by a much more serious rising in Yorkshire.

On the same afternoon—the 12th of October—that the king’s letter was read in the cathedral, there was present at an Inn in Lincoln a gentleman of Yorkshire, Robert Aske, watching the issue of events.

The law vacation was then drawing to its close; and members of the Inns of Court were returning from their holiday to London.

“The summer had lingered into the autumn, and during the latter half of September young Sir Ralph Ellerkar, of Ellerkar Hall, in Yorkswold, had been entertaining a party of friends for cub-hunting.

Among his guests were his three cousins—John, Robert, and Christopher Aske. John, the eldest, was the owner of the old family property of Aughton-on-the-Derwent, a quiet, unobtrusive gentleman, with his two sons, students at the Temple.

“Of Robert, till he now emerges into light, we discover only that he was a barrister in good practice at Westminster; and Christopher was the possessor of an estate in Marshland, in the West Riding.

“The Askes were highly connected, being cousins of the Earl of Cumberland, whose eldest son, Lord Clifford, had recently married a daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, and niece of the king.”

The hunting party broke up on the 3rd of October, and Robert, if his own account of himself be true, left Ellerkar with the sole intention of returning to his business in London; but when in the ferry, crossing the Humber at Welton, he heard from the boatmen that the commons were rising in Lincolnshire.

He wished to return to Ellerkar, but the state of the tide not permitting him, he was endeavouring to make his way from Welton to the house of a brother-in-law at Sawcliffe, when he was met near Appleby by a party of the rebels, who, ascertaining his name, offered him the popular oath and escorted him to Sawcliffe.

As soon as the news spread that Aske was among the rebels, his name was made a rallying cry. The district from the Humber to Kirton was assigned to him, and for the next few days he remained, endeavouring to organise the movement into some kind of form.

Learning that the commons of the West Riding were beginning to stir, he crossed into Marshland, and passing the Ouse into Howdenshire, he went from village to village, giving orders that no bells should be rung, or beacons lighted, except on receipt of a special message from himself.

He then returned to his command in Lincolnshire, and intelligence arriving of Suffolk's advance with the king's letter, he rode post haste to Lincoln, and reached the town to find the commons and the gentlemen on the verge of fighting among themselves

After a fruitless attempt to make his way to the cathedral, he remained in concealment till the contents of the king's letter became known, "and then, perhaps satisfied that the opportunity was past, perhaps believing that if not made use of on the instant it might never recur, perhaps resigning himself to be guided by events, he went back at full speed to Yorkshire. And events had decided, that whatever his intentions may have been, the choice was no longer open to him.

"As he rode down at midnight to the bank of the Humber, the clash of the alarm-bells came pealing over the water, the warning lights were shooting. The fishermen on the German Ocean watched them flickering in the darkness from Spurn Head to Scarborough, from Scarborough to Berwick-upon-Tweed; and for days and nights there was one loud storm of bells and blaze of beacons from the Trent to the Cheviot Hills."

All Yorkshire was in movement. In Aske's absence an address had gone out around the towns, had been hung on church doors, and posted on market crosses, which bore his signature, though he protested it had been written neither by him nor with his consent.

The address called upon all good Englishmen to make a stand for the church of Christ, which wicked men were destroying; for the commonwealth of the realm; and for their own livings, which were stolen from them by impositions. It should be well for those who joined the movement; but those who refused, or dared to resist it, would be under Christ's curse, and be held guilty of all the Christian blood which should be shed.

"Whoever wrote the letter, it did its work. One scene out of many will illustrate the effects.

"William Stapleton, a friend of Aske, and a brother barrister, also bound for London for the term, was spending a few days at the Grey Friars, at Beverley, with his brother Christopher.

"The young lawyer was to have set out over the Humber for London on the 4th of October, but on the news that the Lincolnshire beacons were on fire and the country impassable, he decided to remain with his brother for the present.

"Beverley itself was in great excitement, and on Sunday morning, the 8th of October, the town was startled by the sound of the alarm-bell.

"Robert Aske's address had arrived, and a proclamation was out under the town seal, calling on every man to repair to Westwood Green, under the walls of the Grey Friars, and be sworn in to the commons."

The oath in Yorkshire was: “Ye shall swear to be true to God, the King, and the Commonwealth.”

Christopher Stapleton, learning the news, ordered all his doors to be locked and bolted, and directed that none of his household should stir.

His wife, an admirer of the pope and the old religion, was burning with sympathy for the insurgents.

“The family confessor appeared on the scene, a certain Father Bonaventure, taking the lady’s part, and they two together ‘went forth out of the door among the crowd.’ ‘God’s blessing on ye,’ William Stapleton heard his sister-in-law cry. ‘Speed ye well,’ the priest cried, ‘speed ye well in your Godly purposes.’ The people rushed about them. ‘Where are your husband and his brother?’ they shouted to her. ‘In the Freers,’ she answered. ‘Bring them out!’ the cry rose. ‘Pull them out by the head, or we will burn the Freers and them with it.’

“The crowd rushed to the house, dashed in the door, forced the oath on the reluctant gentlemen, and led them to the green, where they made William Stapleton their captain. The priest Bonaventure had willed it so, and Stapleton, seeing worse would follow if he refused, consented.

“So went Sunday at Beverley the 8th of October, 1536; and within a few days the substance of the same scene repeated itself in all the towns of all the northern counties, the accidents only varying.”

Lord Darcy of Templehurst, “the tried friend of the king, and, from his credit with the crown, his rank, and his position, was at this moment the feudal sovereign of the East Riding.”

To him Henry addressed a letter at the same time that he wrote to Lord Hussey and Lord Shrewsbury, on the first news of the rising in Lincolnshire, warning him of the falsehoods which had been circulated to excite the people, and to inform him “that he had never thought to take one pennyworth of the parish churches’ goods from them.”

“One true man was worth twenty thieves and traitors,” said the king, and desired Lord Darcy to let the truth be known, and all true men, he doubted not, would do their duty in suppressing the insurrection.

This letter was dated 8th of October, the same day on which the scenes at Beverley took place, and Lord Darcy, on receipt of it, sent his son, Sir Arthur Darcy, to Lord Shrewsbury, then at Nottingham, to whom he was to report the state of the country, and then go on to Windsor with a letter to the king.

The son arrived at Nottingham, but not sharing his father’s inaction, he remained there, in Shrewsbury’s camp, and sending the letter by another hand to the king, he wrote to his father for arms and men.

Lord Darcy replied that he had changed his mind, and Sir Arthur must return to him at

once. He had, he said, issued a proclamation with which he trusted the people might be quieted, and for the present he did not intend to raise any troops.

Everyone, however, disposed to be loyal, looked to Lord Darcy for guidance. The Earl of Cumberland wrote to him from Skipton Castle, Sir Brien Hastings the sheriff, Sir Richard Tempest, and many others offering to join him with their men at Pomfret[1] [Pontefract], in the castle of which he had already shut himself up with twelve followers, or at any place he chose to direct.

He answered that the king had written to him twice, but giving no special directions, he would not act without them.

The insurrection continued to spread, the rebels making good use of their opportunity.

The townships everywhere organised themselves; they selected their tallest and strongest men; they armed and equipped them; raised money by a rate from house to house, and sent the men out with a month's wages in their pockets.

Aske, the day after he returned from Lincoln, found himself at the head of an army of horse and foot admirably equipped, and grouped in companies by their parishes; and, instead of colours, the crosses of the churches were borne by the priests and monks in front of the troops when marching; and from this circumstance the movement became known as "The Pilgrimage of Grace."

1 Ancient way, still retained, of pronouncing Pontefract.

CHAPTER XX.

THE first great rendezvous in Yorkshire took place on Weighton Common; on the 14th October. Here the two divisions—Stapleton's men and Aske's men—encamped upon the heath, Aske taking command of the entire force.

Couriers arrived with news from all parts of the country. Sir Ralph Evers and Sir John Constable were holding Hull for the king.

Stapleton, it was agreed, should lay siege to Hull, while the main body of the army moved forward to York.

On Monday, October the 16th, the main army appeared before the gates of the ancient city. The citizens were all in favour of the rebellion, and satisfactory arrangements having been come to with Aske for the safety of life and property, the gates were opened, and Aske, with the horse, rode in and took possession.

The infantry, composed of most dangerous material, it was arranged should encamp outside the city walls.

Aske's first act, on entering the city, was to fix a proclamation on the doors of the cathedral, inviting all monks and nuns dispossessed from their houses to report their names and conditions, with a view to their immediate restoration.

In the week following, the tenants of the king were expelled; and 'though it were never so late when the monks returned, they sang matins the same night.'

Orders were next issued in Aske's name, commanding all lords, knights, and gentlemen in the northern counties to join him at York.

Lord Darcy had already, on the night of the surrender of York, sent his steward from Pomfret, with a request for a copy of the oath and of the articles of the rising, promising, if they pleased him, to join the movement.

The Archbishop of York, Dr. Magnus, Sir Robert Constable, and Sir Nicholas Babthorpe had by this time joined Lord Darcy at the castle for safety.

On the 17th of October, couriers brought news to Aske that the commons of Durham, with Lord Latimer, Lord Lumley, and the Earl of Westmoreland, were hastening to join him.

Aske, on the 19th, carried his answer to Lord Darcy in person at the head of his forces, and finding the town of Pomfret on his side, he sent Lord Darcy a message that the castle must be delivered, or it should be immediately stormed.

"A conference having been demanded and agreed to, Lord Darcy, the archbishop, and other noblemen and gentlemen came out before the gate. 'And there and then the said Aske declared unto the said lords spiritual and temporal the griefs of the commons, and how first the lords spiritual had not done their duty, in that they had not been plain with the king's highness for the speedy remedy and punishing of heresy ; and for the taking the ornaments of the churches and abbeys suppressed, and the violating of relics by the suppressors; the

irreverent demeanour of the doers thereof; the abuses of the vestments taken extraordinary; and other their negligences in doing their duty, as well to their sovereign as to the commons.

"'And to the lords temporal the said Aske declared that they had misused themselves, in that they had not prudently declared to his highness the poverty of his realm, whereby all dangers might have been avoided ; for insomuch as in the north parts much of the relief of the commons was by favour of abbeys, and that before this last statute made the king's highness had no money out of that shire in award yearly, for that his grace's revenues of them went to the finding of Berwick; now the property of abbeys suppressed, tenths and first fruits went out of those parts; by occasion whereof, within short space of years there should no money nor treasure then be left, neither the tenant have to pay his yearly rent to his lord, nor the lord have money to do the king's service.

"'The lords knew the same to be true, and had not done their duty, for they had not declared the said poverty of the said country to the king's highness.'[1] There were divers reasonings on both parts."

Darcy asked for time, but Aske 'would not condescend thereto.' He allowed Lord Darcy till eight o'clock the following morning. By the hour appointed, the drawbridge was lowered and the castle handed over to the rebels. Lord Darcy, the Archbishop of York, and every other man within the walls, were at once sworn to the common oath.

On the afternoon of the same day, while the insurgent leaders were sitting at dinner at the great table in the hall, a letter was brought in and given to Lord Darcy. He read it, dropped it on the cloth, and 'suddenly gave a great sigh.'

Aske, who was sitting opposite to him, took it in his hand. It was brief and carried no signature. The writer merely said Lord Shrewsbury would be at Pomfret the same night.

A council of war was held when dinner was over, and before night all the passages of the Don by which Shrewsbury could advance were secured.

Turning to Hull, Stapleton had, as arranged, taken up a position on the north side of the town.

On the way, some of his men became troublesome, and two of them were tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be executed. 'A monk was assigned to them that they might make them clean to God,' but the object so far was only to terrify the men.

One of them, 'a sanctuary man,' was tied by the waist with a rope, and trailed behind a boat up and down the river, and 'the waterman did at several times put him down with the oar under the head.' The other man seeing him, expected similar punishment; 'howbeit, at the request of honest men, and being a housekeeper, he was suffered to go unpunished, after which there was never spoil more.'

In the town there was despondency; the harbour was at the mercy of the rebels. Constable was for holding out to the last, but Ellerkar would agree to surrender if he and his friends might be spared the oath and allowed to leave the country.

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1 "Manner of the taking of Robert Aske: Rolls House MS., A2, 28."

These terms were accepted, and on Friday Stapleton occupied the town. Skipton Castle alone, in Yorkshire, now held out for the Crown.

While the north was thus in full commotion, Lord Shrewsbury wrote that he had thrown his outposts forward to the Don, but he doubted his ability to prevent the passage of the river, which he feared the rebels would attempt. He was still under-handed, and entreated assistance.

The Earls of Rutland and Huntingdon were preparing to join him, but with reinforcements altogether inadequate, and the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Exeter were sent down to add the weight of their names.

Three thousand men, with six pieces of field artillery, were sent at once after the Duke of Norfolk, and overtook him at Worksop on the 24th of October.

The force under Shrewsbury was now at Doncaster, where the Duke joined him. The town was in their hands, and the southern end of the bridge had been fortified.

With the addition of Norfolk's force, the whole army did not number much above eight thousand men, and the king, in his instructions, left a wide margin of dircretion to his generals. He directed Norfolk to observe the greatest caution, and to avoid a battle unless with a certainty of victory.

Lord Shrewsbury, as soon as he found himself too late to prevent the capture of Pomfret, sent forward Lancaster Herald, 'in his king's coat of arms,' with a royal proclamation to be read at the market cross.

He found the town swarming with armed men, and was arrested before he was able to unfold his parchment, and taken to the castle. He was received by Aske, the Archbishop of York, Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Christopher Danby, and several other gentlemen. "When it was declared to him, Aske requested to see the proclamation, took it, and read it openly, without reverence to any person, and then said he need call no council; he would give an answer of his own wit himself.

"Lancaster entreated on his knees that he might read the proclamation at the market cross, but Aske answered that on his life he should not; and if Shrewsbury desired an interview with the Pomfret council, a safe-conduct was at his service. 'Commend me to the lords,' he said at parting, 'and tell them it were meet they were with me, for that I do is for all their wealths.'"

This interview took place on the 25th of October, and by this time all the great families, except the Cliffords, the Dacres, and the Musgraves, had joined the confederacy.

"Of all the natural chiefs of the north who were in the power of the insurgents, Lord Northumberland only was absent. On the first summons he was spared for his illness. A second deputation ordered him to commit his powers, as the leader of his clan, to his brothers; but the brave Percy chose to die as he had lived; he lay in his bed, resolute in refusal. The crowd cried before the castle, 'Strike off his head, and make Sir Thomas Percy earl.' 'I can die but once,' he said; 'let them do it; it will rid me of my pain'; and therewith

the earl fell weeping, ever wishing himself out of the world. They left him to nature.

"The word went now through the army, 'Every man to Doncaster.' There lay Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk, with a small handful of disaffected men between themselves and London, to which they were going.

"They marched from Pomfret in three divisions. Sir Thomas Percy, at the head of five thousand men, carried the banner of St. Cuthbert. In the second division, over ten thousand strong, were the musters of Holderness and the West Riding, with Aske himself and Lord Darcy.

"The rear was a magnificent body of twelve thousand horse, all in armour—the knights, esquires, and yeomen of Richmondshire and Durham.

"In this order they came down to the Don, where their advanced posts were already stationed, and deployed along the banks from Ferrybridge to Doncaster.

"A deep river, heavily swollen, divided them from the royal army, but they were assured by spies that the water was the only obstacle which prevented the royalists from deserting to them."

For two days the armies lay watching each other, and on the 25th of October, Lancaster Herald came across to desire, in Norfolk's name, that four of them would hold an interview with him, under a safe-conduct, in Doncaster, and explain their objects.

Aske replied by a counter offer, that eight or twelve principal persons on both sides should hold a conference on Doncaster bridge. Both proposals were rejected, but after a council of war had been held, Aske signified his desire for a further parley, and next day, after an exchange of hostages, Sir Thomas Hilton, Sir Ralph Ellerkar, Sir Robert Chaloner, and Sir Robert Bowes crossed to the royal camp to attempt, if possible, to induce the Duke of Norfolk to agree to the open conference on the bridge.

A preliminary promise was demanded from the duke that all persons who, in heart, word, or deed, had taken part in the insurrection, should have free pardon for life, lands, and goods; that neither in the pardon nor in the public records of the realm should they be described as traitors. If the captain was to be present on the bridge, he must state what hostages he was prepared to offer for the security of so great a person. If these terms were allowed, the conference should take place, and the objects of the insurrection might be explained in full to the duke to judge of them.

Hilton and his companions remained in Doncaster for the night, and in the morning they returned with a favourable answer.

After dinner the same four gentlemen, with addition of Lords Latimer, Lumley, Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and Sir John Bulmer, went down upon the bridge.

They were met by an equal number of knights and noblemen from Norfolk's army, Aske remaining on the bank of the Don, "the whole host standing with him in perfect array."

It was agreed that Sir Robert Bowes and Sir Ralph Ellerkar should carry the articles to

the king; that the Duke of Norfolk should escort them, and intercede for their favourable hearing.

Meanwhile, and till the king’s answer was known, there should be an armistice, and the armies on both sides disbanded.

CHAPTER XXI.

NORFOLK, with the two messengers, reached the court on the 29th of October. Henry received them graciously, and, instead of sending them back with an immediate answer, he detained them for a fortnight, and in that interval gained them over to his side.

With their advice and assistance he sent private letters among the insurgent leaders, imploring both them and the many other honourable men who had been led away, to return to their allegiance, “so as we may not,” he said, “be enforced to extend our princely power against you, but with honour, and without further inconvenience, may perform that clemency on which we have determined.”

The detention of the messengers, however, was attended with some degree of irritation and suspicion amongst the insurgents.

“The siege of Skipton continued; the monks everywhere were replaced in the abbeys; and Aske, who, though moderate, was a man of clear, keen decision, determined, since the king was so slow in sending up his concessions, to anticipate them by calling a Parliament and Convocation of the northern notables, to sit at York.

“The king’s treasure, which had fallen into his hands, gave him command of money; the religious houses contributed their plate; circulars were addressed to every parish and township, directing them to have their contingents ready at any moment to march; and to ensure a rapid transmission of orders, regular posts were established.

“ The harbour at Hull was guarded with cannon, and the town held by a strong garrison under Sir Robert Constable, and rumours went abroad that Darcy intended to surprise Doncaster and advance towards Nottingham, and that Aske and Constable would cross the Humber, and, passing through Lincolnshire, would cut off Suffolk and join him at the same place.

“The king, feeling that the only safety was in boldness, replied by ordering Lord Shrewsbury to advance to his old position, and the line of the Don was again occupied.”

On the 10th of November there arrived at Templehurst, shortly before dinner, a messenger from Norfolk, with a letter and also a private message for Lord Darcy, who, as his guest at the time, was walking in the castle garden with Aske, himself, and a party of the commons.

“Lord Darcy, having secured a private room and a few private, moments, called Cresswell, the messenger, in. ‘Now tell your message,’ he said. ‘ The Duke of Norfolk desires you,’ replied the messenger, ‘to deliver up Aske, quick or dead, but, if possible, alive; and you shall show yourself a true subject, and the king will so regard you.’ Norfolk answered like a nobleman that he had given his faith, and he would not stain his coat. He wrote a few lines to Norfolk. ‘Alas, my Lord !’ his letter said, ‘that you, being a man of so great honour, should advise or choose me to betray any living man, Frenchman, Scot, yea, or even Turk. To win for me or my heirs the best duke’s lands that be in France, I would not do it to no living person.’”

The next morning, after Mass, he again called Cresswell to him, and bade him tell the king that he had never done better service either to him or to his father than he was doing at the moment, and if there was to be peace, he recommended that the answer to the petition should be returned instantly.

The king had written more than one answer, but each time he had made a reservation to the promise of a general pardon, excluding in" one instance ten persons, in another six, from the benefit of it.

In deference to the advice of Norfolk, all of them were now withdrawn, and Ellerkar and Bowes were permitted on the 14th of November to return “with general instructions of comfort.” Norfolk himself, with other commissioners, would return to the north at the end of the month with a final reply.

The ill-humour of the insurgents was meanwhile increasing; division had begun to show itself; the people suspected the gentlemen, the latter feared the people.

On the return of Bowes and Ellerkar a hasty council was called at York. The question was put whether they should wait or not for the arrival of the commissioners.

Several of the leaders proposed to cut short further parley. The moderation of Aske, however, prevailed over the council; he resolved that the terms offered by the Government should be first discussed, but in security.

The musters should assemble in full force; the two assemblies —the northern Parliament and Convocation already summoned— should sit at Pomfret, and not at York, and should meet at the time of the conference.

“Thus, on the 26th of November, as the king’s commissioners approached the borders of Yorkshire, the news reached them that the beacons were again burning, and the force of the commons was again collecting. The conference, if conference there was to be, must be held with their hands on their sword hilts. The black squadrons, with St. Cuthbert’s banner, would be swarming on the banks of the Don as before. They had brought down extensive powers, but the king had refused absolutely to grant a complete pardon. Five or six of the worst offenders, he insisted, should be surrendered; and if the rebels were obstinate, Norfolk had been directed to protract the discussion, to win time by policy, that he [the king] might himself come to them; and in the meantime to consent to nothing, to promise nothing, and yet do and say nothing ‘which might give them warning and respite to fortify themselves.’”

Shrewsbury found, however, that the force he had with him could not now hold its position in the face of the vast numbers which were collecting, and when the number of the rebels who had reassembled was known, Sir John Russell was sent back from Nottingham to tell the king that his conditions could not be insisted upon, and to entreat him not only to grant the full pardon, but to promise also to hold a Parliament in person at York. Ignorant as to what the answer would be, Norfolk, with the other commissioners, went on to Doncaster, having prepared his way by a letter to Lord Darcy, to do away with the effects of his late overtures. He arrived at the town on the 28th of November.

On Monday, the 27th, the northern notables, laity and clergy, assembled at Pomfret. Thirty-four peers and knights, besides gentlemen and extemporised leaders of the commons, sat in the castle hall, the Archbishop of York and his Convocation in Pomfret church.

The discussions of the latter body were opened by the archbishop in a sermon, in which he dared to declare the meeting unlawful and the insurrection traitorous. He was swiftly silenced. A number of soldiers dragged him out of the pulpit, and threw him upon the pavement. He was rescued and carried off by a party of his friends, or in a few more moments he would have been murdered.

The clergy, delivered from his control, drew up a list of articles pronouncing successively against each step which had been taken in the Reformation; and other articles simultaneously were drawn by the council in the hall. One by one, as the form of each was resolved upon, they were read aloud to the assembly, and were received with shouts of "Fiat! Fiat!"

Ten knights were then told off, and ten followers to every knight, to ride down to Doncaster and arrange the preliminaries of the meeting. They saw the duke on the day of his arrival, "and on Wednesday, the 29th, Lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and three hundred of the most eminent of the party passed the bridge of the Don with a safe-conduct into the town, wearing their pilgrims' badges, the five wounds of Christ crossed on their breasts. They made obeisance on their knees before the duke and earls, and did humbly require to have the king's most merciful and free pardon for any their offences committed. This done, they presented their resolutions, on which they had just determined at Pomfret, and the discussion opened. The duke's hands were tied; he could undertake nothing. The debate continued till Saturday, exceeding perplexed; messengers hurried to and fro between Doncaster and Pomfret. At length, on Saturday, Sir John Russell came with the king's revised commission.

"Against his judgment, Henry had yielded to the entreaties of the privy council.

"On the day of Russell's arrival an agreement was made and signed, the pardon and the Parliament were directly promised. It appears, certainly, that further engagements were virtually entered upon, or that words were used, perhaps intentionally vague, which were interpreted by the insurgents through their hopes and wishes. They believed—perhaps they were led to believe—that their entire petition had been granted; they had accomplished the object of their pilgrimage, and they were satisfied.

"Aske, in the presence of all the lords, pulled off his badge crossed with the five wounds, and in a manner did all the lords there, and all others there present, saying all these words: 'We will wear no badge nor figure but the badge of our sovereign lord.' A fine scene, yet—as we sometimes witness with a sudden clearance after rain, leaving hanging vapours in the sky—indicating surely that the elements were still unrelieved.

"The king had resolved on concessions, but not on such concessions as the Pomfret council demanded and Norfolk had seemed to promise. He would yield liberally to the substantial interests of the people, but he would yield little to their imaginative sympathies; and to the clergy and the reactionist lords he would not yield a step.

"The enclosures he intended should be examined into, the fines on renewals of leases should be fixed, and the relations of landlord and tenant so moderated that 'rich and poor men

might live together, every one in his degree according to his calling.' The abbey lands would not be restored to the monks, but he saw the inconvenience of attaching them to the domains of the crown.

"They should be disposed of rapidly on terms favourable to the people and unfavourable to himself. In this direction he was ready to do all that he was desired to do, but undo the Reformation— never."

Lord Darcy and Sir Robert Constable had been invited with the rest, but declined to present themselves.

"Of the three leaders who had thrown themselves into the insurrection with a fixed and peremptory purpose, Aske alone, the truest and the bravest, ventured to the king's presence. Henry, being especially desirous to see a man who had shaken his throne, paid him the respect of sending his request by the hands of a gentleman of the bedchamber. He took him now, he said, for his faithful subject; he wished to talk with him, and to hear from his own lips the history of the rising.

"He saw the king, and wrote out for him a straightforward and manly statement of his conduct, extenuating nothing, boasting of nothing—relating merely the simple and literal truth. Henry repeated his assurance to him that the Parliament should meet at York; and Aske returned, hoping perhaps against hope—at all events, exciting himself to make others hope—that the promises which they supposed to have been made to them at Doncaster would eventually be fulfilled."

A state paper, in Cromwell's handwriting, indicates the policy which the king then intended.

The northern Parliament was to meet the following summer. The king would be present in person.

A lieutenant-general and a council were to be permanently established at York as a court of appeal, empowered to hear and decide all local causes and questions.

Garrisons were to be established in the great towns "in such order as they might be continued without hatred to the people"; the ordnance stores should be kept in better preparation; and, above all, the treasury must be better furnished to meet unforeseen expenses, "experience showing that princes be not so easily served save where there is prompt payment for service rendered, and the honest labourer is-not kept waiting for his hire."

By the end of December many of the gentlemen who had taken part in the insurrection had been to court, and in their interviews with the king had been won back to an unreserved allegiance.

The king lost no time in correcting the misconceptions which the Duke of Norfolk had permitted at Doncaster. He regarded the insurgents as pardoned traitors, who must reward his forgiveness by loyal obedience for the future.

Most of the gentlemen had returned from visiting London, converts to Henry's policy and determined to support it; but the monks, and such of the people as were under their influence, remained a discontented minority.

The intentions of the Government were now made purposely evident. Large garrisons, with ammunition and cannon, were placed in Newcastle, Scarborough, and Hull; suspected persons were compelled to sue out their pardons by taking the oath of allegiance in a form constructed for the occasion.

"Loud cries arose on all sides. The people exclaimed that they were betrayed by the gentlemen. The pardon was a delusion. 'The king,' they said, 'had given them the fawcet and had kept the spigot.' The clergy were described as writhing with fury."
The Council of the North was about to undertake its functions. The Duke of Norfolk was to be the first president, and was to enter upon his duties at the end of January.'

Sir Francis Bigood, "a spendthrift," of Mogreve Castle, in Blakemore, with a few monks; John Hallam, a retainer of Sir Robert Constable, and one or two other insignificant persons, imagined that before his arrival Doncaster might be recovered.

On the 12th of January, 1537, Bigood sent out a sudden circular through Durham and Richmondshire, inviting a muster at Settington. The clergy gave their help, and a considerable number of people collected, and Bigood addressed the crowd.

"He had invited them thither, he said, to warn them that, unless they looked to themselves, they would be all destroyed. Cleveland had risen, and other parts of the bishopric had risen, and all brave men must follow the example. The Duke of Norfolk was coming down with twenty thousand men. The gentlemen were traitors. The people were deceived by a pretended pardon, which was not a pardon, but a proclamation. 'You who will follow us, hold up your hands.'" Every hand went up.

They did not know Bigood; but in their humour they would have followed anyone who had offered to lead them.

Among the crowd was the eldest son of Lord Lumley, taken there, if his own word was true, by little else than curiosity, and he was pitched upon to head a party to Scarborough.

He went unwillingly, received little encouragement from the townspeople, and finding the castle newly entrenched, and the cannon visible between the parapets, he stole out of the town and left his men to shift as they could.

Beverley and Hull were to be attempted the same day by Bigood and Hallam. Bigood succeeded at Beverley, but Aske, Darcy, and Constable lost no time in disclaiming and condemning his proceedings, and his men falling away from him, he was obliged to fly, and soon after found himself a prisoner.

At Hull it happened to be the market day, and Hallam went thither dressed as a farmer, and entered the town with twenty men at a time, to avoid suspicion.

He expected the assistance of the crowd collected at the market, but finding he was mistaken, and attempting to make his way again to the open country with two or three of his followers, he was overtaken, brought back, and placed in the town gaol.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for the Government than this outbreak. If the king desired to escape from the conditions of Doncaster, it furnished him with an excuse. Aske and Constable made the most of their exertions to preserve order, and received from the king thanks and acknowledgments.

The Duke of Norfolk came at the end of the month, and, under the pretext of the continued disorders, he brought with him an army. He was instructed to respect literally the terms of the pardon, but to punish promptly all offences committed since.

He found the East Riding tolerably quiet, but to the North all in confusion. In place of the disciplined army which had been at Doncaster, an armed mob was spread over the country, pillaging and burning.

On the 12th of February, a mob of about eight thousand men, under one of the Musgraves, attacked Carlisle, but were beaten back in confusion, and chased for many miles by Sir Thomas Clifford and his troops.

Norfolk, with his army, hurried to the scene; arrests were made on all sides, and a courier was despatched to inform the king of the final flight of the insurgents and of the steps which had been taken.

Henry promptly answered, sending his thanks to Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir Christopher Dacre, who had defended Carlisle, with his full approbation of Norfolk's conduct. "Our pleasure is," he said, "that before you shall close up our banner again, you shall cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village, and hamlet that have offended, as they may be a fearful spectacle to all others hereafter that would practise any like matter. You shall, without pity or circumstance, cause all the monks and canons that be anywise faulty, to be tied up without further delay or ceremony."

The command was obeyed. Before the ordinary course of law was restored, two hundred persons, laity and clergy, were hanged in various towns in Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire. "The severity was not excessive, but it was sufficient to produce the desired result; the rebellion was finished." Hallam and several of his followers were executed at Hull; Bigood, Lumley, and six others were sent to London, to await their trial with the Lincolnshire prisoners who were still in the Tower.

Robert Aske, Lord Darcy, and Sir Robert Constable were arrested and taken to the Tower.

"Through the months of February and March a series of evidence shows that Aske, Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, a gentleman named Levening, and several others, holding aloof as an isolated group, in close and continued intercourse, yet, after Bigood's capture, taking no part in the pacification of the country.

“They were in possession of information respecting the risings in Westmoreland and Cleveland, and yet gave no information to the Government.”

CHAPTER XXII.

OF the hundred or more Lincolnshire prisoners sent to the Tower, upwards of half were liberated after a short imprisonment. The Abbot of Kirkstead, with thirty of the remainder, were tried at Lincoln, and all were convicted.

The Abbot, Thomas Morgue, and another were hanged on the following day at Lincoln, and four others, a day or two later, at Louth and Horncastle. The court petitioned for the pardon of the rest, and, after a delay of a few weeks, the king consented, and they were dismissed.

Twelve men—the Abbot of Barlings, with one of his monks, and others who had been concerned in the murder of the chancellor, brought to the bar in Guildhall—were convicted and hung on gibbets, at various towns in their own county, as signs and warnings.

With Lord Hussey, who was tried and condemned by his peers, and executed, the Lincolnshire list was closed.

"And of fifty or sixty thousand persons who had been in the rebellion, the government was satisfied with the punishment of twenty. The mercy was, perhaps, in part, dictated by prudence."

The turn of the northern prisoners came next. There were three sections of them: Sir Francis Bigood, George Lumley, and those who had risen in January, in the East Riding; Sir Thomas Percy, the Abbot of Fountains, the Abbot of Jervaulx, Sir John and Lady Bulmer, and Sir Stephen Hawarton, who had been concerned in the separate risings since suppressed by the Duke of Norfolk; and Aske, Constable, and Lord Darcy, with their adherents.

On the 16th of May, Lord Darcy was arraigned before twenty- two of his peers, and condemned.

The rest were tried on the same day, before a special commission, at Westminster Hall. Percy, Hawarton, Sir John and Lady Bulmer pleaded guilty, and Sir Ralph Bulmer was acquitted. A verdict was given without difficulty against Aske, Constable, Bigood, Lumley, and seven others.

Lord Darcy was executed on the 20th of June, on Tower Hill; Sir Thomas Percy, Bigood, Hawarton, Sir John Bulmer, Lumley, Tempest, and the two abbots were hanged at Tyburn; four others were pardoned.

"Lady Bulmer died the dreadful death awarded by the English law to female treason. 'On the Friday in Whitsun week,' wrote a town correspondent of Sir Henry Saville, ' the wife of Sir John Bulmer was drawn without Newgate to Smithfield, and there burned '; and the world went its light way, thinking no more of Lady Bulmer than if she had been a mere Protestant heretic."

Aske and Sir Robert Constable were sent down to Yorkshire in the custody of Sir Thomas Wentworth. They were paraded through the eastern counties, and delivered over to the Duke of Norfolk.

Constable was taken to Hull, and there hanged in chains. “ Before his death, he said that although he had declared on his examination that he had revealed everything of importance which he knew, yet he had concealed some matter connected with Lord Darcy, for fear of doing him an injury. ‘ He was in doubt whether he had offended God in receiving the sacrament in such manner, concealing the truth upon a good purpose.’ This secret, whatever it was, he carried with him from the world. His own offences he admitted truly, protesting, however, that he had added nothing to them since the pardon.

“Aske was executed at York. He was drawn through the streets upon a hurdle, and afterwards hanged on the top of a tower.

“On his way he told the people that he had grievously offended God, the king, and the world—God he had offended in breaking his commandments in many ways; the king’s majesty he had greatly offended in breaking his laws, to which every subject was bound; and the world he had offended for as much as he was the occasion that many a one had lost their lives, lands, and goods.” So we take leave of Robert Aske’s death—an unhappy ending!

“A man who risked and lost his life for a cause which he believed a just one—though he was mistaken in so believing it—is not among those whose fate deserves the most compassion, or whose career is least to be envied.

“The insurrection had sunk down into rest, but it had not been wholly in vain. So far as it was just, it had prevailed; and happy were they whose work was sifted for them, who were permitted to accomplish so much only for their intentions as had been wisely formed.” The part taken by the monks in the rebellion of the north, and the encouragement they had given their dependents and tenants to join in that insurrection, served as a reason for the king to suppress the rest of the monasteries.

“Having,” as Turner tells us in his “ Monasticon,” “secured himself by alliances from the danger threatened by the pope, Henry, in the same year [1537] the rebellion was put down, appointed a new visitation, requiring the visitors to examine everything that related either to the conversation of the religious, or their affection to the king and the supremacy, or to their cheats, impostures, or superstitions, or how they were affected during the late commotions, and to discover all that was amiss in them, and to report it to the lord vice-regent, Thomas Cromwell.

“This caused the greater abbeys to be surrendered apace; for some of them, having been guilty in the late rebellion, were liable to the king’s displeasure, and surrendered their houses to save their lives. Some began to like the Reformation, and were on that account easily persuaded to it; others, seeing their dissolution approaching, had so much embezzled their revenues that they were scarce able to keep up their houses. A great many monks were executed for being in the rebellion. Many petitions were made, even by those that were for the Reformation, that some of these houses might be spared, but a resolution being taken at court to extirpate them all, the petitions were rejected.

“ And in the session of Parliament which began 28th April, 1539, and in the 31st year of the king’s reign, an act passed, by which all the religious houses which since the former act were suppressed, dissolved, relinquished, forfeited, or given up, or which should thereafter be suppressed, forfeited, or given up, were confirmed to the king and his successors; and all the rents, profits, revenues of them given to be disposed of by the Court of

Augmentation for the king's profit, excepting such only as were come into the king's hands by attainder or treason, which belonged to the exchequer.

"The mitred or parliamentary abbeys were all in being at the passing of it, and yet none of them either opposed it or voted against it, but were every one shortly brought to surrender except the abbots of Colchester, Glastonbury, and Reading, who could not be prevailed upon by any motives to surrender, and therefore were accused of high treason and executed, and their abbeys were seized as forfeited to the king by their attainder.

"The next year a bill was brought in for suppressing the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and passed in a short time, and thereby all their revenues were given to the king, who, by the suppression of these greater houses obtained a revenue of about one hundred thousand pounds per annum, besides a large sum in plate and jewels.

"But the religious of these houses had almost all of them something given them for their subsistence, and pensions assigned them for life, or till they were preferred to some dignity or cure of greater value than their pensions, which were generally proportioned according to their readiness to promote the king's measures. These pensions rose so high, that the king got very little out of some of these houses, till the religious either died or were otherwise provided for.

"However, out of what came to him he founded six new bishoprics, viz., those of Westminster (which was changed by Queen Elizabeth into a deanery and twelve prebends and salaries for a schoolmaster, usher, etc.), Peterborough, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Oxford, and the colleges of Christ Church in Oxford, and the Holy Trinity in Cambridge, and finished King's College Chapel there; and laid out great sums in building and fortifying many ports in the Channel.

" And intended to have done more, but whether out of policy, to give content to the nobility and gentry by selling these lands at low rates, or out of easiness to his courtiers, or an immeasured lavishness in his expenses, he soon disabled himself from it; and having in the meantime had wars both with Scotland and France, there were granted to him for a further supply, by the Parliament, which began in November, A.D. 1545, all colleges, charities, free chapels, hospitals, and guilds, some of which had been before surrendered.

"This act was made so general that even those great nurseries of learning, the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, with those of Winchester and Eton, were included; and upon the breaking up of the Parliament, in February, notice was sent to both universities that their colleges were at the king's disposal. This put them upon petitioning for mercy, which was soon obtained, and letters of thanks were sent for the continuance of them.

"But the commissioners named in this Act for giving the king possession of the colleges, etc., did not enter upon many of them before his death, which happened in January following; and thereby most of them remained till A.D. 1548, when, being granted by another Act of Parliament (in which the colleges of both universities were excepted) to King Edward VL, they were soon destroyed to the number of ninety colleges, one hundred and ten hospitals, and two thousand three hundred and seventy-four charities and free chapels.

"Now, from hence give me leave to observe," continues Turner, "first, that the dissolution of these houses was an act not of the church, but of the state prior to the

Reformation, by a king and parliament of the Roman Catholic communion, in almost all points except the supremacy, and confirmed by others of the same communion.

“Secondly, that -very few of the papists worked against the dissolution of these houses, and that several, both of their clergy and laity, accepted grants of their lands.

“Thirdly, that almost all the bishops of the new learning, as the reformers were then called, were against the misapplication of the abbey lands.

“Sixthly, that all great estates are subject to accidents, and have often changed their owners in a short time.

“Seventhly, one very great loss, which happened by the hasty dissolution and granting away of these houses, was, that better provision was not made for the performance of divine offices in such churches as had been appropriated to the monasteries, which both the ministers and parishioners of those places suffer to this day, and is justly accounted a scandal to our Reformation. And another was the loss of a great number of excellent books, to the unspeakable detriment of the learned world. For there was scarce any religious house but had a library, and several of them very good ones.

“ And here give me leave to take notice, that, however ignorant a great many of the monks might be, there seem to have been always some amongst them that were both learned persons themselves and encouragers of learning in others.

“ The ancient British, Irish, and Saxon monasteries were the schools and universities of those times; not only cells of devotion, but nurseries of learned men for the use of the church.

“ It is likewise observable, that, when printing was first brought into England, the monks were great promoters of that useful invention, for Stow saith, William Caxton first practised the same in the Abbey at Westminster, and that afterwards it was likewise practised in the Abbeys of St. Austin’s, Canterbury, St. Alban’s, and other monasteries in England.

“I hope therefore, that, notwithstanding there might be in almost every house several very ignorant monks, yet many of them were very learned and industrious, promoters of several useful parts of knowledge. And the learned world could not but have received great advantage from their books if they had been preserved.

“Their MSS. bibles, fathers, and classics would certainly have been of great use; and from their chronicles, registers, and other books relating to their own houses and estates, the history and antiquities of the nation in general, and of almost every particular part of it, might have been more fully discovered.

“For the many good accounts of families, of the foundations, endowment, and appropriation of their vicarages, of the ancient bounds of forest, counties, boundaries, and parishes, of their privileges, tenures, and rents of many manors and estates, and the like, which we meet with in such of their books as have been preserved, is a sufficient proof that the advantage would have been still greater if we had been so fortunate as to have preserved more of them.

"The monasteries suppressed numbered, in the whole, six hundred and fifty, yielding £142,914 per annum, a sum equal to about £1,429,140 in our money."

Froude makes no reference to the part Abbot Paslew and his monks took in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Baines, however, tells us: "The Abbots of Whalley, Salley, Jervaulx, Furness, Fountains, and Rivaulx, with all the persons they could influence, either joined the main army, or made diversions in its favour in their respective districts.

"The scene of hostile operations in Lancashire was principally on the eastern boundary, adjoining to the county of York.

"On hearing of the rising in the north, Lord Derby raised a force, and was preparing to resist an attempt of the rebels to take the abbeys of Whalley and Salley when he received at Preston the king's command to disperse his forces.

"But finding, on the re-assembling of the rebels, that the danger was imminent, he again collected his troops, and, marching to Whalley, he secured the abbey and restored the public tranquility."

Sent to Lancaster, Paslew was arraigned at the county spring Assizes, and convicted of high treason for the part he had taken in the northern rebellion, he was sentenced to death.

And on the 10th March, 1537, he suffered the extreme penalty of the law on a gallows erected in front of the house of his birth, in Whalley; while William Trafford, Abbot of Salley, and the prior of the same place, were executed at Lancaster two days before, along with John Eastegate and William Haydocke, monks of Whalley.

"Paslew is supposed," says Dr. Whittaker, "to have been buried in the north aisle of the parish church [at Whalley], under a stone yet remaining.

"The attainder of an abbot," continues the historian, "was understood, how rightly soever, by the crown lawyers of that time, to infer a forfeiture of the house; and accordingly, without the form of a surrender, and without any provision, so far as can be discovered, for the remaining monks, many of whom were probably innocent, the Abbey of Whalley, with all its appurtenances, was instantly seized into the king's hands, and thus fell this ancient and opulent foundation.

"More caution and less zeal might have prolonged its existence about three years, might have secured a splendid establishment for the abbot, and competent stipends for his subordinate brethren. But the fate of Paslew was not unmerited; it was his duty to suffer for conscience's sake, and nothing can justify his rebellion."

"The establishment appears to have consisted of the lord abbot, the prior, about 20 monks, besides an uncertain number of novices, 20 servants belonging to the abbot, and 70 in the general service of the house, in all 120 persons. But besides these, the demesnes and revenues of the abbey had to sustain a daily, though uncertain and irresistible, influx of guests in every rank, from the Sovereign to the beggar, whose stay, if it exceeded not three days, was never considered as oppressive.

"The average [yearly] consumption of the house may be stated in round numbers, of

wheat 200 quarters, malt 150 quarters, wine 8 pipes.

	Oxen and Cows.	Sheep.	Calves.	Lambs.	Porkers.
For the Abbot's table	... 75	...80	...40	...20	...4
For the Refectory[1] [room of refreshment] and inferior tables	... 57	...40	...20	...10	...—

"It appears that immediately upon the forfeiture of the abbey, Richard Pollard, Esq., one of the king's surveyors-general, came down and let the demesne for a time.

"And on April 12th, 1539, the bailiwick of the demesnes was committed, by letters patent of Henry VIII., to John Braddyll, gent., of the neighbouring house of Braddyll and Brockhole, the said demesnes being then seized into the king's hands."

A survey of the abbey possessions, made at this time, includes the following reference to Eccles and Deane:—

"The personage of Eccles with ye glebe lands and other tyeth belonging to y^{e} same by y^{e} year...	£51	5	4
"The chappill of Dene with ye tyeth belonging to y^{e} same	63	13	4
"Summa totalis ...	£114	18	8
"Whereof p$^{d.}$ to ye Vicar of Eccles for his yearly pence [stipend]	£10	13	4
"And so ye said p'sonage is worth clearly ...	£104	5	4"

Vide Coucher Book, vol. 4, page 1247.

"In this state," continues Dr. Whittaker, "everything remained during an interval of somewhat more than fourteen years, when Braddyll, in conjunction with Richard Assheton, a younger son of the house of Lever, purchased from the Crown, for the sum of £2,132 3s. 9d., the whole manor of Whalley and site of the dissolved or attainted monastery thereof.

"Within four days of this transaction followed a partition of the premises by the two purchasers, in which Assheton obtained exclusive possession of the house; but Braddyll retained so much larger a portion of the demesnes that he paid a compensation to his partner of £467 16s. 8d."

"The attempt," says Baines, "made by Queen Mary to restore the abbeys was fatal to many of these edifices. ' Such as possessed them,' says Fuller, 'plucked out their eyes by levelling them to the ground, and shaving from them as much as they could all abbey characters.'

"The work of demolition was, probably, at that time commenced upon Whalley Abbey, but it was not until 1661, after the Restoration, that Sir Ralph Assheton, probably to

1 " He cells of refectories did prepare,
And large provisions laid of winter fare."—*Dryden,*

prevent the building being used as an internal fortress, pulled down the old walls of the close and fourteen yards of the high cloister walls."

Of the remains of the abbey, Dr. Whittaker tells us "the conventual church itself, which exceeded many cathedrals in extent, has been levelled nearly to the foundation.

"The abbey consisted of three quadrangles, besides stables and offices. Of these the first and most westerly was the cloister court, of which the nave of the conventual church formed the north side; the chapter-house and vestry, yet remaining, the east; the dormity, also remaining, the west; and the refectory and kitchen, the south.

"The cloister was of wood, supported, as usual, on corbels, still remaining; the area within was the monks' cemetery, and some ancient gravestones are still remembered within it. The south side of this quadrangle contained the lavatory.

"To the east is another quadrangular area, formed by the choir of the church on one side, the opposite site of the chapter-house, etc., on another, a line of ruinous buildings on the third, and the Abbot's lodgings themselves surrounding a small quadrangle on the front. This, as being best adapted to the habits of an ordinary family, immediately became the residence of the Asshetons; and after many alterations, and a demolition of its best apartments, particularly a gallery nearly 150 feet in length,[2] has still several good, habitable rooms, and it is now preserved with due care by its owner.

"The ancient kitchen remains, though roofless, with two huge fireplaces. On the south side of this building is a small, but picturesque and beautiful, ruin mantled with ivy, which appears to have been a chapel, and was probably the abbot's private oratory.

" The dormity, a long building of two storeys, in utter decay, and grown over with grass and shrubs ; the abbot's lodging, renovated by the Asshetons, still forms a spacious mansion to the south, now occupied by the family of the owner. In front are a noble flight of steps, and several armorial bearings, among them the 'Insignia Loci Benedicti de Whalley.'"

2 Used in the entertainment of principal guests.

CHAPTER XXIII.

TURNING back to 1537, the year that proved so disastrous to the abbot and monks, Henry Eighth, on the death of Paslew, seized the Abbey and all the possessions of the monks, including the Chapel of Saynte Mariden with its tithes and glebe.

The next year the King, reserving to himself the advowson, farmed out, for a period of twenty-one years, the glebe and tithes of Deane to John Penne, a groom of the King's chamber, at a rental of £50 per annum, a sum equal to about £500 in our money.

We have not come across the deed of lease, but in the Records of State Papers, preserved in the Record Office, we find the following memo, of it:—

"John Penne, a groom of the chamber; lease of the Rectory of Eccles with the annexed chapel of Deyne, Lane., and all glebe lands, tithes, &c., thereto belonging, late parcel of the possessions of the monastery of Whalley, Lane., in the King's hands by the attainder of John, the late Abbot; for twenty-one years, at the annual rent of £64 13s. 9d. for the Rectory, and £50 4s. 10d. for the chapel, as extended by Richard Pollard."—Letters and Papers: Foreign and Domestic—Hen. VIII., vol. 13, part 1 (1538).

Let us now proceed to 1541, memorable as the year in which King Henry Eighth, by Letters Patent, ordained the Chapel of Saynte Mariden the parish church of the parochial district of ten townships assigned to it, under Eccles, from time immemorial, the parish receiving the name of Deane after the ancient village.

Transcript of this interesting Latin document is to be seen in the Record Office which, translated, reads as follows:—

"Patent Roll, 33 Henry VIII. [1541], part 8 in 27 (13.)

"The King, to all to whom, &c., greeting. Whereas the parochial chapel of Deane, in the diocese of West Chester, which was impropriated to the late monastery of Whalley, and is now in the right of our crown, is distant by eight miles or thereabouts from any other church or chapel, and has an ample and populous parish, chancel, vestibule, choir, nave, aisles, baptistery, belfry, bells cemetery, altars, and other marks denoting a parish church; and also books, vestments, chalices, crosses, banners, censers, and other paraments necessary for Divine worship, after the manner of a parish church in all things provided.

"And there is also in the same chapel of Deane one curate to celebrate masses and other Divine offices for the parishioners there perpetually, and to administer the sacraments and sacramentals to the same parishioners, so that such parishioners are not bound to attend at any other church or chapel for hearing Divine worship, or for participating in sacramentals, as from time immemorial it has been wholesomely ordained: Know ye that we, extending the regard of our benignity to the glory of God, and the increase of Divine offices, and also to the convenience and quiet of the parishioners aforesaid, of our special grace and of our certain knowledge and mere motion, do will, grant and ordain that the said chapel of Deane from henceforth shall be, and shall be deemed to be, a parish church, altogether free and distinct from every other church or chapel.

“ And shall have the parish and parishioners heretofore assigned to it by the ancient motes and bounds, on all sides separate from other parishes and parishioners; and also there shall be from henceforth in the said church of Deane one perpetual vicar, to be appointed by us and our heirs, and to be instituted by the ordinary [bishop] of the place for the time being; which said vicar shall bear the cure of souls and other Divine offices there, and shall administer sacraments and sacramentals therein, and also shall undergo and support other charges incumbent on the vicarage of the said church, as of right and by the custom of the Church of England it ought to be done, in all things.

“Provided, nevertheless, that the vicar of the said church of Deane for the time being shall receive no more from us or our heirs by name of stipend than what the curate there has been accustomed to receive hitherto.

“ Although express mention of the true yearly value, or of the certainty of the premises, is not made here, or any Act or statute of us or of our progenitors to the contrary enacted, or hereinafter to be enacted, or any other thing, matter, or cause whatever in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, &c. Witness the King, at Westminster, the 21st day of November, &c. By writ of Privy Seal, &c.”

Besides being interesting, this historical document is valuable as clearing up the mystery hitherto prevailing as to the date when Deane became a parish separate and distinct from Eccles.

By it we are also made acquainted with some of the many curious articles or “paraments,” as it calls them, then used in Divine service and the Mass.

For though the Church of England had been severed from Rome in 1535, six years before this time, it did not cease to observe the Roman Catholic rites, ceremonies, &c., of worship till after the death of King Henry, the new patron of the living of Deane.

The furniture and accessories of the altar, at this period, are said to have been very numerous.

In addition to a crucifix hung above the altar, and two candlesticks standing on each side, “ there was,” the Rector of Barkham tells us, “ the pyx, a box or vessel of precious metal, in which the Host was reverently preserved for giving Communion to the sick and infirm [at their homes].

“There were two small cruets or vessels for containing the wine and water used in holy Communion, one engraved with the letter ‘V’ (vinum) and the other ‘A’ (aqua).

“An osenlatorium, or pax tablet, of ivory or wood, inlaid with gold, was used for giving the kiss of peace during the High Mass, just before the reception of the Host.

“On the south side we see the piscina, which is contained in a beautifully carved niche—a hollow basin with a stone drain, wherein the priest washed his hands before consecrating the elements, and poured the water from the rinsed chalice.

“Above it, in the niche, was the credence, a shelf of stone, on which were placed the chalice and paten, and all things necessary for the celebration.”

Returning to King Henry's Letters Patent, it is also noteworthy that the venerable church possessed then, as now, "a chancel, choir, nave, aisles, baptistery, vestibule (porch), belfry, bells, cemetery, &c. "; while, in the absence of any reference to it, we may conclude that the chapel of Holy Trinity and St. Anne, ruthlessly pulled down in 1522, had not been restored.

But, while interesting and valuable, the document contains an inaccuracy which gives the impression that Bolton, at this time, was a place of less importance than Deane.

We refer to that part where it states that "the parochial chapel of Deane is distant by eight miles or thereabouts from any other church or chapel." We know, however, as an historical fact that Bolton had then, as now, a parish church within two miles of Deane's venerable church,

The error arose, in all probability, through the person responsible for the compilation of the document not making due enquiries.

And for the same reason, probably, the document is reticent as to the actual stipend to be paid the vicar, though made clear enough that he "shall receive no more than the curate there has been accustomed to receive hitherto"—a sum, documents in the Record Office, to which we will return later on, tell us amounted to only £4 per annum, while the patron retained the tithes and rent of the glebe.

"By the second of Henry Fifth [1415]," says Froude, "the wages of a parish priest were limited to £5 6s. 8d., except in cases where there was license from the bishop, when they might be raised as high as £6.

"Priests were probably something better off under Henry Eighth, but the statute remained in force, and marks an approach, at least, to their ordinary salary."

Small, however, as stipends then were, the secular monks, for so the parish priests were called, and many of them were the younger sons of the gentry, were content with the humble fare they derived from them.

From Canon Raines we learn that "for the most part the parish priest dwelt in one or two small rooms; a bench or a stool, a wooden bedstead, and a mattress of straw, comprising all his furniture.

"And probably he would prepare his own frugal fare, which, would consist of salted meat twice a week; on the day of his patron saint, or some great anniversary, he would have fresh meat and fish, and on high festivals a double mess of beans to boil.

"And oatmeal for porridge, with haberdine ling, red-herrings, cheese, oatcake, and apples, would be ordinary food; whilst eggs, coarse barley, bread, and fish, would be amongst the luxuries of the table."

Early in the year following his "Letters Patent," the King selected for the first vicar of Deane the Rev. William Rothwell, M.A., who is said to have belonged to a local family.

Up to Vicar Rothwell's appointment, and from time immemorial, "the sub-vicars of Deane," says Croston, in his Edition of Baines, 1890, "were either appointed by or were subordinate to the vicars of Eccles; and no record of their names was preserved in the Episcopal Registers at Lichfield [the earliest diocese of the district], and the list for that period is necessarily very incomplete.

"But by the aid of Bishops' Registers [transcripts of which are preserved in the Record Office], we are enabled to carry down the incumbents under Royal patronage from the Reformation to the present time."

Whittle, in his History of Bolton, 1855, prints a list of vicars of Deane, the first four of whom date further back than the year 1542; and to these Croston adds another of a much earlier date, and of the five we learn from him the following particulars :—

"A.D. 1240. Thomas de Halgth, clerk, of Halghton, who gave lands in Halghton or Halcton (that is Westhoughton) to the abbey of Cockersand, as appears by several undated charters in the chartulary of that house, was in all probability parson of St. Maryden, and is the first of ecclesiastics [at Deane] of whom we have any mention.

" He was the son of Maddock, brother of Jorwerth de Halgton or Halton, named in the Lancashire Assize Roll, 1245, and was himself brother of Robert, the founder of the family of Rilands [at Westhoughton]."

This reference to Jorwerth Halton takes us back to the thirty - first year of the reign of Henry Third, 1245, at which time the chapel of Saynte Mariden had been transferred to the monks of Stanlawe ten years.

Of the abbey of Cockersand, founded in 1190 on the sandy estuary of the little stream Cocker (hence the abbey's name), five miles south of Lancaster, nothing now remains but the chapterhouse, an octagonal building thirty feet in diameter.

The abbey's chartulary, printed in Chetham Society's Vol. 38, contains, as under, a curious but interesting decree of Lord Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, in Thomas de Halgth's time:—

"That our parishioners all and singular of them shall fully mark, learn and understand that the following articles are known to pertain to the parishioners themselves, to wit:—

"A chalice, missal [Mass book], the chief vestment of the Church itself, namely, the chasuble; a clean alb [white linen robe worn by priests at Mass]; amice[1], stole, maniple[2], girdle, with three altar cloths, corporals, and vestments for the deacon and sub-deacon, with a principal silk cope for the chief festivals; processional cross, and another small cross for the dead ; a vessel of holy water, a pax [small representation of Christ, given to the people to kiss at Mass]; candlestick, for the paschal candle; thurible or censer; a lantern with a bell [for use when the blessed Sacrament was carried by the priest to the sick or dying]: the lantern to prevent the lights being extinguished by the wind, and the bell to warn the people to kneel as the blessed Sacrament passed; a lantern veil [curtain hung across the chancel in Passiontide]; two candlesticks for the torch - bearers.

1 A square linen cloth that a priest ties round his neck, hanging down behind under the alb, when he officiates at Mass.
2 Ornament worn about the arm of a Mass priest.

" Of books: a Lewgenda [readings from the lives of the saints]; a Gradual [verses or psalms sung at Mass before the Gospel]; a Psalter [the book of the Psalms]; Ordinal [directions for celebrating the Divine offices]; Missal [Mass book]; Manual [the Service book of the Romish Church].

" A frontal for the high altar; three surplices; a becoming pixis for the body of Christ; large bells, with their ropes; a holy font, with a lock; a chrismatory [for the holy oils used in baptism and extreme unction]; images in the church ; in the chancel, a principal image of the saint to whom the church is dedicated."

In 1199, King John granted Jorwerth lands in Pendleton, Baines tells us.

Returning to Croston, he continues as follows:—

"A.D. 1471. Wilfred de Whalley (a Benedictine); on the presentation of William Billington.

"A.D. 1520. Willus de Cledesham; presented by Abbot Trafford.

"A.D. 1522. Galfrid de Catherall (from Whalley); presented by Abbot Paslew. Probably a younger son of Ralph Catterall, of Catterall and Little Mitton, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of James Butler, of Rawcliffe.

"A.D. 1531. Theodore de Paslew; also presented by Abbot Paslew.

" The four last-mentioned names," continues Croston, " are given in Whittle's History of Bolton (1855), but no authority is named, and we are unable to verify them; they are designated vicars, but whether they were such, or only sub-vicars, is not clear"

Speaking for our ourselves, we have not come across any ministers of Deane of a date anterior to 1542, except the three priests named in the Westhoughton lawsuit of 1522, and "the curate" mentioned in another lawsuit, namely, that between the Vicar of Deane and the Vicar of Eccles in 1544-45, particulars of which will follow in due course; and of these four neither Whittle nor Croston gives any account.

In the proceedings of the first-named lawsuit we are made acquainted with Jamys Laithwaite, said to be "Our Lady's priest, of Deane Church," at the time of the trial, 1522.

His evidence brought to light a former " parish priest of Deane "—Sir Peris Crompton—" who anointed one Roger Gorton when on his deathbed," the date of which would seem, from the general evidence, to have been about the year 1506 ; while another witness tells of a third "parish priest of Deyne Church," Sir Thomas Strete, who was called to the bedside of a man named Bryan, " lying sick and in the article of dethe," and this about the year 1516.

In the later lawsuit (1544-45) the name of Sir Thomas Strete appears again; but though the Vicar of Eccles, in his evidence, tells us he paid Sir Thomas "£4 yearly for two years at least," he omits to say what years.

In his further evidence, the Vicar of Eccles makes us acquainted with a "curate of Deane," Sir Hamlet Malbous, to whom he paid "five marks for one year's service."

This Sir Hamlet Malbous would appear to have been the last of the ministers at Deane appointed by the Vicar of Eccles; for in a list of the clergy in eleven deaneries of the diocese of Chester, dated 1541-42, the year of Vicar Rothwell's appointment, Sir Hamlet's name, together with that of another minister of Deane, one probably attached to Westhoughton, is recorded with those of the deanery of Manchester, as follows:—

"Deane. Sir Hamletus Malbous, ex stipendio, Rici Brerton.
„ „ Adam Robinson, „ „ Andree Barton."

The list is said to be preserved in the Diocesan Registry, Abbey Gateway, Chester. *Vide* Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, vol. 33, page 13.

Taking the foregoing ministers of Deane in their respective order of date, we place them as follows:—

Sir Peris Crompton	1506.
„ Thomas Strete	1516.
James Laithwaite	1522.
Sir Hamlet Malbous	1541

Now let us turn to the vicars of Deane nominated by the Sovereign and instituted by the Bishop, as recorded in the Institution Books from 1542, and relate what we find interesting and instructive in their lives, all men of learning and of irreproachable character; together with such edifying references to the venerable church, parish, and, incidentally, to the times in which they lived, as we may find recorded; and, along with the records of vicar William Rothwell's time, the "Life and Times" of the Deane Martyr.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WILLIAM ROTHWELL, M.A., 1542-75.

APPOINTED by King Henry VIII., as previously notified, Mr. Rothwell was instituted by Dr. Bird, the first Bishop of Chester, February 20th, 1542, and he paid his first fruits the 28th of the following June.

Henry had reigned thirty-three years when Vicar Rothwell came to Deane, and he lived through the rest—five years—of that king's reign and the succeeding reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Mary, and up to the eighteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

The tithes of Deane and Eccles, it will be remembered, were, in 1538, leased to John Penne, a member of King Henry's household. Soon after, however, he transferred his interest in them to Sir Richard Brereton, of Worsley, and he, in turn, to Myles Gerrard.

Richard Heaton and others disputing Gerrard's right to the Heaton township portion of the tithes, a lawsuit ensued.

The decision of the court, in favour of Myles Gerrard, is found in the Exchequer Records, and is dated 13th February, 34 Henry VIII., 1543, and the following is an abstract of it:—

"Myles Gerrard and Richard Hayton, Van [Wm.] Hayton, Richard Moris, Robert Wylson, James Moris, Thomas Fogg, Lambart Heyton, and others, concerning the tithes of the grain and corn of the township of Heyton, in the parish of Eccles, Co. Lancaster, sometime belonging to the late attainted Abbey of Whalley, now come to the king by reason of the late abbot's attainder.

"The king, being seized, by reason of the said attainder, of the parsonage of Eccles, whereof the said tithes are parcel, granted by letters patent the said parsonage, and all chapels and tithes belonging thereunto, unto John Penne, for term of years yet enduring, at a certain rent, who granted them to Sir Richard Brereton, Knt., who granted the tithes of Heyton to the complainant.

" Forasmuch as the said defendants confess to have taken away the tithes of Heyton in the 32nd year [1540] of the king's reign, as the right of William Heyton, whereas the said William had no right thereto except as farmer of the said tithes unto the abbots of the late monastery, the court order the defendants to pay complainant six marks as damages and costs; also that the tithes collected within the last two years, at the court's order, by Andrew Barton and Ralph Assheton, be delivered to complainant, and that the complainant receive for the remainder of his term the said tithes." (Appendix to 30th Report Dep. Keeper Public Records, p. 175).

Among other lawsuits in Deane Parish, engaging the law courts at this time, we find the one recently alluded to in which Vicar Rothwell is interested as plaintiff.

Expecting that, in addition to the stipend from King Henry of £4 per annum, a like sum should still come to him from Eccles, just as it had to his predecessors at Deane, and failing to obtain the same, Mr. Rothwell sued the Vicar of Eccles for two years' arrears.

In the Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings, vol. 14, col. 13, R. 12 C., 36 Henry VIII., we find the following particulars of the case:—

" William Rothwell, Clerk, Vicar of Deane, versus Thomas Craven, Clerk, Vicar of Eccles, Re wages and stipend, Deane Chapel and Eccles.

"To the Right Hon. Sir John Gage, Knight.

"William Rothwell, Clerk, Vicar of the Parish Church of Deane, in the County of Lancaster, late called Chapel of Deane, late parcel of the Parish of Eccles, in the diocese of Chester, complains that whereas one Thomas Craven, Clerk, Vicar of the Parish of Eccles, and all his predecessors, by reason of an ordinance made by Roger, then bishop of the said diocese, A.D. 1277, for discharging the duty of the said Vicar in serving the cure of the said Parish, have not only appointed a convenient priest and' chaplain to celebrate Mass, matins, *and* other divine service within the said chapel of Deane, but have, at their own charges, paid him for his salary £4 yearly at Michaelmas and Easter by even portions, until now of late, that is to say, the 21st November, 33 Henry 8 (1541), when the King by Letters Patent ordained that the said Chapel of Deane should from henceforth for ever be a Parish church, and should be free and distinct from every other Parish Church and Chapel, and should have the Parish and 'parishioners to yt in time past in mettes and bounds lymyted,' and within the said Church of Deane there should be ' oon Vycar p'petuall,' to be presented by his Majesty, and instituted by the ordinary of the diocese, and that the said Vicar should have the cure of souls, say Mass, and administer the sacraments, and bear all the charges belonging to the said Vicarage, provided always that the said Vicar should not receive of the King any higher stipend than the late

Chaplain had. After the making of the said Letters Patent, plaintiff was presented by the King to the said Vicarage of Deane and instituted Vicar there, and has paid his first fruits. And albeit plaintiff has duly served the Cure there, and received no other salary than the said £4, yet notwithstanding the said Vicar of Eccles, wishing to disburden himself of the payment of the said £4 by colour only that the said Vicarage is now separate, refuses to pay to plaintiff the said amount, which is now two years in arrear.

"Easter term, 36 Henry 8.—Privy Seal to Thomas Craven, clerk, to appear in the octaves of Trinity next.

" Hereupon a Commission to Geffrey Shakerley, Esq., Peter Anderton, Laurence Asshawe, and Thomas Massey, to take answer and to examine him upon certain interrogatories.

"The answer of Thomas Craven, Vicar of Eccles. Defendant says, that the said plaint is only brought by plaintiff, with the help of his parishioners, to 'fatigate' defendant and put him to cost, as has been already done by bills taken into the King's Court of the tenths and first fruits; and also before Sir Thomas Audeley, Knight, late Lord Chancellor of England, out of which two Courts defendant has been dismissed without being compelled to pay plaintiff the said £4.

"Denfendant says that true it is that about three years ago the Church of the Deyne was a chapel, belonging to the Church of Eccles, and that defendant had the cure of souls

there, and that the priest there was then nominated and removable at the pleasure of defendant, who paid him some years £4 and other less a smaller sum.

" Then there arose a controversy between the parishioners of Eccles and those of Deyne about the building of the Church of Eccles, whereunto the parishioners of the Deyne had always contributed, and in order that the latter might be exempted from such contributions, they obtained the King's Letters Patent, whereby it appears that the said Deyne is now a church, and has a perpetual Vicar who cannot be nominated, admitted, nor removed by defendant, who is now discharged from the cure of souls there, without that that any such ordinance was made A.D. 1277.

"Interrogatories administered on behalf of William Rothwell, Vicar of Deane, against Thomas Craven, Vicar of Eccles.

" The examination and deposition of Thomas Craven, taken by Geffrey Shakerley, Lawrence Asshawe, Peter Anderton, and Thomas Massey, at Elynbroke Chapel, 6th October, 36 Henry VIII. (1544).

"1. Deponent says that he has paid to Sir Thomas Strete £\ yearly for 2 years at least, but for how many years he has paid that amount he knows not. He agreed with the said Sir Thomas for 40s / one year.

"2. Sir Richard Brereton did not nominate the said Sir Hamlet Malbous as Curate of the Deane, but he, Sir Thomas, put him there himself.

"3. Deponent did not allow to Sir Richard Brereton £4 yearly for the wages of the priest of the Deane, but he has paid to the said Sir Hamlet 5 marks for one year's service.

"4. Deponent says that, as he may not now nominate a priest for Deane, he has sustained loss by reason of all such weddings, burials, and purifications which came from the Deane into Eccles Church.

"GEFFREY SHAKERLEY,
PETER ANDERTON,
LAWRENCE ASSHAWE,
THOMAS MASSEY."

This statement of the Vicar of Eccles would appear to have satisfied the Vicar of Deane, for we fail to trace any further reference to the case.

In 1546, King Henry, by Letters Patent, granted "the parsonage of Eccles and Deyne," three messuages and forty acres of glebe, or thereabouts, to Sir Thomas Holcroft, Knight, for the term of twenty-one years, "yielding and paying therefor yearly £13 17s. 6d."

The same year, Sir Thomas conveyed "his term, title, and interest" in the property to Sir Alexander Radclif, of Ordesall, and Andrew Barton, of Smithills.

The information contained in the two last paragraphs is taken from a document filed in the Record Office, under the head of "Duchy of Lancaster Pleadings" Edward VI., vol. 24, R4.

This document is the first relating to a lawsuit by Sir Alexander Radclif, Andrew Barton, Adam Hulton of " The Parke," and William Heyton of Heyton, against William Hulton of Farnworth; and is interesting as referring to the rights of the parishioners of Deane to " common of pasture for the pasturing and feeding of their beasts; as also common of turbary [cutting turf] for their necessary fuel, to be taken in and upon 200 acres of moor or waste ground commonly called the Deyne More, lying and being in the said Parish of Deyne."

Complaint is made in this document that William Hulton of Farnworth had wrongfully entered in the said 200 acres of waste, called the Deyne More, and enclosed divers parcels of the said 200 acres of waste, and thereupon had erected and builded divers houses and buildings.

"And in no wise will suffer your said orators [the plaintiffs] their poor tenants at will and farmers to have and enjoy their said common of pasture and turbary according to their right and title to the same.

"By reason whereof divers of the said tenants at will and farmers being very poor, having many children, not able to live and pay their rents if it were not for the relief and sustenance which they have had and of right ought to have in common of pasture, &c., are like to be utterly impoverished for ever if the waste of 200 acres of land shall after such uncharitable sort be enclosed, diminished, and taken away daily from them by such wrongful enclosures."

Answering this complaint through a Commission composed of Sir William Radclif and John Redyche, Esquire, William Hulton of Farnworth says that "Deyne More is also known by the name of Rumworth More, and further that he is lawfully seised of an estate of inheritance of and in the Manor of Rumworth whereof the same moor is parcel and always have been, which is the freehold and inheritance of the said defendant to him lawfully descended from his ancestors without that they said plaintiffs have used time out of mind for themselves their farmers or tenants at will of the same messuages and land to have common of pasture for their beasts or common of turbary for their necessary fuel in the said 200 acres of moor called the Deyne More.

"And the said defendant sayeth that he hath at divers times builded certain houses upon the same as lawful for him it was to do, for that the same is his own ground and freehold, or that the defendant doth keep any parcel thereof wrongfully that said complainants ought to have common in the same in monies and form as is alledged.

" Or that any tenant or person that hath any common in or upon the 200 acres of ground is like to be utterly impoverished for want of common that he ought to have there, or that the same is either chargeable or wrongfully enclosed.

"All which matters he is ready to aver or prove."

Whether or no the case was continued beyond this stage we, have been unable to discover.

In 1550, Vicar Rothwell witnessed the will of John Carlisle, a well-to-do farmer, tenant, in all probability, of a farm known to this day as "Carlisle Farm," on the old Broadgate road, and within a mile of Deane.

Copied at Chester, the quaint will reads as follows:—

" In the name of God amen the xxth daye of Octobre and in the yeare of oure Lord God a thousand fyve hundreth and fyfftie I John Carlile off the Parishe of Deane being in goode and perfyte rememberannce but sicke in bodye fearing death by course of nature make my testament and last will in the maner folowinge: fyrste I bequeth my Soule to Allmyghtie God, oure Lady Sanet Mari and all the holye Companye in Heaven to p^{e} for me, and my bodye to the earthe to be buried in the Churche Yearde off Deane.

"And it is my wyll that my goodes be devyded in thre partes one parte to myselfe another parte to my wyffe and the iii parte to be devyded equallye amongst all my children th^{ms} [themselves] my sonne onlye except unto whome I geve off my parte of goodes xiii^{s} iiii^{d}

"I geve to Sir[1] Willm. Rothewell, Vicar off Deane, ii^{s} and to Everie godchilde y^{t} I have iiii^{d}, the resydew off my parte of goodes over my buriall and bequests paid I geve and bequeth the one halve off it to Laurance my sonne and y^{e} other halve off it to Isabel and Alice my ii yongest doghters and y^{e} yonger to have y^{e} better parte.

"It is my will, with y^{e} lycense of my mayster, that Rauffe my son shall have and occupie y^{e} one halve off my tenement wych I now occupye with y^{e} halve off y^{e} housing y^{e} fyre house onely except, whiche I will y^{t} my wyff with iohn, Laurance, Issabell, and Alice my children shall have with y^{e} other halve off y^{e} grounde and housinge, during my wiffe lyffe.

"And yff my wyff be mynded to go awaye or get ony better succoure, than [then] I will y^{t} my iiii children aforesayde shall have y^{e} one halve untill Laurance my sonne be xx yeares of age and then Rauffe my sonne to have y^{e} holle tenement.

"Elies Fogg and I have layde oute aforehand to iohn Sharpule for certane doles of ground iiivi^{s} he the one halve and I the other halve, and it is my will y^{t} my parte be occupied accordinge to my will everie one theire porcyon.

"I ordeyne and make my feathfull executors off this my last Will Cecyle my wyffe and iohn my sonne and I wolde desyre my mayster Rychard Hetton to be overseer off this my last Will as my specyall trust is in hym and he to have for his paynes iii^{s} iiii^{d} Thiese being wytnes Willm Rothwell, Vicar of Deane, iohn Holme, Elies Fogge, iohn Heath, Willm Carlile w^{t} oth^{s}

" The Inventorie off all the goodes of iohn Carlile latelie deceased p^{r}sed by iohn Holme, Rychard Dickenson, Willm Carlill, and Elies Fogge An^{o} Re Reg^{s} E^{di} vi^{ti} q^{ui}t:

"iiii lyttel oxen w^{t} ii	viii^{li} [£8.]
"fyve kyen the p^{re} [price]	iiii^{li} v^{s} [£4 5s.]
"ii twynters and iii styrkes y^{e} p^{re}	xl^{s}

1 " Formerly the title of a priest, the third of the three Sirs, to wit, Sir King, Sir Knight, and Sir Priest; no baron, earl, nor marquess being then in use."—*Vide* Johnson's Dictionary by Todd, 1818.

“iii calves the p^{re}	xv^{s}
“ ii mayres and one colte y^{e} p^{re}	xlvi^{s} viii^{d}
“xxvii shepe the p^{re}	xlv^{s}
“a speynynge the p^{re}	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
“pullen the y^{re}	xii^{d}
“oates and barle the p^{re}	i^{s}
“heaye the p^{re}	xx^{s}
“brasse the p^{re}	xxvi^{s} viii^{d}
“pewter the p^{re}	iii^{s} iiii^{d}
“beddinge the p^{re}	xxxvi^{s}
“arkes and coofers y^{e} p^{re}	xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
“a turnell stondes w^{t} treene vessel	vi^{s} viii^{d}
“boordes fourmes cheares and stoles	vi^{s}
“an yron chymney the p^{re}	vi^{s} viii^{d}
“ii axes w^{t} other tooles to work w^{t}	ii^{s} iiii^{d}
“wanes ploes and harroes with all thinges thereto belonging	vi^{s} viii^{d}
“beaffe w^{t} other fleshe meate	xiii^{s} iiii^{d}
“iii seckes and a wyndoshete y^{e} p^{re}	iii^{s} iiii^{d}

“S^{u}ma xxix^{li} ix^{s} iiii^{d}
[Equal to about £300 of our money.]

“Proved in the Consistory Court of Chester on the ix February 1551.”

CHAPTER XXV.

ONE more parish lawsuit has come to our notice, this time referring to disputed title to messuage and land in Over Hulton and Middle Hulton dating back to 1551, George Grundy being the plaintiff and Ellen Edge the defendant, "a widow of great power and substance," and to whom, probably, Edge Fold, in the latter township, owes its name to this day.

Particulars of the proceedings are found in vol. 19, G. 1, cal. 11, 5 Edward VI., of Duchy Court Pleadings, and from a reprint in Lanc, and Ches. Record Societies, vol. 40, pages 119, 122, and we extract the following:—

" To the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, George Grundy, of the Parish of Rushebury, in the County of Salop, complains that whereas Sir Richard Brereton, knight, and Dame Joan, his wife, were seized in their demesne as of fee, in right of the said Joan, of one meadow and pastures thereto belonging, late in the tenure of Nicholas Michell, alias Nicholas Farneworth, deceased, and so seized in consideration of the faithful service to them done by plaintiff about ten years ago, they with Richard Brereton, their son and heir apparent, demised the said premises to plaintiff, Elizabeth his wife, and Francis their son, for certain yearly rent, by force whereof plaintiff enjoyed the same for eight years, until now of late Ellen Edge, widow, being a woman of great power and substance, has with force turned plaintiff out of possession of one close called Hobb Croft, parcel of the premises containing ten acres, and still witholds the same from him.

"As plaintiff is very poor and unable to sue for remedy at the common law, he prays that letters of Privy Seal may be directed to the said Ellen Edge, commanding her to appear to answer the premises, and this in the way of charitie and for Gode's love."

"The answer of Ellen Edge, widow.

"It is true that the said Sir Richard Brereton, knight, and Dame Joan, his wife, were seized of the said close or parcel of a tenement called Burneden Place, now in the tenure of plaintiff, lying in the town [ship] of Myddill Hilton in the County of Lancaster, and they being so seized for the sum of 40s. paid to them by defendant demised the same to John Edge and the defendant then his wife, for the lives of the said Sir Richard and Dame Joan, the term beginning 2nd January, 20 Henry VIII. (1529); by force wherof the said John and defendant were thereof seized in their demesne as of freehold, they paying yearly for the same 6s.8d.; the said John held the same during his life, and defendant after his death, until plaintiff exhibited this said Bill of Complaint.

"Defendant continues to occupy the said close, as the said Sir Richard and Dame Joan are in full life."

"Commission dated 18th November, 5 Edward VI. (1551), directed to Sir Robert Langley, knight; Robert Barton, Rauf Asheton, Esqrs.; and Thurston Parre, gent:—

"Depositions taken at Ellenbrowghe [Ellenbrook] Chappell, 18th January, 5 Edward VI., 1552.

"Richard Grundy, of Boulton [Bolton], tenant to Robert Barton, Esq., aged 58, says that Sir Richard Brereton was seized of a messuage late in the holding of Nicholas Mychell,

alias Farnworth, in right of Dame Joan his wife. Knows that the said Sir Richard and his wife, about 13 years ago made a lease to plaintiff, Elizabeth his wife and Francis his son, because he was present when the said lease was executed.

"The close called Hobb Croft is parcel of the said messuage. About 50 years ago, William Grundy, deponent's father, took certain hay ground in the said close of Nicholas Mychell, then owner thereof.

" William Boardman, of Middle Hilton, tenant to Sir Richard Brereton, knight, aged about 60 years, has heard that Ellen Edge has paid certain money to George Grundy for Hobcroft, but how much he knows not.

"John Edge, late husband of the said Ellen, became tenant to Nicholas Mychill, and paid a yearly rent for Hobcroft; and after the death of the said John, the said Ellen became tenant to the said Nicholas.

" Humphry Hulme, of Midyll Hilton, aged about 40, tenant to plaintiff, says that plaintiff by virtue of the said lease to him made, is possessed of the said messuage, and that Hobcroft is parcel thereof.

"Immediately after the grant made to Grundy, the said Ellen took Hobcroft of him, paying for the same 13s. 4d. yearly, whereas the old rent was only 6s. 8d.

"John Bordman, of Medyll Hylton, aged about 50, says that Gyllys Edge, of the Edge Fowlde, occupied part of Hobcroft, and paid therefor a yearly rent to the said Mychill.

"Charlys Grundie, of Medyll Hylton, tenant to Sir Ric. Brereton, aged 44; and Hugh Brabyn, of Medyll Hylton, tenant to the same, aged 50, as above.

"Gyllys Edge, of Medyll Hylton, tenant of the same, aged about 40, says that he took one acre of hay ground within Hobcroft, and was stopped by the said John Edge, notwithstanding which he took it away by agreement."

"Depositions taken the day and place aforesaid on behalf of defendant.

" Richard Williamson, tenant to Sir R. Brereton, Knight, aged 40, knows that Hobcroft is parcel of the tenement of John Edge, husband of the said Ellen, defendant. Before the said John had it, it was occupied by Thomas Edge, uncle to the said John, during the lives of the said Thomas and John, saving that the said Ellen paid rent to the said George for about six years.

"Nicholas Spakeman, aged 70; Thomas Brabyn, aged 60, tenant of Sir Ric. Brereton; William Edge, aged 80, tenant to William Hulton, of the park, Esq.; William Penynton, aged 60, tenant to William Astley, Esq.

"The said Ellen Edge, defendant, has also come before us, and showed an indenture having neither seal nor assignment, dated 2nd January, 20 Henry VIII. (1529).

"Thomas Brabyn says he received 40$^{s.}$ to the use of the said Sir Richard Brereton for six years' rent, which was behind of the rent of Hobcroft."

"Depositions taken at Manchester, 4th May, 6 Edward VI. (1552).

" Charles Johnson, alias Higson, tenant to Thomas Holland of Elyston, Esq., aged 50, knows that Hobcroft is parcel of the tenement of Nicholas Farneworthe, alias Mychall, because about 40 years ago deponent was hired by the said Nicholas 'for to drive ye harowe' within the said close. Besides which, he has got hay in the said close to the use of the said Nicholas.

"ROBERT LANGLEY.
ROB. BARTON.
THURSTON PARR."

Sir Richard Brereton does not appear to have offered any evidence, but he wrote to the King's Attorney in the Duchy Chamber as follows:—

"Right Worshipful,

"This may be to signifie you that John Eton being deputed my steward for leasing my lands in Hylton, demised the pasture or croft called Hobcroft to John Edge and Ellen his wife, with which I am well contented, as for a long time it has belonged to the tenement of the said Ellen Edge. The croft never was parcel of the grant to the said Grundy.

"If you would appoint the hearing of this matter for the first day of the next term, I would be there and bring with me such evidence touching the same that the matter would appear plain to you wherein you shall do a very charitable dede.

"Written at my house of Harnaye Grange, 15th October.
RICHARD BRERETON."

"Decrees and Orders, Edward VI., 8 Fo. 438:—

"In the matter depending between George Grundye, plaintiff, and Ellen Edge, widow, defendant, concerning the right to and possession of a close called Hobcroft, in the parish of Deyne [Deane], in the county of Lancaster, late in the tenure of Nicholas Mychell.

"Plaintiff says that Sir Ric. Brereton and Dame Joan his wife, by deed, dated 11th March, 30 Henry VIII. [1539], demised to him, his wife, and son, one messuage in Over-Hilton, and all the lands, closes, &c., thereto belonging, by force whereof he entered into the same, together with the close called Hobcroft.

"Afterwards, plaintiff leased the close to Ellen Edge, at his will and pleasure, she paying yearly for the same 13/4, by force whereof she occupied the same until lately, when she not only refused to pay rent to plaintiff, but also took a new lease from the said Sir Richard in her own name, and with divers riotous persons entered the said close, which she still keeps from plaintiff.

"Defendant in her answer denies that the close is parcel of the said tenement demised to plaintiff, and claims the same by virtue of a lease from the said Sir Richard made since the lease was made to plaintiff.

"Forasmuch as it appears by the first lease that Sir Richard demised all the premises to plaintiff, his wife, and son, for their lives, and forasmuch as it has been proved by the depositions of divers persons, that when that lease was made the said Hobcroft was parcel of the tenement so demised to plaintiff.

"It is therefore ordered that plaintiff shall from henceforth enjoy the said Hobcroft without interruption of defendant or others until defendant shall show cause why he should not do so. And that defendant shall pay to plaintiff before the Feast of Pentecost next the sum of 5 marks as well for his costs as for the arrears of rent.

"And whereas for a long time defendant has occupied Hobcroft as farmer and tenant to plaintiff, plaintiff at the request of this court is content that she shall still occupy the same at the yearly rent of 13/4."

Thus ended the case, and having regard to his letter, Sir Richard Brereton would seem to have been as much at fault as the widow.

He was the son of Sir Randle Brereton of Malpas, in Cheshire, and the second husband of Joan, mentioned in the last case, the daughter of Sir William Stanley, Knight, of Holt Castle, Derbyshire.

Worsley Manor, held by the Stanley family from the Conquest, had, in Edward III.'s reign, passed by marriage to the Mascys of Tatton ; thence, in Henry I.'s reign, to the Stanleys of Holt Castle.

And inheriting it from her father, the above Sir William Stanley, Joan conveyed the manor to her husband, Sir Richard Brereton, whose grandson, marrying Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard Egerton of Tatton, and dying without surviving issue in 1598, settled all the estates upon his father's natural son, Sir Thomas Egerton, afterwards Viscount Brackley and Lord Chancellor, the ancestor of Francis, third Duke of Bridgewater. *Vide* Canon Raines' foot notes to Not. Cest., Eccles portion.

From Canon Raines we also learn that the above Dorothy, in 1581, endowed Ellenbrook Chapel, purchased by the Breretons soon after the Reformation, which is said to have been founded by the monks of Whalley for their tenantry in this neighbourhood. It lies in Worsley parish, near to the south boundary of Deane parish.

Her husband, Sir Richard Brereton, a descendant, probably, of the above Sir Richard, died at Worsley December 17th, 1598. His tomb is in the Bridgewater Chapel in Eccles Church.

It was in the time of this lawsuit that King Edward's Government, much in debt, seized the surplus plate of the churches left ungleaned by former commissions.

The young king kept a diary, and under date April 21st, 1552, he tells us:

"It was agreed that commissions should go out for to take certificate of the superfluous church plate to mine use, and to see how it hath been embezeled." *Vide* King Edward's Journal, found in Bishop Burnet's Collection of Records, vol ii., page 71.

“In the autumn and winter of 1552-3,” writes Froude, “no less than nine commissions were appointed with this object, four of which were to go again over the often-trodden ground and glean the last spoils which could be gathered from the churches.”

“ In the business of plunder the rapacity of the Crown officials had been distanced hitherto by private peculation; the halls of country houses were hung with altar cloths; tables and beds were quilted with copes; the knights and squires drank their claret out of chalices, and watered their horses in marble coffins.

“Pious clergy, gentlemen, or churchwardens had in many places secreted plate, images, or candlesticks, which force might bring to light; bells, rich in silver, still hung silent in remote church towers, or were buried in the vaults; and damask napkins, rich robes, consecrated banners, pious offerings of men of another faith, remained in the chests in the vestries; and these were valuable, and might be secured.

“There was one special commission for bells, vestments, and ornaments; two for plate and jewels: a fourth to search houses for church property, and, should any such be found, to make a further profit by the fine of the offenders.”

The unfortunate condition of the Exchequer may, in a great measure, be attributed to the various grants said to have been made by Edward to his ministers, “or in true language,” says Froude, “appropriated by these ministers to their own use during Edward’s reign.

“ After reasonable allowances for grants legitimately made as a reward for services, there will remain, on a computation most favourable to the council, estates worth half a million, in the modem currency about five millions, which the ministers of the minority, with their friends, had appropriated and divided among themselves.” The Commissioners appointed to visit Deane Church were Sir Edmund Trafford of Old Trafford; Sir John Holcroft of Holdcroft Hall, in Winwick Parish; Sir John Atherton of Atherton, near Leigh; and Sir Thomas Holt of Griselhurst, near Bury.

Copied from Bailey’s “ Inventories of Church Goods,” Chetham Society’s Vol. 107, the following is a transcript of the Commissioners’ inventory of church goods found at Deane, September 30th, 1552 ;—

“This Indenture made ye laste day of September, in ye vjth yere off ye Reigne off o^{r} [our] sovyng [Sovereign] lorde Edwarde the sexte [1552], by the grace of God Kyng off England, France and Ireland, defendo^{r} of ye faith and in earthe off ye Churche off Englande & Ireland supreme head. Betwene Edm^{u}de [Edmund] Trafforth, John Atherton, John Holcrofte and Thomas Holte, Knyghtes, apon the behalfe off our said Sovyng lorde y^{e} Kynge on y^{e} one p’tie, Sir William Rothewell, Vicar off Deyne, Lambart Heyton, gent, Roger Makynson, James Crompton, and Raufe Edge, yemen [yeomen] on the other p’tie, Witnesseth, That wheare [whereas] the said Edmude Trafforth, John Atherton, John Holcrofte & Thomas Holte haue dely’ued [delivered] att the Sealyng & delu’ance [deliverance] off these p’sentes to the said Willm Rothewell, Lambart Heyton, Roger Makynson, James Crompton & Raufe Edge, iij Greate Bells, iiij Sacryngbells.

“Itm ij Chaleses, Itm iij Copes, viij vestmentes to say masse in lackyng [Latin], iij abbes, ix aulter Clothes, ij shetes, vj Corporasses w^{t} iij Cases, xvj peces of olde lynnen vsed about y^{e} Sepulchre w^{t} iij Course Clothes, ij Surplises, ij Cruettes, a paire of Sensers w^{t} a

shippe of brasse, and a brasen buckett, belonging to the Churche of Deyne, savely to be kepte to the vse off o^{r} said sovyng lorde y^{e} Kyng.

"The saide Will^{m} Rothewell, Lambart Heyton, Roger Makynson, James Crompton, & Raufe Edge, for them & theire executors do Coue^{n}nt & graunt by thes p'sentes To & w^{t} y^{e} said Edm^{u}de Trafforth, John Atherton, John Holcrofte, and Thomas Holte.

"That the said iij. Bells, &c., vt supra, shall not at anye tyme here aft^{r} be alienated, Imbeaseled, or otherwyse put away from o^{r} said sovyng lorde the Kyng, bot shall be onswareable & furthe Comyng to y^{e} vse off his highness, att suche tyme & tymes as his ma^{tie} or his honourable Councell shall demaunde the same.

"In witnes wheareoff the p'ties aforesaid to thes p'sentes Interchaungeable haue sett to theire Seales y^{e} day and yere aboue writen.

"Other goodes belonging to y^{e} saide Churche owte of these mennes handes, Imp'mis A Chales which was in the Custodie of Adam Hulton Esquier & nowe stollen.

"Itm' a Chalese in y^{e} Custodie off S^{r} James lathewhatt p'st [priest] w^{t} iij sutes off vestimetes, v aulter Clothes, v Corporases w^{t} one Case, x Towells, ij Cruettes, w^{t} other lynnen Clothes, y^{e} n^{u}ber whereoff the above named psons knowe nott.

"Itm' one Chales w^{t} a sute off clothes to say masse in, in the handes off lambart hayton, which he saieth belongeth to the heires off Heyton as heireloomes.

"Itm' a sute off clothes in the handes off Henr Wudwarde, which he affirmeth to be his owne."

In his foot notes to above, Bailey tells us: "Many of these pieces of linen, used about the sepulchre, had a connection with the Easter sacrifice. 'There were many pieces of ridiculous pageantry also used in it (sacrifice of Jesus Christ), as the laying the host in the sepulchre they made for Christ on Good Friday; and that not only the candles that were to burn at the Easter celebration, but the very fire that was to kindle them, was particularly consecrated on Easter Eve.' (Burnet, His. Ref., vol. 1, p. 336.)

"Ship of Brass was a vessel in a pointed oval shape, in which was kept the incense; the latter was taken out with a spoon and thrown on the burning charcoal in the censer.

"Sacrying bells were rung by the priest or his attendants when taking the Sacrament to the dying, and when attending a corpse to burial."

Here let us add the following interesting remarks, taken from the Rector of Barkham's work:—

"Old inventories always mention a Pyx, a box or vessel of gold or silver, in which the Host was reserved for the sick or infirm; it often resembles a Chalice, except that instead of the bowl, there is a covered receptacle for the Host.

“Holy oil was much used in the services, as in the Roman Catholic Church at the present time; it was blessed by a Bishop on Maundy Thursday, and used in Baptism, Confirmation, and extreme unction.

“The vessel holding the oil was an important piece of church plate, and was called a Chrismatory.

“ The Pax was a small tablet of silver or other precious metal, used for giving the kiss of peace during High Mass; the celebrant kissed the tablet and held it aloft before all the people; it was usually adorned with a representation of the Agnus Dei.”

“In explanation,” says Bailey, “of the conduct of Lambert Heyton, gentleman, in regard to some of the property which came under the notice of the Commissioners, it may be there was, or had been, a chapel in the Hall, the residence of this ancient family for many generations.

“In the visitation of the diocese by the Commissioners General of the Archbishopric in 1559, it was presented that John Heton of Deane Church was in danger of losing of his house and goods for taking away of a mass-book from the Curate of Deane sithen [since] the Queen’s Majesty’s proceedings. All the books were burned. State Papers During Eliz., vol. 10, pp. 286 seq.”

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONTINUING his interesting foot notes, Bailey goes on to tell us that, " At the time of this inventory [the foregoing] Vicar Rothwell was one of King Edward the Sixth's chaplains, his sermons in London and Lancashire having obtained for him that honour."

And adds that:

"The martyr, George Marsh, was born at Dean, and was bred a good scholar in some local grammar school, which was certainly not Bolton. After living in the honest condition of a farmer, and after losing his wife he went to Cambridge, (Fuller's Worthies, Lanc., p. 108); and afterwards acted as curate to Laurence Saunders, and William Rothwell."

William Rothwell was the kind hearted and liberal minded vicar of Deane who, when Bonner, the bishop of London, sent, in 1553, the martyr Saunders to prison, allowed George Marsh to occupy his pulpit, still seen in the sacred edifice, for the few months preceding his own arrest in the following year at Smithills.

Canon Raines also, referring to George Marsh in his foot notes to Bishop Gastrill's Notitia Cestrensis, tells us:

" This holy martyr, of whom sufficient is known to make the reader of his life desire more extended details, was born at Deane, and lived there several years with his family.

"He is described as having been grave, inquisitive, and studious; on the death of his wife, he applied himself entirely to the requisition of learning, entered the university of Cambridge, and was ordained Deacon, and afterwards Priest."

From Baines' Lancashire, 1868, vol. 1, page 539, we learn that:

"The martyr was a son of George Marsh, of Dean, and born about the year 1515. He was educated at the free grammar school of Bolton, and brought up to follow his father's occupation in agricultural pursuits, and having, at the age of twenty-five, married the daughter of a respectable person in his neighbourhood, settled himself there, and had several children.

" After the death of his wife, he, placing his children with his father, left Lancashire, removed to Cambridge, and entered himself a student of the university, where, after having gone through the requisite preparation, he was ordained, and appointed curate of Allhallows, Bread Street, in London, by the Rev. Mr. Saunders (the martyr), the rector of that church." A previous reference to the martyr, page 163, tells us that:

"This single-minded man had been brought up as a farmer with his father, who was a Lancashire yeoman, but he afterwards embraced the profession of a divine, and to his duties as a curate added those of an instructor of youth.

"The obscurity of his station did not, however, prevent him from persecution; he was charged with propagating heresy and sewing the seeds of sedition, and finding that he had become the object of suspicion he surrendered himself to the Earl of Derby at Lathom House."

Whittle, in his history of Bolton, 1855, referring to the martyr, says:

"He was of honest parents at Deane, near Bolton; was born in 1515, and was the second child of George Marsh, farmer and woolstapler, of Deane, Lancashire. George was sent to the grammar school of Bolton; after receiving a tolerable education there he took a farm, and, at twenty-five years of age, entered into the matrimonial state, and had issue several children, his wife died early.

"During his life he studied hard the scriptures and other theological works—his bent was for the church. He was at length entered as a student of the University, Cambridge; having been there some time, he, by dint of friends, was ordained to the curacy of All Hallows, in London.

"Mr. Marsh, it appears, was inclined to the reformed doctrines; in consequence of this he was siezed by Edward, Earl of Derby, whilst preaching in Lancashire, whither he was come to visit his native county, and arraigned before him for contumacy. Fox, the martyrologist, gives a long account of the examination; he reported his account from hearsay, or what had been reported by others."

Born in 1517 at Boston, Fox, we may add, lived in Marsh's time, and compiled, in 1559, four years after the latter's death, "The Book of Martyrs." Written in latin, the marvellous work was translated and published in 1563, and since then has gone through many editions.

He held minor offices in the church, including a prebendal stall in Salisbury Cathedral.

To his able work we owe almost all we know of George Marsh's life, arrest, examination, letters, and martyrdom.

Under the headline of "Marsh his storie, trouble, and Martyrdom," he tells us that "The said George Marsh was born in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancashire, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his parents, who afterwards about the xxvth year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the county, with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten.

"And then God taking his wife out of this world, he being most desirous of godly studies—leaving his household and children in good order—went into the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godly virtues, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders, as he himself reporteth:

"To which condition of life he continued for a space to the defacing Antichrist false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Deane, or elsewhere in Lancashire."

So far we have not been told the date, 1542, the martyr entered the university of Cambridge. We find it, however, in " Coopers' Athenae Cantabrigienses, 1858," vol. 1, page

126, an historical work, referring to that ancient school of learning, and containing the following reference to him :—

"George Marsh, born at Dean in Lancashire, had a good education in a grammar school, and then followed the occupation of a farmer and married.

"His wife dying, he gave up his farm and came to this university, and, having followed his studies closely, took orders, commencing M.A. here, 1542.

"He was curate to Laurence Saunders, and acquired reputation as a preacher. He was condemned for heresy, and burnt at Chester 24th April, 1555, his sufferings being augmented by a barrel of pitch placed over his head."

Born, as we have seen in preceding references to him, about the year 1515, and married at twenty-five, according to Fox, that is in 1540, it would appear from the above authentic date that the martyr's marriage, and probably his birth, must have taken place some years earlier than hitherto supposed, seeing that at this time, 1542, his wife had, unfortunately, died and left him with several children.

Living in the remarkable reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Mary, the life and times of the martyr may be said to be the history of the Protestant Reformation in England.

He was a few years old when Luther, on the 31st of October, 1517, nailed to the church doors at Wittenberg, in Saxony, his ninety-five memorable articles against the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome.

From Saxony the light of the Reformation, that happy change in religion, the most beneficial that has taken place since the birth of our Saviour, spread itself far and wide, and England was one of the kingdoms of Europe which welcomed its beams, in the prospect of an approaching deliverance, from the yoke of superstition and spiritual despotism which had darkened Europe for centuries.

Referring to that great event, Froude says:

" In the middle of that day [October 31st] Luther's denunciation of indulgencies was fixed against the gate of All Saints' Church, Wittenberg, and it became, like the brazen serpent in the wilderness, the sign to which the sick spirits throughout the western world looked hopefully and were healed.

"In all those millions of hearts the words of Luther found an echo, and flew from lip to lip, from ear to ear. The thing which all were longing for was done, and in two years from that day there was scarcely perhaps a village from the Irish Channel to the Danube, in which the name of Luther was not familiar as a word of hope and promise.

"Then rose a common cry for guidance. Books were called for—above all things, the great book of all, the Bible. Luther's inexhaustable fecundity flowed with a steady stream, and the printing presses in Germany and in the free towns of the Netherlands, multiplied. Printers published at their own expense as Luther wrote.

"Students from all nations came to Wittenberg to hear Luther and Melancthon. As they came in sight of the town they returned thanks to God with clasped hands; for from Wittenberg, as heretofore from Jerusalem, proceeded the light of evangelical truth, to spread thence to the uttermost parts of the earth.[1]

"Thither came from England William Tyndal, a man whose history was lost in his work, and whose epitaph is the reformation.

Beginning life as a restless Oxford student, he moved thence to Cambridge, thence to Gloucestershire to be tutor in a knight's family, and there hearing of Luther's doings, and expressing himself with too warm approval to suit the clergy of the neighbourhood, he was obliged to fly."

From Gloucestershire he removed to London, and a London Alderman hearing the fiery young enthusiast preach at St. Dunstan's, took him to his home for half a year, and kept him there; where he lived like a good priest, studying both night and day.

" The half year being passed, the Alderman gave him ten pounds, with which provision he went off to Germany; and the Alderman, for assisting in that business, went to the Tower, escaping however,- we are glad to know, without worse consequences than a short imprisonment.

"Tyndal saw Luther, and under his direction translated the Gospels and Epistles. Thence he repaired to Cologne, where he began to print. Being alarmed by threats of seizure, he carried the half-completed types to Worms, and there an edition of 3,000 copies was finished and sent to England.

"Afterwards he settled at Antwerp, where, under shelter of the liberties of the city, he established a printing press, and, assisted by Frith, composed a series of books which were to accomplish for the teaching of England what Luther and Melancthon were accomplishing for Germany"; works referred to by George Marsh in his letters.

"Such volumes as the people most required were multiplied as fast as the press could produce them; and for the dissemination of these precious writings, the brave London Protestants dared, at the hazard of their lives, to form themselves into an organized association" named The Association of Christian Brothers, and to whom we shall have occasion to refer again later on.

The scholastic philosophy which had fettered the intellect of Christendom in the past, was now turned to other use, for as the youthful scholars sent to the universities learned the use of scholastic weapons, they wielded them against the religious despotism exercised by their masters.

Froude tells us that in England the universities became filled by young men of the farming class, the cost of supporting them at the colleges being little, and wealthy men took a pride in helping forward any students of promise.

1 "Michelet, Life of Luther, p. 41."

Henry VIII. was the steady friend of the new learning, and his court, strange as his career was, is said to have been the home of letters.

“ Even as a boy,” Green tells us, “ his son, Edward VI., was a fair scholar in both the classical languages ; his daughter Mary wrote good Latin letters; and Elizabeth, who spoke French and Italian as fluently as English, began every day with an hour’s reading in the Greek Testament.”

Warham, too, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1503 to 1533, was a great patron of the new learning. He was one of those good men who took delight in sending promising youths, brought to his notice, to Oxford for instruction.

Among them was Thomas More, who, from being a page in the family of Archbishop Morton, rose to be speaker of the House of Commons, and, later on, Henry VIII.’s Chancellor.

John Colet, son of a twice Lord Mayor of London, was then giving far-famed lectures on the Greek Epistles. More came under his influence, as did Erasmus, afterwards the greatest scholar of his day, and many other young men who rose to eminence.

“Keep to the Bible and Apostles’ Creed,” Colet used to say to his scholars, “and let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest,” advice which may be wisely followed at the present day.

Colet became Dean of St. Pauls, and, his father dying and leaving him wealthy, he built, close to his cathedral, St. Paul’s Grammar School, now, m recent years, removed to the west end of London.

The example of Dean Colet was followed by many other friends of the new learning, and more grammar schools are said to have been founded in the latter years of Henry VIII. than in the three centuries before.

The dean was also one of the first to attempt the reform of the church. Addressing the clergy in Convocation with some severity, “Would that for once,” he said, “you would remember your name and profession, and take thought for the reformation of the church. Never was it more necessary, and never did the state of the church need more vigorous endeavours. We are troubled with heretics, but no heresy of theirs is so fatal to us and to the people at large as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy.”

It was now the turn of the dean to be accused of heresy, but Warham, the archbishop, repelled the charge with disdain.

“Still more marked than Warham’s protection of Colet," says Green, “was the patronage which the primate extended to the efforts of Erasmus.

“His edition of the works of St. Jerome had been begun under Warham’s encouragement, during the great scholar’s residence at Cambridge, and it appeared with a dedication to the archbishop on its title page.

"That Erasmus could find protection in Warham's name for a work which boldly recalled Christendom to the path of sound Biblical criticism; that he could address him in words so outspoken as those of his preface, shows how fully the primate sympathised with the highest efforts of the new learning.

"Nowhere had the spirit of inquiry so firmly set itself against the claims of authority. 'Synods and decrees, and even councils,' wrote Erasmus, ' are by no means in my judgment the fittest modes of repressing error, unless truth depend simply on authority; but, on the contrary, the more dogmas there are, the more fruitful is the ground in producing heresies. Never was the Christian faith purer or more undefiled than when the world was content with a single creed, and that the shortest creed we have.'

"It is touching even now to listen to such an appeal of reason and of culture against the tide of dogmatism which was soon to flood Christendom.

"The principles which Erasmus urged in his 'Jerome' were urged with far greater clearness and force in a work which laid the foundations of the future Reformation, the edition of the Greek Testament on which he had been engaged at Cambridge, and whose production was almost wholly due to the encouragement and assistance he received from English scholars.

"In itself, the book [published in 1516] was a bold defiance of the theological tradition; it set aside the Latin version of the Vulgate, which had secured universal acceptance in the church; its method of interpretation was based, not on received dogmas, but on the literal meaning of the text.

"Erasmus desired to see Christ himself in the place of the church, to recall men from the teaching of Christian theologians to the teachings of the Founder of Christianity.

"The whole value of the Gospels to him lay in the vividness with which they brought home to their readers the personal impression of Christ himself. ' Were we to have seen Him with our own eyes, we should not have so intimate a knowledge as they give us of Christ, speaking, healing, dying, rising again, as it were, in our very presence.'.

"All the superstitions of mediaeval worship faded in the light of this personal worship of Christ. 'If the footprints of Christ are shown us in any place, we kneel down and adore them; why do we not rather venerate the living and breathing picture of him in these books?

'"We deck statues of wood and stone with gold and gems for the love of Christ; yet they only profess to represent to us the outer form of His holy mind.'

"With the tacit approval of the primate of a church which from the time of Wycliff had held the translation and reading of the Bible in the common tongue to be heresy and a crime punishable with fire, Erasmus boldly avows his wish for a Bible open and intelligible to all.

"The new Testament of Erasmus became the topic of the day; the court, the universities, every household to which the new learning had penetrated, read and discussed it.

“Warham not only expressed his approbation of it, but lent the work, as he wrote to its author, ‘to bishop after bishop.’

“Bishop Fox of Winchester declared that the mere version was worth ten commentaries; the most learned Fisher of Rochester entertained Erasmus at his house.”

CHAPTER XXVII.

BORN at Rotterdam in 1466, Erasmus was only thirteen years of age when his mother died, and his father dying soon after, he was placed by his guardians in a convent. Later on, we find him entering the university of Paris as a student of theology, at which time there were many Englishmen in Paris of high rank, and among them Lord Mountjoy, with whom Erasmus became acquainted.

In 1499, Erasmus accompanied Lord Mountjoy to England, and from the latter's country house Thomas More took him to his home, in the next village, where Prince Henry, later on King Henry VIII., and other children of Henry VII., were being educated.

From here Erasmus went to Oxford, where he stayed a few months and met with much kindness.

Returning to Paris, he seems to have rested nowhere many months, for in 1505 we find him once more in England, and making the acquaintance of Archbishop Warham.

Appointed, soon after, professor of Greek, and Margaret lecturer of divinity, at the university of Cambridge, he came to exercise great influence over English thought, his publications hastening on not a little, it is said, the labours of the Reformation. "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it," was a, favourite saying of early Protestants.

In 1514 he went to Basel, where he published his Greek Testament, and later on the edition of St. Jerome. He died there in 1536.

Turning to More, " We have seen the spell," says Green, "which his wonderful learning and the sweetness of his temper threw over Colet and Erasmus; and, young as he was, More no sooner quitted the university than he was known throughout Europe as one of the foremost figures in the new movement.

"In a higher, because in a sweeter and more lovable form than Colet, More is the representative of the religious tendency of the new learning in England.

"The young law-student [More], who laughed at the superstition and asceticism of the monks of his day, wore a hair shirt next his skin, and schooled himself by penances for the cell he desired among the Carthusians. Marrying, however, soon after, he returned to life and law.

"Freethinker, as the monks who listened to his daring speculations termed him, his eye would brighten and his tongue falter as he spoke with friends of heaven and the after life.

"When he took office, it was with the open stipulation 'first to look to God, and after God to the king,'

"But in his outer bearing there was nothing of the monk or recluse. The brightness and freedom of the new learning seemed incarnate in the new scholar, with his gay talk, his winsomeness of manner, his omnivorous reading, his gibes at monks, his schoolboy fervour of liberty.

“But events were soon to prove that beneath his sunny nature lay stern inflexibility of conscientious resolve.

“He rose at once in repute at the bar. It was at his house that Erasmus penned the ‘Praise of Folly,’ and the work embodied in playful fun his love of the extravagant humour of More.”

More, when visiting Antwerp on one of his diplomatic missions, “chanced to espy,” he tells us, “my friend Peter Gilles talking .with a certain stranger, a man well stricken in age, with a black sunburnt face, a large beard, and a cloak cast trimly about his shoulders, whom I judged to be a mariner.”

The sailor turned out to have been a companion of Amerigo Vespucci in one of his voyages to the “New World,” and taking him to his house, he learned of the man’s marvellous adventures, his desertion in America by Vespucci, his wanderings over the country, and at last of his stay in the kingdom of “Nowhere.”

It was this interview with the remarkable sailor that suggested to More his story of Utopia, Greek for “Nowhere,” “a wonderful book,” says Green, “which reveals to us the heart of the new learning.”

In Utopia goods were possessed in common, but labour was compulsory with all.

The period of toil was, however, shortened to nine hours, with a view to the intellectual improvement of the worker.

A public system of education enabled the Utopians to avail themselves of their leisure.

And “while in England half of the population ‘could read no English,’ every child was well taught in Utopia, and it was lawful for every man to be of what religion he would.

“The religion which a man held he might propagate by argument, though not by violence or insult to the religion of others.

“But while each sect performed its rites in private, all assembled for public worship in a spacious temple, where, grouped round a priest, they joined in hymns and prayers so formed as to be acceptable to all."

More, now Sir Thomas, in 1521 became Treasurer of the Exchequer; later on, 1526, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: and, in 1529, Lord Chancellor in place of the fallen Wolsey.

In 1532, foreseeing trouble in his office, he resigned the seals, and retired into private life; but he had not enjoyed his retirement long before the king sent him to the Tower, together with the aged Bishop Fisher, for refusing to give up his belief that the pope was head of the church by divine authority; and the two were eventually beheaded, as we shall learn later on.

“More had not,” says Froude, “been an illiberal man. When he wrote the Utopia, he

seemed to be in advance of his time, and few men had ventured to speak their thoughts more boldly.

"But as he saw the inevitable tendency of the Reformation to lead ultimately to a change of doctrine, he attached himself with increasing determination to the cause of the pope."

After More, Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's late secretary, became the king's chief adviser, and of him Green says that "in the whole line of English statesmen, there is no one of whom we would willingly know so much, no one of whom we really know so little, as Thomas Cromwell."

And speaking of this period, the same author says:

"A reign of terror, organised with consummate and merciless skill, held England panic-stricken at Henry's feet.

"The noblest heads rolled on the block; virtue and learning could not save Thomas More; royal descent could not save Lady Salisbury.

"The execution of queen after queen taught England that nothing was too high for Henry's 'courage,' or too sacred for his 'appetite.'"

Another writer—Cyril Ransome—referring, in his "Short History of England," to Henry, says:

"It was the fate of this king, himself the most imperious and despotic of men, to initiate in England the movement that was to liberate the nation from the greatest system of spiritual power [the Papacy] the world has ever seen, for the Reformation began from the day when Henry, for his own selfish purposes, wanted to get rid of Katherine and marry someone else, and denied the supremacy of Rome."

Submissive to her parents, it was at their wish, exigencies of state prompting them, that Katherine, beautiful, accomplished, and religious, left in 1501, when only eighteen, her Spanish home at Arragon for England, her future abode, to become the wife, in succession, of two princes, the eldest only sixteen, sons of an avaricious father, Henry VII., to whom fell her large dowry of 200,000 ducats.

Her first husband, Prince Arthur, dying of the plague in less than a year after their marriage in 1501, and leaving no issue, "King Henry seventh," says Bishop Burnet, "had no mind to let so great a revenue as she had in jointure be carried out of the kingdom, it was proposed that she should be married to the younger brother, Henry [then only twelve years old], now Prince of Wales."

The two prelates in greatest esteem at this time were Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Consulted on this matter, the former told the king that "it was neither honourable nor well-pleasing to God the latter "persuaded it," a result not at all pleasing to the king. An appeal, however, made to the pope, later on, brought the coveted dispensation. This document, termed a "Bull," and dated December 26th, 1503, is to the following effect:

"That the pope, according to the greatness of his authority, having received a petition from Prince Henry and the Princess Katherine, bearing, 'That whereas the princess was lawfully married to Prince Arthur, who was dead without any issue, but they, being desirous to marry for preserving the peace between the crowns of England and Spain, did petition his Holiness for his dispensation ; therefore the Pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all Catholic kings, did absolve them from all censures under which they might be, and dispense with the impediment of their affinity, notwithstanding any apostolical constitutions or ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to marry; or, if they were already married, he, confirming it, required their confessor to enjoin them some healthful penance for their having married before the dispensation was obtained.'" Bishop Burnet's[1] History of the Reformation, vol. 1, page 54.

"It was not much to be wondered at," continues the Bishop, "that the pope did readily grant this: for though very many, both cardinals and divines, did then oppose it, yet the interest of the papacy, which was preferred to all other considerations, required it.

" For as that pope, being a great enemy to Lewis the Twelfth, the French king, would have done any thing to make an alliance against him firmer; so he was a warlike pope, who considered religion very little, and therefore might easily be persuaded to confirm a thing that must needs oblige the succeeding kings of England and maintain the papal authority, since from it they derived their title to the crown; little thinking that, by a secret direction of an overruling Providence, that deed of his would occasion the extirpation of the papal power in England. So strangely doth God make the devices of men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

"Upon this bull they were married [in 1503], the Prince of Wales being yet under age."

Henry VII. died in 1509, and after an interval of six weeks, Prince Henry and Katherine were married again publicly, and both were crowned the same year.

Katherine gave birth to several children, but all, unfortunately, died in infancy, except the ill-fated Queen Mary, born in 1516. A virtuous and most excellent woman, she had the further misfortune to live in an age notorious for impurity and cruelty in high places, king and clergy being among the worst offenders, a deplorable condition of society not much better than that prevailing in the middle ages.

And as if men were not already wicked enough, we find in 1517 Pope Leo the tenth, successor of Julius, "raising money," says Bishop Burnet, "by embasing the Christian religion, and prostituting the pardon of sin in that foul trade of indulgences."

Another historian, writing on Modern Europe, tells us that "among the most remarkable of these traffickers was Tetzel, a Dominican monk, an apostolical commissioner, an inquisitor, and a bachelor of theology.

" Uniting great pretensions to sanctity with actual profligacy, this man was at once eloquent and haughty, audacious in his pretensions, and skilled in the art of inventing stories calculated to please the people. ' Indulgences,' said he, 'are the most precious and sublime of

1 Bishop of Salisbury, 1688-1715,

God's gifts. I would not exchange my privileges for those of St. Peter in heaven; for I have saved more souls with my indulgences than he with his sermons. There is no sin so great that an indulgence cannot remit it; even repentance is not necessary. Indulgences save not the living alone—they save the dead. The very moment that the money clings against the bottom of this chest, the soul escapes from purgatory and flies to heaven. And do you know why our Lord distributes so rich a grace? The dilapidated church of St. Peter and St. Paul is to be restored which contains the bodies of those holy apostles, now trodden down, dishonoured, and polluted.'

"Tetzel found but few sufficiently enlightened to resist him, and he obtained great sums from the credulous. The entire system excited Luther's intensest detestation, especially in view of the enormous theological principles on which indulgences were based. He, with masterly learning and eloquence, showed the Pagan origin of this notion, and brought out clearly and logically the antagonistic doctrine of Christ's expiation, as the only deliverance from the grievous bondage of sin.

"This grand, positive, spiritual truth he made the foundation and substance of the ninety-five prepositions which he now affixed to the gates of the church of Wittenberg.

"These celebrated prepositions struck at the root both of scholastic absurdities, and of papal pretensions. The spirit which they breathed was bold, intrepid, and magnanimous. They electrified Germany, and gave a shock to the old papal edifice. They had both a religious and a political bearing; religious, in reference to the ground of justification, and political, in opening men's eyes to the unjust and ruinous extortions of Rome.

" Among those who perceived and rejoiced at the political tendency of these prepositions was the Elector of Saxony himself, the most powerful prince of the empire, who had long been vexed at the vast sums which had been drained from his subjects.

"Lamenting the corruptions of the church, he protected Luther, although he did not openly encourage him, or form an alliance with him. He let things take their course; and well did Frederic deserve the epithet of wise.

"Erasmus also greatly rejoiced in the appearance of Luther's theses. The greatest scholar of his age, and the autocrat of letters, he had vigorously attacked, with polished sarcasm, the absurdities of the time, both in literature and morals. He now denounced the sins and follies of the monks, and spoke of the necessity of reform."

"The gatherers and collectors," says Foxe, "persuaded the people that whoever would give ten shillings should, at his pleasure, deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory.

"For this they held, as a general rule, that God would do whatever they would have him, according to the saying, 'Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed in heaven.' But if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing.

" This filthy kind of pope's merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions, so came also to Germany, through means of a certain Dominican friar named Tetzel, who most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country.

“Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, and set them openly on the temple that joins the Castle of Wittenberg, on the 30th of September, A.D. 1517.”

“The following,” the Globe Encyclopaedia tells us, “is the form of the diplomas sold by Tetzel:—

‘“May bur Lord Jesus Christ have pity upon thee, A. B., and absolve thee by the merits of his most holy passion. And I, in virtue of that apostolic commission which has been committed to me, absolve thee from all ecclesiastical censures, judgments, and penalties which thou mayest have deserved; further, from all the excesses, sins, and crimes which thou mayest have committed, however great or enormous they may be, and extending to all cases whatever, even were they reserved to our most holy father the Pope and to the apostolic See.

“‘I wipe out all the stains of inability, and all the marks of infamy, which thou mayest in that respect have drawn upon thee. I remit for thee the pains thou mightest have had to endure in purgatory. So that at the moment of thy death, the gates by which souls pass into the place of pains and torments will be shut upon thee; while, on the contrary, that which leads to the paradise of joy will be open to thee.’ ”

Ignorance of the Scriptures, it has been said, is the mother and cause of all errors, and the love of money the root of all evil, and both are here notoriously exemplified.

And, says Atterbury, “Leo the Tenth is deservedly infamous for his base prostitution of indulgences,” a quotation taken, with the following, from Johnson’s Dictionary by Todd:—

“‘The doctrine of indulgences, as it was before the Council of Trent, and hath been since taught in the Church of Rome, is big with gross errors.

“‘It depends on the fiction of purgatory; it supposed a superfluity of the satisfactions of the saints; which, being jumbled together with the merits and satisfaction of our Saviour, make up one treasury of the church; that the Bishop of Rome keeps the key of it, as having the sole power of granting indulgences, either by himself immediately, or by others commissioned from him.

“‘Lastly, it very absurdly extends the effect of the power of the kings, left by Christ in his church, to men in the other world.’ Bishop Bull, Corrupt, of the Church of Rome.”

“‘In purgatory, indulgences, and supererogation, the assertors seem to be unanimous in nothing but profit.’ Decay of Christian Piety.”

“‘He that not only commits some act of sin, but lives indulgently in it, is never to be counted a regenerate man.’ Hammond.”

> “‘Thou, that giv’st whores indulgences to sin,
> I’ll canvass [sift, or examine] thee in thy broad cardinal’s hat,
> If thou proceed in this thy insolence.’ Shakespeare, King Henry VI.”

Latimer, alluding to indulgences in one of his sermons, later on, said that no man of himself had authority to forgive sin, and that the pope had no more authority than another bishop. One of his hearers, going to confession, told the priest of this, at the same time adding, "therefore, I am in doubt whether I shall have remission of my sins of you or not, and that the pardon is of no effect."

The priest answered, "That Latimer is a false knave, and an eretycke. Marry,[2] this I heard Latimer say," the confessor continued, "that if a man come to confession, and be not sorry for his sins, the priest hath no power to forgive him. I say the pope's pardon is as good as ever it was, for these words were not spoken unto Peter for nought—'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven '—and the Pope is Peter's successor." *Vide* Froude, vol. 2, page 210 and 211.

"Such was the position of the early Protestants. They found," says Froude, "the service of God buried in a system where obedience was dissipated into superstition; where sin was expiated by the vicarious virtues of other men; where, instead of leading a holy life, men were taught that their souls might be saved through masses said for them, at a money rate, by priests whose licentiousness disgraced the nation which endured it.

"The fundamental axiom of real life, that the service which man owes to God is not the service of words or magic forms, or ceremonies, or opinions, but the service of holiness, of purity, of obedience to the everlasting laws of duty."

It was Leo the Tenth "who did so compliment Henry," says Bishop Burnet, "with presents of golden roses, and at his desire made Wolsey a cardinal, and above all other things obliged him by conferring on him the title of Defender of the Faith[3] upon the presenting to the pope his book against Luther in a pompous letter signed by the pope and twenty-seven cardinals, and in which the king took great pleasure, affecting it always beyond all his titles."

This book,[4] "Defence of the Seven Sacraments," was written in 1521, the year before the parishioners of Deane demolished the chapel of St. Ann and Holy Trinity in the north aisle of their venerable church.

2 "In popish times a mode of swearing by the Virgin Mary. ' Mary, I defy that false monk dan John. '—Chaucer, Shipm. Tale." Johnson's Dictionary by Todd, 1818.

3 In Latin, Pidei Defensor, a motto found ever since on all our coins in the contraction, " Fid. Def."

4 "No doubt this book was wrote by the king, as other books were under his name; that is, by his bishops, or other learned men." Bishop Burnet, vol. 1, p. 49.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A SHORT time back we made a passing reference to “The Association of Christian Brothers.” From Froude we learn that “it was composed of poor men, chiefly tradesmen, artisans, a few, a very few of the clergy; but it was carefully organised, it was provided with moderate funds, which were regularly audited, and its paid agents went up and down the country carrying Testaments and tracts with them, and enrolling in the order all persons who dared to risk their lives in such a cause.

“The harvest had been long ripening. The records of the bishops’ courts are filled from the beginning of the century with accounts of prosecutions for heresy—with prosecutions, that is, of men and women to whom the masses, the indulgences, the pilgrimages, the pardons, had become intolerable; who had risen up in blind resistance, and declared, with passionate anger, that whatever was truth, all this was falsehood.

“The bishops had not been idle; they had plied their busy task with stake and prison, and victim after victim had been executed with more than necessary cruelty; but it was all in vain; punishment only multiplied offenders.”

“In December, 1526, Wolsey,” Bishop Burnet tells us, “did publish a bull, condemning all who married in the forbidden degrees; and he sent mandates to the bishops to publish it in their several dioceses; he also published Pope Leo’s bull against Luther, and ordered it to be everywhere published.

“ He also required all persons, under the pain of excommunication, to bring in all Luther’s books that were in their hands; he enumerated forty-two of Luther’s errors; and required a return of the mandate to be made to him, together with such books as should be brought in upon it.

“This last shows the apprehensions they were under of the spreading of Luther’s books and doctrine. All people were at this time so sensible of the corruptions, that seemed by common consent to be as it were universally received, that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened to everywhere.”

“Wolsey was not cruel,” says Froude; “there is no instance in which he, of his special motion, sent a victim to the stake.

Nevertheless, he was determined to repress, as far as outward measures could repress it, the spread of the contagion.

“The country was covered with his secret police, arresting suspected persons and searching for books. In London the scrutiny was so strict that at one time there was a general flight and panic.

“Simultaneously, the English universities fell under examination, in consequence of the appearance of dangerous symptoms among the younger students. Dr. Barnes had used violent language in a pulpit at Cambridge; and Latimer, then a neophyte in heresy, had grown suspect, and had alarmed the heads of houses.

“Complaints against both of them were forwarded to Wolsey, and they were

summoned to London to answer for themselves. Latimer, for some cause, found favour with the cardinal, and was dismissed. Barnes was less fortunate. In addition to his offences in matters of doctrine, he had attacked Wolsey himself with somewhat vulgar personality. He was committed to the Fleet on the charge of having used heretical language. An abjuration was drawn up by Wolsey, which he signed; and while in prison, preparations were made for a ceremony in which he was to bear a part, in St. Paul's Church, by which the Catholic authorities hoped to produce some salutary effect on the disaffected spirits of London.

"In the morning of Shrove Sunday, then, 1527, we are to picture to ourselves a procession from the Fleet prison to St. Paul's Cathedral. The warden of the Fleet was there, and the knight marshall, and the tipstaffs, and 'all the company they could make, with bills and glaives'; and in the midst of these armed officials, six men marching in penitential dresses, one carrying a lighted taper five pounds weight, the others with symbolic fagots, signifying to the lookers-on the fate which their crimes had earned for them. One of these was Barnes; the other five were 'stillyard men,' undistinguishable by any other name, but detected members of the brotherhood.

"It was eight o'clock when they arrived at St. Paul's. The people had flocked in crowds before them. The public seats and benches were filled. All London had hurried to the spectacle. A platform was erected in the centre of the nave, on the top of which enthroned in pomp of purple and gold and splendour, sat the great cardinal, supported on each side with eighteen bishops, mitred abbots, and priors—six-and-thirty in all,—his chaplains and 'spiritual doctors' sitting also where they could find a place, in gowns of damask and satin.

"Opposite the platform, over the north door of the cathedral, was a great crucifix—a famous image, in these days called the Rood of North; and at the foot of it, inside a rail, a fire was burning, with the sinful books, tracts [collected by the police], and [Tyndal's] Testaments [bought up by the bishops], ranged round it in baskets, waiting for the execution of sentence.

"Such was the scene into the midst of which the six prisoners entered. A second platform stood in a conspicuous place in front of the cardinal's throne, where they could be seen and heard by the crowd; and there upon their knees, with their fagots on their shoulders, they begged pardon of God and the Holy Catholic Church for their high crimes and offences.

"When the confession was finished, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached a sermon; and, the sermon over, Barnes turned to the people, declaring that 'he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies were so heinous and detestable.'

"After which, the knight Marshal led the prisoners down from the stage to the fire under the crucifix. They were taken within the rails, and three times led round the blazing pile, casting in their fagots as they passed. The contents of the baskets were heaped upon the fagots, and the holocaust was complete.

"This time, an unbloody sacrifice was deemed sufficient. The church was satisfied with penance, and Fisher pronounced the prisoners absolved, and received back into communion."

While on penance, it may be interesting to add the following extract, taken from "Old

and New London," referring as it does to the church of Allhallows, in Bread Street,[1] the second street to the east of St. Paul's, and leading from Cheapside, with which, as curate, the Deane martyr, was associated for some time, later on:—

"In the 22nd of Henry VIII. [1531], the 17th of August, two priests of this church fell at variance, that the one drew blood of the other, wherefore the same church was suspended, and no service sung or said therein for the space of one month after. The priests were committed to prison, and the 15th of October, being enjoined penance, they went at the head of a general procession, bare-footed and bare-legged, before the children, with beads and books in their hands, from St. Paul's through Cheapside, Cornhill, &c."

'"The church, ruined in the great fire [1665], is built up again without any pillars, but very decent, and is a lightsome church,' says Strype,"

Visiting Bread Street some time back, and failing to learn anything of the church, the writer came to the conclusion that it must, like Milton's[2] house, have been pulled down many years ago, and the site covered with other erections.

And turning to the Clergy List for 1885, the oldest we have come across, we find in that year the benefice of Allhallows, with those of three other churches,—pulled down in recent years, probably, under an Act passed in 1851, being no longer required— bracketed with Bow Church—better known as the "Church of Bow Bells," from its charming peal of ten—seen on the south side of Cheapside, a few yards to the east of Bread Street. The population of these united parishes was only 253 in 1879.

It was in Bow Church that the Archbishop of Canterbury formerly held his Court of Arches—and to this we shall have occasion to refer again later on—so called from the church and tower thereof being arched.

The cases in this court were often very trivial. There is said to have been one in which the cause had originally commenced in the Archdeacon's Court at Totnes, from there referred to the Court at Exeter, thence to the Court of Arches, and lastly to the Court of Delegates, the issue, after all, having been simply which of two persons had the right of hanging his hat on a particular peg.

The Court of Delegates was established by an Act in the 25th of Henry VIII. (1534), wherein it was enacted

"That it should be lawful, for lack of justice at or in any of the Archbishop's Courts, for parties aggrieved to appeal to the King's Majesty in his Court of Chancery." *Vide* Old and New London, vol. 1, page 286.

We have just made allusion to 1527, it was in this year that King Henry, transferring his affections to a fascinating and accomplished young lady, Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's maids of honour, sought to put away his wife Katherine, after having been so many years devotedly attached to him and still beloved of the nation, the beginning of that cruel disposition which, increasing with his years, made him as great a tyrant almost as that other monarch of whom, Daniel tells us, " people trembled and feared, and whom he would he

1 "So called because the bakers of London were, in 1302, bound to sell no bread, but in the market here." *Vide* Stow.
2 Milton was born in Bread Street, in 1608, and baptised in the church of Allhallows.

slew, and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down."

“His proud and impatient spirit,” says Bishop Burnet, “occasioned many cruel proceedings.

“ The taking so many lives, only for denying his supremacy, particularly Fisher’s and More’s, the one being extremely old [seventy-six], and the other, one of the glories of his nation for probity and learning.

“His cruel using, first Cromwell, and afterwards the Duke of Norfolk and his son, besides his unexampled proceedings against some of his wives.

“His extreme severity to all Cardinal Pole’s family [including the beheading of his mother, Countess Salisbury], and oppressing the clearest innocence by attainting men and women without hearing them.

“He loved to raise mean persons, and upon the least distaste he spared not to sacrifice them to public discontent.

“ His court was magnificent, and his expenses vast; he indulged himself in his pleasures; and—the hopes of his children, besides the Lady Mary, failing by the queen—he, who of all kings desired issue most, kept one Elizabeth Blunt, by whom he had Henry Fitzroy [born 1519], whom in the seventeenth year of his reign [1526] he created Earl of Nottingham, and the same day made him Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and intended afterwards to have put him in the succession of the crown, after his other children; but his death [in 1536] prevented it.”

While of the king’s great chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, the bishop tells us:—

“If we look on him [Wolsey] as a minister of state, he was a very extraordinary person; but as he was a churchman, he was the disgrace of his profession. He not only served the king in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself; so that his having the . . [here follow two words better omitted]—which in these days was a matter of no small infamy—was so public, that it was brought against him in Parliament, when he fell into disgrace.” And of the clergy, we learn from the same author that “the immunity of ecclesiastical persons was a thing that occasioned great -complaints, for it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, (to get into orders, and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not, to be questioned, for any crime after holy orders given, till they were first degraded; and "till that was done, they were the bishop’s prisoners.”

Froude, alluding to this matter, vol. 1, page 194, says:—

“‘Benefit of clergy,’ unhappily, as at this time interpreted, was little else than a privilege to commit sins with impunity. The grossest moral profligacy in a priest was passed over with indifference ; and so far from exacting obedience in her minister to a higher standard than she required of ordinary persons, the church extended her limits under fictitious pretexts as a sanctuary for lettered villainy.

“ Every person who could read was claimed by prescriptive usage as a clerk, and

shielded under her protecting mantle; nor was any clerk amenable for the worst crimes to the secular jurisdiction, until he had been first tried and degraded by the ecclesiastical judges.

"So far was this preposterous exemption carried, that previous to the passing of the 23rd of Henry the 8th [1531], those who were within the degrees might commit murder with impunity, the forms which it was necessary to observe in degrading a priest or deacon being so complicated as to amount to absolute protection."

"Among the clergy, properly so called, however, the prevailing offence was not crime, but licentiousness. A doubt has recently crept in among our historians as to the credibility of the extreme language in which the contemporary writers spoke upon this painful topic.

"It will scarcely be supposed that the picture has been overdrawn in the act books of the Consistory Courts; 'and as we see it there it is almost too deplorable for belief, as well in its own intrinsic hideousness as in the unconscious connivance of the authorities. Brothels were kept in London for the especial use of priests; the 'Confessional' was abused in the most open and abominable manner.'

"Cases occurred of the same frightful profanity in the service of the mass, which at Rome startled Luther into Protestantism," An instance, taken from the Records of the London Court, is here given of a priest guilty of licentious conduct too grave to repeat. He was enjoined, for penance, to appear at each of the altars in St. Bartholomew's Church, London, while high mass was singing on the Sunday, a candle of wax, value one penny, saying therewith five Paternosters, five Ave Marys, and five Credos.

" On the following Friday he was to offer a candle of the same price before the crucifix, standing barefooted, and one before the image of our Lady of Grace. This penance accomplished, he appeared again at the court and compounded for absolution, paying six shillings and eightpence.

"An exposure too common to attract notice, and a fine of six and eightpence, was held sufficient penalty for a mortal sin.

"Another priest, who confessed to incest, was condemned to bear a cross in a procession in his parish church, and was excused his remaining guilt for three shillings and fourpence. Hale, page 83." In a foot-note Froude adds here: "I have been taunted with my inability to produce more evidence. For the present I will mention two additional instances only, and perhaps I shall not be invited to swell the list further:—

"In the State Paper Office is a report to Cromwell, by Adam Bekenshaw, one of his diocesan visitors, in which I find this passage: 'There be knights and divers gentlemen in the diocese of Chester who do keep Concubines and do yearly compound with the officials for a small sum, without monition to leave their evil living.' "In another report I find also the following: 'The names of such persons as be permitted to live in adultery for money.'"

Here follow the names of one dean, four vicars, one priest, four parsons, fourteen laymen, eleven of them bearing the title of Sir, followed with the remark, 'with many others of the diocese of Hereford.'

“The originals of both these documents,” continues the historian, “are in the State Paper Office. There are copies in the Bodleian Library. MS. Tanner, 105.”

CHAPTER XXIX.

SUCH, then, were the Consistory Courts," continues Froude, "and we can imagine what England must have been with an archdeacon's commissary sitting constantly in every town, exercising an undefined jurisdiction over general morality, and every court swarming with petty lawyers who lived upon the fees which they could extract. Such a system for the administration of justice was perhaps never tolerated in any country."

And, says Spencer, "when a people have no touch of conscience, no sense of evil doings, it is bootless to think to restrain them," and so it was found with the clergy.

In 1513, the time of George Marsh's birth, the House of Commons sent up to the House of Lords a bill enacting that " all murderers and robbers should be denied the benefit of their clergy; but though this seemed a very just law, yet," says Bishop Burnet, " to make it pass the House of Lords, they added two provisoes to it—the one, for excepting all such as were within the holy orders of bishop, priest, or deacon; the other, that the act should only be in force till the next Parliament.

" With these provisoes, it was unanimously assented to by the Lords on the 26th of January, 1513, and being agreed to by the Commons, the royal assent made it law; pursuant to which, many murderers and felons were denied their clergy, and the law passed on them, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation.

"But this gave great offence to the clergy, who had no mind to suffer their immunities to be touched or lessened, and such was their opposition, that the act did determine at the next Parliament [1514], and, not satisfied with that, they resolved to fix a censure on that act as contrary to the franchise of the holy church.

"And the Abbot of Winchelcomb, being more favoured than the rest, during the session of Parliament, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, said openly that that act was 'contrary to the law of God, and to the liberties of the holy church, and that all who assented to it, as well spiritual as temporal persons, had, by so doing, incurred the censures of the church.

"The abbot also published a book to prove that all clerks, whether of the greater or lower orders, were sacred, and exempted from all temporal punishment by the secular judge, even in criminal cases.

"This made .great noise, and all the temporal lords, with the concurrence of the House of Commons, desired the king to suppress the growing insolence of the clergy. So there was a hearing of the matter before the king, with ail the judges and the king's temporal council. Dr. Standish, guardian of the Mendicant Friars in London (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph), the chief of the king's spiritual council, argued that, by the law, clerks had been still convened and judged in the King's Court for civil crimes, and that there was nothing either in the laws of God or the church inconsistent with it; and that the public good of the society, which was chiefly driven at by all laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that crimes should be punished.

" But the Abbot of Winchelcomb, being counsel for the clergy, excepted to this, and said, ' There was a decree made by the church, to which all ought to pay obedience under the pain of mortal sin; and that therefore the trying of clerks in the civil courts was a sin in itself.'

“Standish, upon this, turned to the king and said, ‘God forbid that all the decrees of the church should bind. It seems the bishops think not so, for though there is a decree that they should reside at their cathedrals all the festivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not’; adding, that no decree could have any force in England till it was received there; and that this decree was never received in England, but that, as well since the making of it, as before, clerks were tried for crimes in the civil courts,

“To this the abbot made no answer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this exemption to have come from our Saviour’s words, ‘Touch not mine anointed’; and therefore princes ordering clerks to be arrested and brought before their courts was contrary to Scripture, against which no custom can take place.

“Standish replied, these words were never said by our Saviour, but were put by David in his Psalter one thousand years before Christ; and he said these words had no relation to the civil judicatories; but because the greatest part of the world was then wicked, and but a small number believed the law, they were a charge to the rest of the world not to do them harm.

“But though the abbot had been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no answer to this. The laity that were present being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the matter thus argued, moved the bishops to order the abbot to renounce his former opinion, and recant his sermon at St. Paul’s Cross. But they flatly refused to do it, and said they were bound by the laws of the holy church to maintain the abbot’s opinion in every point of it.

“Great heats followed upon this during the sitting of the Parliament, of which there is a very partial entry made in the journal of the Lords’ House; and no wonder, the clerk of the Parliament, Dr. Taylor, doctor of the canon law, being at the same time speaker of the Lower House of Convocation. The entry is in these words:

“‘In this Parliament and Convocation, there were most dangerous contentions between the clergy and the secular power, about the ecclesiastical liberties, one Standish, a minor friar, being the instrument and promoter of all that mischief.’ ”

Here, indignant at Dr. Standish, the clergy, belittling him with the title of “minor friar,” blame him for what really happened through the indiscreet preaching of the Abbot of Winchelcomb at St. Paul’s Cross.

And, no better disposed towards the laity, it was not long before they again gave occasion for another appeal to the king, a barbarous act of inhumanity—the strangling in prison at their instigation, of a respectable citizen, accused of heresy, and the committing of his dead body to the flames at Smithfield—leading to it.

Referring to this and what followed, the bishop, continuing his narrative, tells us that:

“One Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor in London, was questioned by a clerk in Middlesex for a mortuary, pretended to be due for a child of his that died five weeks old. The clerk claiming the beering sheet, and Hunne refusing to give it; upon that he was sued, but his counsel advised him to sue the clerk in a premunire, for bringing the king’s subjects before a foreign court, the spiritual court sitting by authority from the [pope’s] legate [Cardinal Wolsey].

“This touched the clergy so in the quick, that they used all the arts they could to fasten heresy on him, and understanding that he had Wickliff’s Bible, upon that he was attached of heresy, and put in the Lollard’s tower at St. Paul’s, and examined upon some articles objected to him by Fitz James, then Bishop of London.

“He denied them as they were charged against him, but acknowledged he had said some words sounding that way, for which he was sorry, and asked God’s mercy, and submitted himself to the bishop’s correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoined penance, and set at liberty; but persisting in his suit in the King’s Court, they used him most cruelly.

“On the 4th December he was found hanged in the chamber where he was kept prisoner. And Dr. Horsey, chancellor to the Bishop of London, with the officers of the court, gave out that he had hanged himself.

“But the coroner of London coming to hold an inquest on the dead body, they found him hanging so loose, and in a silk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed, whereupon they did acquit the dead; and by other proofs they found the bishop’s sumner and the bellringer guilty of it; and by deposition of the sumner himself it did appear that the chancellor and he, and the bellringer, did murder him, and then hung him up.

“But as the inquest proceeded in this trial, the bishop began a new process against the dead body of Richard Hunne, for other points of heresy; and several articles were gathered out of Wickliff’s preface to the Bible, with which he was charged; and this having the book in his possession being taken for good evidence, he was judged an heretic, and his body delivered to the secular power.

“ When judgment was given, the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, with many doctors both of divinity and the canon law, sat with the Bishop of London, so that it was looked on as an act of the whole clergy, and done by common consent; and on the 20th of December, 1514, his body was burnt at Smithfield.

“ But this produced an effect very different from what was expected; for it was hoped that, he being found an heretic, nobody should appear for him any more; whereas, on the contrary, it occasioned a great outcry, the man having lived in very good reputation among his neighbours; so that after that day the city of London was never well affected to the popish clergy, but inclined to follow any body who spoke against them; and every one looked on it as a cause of common concern.

“All exclaimed against the cruelty of their clergy, that for a man’s suing a clerk according to law, he should be long and hardly used in a severe imprisonment, and at last cruelly murdered, and all this laid on himself to defame him and ruin his family.

“And then to burn that body which they had so handled, was thought such a complication of cruelties as few barbarians had ever been guilty of.

“The bishop, finding that the inquest went on, and the whole matter was discovered, used all possible endeavours to stop their proceedings; and they were often brought before the king’s council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from malice and heresy.

“Parliament, however, sent a bill up to the Lords for restoring Hunne’s children, which was passed, and had the royal assent to it; but another bill being brought in about this murder, it occasioned great heats among them. The Bishop of London said Hunne had hanged himself, that the inquest were false perjured caitiffs, and if they proceeded further, he could not keep his house for heretics; so that the bill which was sent up by the Commons was but once read in the House of Lords, for the power of the clergy was great there.

“But the trial went on, and both the bishop’s chancellor and the sumner were indicted as principals in the murder. The Convocation that was then sitting, finding so great a stir made, and that all their liberties were now struck at, resolved to call Dr. Standish to an account for what he had said and argued in the matter. So he being summoned before them, some articles were objected to him by word of mouth, concerning the judging of clerks in civil courts ; and the day following, they being put in writing, the bill was delivered to him, and a day assigned for him to make answer. The doctor, perceiving their intention, and judging it would go hard with him if he were tried before them, went and claimed the king’s protection, from this trouble that he was now brought in, for discharging his duty as the king’s spiritual counsel.

“But the clergy made their excuse to the king, that they were not to question him for anything he had said as the king’s counsel, but for some lectures he read at St. Paul’s and elsewhere, contrary to the law of God and liberties of the holy church, which they were bound to maintain; and desire the king’s assistance according to his coronation oath, and as he would not incur the censures of the holy church.

“On the other hand, the temporal lords and judges, with concurrence of the House of Commons, addressed to the king to maintain the temporal jurisdiction according to his coronation oath, and to protect Standish from the malice of his enemies.

“This put the king in great perplexity, for he had no mind to lose any part of his temporal jurisdiction, and on the other hand was no less apprehensive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the clergy. So he called for Dr. Veysey, then dean of his chapel, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, charged him upon his allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter, which, after study, he did, and said, upon his faith, conscience, and allegiance, he did think that the conveying of clerks before the secular judge, which had been always practised in England, might well consist with the law of God and the true liberties of the holy church.

“This gave the king great satisfaction; so he commanded all the judges, and his council both spiritual and temporal, and some of both Houses, to meet at Baynard’s Castle, Blackfriars, and to hear the matter argued.”

Baynard’s Castle was formerly a riverside fortress on the Thames, near Blackfriars Bridge, where Norman barons, after the Conquest, held their state.

It was built by Ralph Baynard—a Norman, hence its name— who, dying in the reign of King Rufus, left it to his grandson ; and he, attempting with other Normans to wrest from Henry I. his Norman possessions, forfeited it to the crown.

Henry VI., in 1422, made it a royal residence, and here, in 1483, Richard III. received

his accomplice Buckingham, who had come from the Guildhall, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, to press him to accept the crown.

Richard, already planning the murder of the two princes in the Tower, affected religious scruples, and with well-feigned reluctance accepted the crown.

Led on by crime after crime to the desperate struggle at Bosworth Field, after slaying his rival's standard-bearer, he was beaten down by swords and axes, and his crown struck off into a hawthorn bush.

The defaced corpse of the usurper, stripped and gory, was, the old chronicles tell us, thrown over a horse and carried by a faithful herald to be buried at Leicester.

The castle, of which we shall learn more later on, was retained by the crown until burnt down in the great fire of 1665, and, in time, the site was turned into a wharf.

CHAPTER XXX.

RETURNING to the bishop, he goes on to tell us that the bill against Dr. Standish, submitted to the assembly, consisted of six articles, namely:-

"First, that he had said that the lower orders were not sacred.

"Secondly, that the exemption of clerks was not founded on a divine right.

"Thirdly, that the laity might coerce clerks when the prelates did not their duty.

"Fourthly, that no positive ecclesiastical law binds any but those who receive it.

"Fifthly, that the study of the canon law was needless.

"Sixthly, that of the whole volume of the Decretum, so much as a man could hold in his fist, and no more, did oblige Christians.

"To these Dr. Standish answered, that for those things expressed in the third, the fifth, and the sixth articles, he had never taught them ; as for his asserting them at any time in discourse, as he did not remember it, so he did not much care whether he had done it or not.

"To the first, he said, lesser orders in one sense are sacred, and in another they are not sacred. For the second and fourth, he confessed he had taught them, and was ready to justify them.

" It was objected by the clergy, that as, by the law of God, no man could judge his father, it being contrary to that commandment, ' Honour thy father,' so churchmen, being spiritual fathers, they could not be judged by the laity, who were their children. To which he answered, that as that only concluded in favour of priests, those in inferior orders not being fathers, so it was a mistake to say a judge might not sit upon his natural father; and though the commandment is conceived in general words, yet there are some exceptions to be admitted; as though it be said, Thou shalt not kill; yet in some cases we may lawfully kill; so in the case of justice, a judge may lawfully sit on his father.

"But Dr. Veysey's argument was that which took most with all that were present. He said it was certain that the laws of the church did not bind any but those who received them. To prove this he said, that in old times all secular priests were married; but in the days of St. Augustine the Apostle of England there was a decree made to the contrary, which was received in England and in many other places, by virtue whereof the secular priests in England may not marry; but this law not being universally received, the Greek church never judged themselves bound by it, so that to this day the priests in that church have wives as well as secular men.

" If, then, the churches of the east, not having received the law of the celibate of the clergy, have never been condemned by the church for not obeying it—then the convening clerk have been always practiced in England—was no sin, notwithstanding the decree to the contrary, which was never received here. Nor is this to be compared to those privileges that concern only a private man's, for the common wealth of the whole realm was chiefly to be looked at, and to be preferred to all other things.

“When the matter was thus argued on both sides, all the judges delivered their opinions, in these words:—

“‘That all those of the convocation who did award the citation against Standish were in the case of a premunire facias’ [the summoning of the king’s subject before a foreign tribunal being contrary to the constitution of the realm].

“After delivering this opinion, and forwarding it to the king, the assembly broke up. The king received the report of the assembly very graciously, and to give his reply again summoned the whole of the members to meet him at his royal residence of Baynard’s Castle, in the City of London.

“ Feeling now thoroughly alarmed, the clergy made great efforts to defend their privileges, and Cardinal Wolsey came forward to plead their cause, and in all their presence the cardinal kneeled down before the king, and in the name of the clergy said :—

‘“That none of them intended to do any thing that might derogate from his prerogative, and least of all himself, who owed his advancement only to the king’s favour. But this matter of convening of clerks did seem to them all to be contrary to the laws of God and the liberties of the church, which they were bound by their oaths to maintain according to their power; therefore, in their name, he humbly begged that the king, to avoid the censures of the church, would refer the matter to the decision of the pope and his council, at the court of Rome.”’

To which the king answered:—

“It seems to us that Dr. Standish, and others of our spiritual council, have answered you fully in all points.”

After a short silence, the Archbishop of Canterbury said:—

“That in former times divers holy fathers of the church had opposed the execution of that law, and some of them suffered martyrdom in the quarrel.”

To whom Fineux, Lord Chief Justice, replied:—

“That many holy kings had maintained that law, and many holy fathers had given obedience to it, which it is not to be presumed they would have done had they known it to be contrary to the law of God.

“And he desired to know by what law bishops could judge clerks for felony, it being a thing only determined by the temporal law; so that either it was not at all to be tried, or it was only in the temporal court; so that either clerks must do as they please, or be tried in the civil courts.”

To this no answer being made, the king said these words: — “By the permission and ordinance of God, we are king of England, and the kings of England in times past had never any superior, but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our

crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time.

" And as for your decrees, we are well assured that you of the spirituality go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been shewed you by some of our council; and you interpret your decrees at your pleasure, but we will not agree to them more than our progenitors have done in former times."

Thus ended this remarkable meeting, and, commenting on the proceedings, the bishop tells us " the clergy suffered much in this business, besides the loss of their reputation with the people, who involved them in the guilt of Hunne's murder; for now their exemption, being well examined, was found to have no foundation at all but in their own decrees."

The case pending against Dr. Horsey was, however, at Wolsey's intercession with the king, withdrawn from the Court of King's Bench, a proceeding with which "the city of London was not at all satisfied, since there was no justice done; and all thought the king seemed more careful to maintain his prerogative than to do justice." And really it was not till after Wolsey's downfall in 1529, from failing in his policy to move the pope to grant Henry the much-coveted divorce, that the laity, through their representatives in Parliament, were successful in their efforts to reform, to any great extent, the abuses of the clergy.

After an interval of seven years, during which time Wolsey had been the chief factor in the government of the realm, Parliament, summoned at the end of September, met on the 3rd of November, 1529.

"The election," says Froude, "had taken place in the midst of great and general excitement, and the members chosen were men of that broad, resolved temper, who only in times of popular effervescence are called forward into prominence.

"It would have probably been unsafe for the crown to attempt dictation or repression at such a time, if it had desired to do so.

"No Englishman can look back uninterested on the meeting of the Parliament of 1529.

"The era at which it assembled is the most memorable in the history of this country, and the work which it accomplished before its dissolution was of a larger moment, politically and spiritually, than the achievements of the Long Parliament itself.

"The proceedings were commenced with a formal act of accusation against the clergy, which was submitted to the king in the name of the Commons of England, and contained a summary of the wrongs of which the people complained.

" This remarkable document must have been drawn up before the opening of Parliament, and must have been presented in the first week of the session—probably on the first day on which the House met to transact business.

"It contains the germs of all the Acts which were framed in the following years for the reform of the church, and is, in fact, the most complete exhibition which we possess of the working of the church system at the time when it ceased to be any more tolerable."

From the historian's transcript of this memorable document, found, he tells us, in the "Rolls House," we have made the following somewhat lengthy extract:—

To the King our Sovereign Lord.

In most humble wise show—unto your Highness and your most prudent wisdom—your faithful, loving, and most obedient servants the Commons in this your present Parliament assembled; that of late extreme and uncharitable behaviour and dealing of divers ordinaries [bishops], their commissaries and sumners, in most uncharitable manner, to the great inquietation, vexation, and breach of your peace within this your most catholic realm, whereof the following do ensue:—

I. First the prelates and spiritual ordinances, and the clergy have in their Convocations hitherto made many divers fashions of laws, constitutions, and ordinances, without your knowledge or most royal assent, and without the assent of your lay subjects; unto the which laws your said lay subjects have been constrained to obey in their bodies, goods, and possessions, and been continually put to importable charges and expenses, against all equity, right, and good conscience.

And yet your humble subjects nor their predecessors could ever be privy to the said laws; nor have the said laws ever been declared unto them in the English tongue, or otherwise published, by knowledge whereof they might have eschewed the penalties, dangers, or censures of the same; which laws so made your most humble servants suppose to be not only to the diminution and derogation of your imperial jurisdiction and prerogative royal, but also to the great prejudice, inquietation, and damage of your said subjects.

II. Also, now of late there hath been divised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that in his Courts of the Arches and Audience shall only be ten proctors at his deputation, which be sworn to preserve and promote the only jurisdiction of the said courts; by reason whereof, if any of your lay subjects should have any lawful cause against the judges of the said courts or any doctors or proctors of the same, or any of their friends and adherents, they can nowise have indifferent counsel.

And further, in case that any matter there being preferred should touch your crown, your regal jurisdiction and prerogative royal, yet the same shall not be disclosed by any of the said proctors for fear of the loss of their offices. Your most obedient subjects do therefore, under protection of your Majesty, suppose that your Highness should have the nomination of some convenient number of proctors to be always attendant upon the said Courts of Arches and Audience, there to be sworn to the preferment of your jurisdiction and prerogative, and to the expedition of your lay subjects repairing and suing to the same.

III. And also many of your said most humble servants, and especially those that be of the poorest sort, be daily called before the said spiritual ordinaries, their commissaries and substitutes, ex officio; sometimes, at the pleasure of the said ordinaries, for malice without any cause; and sometimes at the only promotion and accusement of their summoners and apparitors, being light and indiscreet persons; without any lawful cause of accusation, or credible fame proved against them, and without any presentment in the visitation.

And your said poor subjects be thus inquieted, disturbed, vexed, troubled, and put to excessive and importable charges for them to bear, and many times be suspended and

excommunicate for small and light causes upon the only certificates of the proctors of the adversaries, made under a feigned seal which every proctor hath in his keeping; whereas the party suspended or excommunicate many times never had any warning; and yet when he shall be absolved, if it be out of court, he shall be compelled to pay his own proctor twenty[1] pence; to the proctor which is against him other twenty pence, and twenty pence to the scribe, besides a privy reward that the judge shall have, to the great impoverishing of your said poor lay subjects.

IV. Also your most humble servants find themselves grieved with the great and excessive fees in the said Courts of the Arches and Audience, where they take for every citation 2/6, inhibition 6/8, proxy 1/4, certificate 1/4, libel 3/4, answer for libel 3/4, Act if it be but two words 4d., personal citation or decree 3/4, sentence or judgment 26/8, testament upon such sentence or judgment 26/8, significavit 12/-, and commission to examine witnesses 12/-, which charges be thought importable![2] to be borne by your said subjects, and very necessary to be reformed.

V. And also that the said prelates and ordinaries daily do permit and suffer the parsons, vicars, curates, parish priests, and other spiritual persons having cure of souls, to exact and take of your humble servants divers sums of money for the sacraments and sacramentals of holy church, sometimes denying the same without they be first paid the said sums of money, which sacraments and sacramentals your most humble subjects, under protection of your Highness, do suppose and think ought to be in most reverend, charitable, and godly-wisely, freely administered unto them at all times requisite, without denial, or exaction of any manner sums of money to be demanded or asked for the same.

VI. And also in the spiritual courts of the said prelates there be limited and appointed so many judges, scribes, apparitors, summoners, appraysers, and other ministers for the approbation of testaments [wills], which cost so much their own private lucres, and the satisfaction and appetites of the said prelates and ordinaries, that when any of your said loving subjects do repair to any of the said courts for the probate of any testaments, they do in such wise make so long delays, or excessively do take of them so large fees and rewards for the same as is importable for them to bear, directly against all justice, law, equity, and good conscience.

Therefore your most humble subjects do, under your gracious correction and supportation, suppose it were very necessary that the said ordinaries in their deputation of judges should be bound to appoint and assign such discreet, gracious, and honest persons, having sufficient learning, wit, discretion, and understanding; and also being endowed with such spiritual promotion, stipend, and salary, as they being judges in their said courts might and may minister to every person repairing to the same, justice—without taking any manner of fee or reward for any manner of sentence or judgment to be given before them.

VII. And also divers spiritual persons being presented as well by your Highness as others within this your realm to divers benefices or other spiritual promotions, the said ordinaries and their ministers do not only take of them for their letters of institution and induction many large sums of money and rewards ; but also do pact and covenant with the same, taking sure bonds for their indemnity to answer to the said ordinaries, for the firstfruits of their said benefices after their institution—so as they, being once presented or promoted,

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1 “The penny, as I have shown, equalled, in terms of a poor man’s necessities, a shilling.”
2 Not to be endured.

as aforesaid, are by the said ordinaries very uncharitably handled, to their no little hindrance and impoverishment; which your said subjects suppose not only to be against all laws, right, and good conscience, but also to be simony, and contrary to the laws of God.

VIII. And also the said spiritual ordinaries do daily confer and give sundry benefices unto certain young folks, calling them their nephews or kinsfolk, being in their minority and within age, not apt nor able to serve the cure of any such benefice; whereby the said ordinaries do keep and detain the fruits and profits of the same benefices in their own hands, and thereby accumulate to themselves right great and large sums of money and yearly profits, to the most pernicious example of your said lay subjects—and so the cures and promotions given unto such infants be only employed to the enriching of the said ordinaries; and the poor silly souls of your people, which should be taught in the parishes given, as aforesaid, for lack of good curates be left to perish without doctrine or any good teaching.

IX. Also, a great number of holidays, now at this present time, with very small devotion, be solemnized and kept throughout this your realm, upon the which many great, abominable, and execrable vices, idle, and wanton sports, be used and exercised, which holidays, if it may stand with your Grace's pleasure, and specially such as fall in the harvest, might, by your Majesty, with the advice of your most honourable council, prelates, and ordinaries, be made fewer in number; and those that shall be hereafter ordained to stand and continue, might and may be the more devoutly, religiously, and reverendly observed, to the laud of Almighty God, and to the increase of your honour and favour.

X. And furthermore, the said spiritual ordinaries, their commissaries and substitutes, sometimes for their own pleasure, sometimes by the sinister procurement of other spiritual persons, use to make out process against divers of your said subjects, and thereby compel them to appear before themselves, to answer at a certain day and place to such articles as by them shall be, ex-officio, then proposed ; and that secretly and not in open places; and forthwith upon their appearance, without any declaration made or showed, commit and send them to ward, sometimes for half a year, sometimes for a whole year or more, before they may in anywise know either the cause of their imprisonment or the name of their accuser; and finally, after their great costs and charges therein, when all is examined and nothing can be proved against them, but they clearly innocent for any fault or crime that can be laid unto them, they be again set at large without any recompence or amends in that behalf to be towards them adjudged.

XI. And also, if per case upon the said process and appearance any party be upon the said matter, cause, or examination, brought forth and named, either as party or witness, and then upon the proof and trial thereof be not able to prove and verify the said accusation and testimony against the party accused, then the person so accused is for the more part without any remedy for his charges and wrongful vexation to be towards him adjudged and recovered.

XII. Also, upon the examination of the said accusation, if heresy be ordinarily laid to the charge of the parties so accused, then the said ordinaries or their ministers used to put to them such subtle interrogatories, concerning the high mysteries of our faith, as are able quickly to trap a simple unlearned, or yet a well witted layman without learning, and bring them by such sinister introductions soon to their own confusion.

And further, if there chance any heresy to be by such subtle policy by any person confessed in words, and yet never committed neither in thought nor deed, then put they, without further favour, the said person either to make his purgation, and so thereby to lose his honesty and credence for ever; or else, as some simple silly soul may do, the said person may stand precisely to the testimony of his own well-known conscience, rather than confess his innocent truths in that behalf to be other than he knows it to be, and so be utterly destroyed.

And if it fortune the said party so accused to deny the said accusation, and to put his adversaries to prove the same as being untrue, forged and imagined against him, then for the most part such witnesses as are brought forth for the same, be they but two in number, never so sore diffamed, or little truth or credence, they shall be allowed and enabled, only by discretion of the said ordinaries, their commissaries, or substitutes; and thereupon sufficient cause be found to proceed to judgment, to deliver the party so accused either to secular hands after abjuration, without remedy, or afore, if he submit himself, as best happeneth, he shall have to make his purgation and bear a fagot,[3] to his extreme shame and undoing.

In consideration of all these things, most gracious Sovereign Lord, and forasmuch as there is at present time, and by a few years past hath been, outrageous violence on the one part, and much default and lack of patient sufferance, charity, and good-will on the other part, may it therefore be by the benign love and favour which your Highness beareth towards both the said parties, that the said articles being deeply and weightily, after your accustomed ways and manner, searched and considered, graciously to provide some such necessary and behoved remedies as may effectually reconcile and bring in perpetual unity your subjects, spiritual and temporal.

And for the establishment thereof, to make and ordain on both sides such strait laws against transgressor and offenders as shall be too heavy, dangerous, and weighty for them, or any of them, to bear, suffer, and sustain.

3 Fagots were used in the ceremony of abjuration.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE House of Commons, in casting," continues Froude, "their grievances into the form of a petition, showed that they had no desire to thrust forward of themselves violent measures of reform; they sought rather to explain firmly and decisively what the country required.

" The king, selecting—out of the many points noticed—those which seemed most pressing, referred them back to the Parliament, with a direction to draw up such enactments as in their judgment would furnish effective relief.

"In the meantime he submitted the petition itself to the consideration, of the bishops, requiring their immediate answer to the charges against them, accompanied with the further request that thenceforward Convocation should consent to place itself in the position of Parliament, and that his own consent should be required and received before any law passed by it should have the force of statutes."

Thus encouraged by the king, "the House of Commons, without wasting time in debate over abuses long ripe for solution, hurried up to the Lords bill after bill, to the astonishment of the bishops.

"Probate duties and legacy duties, hitherto assessed at discretion, were dwarfed into fixed proportions, not to touch the poor laity any more, and bearing even upon wealth with a reserved and gentle hand.

"Mortuaries were shorn of their luxuriance; when effects were small, no mortuary should be required; when large, the clergy should content themselves with a moderate share. Such sums as the law would permit should be paid thenceforward in the form of decent funeral fees for householders dying in their own parishes, and there the exactions should terminate."

The lord of the manor, as well as the priest, claimed his heriot, called a mortuary, on the death of a tenant, in these early times, and the following instance, relating to Dukinfield, may interest the reader:—

"A tenant's boy, on the death of his father, driving an only cow to the manor-house of Dukinfield, being met by the lord (Sir Robert Dukinfield), with whose person and rank the boy was unacquainted, was questioned whither he was taking the beast.

'I'm driving it to Dukinfield for the heriot,' said the boy; 'my father is dead, we are many children, and have no cow but this. Don't you think the devil will take Sir Robert for a heriot when he dies? ' The lad was fortunately addressing a humane landlord.

'Return home,' said the knight; 'take the cow back to thy mother. I know Sir Robert. I am going to Dukinfield myself, and I will make the matter up with him.'" Baines' Lancashire, vol. 1, page 429, 1868 edition.

"As regards the clergy," continues Froude, "they were thenceforward forbidden to take any land to farm beyond what was necessary for the support of their own households, or buy merchandise to sell again, or keep tanneries or brewhouses, or otherwise directly or indirectly trade for gain.

“Pluralities were not to be permitted with benefices above the yearly value of eight pounds, and residence was made obligatory under penalty in cases of absence without special reason, of ten pounds for each month of such absence.

“The law against pluralities was limited as against existing holders, each of whom, for their natural lives, might continue to hold as many as four benefices. But dispensation, either for nonresidence or for the violation of any other provision of the Act, were made penal in a high degree, whether obtained from the bishops or from the court of Rome.

“ These bills struck hard and struck home; yet even persons who most disapprove of the Reformation will not at the present time either wonder at their enactment or complain of their severity.

“The bishops, however, could ill tolerate ah interference with the privileges of the ecclesiastical order; still, though they commanded an actual majority in the upper House, they dared not go beyond a persistent opposition to the bills they so much dreaded.
“And it was not until the king interfered that they unwillingly consented to pass them.

“Addressing the House on one occasion, ‘My Lords,’ said the aged Bishop of Rochester, ‘you see daily what bills come hither from the Commons House, all is to the destruction of the church. For God’s sake, see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the church went down, then fell glory of that kingdom.

“‘Now with the commons is nothing but down with the church, and this meseemeth is for lack of faith only.’ ”

In result, says Hall, page 766, “the Acts were sore debated. The lords spiritual would in no wise consent, and committees of the two houses sat continually, until at length, people out of doors growing impatient, and dangerous symptoms threatening to show themselves, the' king summoned a meeting in the star-chamber between eight members of both Houses.

“The lay peers, after some discussion, conclusively gave way; and the bishops, left without support, were obliged to yield. They signified their unwilling consent, and the bills, ‘somewhat qualified,’ were the next day agreed to—‘to the great rejoicing of the lay people, and the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.’ ”

Resenting the term, “Lack of faith,” which was equivalent to saying that they were infidels, the Commons, through their speaker, Sir Thomas Audeley, called the kings attention to it.

“Henry sent for Bishop Fisher, and with him for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and for six other bishops. The speaker’s message was laid before them, and they were asked what they had to say. The Bishop of Rochester stooped to an equivocation too transparent to deceive any one. He said that ‘he meant only the doings of the Bohemians were for lack of faith, and not the doings of the Commons House’—which saying was confirmed by the bishops present.

"The king allowed the excuse, and the bishops were dismissed; but they were dismissed into ignominy, and thenceforward, in all Henry's dealings with them, they were treated with contemptuous disrespect.

"Thus triumphant on every side, the Parliament, in the middle [17th] of December, closed its session, and lay England celebrated its exploits as a national victory"; an event which the parishioners of Deane would, doubtless, enjoy with as much pleasure as the rest of the nation.

" Here for the present," continues Froude, "leaving the clergy to meditate on their future, and reconsider the wisdom of their answer to the king respecting the ecclesiastical jurisdiction[1] [left over for further consideration], a point on which they were not the less certain to be pressed, because the process upon it was temporarily suspended—we must turn to the more painful matter [the divorce] which for a time longer ran parallel with the domestic reformation, and as yet unable to unite with it."

With respect to the question of divorce, just alluded to, we have so far only made short references to it. Now let us go back to the year 1527, and relate more fully what has, since then, transpired in regard to it.

Wolsey, the first person to whom Henry confided the matter, is said to have remained with him four hours on his knees to dissuade him from it, but to no purpose.

And his wife Katherine, contrary to his expectation, he found far from showing any disposition to retire into a nunnery.

While the pope, Clement VII., appealed to in December, 1527, hesitated to grant him the necessary dispensation, afraid to offend Katherine's nephew, Charles V., Emperor of Spain, having already experienced ill treatment at the hands of this young monarch.

To understand the pope's position at this time, it will be desirable to turn back to 1521. In that year Spain and France, at war with each other, Charles V., Archduke of Austria, as well as Emperor of Spain, secured Adrian, his late tutor, the popedom on the death of Leo X. in 1522. Adrian dying next year, Clement, who succeeded him, owed his election also to the emperor.

Invited by Henry, the emperor came over to England in 1523 to be installed Knight of the Garter, and while here it was arranged that he should marry the Princess Mary when she came of age, under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of £100,000.

The war continuing, France, early in 1527, suffered a total defeat of her army at Pavia, in Italy, and Francis, the king, made prisoner, was carried captive to Spain.

Clement VII., the pope, beseiged at Rome for taking sides with Francis, also surrendered to the emperor's superior force, and became a prisoner for some time.

Lifted up with success, the emperor, entertaining the idea of making an universal empire, now married the Infanta of Portugal, thus uniting that kingdom with Spain.

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1 "Refusal to redress" had been the reply to this part of the Commons' petition.

Irritated, Henry now lent his influence to France, and threatening to make war on Spain, Francis and the pope were set at liberty, but not until the latter had privately released the emperor from his oath to marry the Princess Mary.

Not long after this, the pope, again acting contrary to the emperor's wishes, was once more forced to surrender his person, and, after having brought him to his own terms, Charles ordered him to be set at liberty.

Writing to the pope in January, 1528, Wolsey, after congratulating him upon the recovery of his liberty, and with many sharp reflections on the emperor, refers to the king's business as follows:—

"This only I will add, that that which is desired is holy and just, and very much for the safety and quiet of the kingdom, which is most devoted to the apostolical see."

At the same time he wrote to the ambassador that the king would have things so carried that all occasion of discontent or cavilling, whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore desired that another cardinal might be sent legate to England, and joined in commission with himself for judging the matter.

And in April following "the pope did, in consistory," says Bishop Burnet, "declare Cardinal Campegio legate to go to England, that he, with the Cardinal of York [Wolsey], might try the validity of the king's marriage; but that cardinal made great excuses. He was then legate at Rome, in which he' had such advantages that he had no mind to enter into a business which must for ever engage either the emperor or the king against him," and it was not till many months after that he set out for England.

In the meantime, we find Anne Boleyn writing to Wolsey as follows:—

"My Lord,

" In my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold to trouble you with my simple and ruder writing, esteeming it to proceed from her, that is much desirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night, is never like to be recompensed on my part, but only in loving you next unto the King's Grace, above all creatures living.

"And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same.

"I do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the legate; for I do hope, and they come from you, they shall be very good; and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not; and thus remaining in steadfast hope, I make an end of my letter, written with hand of her that is most bound to be.

"'The writer of this letter [adds the king with his own hand] would not leave till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand ; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good

part. I ensure you there is neither of us but greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have escaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, especially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do.

"'The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France causeth us somewhat to muse, notwithstanding, we trust, by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God), shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the writer would. By your

"'Loving sovereign and friend,
"'HENRY K.'

"'Your humble servant,
"'ANNE BOLEYN.'"

This is one of two letters written by Anne Boleyn to Wolsey, "from which," says Bishop Burnet, "it appears, not only that the king had then resolved to marry her, but that the cardinal [Wolsey] was privy to it.

"They bear no date, but the matter of them shows they were written after the end of May [1528], when the sweating sickness began, and about the time that the legate was expected."

Katherine also, anticipating the arrival of the legate, had been in communication with the emperor and his brother Ferdinand, and "they having a mind," continues the bishop, "to perplex the king's affairs, advised her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a religious life; and gave her assurance that by their interest at Rome they would support her, and maintain her daughter's title, if it went to extremities."

Landing in October, a further delay of some months followed. In his speech at his first audience the cardinal called the king "The deliverer of the pope, and the city of Rome," with the highest compliments due to the occasion.

"But," says Bishop Burnet, "when he was admitted to a private conference with the king and Wolsey, he used many arguments to dissuade the king from prosecuting the matter any further. This the king took very ill, as if his errand had been rather to confirm than annul his marriage. But the legate studied to qualify, and shewed the decretal bull, by which he might see that though the pope wished rather that the business might come to a more friendly conclusion, yet if the king could not be brought to that, he was empowered to grant him all that he desired. But he could not be brought to part with the decretal bull out of his hands, or to leave it for a minute, either with the king or Wolsey, saying that it was granted on these terms to let the king see how well the pope was affected to him.

"With all this the king was much dissatisfied; but to encourage him again, the legate told him he was to speak to the queen in the pope's name, to induce her to enter into a religious life, and to make the vows. But when he proposed that to her, she answered him modestly that she could not dispose of herself but by the advice of her nephews."

The pope, appealed to, denied that the cardinal had any order from him to delay his proceedings, but that by virtue of his commission they might go on and pass sentence.

Pressed again, to allow the cardinal to show the bull to some of the king's council, " complaining of Campegio's stiffness in refusing it, and that he would not trust it to the Cardinal of York [Wolsey], who was his equal in the commission.

"To this the pope answered, in passion, that he could shew the Cardinal Campegio's letter, in which he assures him that the bull should only be shewed to the king and himself; and that if it were not granted, he was ruined; therefore to preserve him he had sent it, but ordered it to be burnt when it was once shewed."

Further communications with his holiness followed, and later on the emperor, adding to the difficulties, "protested, in the name of the queen, that she refused to submit to the legates. The one was the king's chief minister, and her mortal enemy; the other was also justly suspected, since he had a bishoprick in England [Salisbury]"; and for a time the pope was ill.

In January it was rumoured with joy that there would be no divorce; that Campegio served the pope well, and that the blame of all was laid on Wolsey, whose credit with the king was sinking.

However, by the following May the pope appears to have waived his objection to the bull being made public, and on the 31st of that month the legates commenced their proceedings.

"They sat in a room," Bishop Burnet tells us, "called the Parliament Chamber, near the church of Black Friars.

"The Bishop of Lincoln presented to them the bull, by which the pope empowered them to try and judge in the cause concerning the king and queen's marriage, whether the issue of it was legitimate or not.

"The legates, after reading of the bull, took it into their hands, and saw it was true and untouched bull, so they took upon them to execute it; and they ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear before them on the 18th of June; and appointed that the Bishop of Lincoln should cite the king, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells the queen.

"On the 18th, the form of the citation was brought before them, in which the bull was inserted at full length, and the two bishops certified that they had served the citation both on the king and queen on the 15th; and Sampson, dean of the chapel, and Dr. Bell, appeared with a proxy from the king in due form; but the queen appeared personally, and read an instrument, by which she declined the legates, as not competent judges, and adhered to an appeal she had made to the pope. Upon reading this she withdrew, and though she was required to return, she had no regard to it, upon which they pronounced her contumacious."

Although Henry is here said to have been represented by proxy, historians, contrary to Bishop Burnet's view, agree that, on the refusal of the legates to admit her appeal, Katherine Hung herself at the king's feet, and addressing him, said :—

"Sire, I beseech you to pity me, a woman and a stranger, without an assured friend and without an indifferent counsellor. I take God to witness that I have always been to you a true and loyal wife, that I have made it my constant duty to seek your pleasure, that I have

loved all whom you loved, whether they are friends to me or foes. I have been your wife for years, I have brought you many children. God knows that when I came to your bed I was a virgin, and I put it to your own conscience to say whether it was not so. If there be any offence which can be alleged against me, I consent to depart with infamy; if not, then I pray you to do me justice."

The above, taken from his work, Green goes on to say: "The piteous appeal was wasted on a king' who was already entertaining Anne Boleyn with royal state in his own palace.

"The case proceeded; but Clement, who was now wholly in the emperor's hands, had already cited it before him at Rome ; and the legates, though as yet ignorant of the pope's decision, eventually decided on an adjournment, for the purpose of consulting him as to the judgment they should pronounce."

CHAPTER XXXII.

RETURNING to the Bishop's narrative, "On the 21st of June the legates ordered the Bishop of Bath and Wells to serve the queen with a monition and a peremptory citation, certifying that if she did not appear, they would proceed in the cause.

"And on the 25th of June the Bishop certified upon oath that he had served the citation, but that the queen adhered to her protestation; so she was judged contumacious, and as she never came more into the court, so the king was never in it.

"The next step made was, that the legates exhibited twelve articles, setting forth the whole progress of the queen's first and second marriage, and of the dispensations obtained from Rome, all grounded upon public fame ; and the queen was ordered to be cited again on the 28th of June. But she, not appearing, was again judged contumacious.

"The king's answer to the articles was laid before them, in which, by his answer to the seventh, it appeared that he was married to the queen by virtue of a papal dispensation.

" On the 5th of July the king's proctors brought the bull of Pope Julius, dispensing with the impediments in the marriage, as likewise the copy of the breve [Henry and Catherine's petition], of which the original was in Spain. The legates ordered more witnesses to be sworn on the 9th of July; and additional articles were offered, in which it was set forth that impediments lay aginst the marriage in both the divine and the ecclesiastical laws; so that it could not be maintained by the dispensations, and that they were of no force, but were null and void.

" Then they set forth all the objections formerly made against the bull; by which it appeared that the pope was surprised by the false suggestions made to him, on which he granted it; and in particular, that there was no war, nor appearance of war, between England and Spain at the time. They did also set forth the presumptions, on which they concluded that the breve was not a genuine, but a forged piece.

"On the 12th of July, commission was given to examine the witnesses. On the 14th, additional articles were brought in; and on the 16th of July, the king's proctors were required to bring out all instruments whatsoever, relating to the articles, before the legates; and another commission was given to examine some absent witnesses.

"On the 19th of July, publication was made of the depositions of the witnesses; by which it appears that Warham, in his examination, said he referred the matter of the lawfulness of the king's marriage to divines; but he himself believed that it was contrary both to the laws of God and to the ecclesiastical laws, and that otherwise there was no need of a dispensation from the pope.

"He confesses there were great murmurings against the marriage, and that he himself murmured against it, and thought it detestable and unnatural; and that he had expostulated with the Bishop of Winchester for his advising it, but he acquiesced when the pope's dispensation was obtained. Other witnesses proved that there was no war between England and Spain when the dispensation was granted. It was likewise proved that the preamble of the bull was false, and that the breve was a forgery.

“On the 21st, the protestation the king had made, that he did not intend to marry the queen, was read and proved. With that the king’s council closed their evidence, and demanded a final sentence; so the 23rd of July was assigned for concluding the cause.

“On that day the king’s proctor moved that judgment should be given; but Cardinal Campegio did affirm, on the faith of a true prelate, that the harvest vacation was then begun in Rome, and that they were bound to follow the practice of the consistory; so he adjourned the court to the 28th of September.”

The foregoing particulars are taken from Bishop Burnet’s interesting work, vol. 3, pages 67—70, and his account, he tells us, was compiled from the original “ Register of the Legates’ Proceedings,” lent him by Dr. More, Bishop of Ely, who had gathered together a most valuable treasure both of printed books and manuscripts.

A summary, rather than a verbatim report, the Register omits reference to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and other temporal lords present, information the bishop gives in an earlier account of the proceedings, when as yet he had not met with the Register.

From that account we learn that when, at the meeting of the 21st of July, “the king’s counsel desired, in the king’s name, sentence might be given, Campegio, protesting that it was fit some interval should be between that and the sentence, put it off till the 23rd, being Friday.

“On Friday there was a great appearance and a general expectation; but, by a strange surprise, Campegio adjourned the court to the 1st of October, for which he pretended that they sate there as a part of the consistory of Rome, and that therefore must follow the rules of that court, which, from that time till October, was in a vacation, and heard no causes; and this he averred to be true on the word of a true prelate.

“The king was in a chamber very near, where he heard what passed, and was inexpressibly surprised at it. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were in court, and complained much of this delay, and pressed the legate to give sentence.

“Campegio answered, that what they might then pronounce would be of no force, as being in vacation-time; but gave great hopes of a favourable sentence in the beginning of October. Upon which the lords spake very high.

“And the Duke of Suffolk, with great commotion, swore ‘by the mass, that he saw it was true which had been commonly said, that never cardinal yet did good in England’; and so all the temporal lords went away in fury, leaving the legates [Wolsey especially] in no small perplexity.”

To the unpardonable remark of the Duke of Suffolk, his bitter enemy, “ Wolsey,” says Green, “ boldly retorted, ‘You, my lord duke, have the least reason to dispraise cardinals, for if I, a poor cardinal, had not been, you would not now have had a bead on your shoulders wherewith to make such a brag in disrepute of us.’ But both the cardinal and his enemies knew that the minister’s doom was sealed.”

“Wolsey knew,” continues the bishop, “it would be suspected that he understood this beforehand, and that it would be to no purpose for him either to say he did not know or could not help it, all apologies being ill heard by an enraged prince.

“ Campegio had not much to lose in England but his bishopric of Salisbury and the reward he expected from the king, which he knew the emperor and the pope would plentifully make up to him.

“But his colleague was in a worse condition. He had much to fear, because he had much to lose; for as the king had severely chid him for the delays of the business, so he was now to expect a heavy storm from him; and, after so long an administration of affairs by so insolent a favourite, it was not to be doubted but, as many of his enemies were joining against him, so matter must needs be found to work his ruin with a prince that was alienated from him.

“But the king governed himself with more temper than could have been expected from a man of his humour, and not long after he received from the pope a breve to the legates, requiring them to proceed no further, and with an avocation of the cause to Rome, together with letters citatory to the king and queen to appear there in person, or by their proxies.

“ Advertised of which, the king made Gardiner (who was then secretary of state) write to Wolsey ‘That the king would not have the letters citatory executed, or the commission discharged by virtue of them; but that upon the pope’s breve to them, they should declare their commission void; for he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his crown as a citation to be made to appear in another court, nor let his subjects imagine that he was to be cited out of his kingdom.

“This was the first step that he made for the lessening of the pope’s power; upon which, the two cardinals, for they were legates no longer, went to the king at Grafton.

“It was generally expected that Wolsey should have been disgraced then, for not only the king was offended with him, but he received new informations of his having juggled in the business, and that he secretly advised the pope to do what was done. Yet when the cardinal with his colleague came to court, they were received by the king with very hearty expressions of kindness; and Wolsey was often in private with him, sometimes in presence of the council, and sometimes alone, and when they took leave he sent them away very obligingly.

“Anne Boleyn was now brought to the court again, out of which she had been dismissed for some time for silencing the noise that her being at court during the process would have occasioned; and all her former kindness to the cardinal was now turned to enmity, so that she was not wanting in her endeavours to pull him down.”

Well had it been for Anne had she never left home again. In less than seven fleeting years—though married, crowned, and favoured with a child in the time—she was beheaded by the king her husband, the greater sinner.

And what thought the nation? Well, on the question of divorce, “In the judgment that people passed,” Bishop Burnet tells us, “the men generally approved the king’s course, and the women favoured [Katherine] the queen.”

It was, as already intimated, an evil age, which nothing but a reformed religion could cure; and no wonder, when the Bible, the Lord’s Prayer, and the ten commandments were, by the bishops— all Catholics at this time—forbidden, on pain of death, to be taught in the homes of the people or elsewhere.

While for their spiritual guides they had a clergy who, loving “darkness rather than light,” lived immoral lives, as we have already seen.

It was while meditating as to what should be his next proceeding in regard to the divorce, that Henry heard of Cranmer, then a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and much esteemed in the » university for his learning.

“Cranmer was at this time,” Bishop Burnet tells us, “forced to fly out of Cambridge from a plague that was there, and having the sons of one Mr. Cressy, of Waltham Cross, committed to his charge, he went with his pupils to their father’s house at Waltham.

Here he unexpectedly met at supper with Gardiner, the king’s secretary, and Fox, his almoner, and discussing together the divorce question, Cranmer made the observation that, “instead of a long, fruitless negotiation at Rome, it were better to consult all the learned men, and the universities, of Christendom; for if they once declared it in the king’s favour, then the pope must needs give judgment; or otherwise, the bull being of itself null and void, the marriage would be found sinful, notwithstanding the pope’s dispensation.”

This told to Henry, “he was much affected, and would needs have Cranmer sent for to court, saying, in his coarse way of speaking, ‘That he had got the sow by the right ear.’

“ So he was sent for to court, and being brought before the king, he carried himself so that the king conceived a high opinion of his judgment and candour, which he preserved to his death, and still paid a respect to him, beyond all the other churchmen that were about him; and though he made more use of Gardiner in his business, whom he found a man of great dexterity and cunning, yet he never had any respect for him; but for Cranmer, though the king knew that in many things he differed from, yet he always reverenced him.”

The king made him a royal chaplain, and it was not long before he was looked on as a rising churchman, and the rather because the cardinal was now declining; for in the following Michaelmas term the king sent for the great seal, which Wolsey at first was not willing to part with. But the next day the king wrote to him, and he presently delivered it to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and it was given to Sir Thomas More, who was not only eminent in his own profession, but in all other learning, and was much esteemed for the strictness of his life, and his contempt of money.

Soon after, Hales, the attorney-general, put in an information against Wolsey in the King’s Bench, bearing, that notwithstanding the statute of Richard II. against the procuring bulls from Rome, under the pains of premuuire, yet he had procured bulls for his Legantine power, which he had for many years executed; and some particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more.

To this Wolsey put in his answer, by his attorney, and confessed the indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the statute, and submitted himself to the king's mercy. Upon this, it was declared that he was out of the king's protection, and that he had forfeited his goods and chattels to the king, and that his person might be seized on.

There was his rich palace of York House, now known as Whitehall, with all that vast wealth and royal furniture he had heaped together, which was beyond anything that had ever been seen in England before.

But it seems the king had not a mind to destroy him outright, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the terror of that would have any influence on the pope; therefore, on the 21st of November, the king granted him first his protection, and then his pardon, and restored him to the Archbishopric of York, and many kind messages were sent him, both by the king and Anne Boleyn.

Returning to the bishop, he goes on to say that, "as Wolsey had carried his greatness with most extravagant pride, his enemies had gone too far ever to suffer a man of his parts or temper to return to favour. And they so ordered it that a high charge of many articles was brought against him, into the House of Lords, and it passed there, where he had but few friends and many great enemies. But when the charge was sent to the House of Commons, it was so managed by the industry of Cromwell [now the king's secretary], who had been his servant, that it came to nothing. The heads of it related chiefly to his Legantine power, contrary to law, to his insolence and ambition, his lewd life, and other things that were brought to defame as well as destroy him. But the king found they took little notice of him at Rome. The emperor hated him, and the pope did not love him. So in Easter week he was ordered to go north, and accordingly he went to Cawood, in Yorkshire."

"But," says Green, "hardly a year had passed before his popularity in the north survived the jealousy of his political rivals, and on the eve of his installation-feast he was arrested on a charge of high treason, and conducted by the Lieutenant of the Tower towards London.

"Already broken by his enormous labours, by internal disease, and the sense of his fall, the old man accepted the arrest as a sentence of death. An attack of dysentery forced him to rest at the Abbey of Leicester, and as he reached the gate he said feebly to the brethren who met him, 'I am come to lay my bones among you.'

"On his death-bed his thoughts still clung to the prince whom he had served. ' He is a prince,' said the dying man to the Lieutenant of the Tower, 'of a most royal courage. Sooner than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom; and I do assure you I have often kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetites, and could not prevail.

"'And, master Knygton, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is my due reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince.'"

"The cardinal died," Bishop Burnet tells us, "the 29th of November, 1530, and was the greatest instance that several ages had shown of the variety and inconstancy of human

things, both in his rise and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatness, and deserved what he suffered.”

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RETURNING to Cranmer, the king, after listening to his discourse, commanded him to write a book on the divorce question for his opinion, and confirm it with as much authority as he could.

"He was also recommended," Bishop Burnet tells us, "to the care of the Earl of Wiltshire, to which honour the king advanced Sir Thomas Boleyn,[1] in the right of his mother, and in the beginning of the next year he published his book.

"Richard Crooke, who was tutor to the Duke of Richmond, was sent to Italy, and others were sent to France and Germany, to consult the divines, canonists, and other learned men in the universities, about the king's business; while the king wrote to the two universities in England to send him their conclusions.

"At this time the Earl of Wiltshire and Stokesley [Bishop of London] were sent by the king into Italy, ambassadors both to the pope and emperor. Cranmer went with them to justify his book in both these courts, and Stokesley brought full instructions to Crooke to search the writings of most of the fathers on a great many passages of the scripture; and, in particular, to try what they wrote on that law in Deuteronomy, which provided 'That when one died without children, his brother should marry his wife to raise up children to him.'

" This was most pressed against the king by all that were for the queen, as either an abrogation of the other law in Leviticus, or at least a dispensation with it in that particular case."

Cranmer, writing to Crooke, later on, tells him: "As for our successes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any man's mind, because of the pope; nor is he content with what you have done; and he says, no friars shall discuss his power; and as for any favour in this court, I look for none, but to have the pope with all his cardinals declare against us."

Clement, however, though unconvinced by Cranmer's arguments, gave him the honorary title of "Supreme Penitentiary."

"The appeal to the learned opinion of Christendom ended in utter defeat," says Green.

"In France the profuse bribery of the English agents would have failed with the university of Paris but for the interference of Francis himself. As shameless an exercise of Henry's own authority was required to wring an approval of his cause from Oxford and Cambridge.

"In Germany the very protestants, in the fervour of their moral revival, were dead against the king. So far as could be seen from Cranmer's test, every learned man in Christendom condemned Henry's cause."

1The father of Anne Boleyn, and a man of great wealth, who had married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the first Duke of Norfolk,

While from the bishop we learn, that in England, “in the judgment that people passed, the sexes were divided, the men generally approved the king’s cause, and the women favoured the queen.

“But now,” continues the bishop, “the session of Parliament came on the 16th January [1531], and there the king first brought into the House of Lords the determination of the universities, and the books that were written for his cause by foreigners.

“After they were read and considered there, the Lord Chancellor did, on the 20th of March, with twelve lords both of the spirituality and temporality, go down to the House of Commons, and shewed them what the universities and learned men beyond sea had written for the divorce.

“The matter was also brought before the Convocation; and they, having weighed all that was said on both sides, seemed satisfied that the marriage was unlawful, and that the bull was of no force; more not being required at that time.

“But it is not strange that this matter went so easily in the Convocation, when another of far greater consequence passed there. Cardinal Wolsey, by exercising his Legantine authority, had fallen into a premunire, as hath already been shewn, and now those who had appeared in his courts, and had suits there, were found to be likewise in the same guilt by the law; and this matter, being excepted out of the pardon that was granted in the former Parliament, was at this time set on foot; therefore an indictment was brought into the King’s Bench, against all the clergy of England, for breaking the statutes against provisions or provisors.

“And as Cardinal Wolsey was already brought under the lash for it, so it was now made use of, partly to give the court of Rome apprehensions of what they were to expect from the king if they went on to use him ill, and partly to proceed severely against all those of the clergy who adhered obstinately to the interest of that court, and to make the rest compound the matter, both by a full submission and a considerable subsidy.

“It was in vain to pretend it was a public and allowed error, and that the king had not only connived at Wolsey’s proceedings, but had made him all that while his chief minister. For to all this it was answered, that the laws were still in force, and that their ignorance could not excuse them, since they ought to have known the law. The king, however, was willing, upon a reasonable composition, and a full submission, to pardon them.”

The clergy of the province of Canterbury would receive their pardon only upon payment of £ 100,000, “a very considerable fine,” says Froude, “amounting to more than a million of our money. Eighteen thousand pounds was required simultaneously from the province of York, and the whole sum was to be paid in instalments spread over a period of five years.

“ The demand was serious, but the clergy had no alternative but to submit or to risk the chances of the law; and feeling that, with the people so unfavourably disposed towards them, they had no chance of a more equitable construction of their position, they consented with a tolerable grace, the Upper House of Convocation first, the Lower following. Their debates upon the subject have not been preserved.

“In the preamble of the subsidy bill, under which they were to levy their ransom, they were required by the council to designate the king by the famous title which gave occasion for such momentous consequences, of Protector and only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy.

“Archbishop Warham, just drawing his life to a close, presided for the last time in the miserable scene, imagining that clouds were gathering for the storm of the latter day, and that Antichrist was coming in his power.

“ There had been a debate of three days, whether they should or should not consent, when, on the 9th of February, a deputation of the judges appeared in Convocation, to ask whether the Houses were agreed, and to inform them finally the king had determined to allow no qualifications.

“The clergy begged for one day more, and the following morning the bishops held a private meeting among themselves, to discuss some plan to turn aside the blow. They desired to see Cromwell, and after an interview with the minister, they sent two of their number, the Bishops of Exeter and Lincoln, but in vain; the king would not see them. They had seen only the judges, who had assured them that the pardon was not to be settled until the supremacy was admitted.

“The answer was communicated to the House, and again debated. They attempted another appeal, suggesting that eight of their number should have a conference with the privy council, and discover, if they might, some possible expedient; but Henry replied, as before, that he would have a clear answer, ‘yes’ or ‘no.’ They might say ‘yes,’ and their pardon was ready. They might say ‘no,’ and accept the premunire and its penalties.

“And now, what should the clergy have done? No very great courage was required to answer, ‘This thing is wrong; it is against God’s will, and therefore it must not be, whether premunire come or do not come.’ They might have said it, and if they could have dared this little act of courage, victory was in their hands. With the cause against them so doubtful, their very attitude would have commanded back the sympathies of half the nation, and the king’s threats would have exploded as an empty sound.

“They hesitated for another night. The day following, the archbishop submitted the clause containing the title to the Upper House, with a saving paragraph, which, as Burnet sententiously[2] observes, the nature of things did require to be supposed—‘We recognise the King’s Majesty to be our only sovereign lord, the singular protector of the church and clergy of England, and, as far as is allowed by the law of Christ, also as our supreme head.’

The words were read aloud by the archbishop, and were received in silence. ‘Do you assent?’ he asked. The House remained speechless. ‘Whoever is silent seems to consent,’ the archbishop said. A voice answered out of the crowd, ‘Then are we all silent.’ They separated for a few hours to collect themselves.

“In the afternoon sitting they discussed the sufficiency of the subterfuge, and at length agreeing that it saved their consciences, the clause was finally passed, the Bishop of Rochester, among the rest, giving his unwilling acquiescence.

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2 In short sentences; with striking brevity.

"The pardon was immediately submitted to Parliament, where it was embodied in a statute."

Bishop Burnet, writing at greater length, tells us that "When the king's pardon for the clergy was brought into -the House of Commons, they were much troubled to find themselves not within it; for by the statutes of provisions many of them were also liable, and they apprehended that either they might be brought into trouble, or at least it might be made use of to draw a subsidy from them. They therefore prayed the king, through their speaker, that they might be comprehended within it, and, after considering the matter for some time, he sent another pardon to all his temporal subjects of their transgressions of the statutes, which they received with great joy.

" During this session of Parliament," continues the bishop, "an unheard of crime was committed by one Richard Rouse, a cook, who, on the 16th of February, poisoned a vessel of yeast that was to be used in porridge in the Bishop of Rochester's kitchen, with which seventeen persons of his family were mortally infected, and one of the gentlemen died of it; and some poor people, that were charitably fed with the remainder of it, were also infected, one woman dying.

"The person was apprehended, and by Act of Parliament poisoning was declared treason, and Rouse was attainted, and sentenced to be boiled to death, that the terror of his punishment might strike a horror in all persons at such an unexampled crime. And the sentence was executed in Smithfield soon after."

Commenting upon this, "The English were a stern people," says Froude,—"a people knowing little of compassion where no lawful ground existed for it; but they were possessed of an awful and solemn horror of evil things. The spectacle of a living human being boiled to death was really witnessed three hundred years ago by the London citizens, within the walls of that old cattle market, Smithfield, an example terrible indeed, the significance of which is not easily to be exhausted. For the poisoners of the soul, there was the stake; for the poisoners of the body, the boiling cauldron— the two most fearful punishments for the most fearful of crimes. The stake at which the heretic suffered was an inherited institution descending through the usages of centuries; the poisoner's cauldron was the fresh expression of the judgment of the English nation on a novel enormity.

"And I have called attention to it because the temper which this act exhibits is the key to all which has seemed most dark and cruel in the rough years which followed."

The motive for committing the terrible crime appears not to have been discovered. It was conjectured, however, by Queen Katherine's friends, that the cook had been bribed by Anne Boleyn, or by one of her party, to remove out of the way the most influential of the English opponents to the divorce, namely, Bishop Fisher.

Returning to Bishop Burnet, he tells us that "When the session of Parliament was over, the king continued to ply the queen with all the applications he could think of, to depart from her appeal [to Rome]. He grew very melancholy, and used no sort of diversion, but was observed to be very pensive. Yet nothing could prevail with the queen. She answered the lords of the council, when they pressed her much to it, 'that she prayed God to send the king a quiet conscience, but that she was his lawful wife, and would abide by it till the court of

Rome declared the contrary.' Upon which the king forbore to see her, or to receive any tokens from her, and sent her word to choose where she had a mind to live, in any of his manors. She answered that to which place soever she was removed, 'nothing could remove her from being his wife.' Upon this answer the king left her, the 14th of July [1531], and never saw her again. She removed first to More, then to Ampthill, where she stayed longer."

"The More," we learn from Froude, "was a house in Hertfordshire, which had been built by George Neville, Archbishop of York, and had belonged to Wolsey, who had maintained it with his usual splendour.

"Once more," continues Froude, "an attempt was made to persuade the queen to submit, but with no better result, and a formal establishment was then provided for her at Ampthill, a large place belonging to Henry, not far from Dunstable. There at least she was her own mistress, surrounded by her own friends [and her daughter Mary], who were true to her as queen."

On January 15th, 1532, the Convocation and the Parliament met simultaneously, "and the conflict," says Froude, "which had been for two years in abeyance, recommenced.

"The initial measure was taken by Convocation, and this body showed a spirit still unsubdued, and a resolution to fight in their own feebly tyrannical manner to the last.

"A gentleman in Gloucestershire had lately died, by name Tracey. In his last testament [will] he had bequeathed his soul to God through the mercies of Christ, declining the mediatorial offices of the saints, and leaving no money to be expended in masses. Such notorious heresy could not be passed over with impunity, and the first step of the assembled clergy was to issue a commission to raise the body and burn it.[3]

"The Archbishop of Canterbury seems to have been responsible for this monstrous order, which unfortunately was carried into execution before Henry had time to interfere. Warham was, however," the historian adds in a foot-note, "fined £300 for it. The king had committed the investigation of the matter to Cromwell.

"It was the last act of the kind, however, in which the archbishop was permitted to indulge, and the legislature made haste to take away such authority from hands so incompetent to use it.

"From their debates upon burning the dead Tracey, Convocation were proceeding to discuss the possibility of burning the living Latimer, when they were recalled to their senses by a summons to prepare some more reasonable answer than that which the bishops had made for them on their privilege of making laws.

"Twenty more years of work were to be lived by Latimer before they were to burn him, and their own delinquencies were for the present of a more pressing nature."

Bishop Burnet, referring to matters brought before Convocation at this time, tells us that "Latimer was required by Convocation to subscribe some articles, and, refusing to do so, was in this year excommunicated and appointed to be kept in safe custody at Lambeth.

3 Further particulars relating to this will be found later on.

"The king, however, remitted him to the archbishop, and, upon submission, he was received to the sacraments. This was done at the desire of the king, but some bishops protested because the submission did not import a renunciation usual in such cases."
The doctrines preached at this time—and it was heresy to preach otherwise—will be seen in the following articles subscribed by Latimer:—

"That there was purgatory; that the souls in it were profited by masses said for them; that the saints are now in heaven, and as mediators pray for us; that men ought to pray to them and honour them; that pilgrimages were pious and meritorious; that men who vowed chastity might not marry without the pope's dispensation; that the keys of binding and loosing were given to St. Peter, and to his successors, though their lives were bad, and not at all to the laity; that men merited by prayers, fasting, and other good works; that priests prohibited by the bishop should not preach till they were purged and restored; that the seven sacraments conferred grace; that consecrations and benedictions used by the church were good; that it was good and profitable to set up the images of Christ and the saints in the churches, and to adore them and burn candles before them; and that kings were not obliged to give their people the Scriptures in a vulgar tongue.

"There was as yet no dispute about the presence of Christ in the sacrament, which was first called in question by Frith. Hitherto the Convocation had only seen Luther's works, with those written by his followers.

"But at this time there was another memorable instance of the clergy's cruelty against the dead bodies of those whom they suspected of heresy. The common style of wills and testaments at that time was : ' First I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, and to our Lady Saint Mary, and to all the saints in heaven'; but one William Tracey [just referred to], of Worcestershire, dying, left a will of a far different strain; for he bequeathed his soul only to God through Jesus Christ, to whose intercession alone he trusted without the help of any other saint; therefore he left no part of his goods to have any pray for his soul.'

"This being brought into the Convocation by the prolocutor, he was condemned as an heretic, and an order was sent to Parker, Chancellor of Worcester, to raise his body.[4]

"The officious chancellor went beyond his order, and burnt the body; but the record bears, that though he might, by the warrant he had, raise the body according to the law of the church, yet he had no authority to burn it. So, two years after, Tracey's heirs sued him for it, and he was turned out of his office of chancellor, and fined £400.

"There is another instance of the cruelty of the clergy this year. One Thomas Harding, of Buckinghamshire, an ancient man, who had adjured in the year 1506, was now observed to go often into the woods, and was seen sometimes reading. Upon which his house was searched, and some parcels of the New Testament in English were found in it. So he was carried before Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, who, as he was a cruel persecutor, and being the king's confessor, acted with the more authority.

"This aged man was judged a relapse, and sent to Chesham, where he lived, to be burnt. At this time there was an indulgence of forty days' pardon proclaimed to all that

4 Convocation Records say: "The 13th May [1531], the Archbishop appointed the Chancellor of Worcester to raise Tracey's body."

carried a fagot to the burning of an heretic, so dexterously did the clergy endeavour to infect the laity with their own cruel spirit; and that wrought upon this occasion a signal effect, for as the fire was kindled, one flung a fagot at the old man’s head, which dashed out his brains.”

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE John Frith, to whom we have just made a passing reference, was a young and fervent Lutheran, and had offended the clergy by several writings, particularly so by a discourse he wrote against the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament.

"The substance of his argument was," says Bishop Burnet, "that Christ in the sacrament gave eternal life, but the receiving the bare sacrament did not give eternal life, since many took it to their damnation; therefore Christ's presence there was only felt by faith.

"This he further proved by the fathers before Christ, who did eat the same spiritual food, and drank of the rock, which was Christ, according to St. Paul; since then, they and we communicate in the same thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Christ's flesh corporeally, but fed by faith on a Messias to come, as Christians do on a Messias already come.

"He insisted much on the signification of the word sacrament, from whence he concluded that the elements must be the mystical signs of Christ's body and blood; for if they were truly the flesh and blood of Christ, they should not be sacraments. He concluded that the ends of the sacrament were these three: by a visible action to knit the society of Christians together in one body; to be a means of conveying grace upon our due participating of them; and to be remembrances to stir up men to bless God for that unspeakable love which in the death of Christ appeared to mankind.

"To all these ends the corporeal presence of Christ availed nothing, they being sufficiently answered by a mystical presence; yet he drew no other conclusion from these premises but that the corporeal presence in the sacrament was no necessary article of faith.

"This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a persuasion in the matter, or that he chose in that modest style to encounter an opinion of which the world was so fond, that to have opposed it in downright words would have given prejudices against all that he could say.

"The work found favour with Cranmer, but More wrote against it, and Frith, replying, began with confirming what he had delivered about the fathers before Christ, their feeding on his body in the same manner that Christians do since his death. This he proved from Scripture and several places of St. Austin's works. He proved also from Scripture that, after the consecration, the elements were still bread and wine, and were so called both by our Saviour and his apostles; that our senses show they are not changed in their natures, and that they are still subject to corruption, which can in no way be said of the body of Christ.

"He proved that the eating of Christ's flesh, in the 6th of St. John, cannot be applied to the sacrament; since the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the flesh of Christ, otherwise they should have eternal life. He showed also that the sacrament coming in the room of the Jewish paschal lamb, we must understand Christ's words, 'This is my body,' in the same sense in which it was said, that the lamb was the Lord's passover.

" He confirmed this by many passages, cited of Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Jerome, Austin, Fulgentius, Eusebius, and some later writers, as Beda, Bertram, and Druthmar, who did all assert that the elements retained their former natures, and were

only the mysteries, signs, and figures of the body and blood of Christ.

"But Gelasius's words seemed so remarkable, that they could not but determine the controversy, especially considering he was bishop of Rome. He therefore, writing against the Eutychians, who thought the human nature of Christ was changed into the divine, says:—

'"That as the elements of bread and wine, being consecrated to be the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, did not cease to be bread and wine in substance, but continued in their own proper natures,' so the human nature of Christ continued still, though it was united to the divine nature. This was a manifest indication of the belief of the church in that age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high rhetorical expressions.

"He brought, likewise, several testimonies out of the fathers to show that they knew nothing of the consequences that follow transubstantiation; of a body being in more places at once, or being in a place after the manner of a spirit; or of the worship to be given to the sacrament.

"Upon this he digresses, and says that the German divines believed in a corporeal presence; yet since that was only an opinion that rested in their minds, and did not carry along with it any corruption of the worship, or idolatrous practice, it was to be borne with, and the peace of the church was not to be broken for it; but the case of the church of Rome was very different, which had set up gross idolatry, building it upon this doctrine.

"Frith's was the first book that was written on this subject in England by any of the reformers. And from hence it may appear upon what solid and mighty reasons they then began to shake the received opinion of transubstantiation, and with how much learning this controversy was managed by him who first undertook it.

"One thing was singular in Frith's opinion, that he thought there should be no contest made about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament; for whatever opinion men held in speculation, if it went not to a practical error, which was the adoration of it, for that was idolatry in his opinion, there were no disputes to be made about it."

This, with the mass, soon became the all-absorbing question of the day, and it was in defence of Frith's doctrine that, in Queen Mary's reign, George Marsh was burnt at Chester in less than twenty-two years after. And even now the clergy lost no time in sending to the stake Frith and any of his followers whom they could discover.

" Frith was apprehended in May, 1533, and brought before the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, and in the end judged an obstinate heretic, and was delivered to the secular power, one clause in this sentence being as follows :—

"'Most earnestly requiring, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may so moderate, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, and to the unity of the catholic faith.'

"This was thought a scorning of God and men, when those who knew that he was to be burnt, and intended it should be so, yet used such an obtestation by the bowels of Jesus

Christ, that the rigour might not be extreme.

"He was burnt in Smithfield the 4th of July, 1534, and one Andrew Hewet with him, who also denied the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"This Hewet was an apprentice, and went to the meetings of these preachers, and was twice betrayed by some spies whom the bishop's officers had among them, who discovered many.

"When they were brought to the stake, Frith expressed joy at his approaching martyrdom, and in transport of it hugged the faggots in his arms, as the instruments that were to send him to his eternal rest. One Dr. Cook, a parson of London, called to the people that they should not pray for them any more than they would for a dog.[1] At which Frith smiled, and prayed God to forgive him. So the fire was set to, and they were consumed to ashes.

"This cruelty of the clergy against men's lives was much condemned. It was thought an unheard-of barbarity to burn a moderate and learned young man, only because he would not acknowledge some of their doctrines to be articles of faith.

"But the clergy were now so bathed in blood that they seemed to have stripped themselves of those impressions of piety and compassion which are natural to mankind. They therefore held on in their severe courses till the Act of Parliament did effectually restrain them."

"It is affecting to know," says Froude, "that Frith's writings were instruments of Cranmer's conversion later on], and the fathers of the Anglican church have left a monument of their sorrow for the shedding of this innocent blood in the order of the Communion Service, which closes with the very words on which the primate, with his brother bishops, had sat in judgment."

The historian adds here the following foot-note:—

"'The natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and not here, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one.' The argument and the words in which it is expressed were Frith's.—See Foxe, vol. v., p. 6."

Another able work of Frith went to show that the Bible knew nothing of the priestly assertion that there was a purgatory, and that it was not believed in by the primitive church.

This gave rise to a war of pamphlets on the subject, in which Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and John Rustall, a printer, took part, both violently opposing Frith.

To Rustall's arguments in favour of a purgatory, based on the defects of human repentance in this life, and the consequent necessity of an existence in which souls may be purified before entering a higher state of being, Frith replied that our sins were not pardoned because of the lesser or greater perfection of our repentance, but through our faith in Jesus Christ, his teachings, and his sufferings, and that if our repentance be sincere, and accepted as such by God, its pardon was sufficient, and could not be further punished.

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1 A like expression was used by the Bishop of Chester when he passed sentence of death on George Marsh.

More, the Lord Chancellor, remarking to his friends “that the new preachers prevailed only on simple tradesmen and women, and other illiterate persons,” Frith, hearing of this, calmly told the chancellor that the same objection had been made to the followers of the Saviour, who were fishermen, women, and rude mechanics, and that our Lord had replied to them in saying, “Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.”

All this was eagerly read by the people, delighting in the joy of newly-awakened thought, and poring over the leaves of the Bible as Luther had done not many years before in his narrow cell.

Books from other writers followed. One of these, called “The Supplication of the Beggars,” written by Simon Fish, a lawyer of Gray’s Inn, had a great circulation.

It was in the form of a petition of the beggars to the king, complaining that they, poor helpless people, cripples of various sorts, had the alms taken away from their mouths by regiments of mendicant friars, very able to work, but very unwilling.

The “supplication” concluded with a biting sally at the purgatory dogma- “The pope and his priests,” the beggars said, “were most cruel and hard-hearted people for only delivering those out of purgatory who could afford to pay liberally for the service, leaving the rest of poor moneyless souls to roast at the everlasting fire.”

The clergy, wild with rage at finding this book read by people all over the kingdom, appealed to Henry to punish the author, but in vain.

Anne Boleyn had already made His Majesty acquainted with the work, and its humour had tickled him so much as to make him look upon Simon Fish, of Gray’s Inn, as one of the most deserving of his subjects, almost equal in merit to Hudson, the court fool, who could sit in an apple pie. Vide Nat. His. Eng., vol. 2, pages 354-5.

Going back a little while, Froude, after referring to Tracey’s Testament and the shortcomings of the clergy, goes on to say that: “The House of Commons at the same time proceeded to frame necessary bills on other points of complaints,” and referring to the first of these, he goes on to say: “I have already alluded to the abuse of ‘benefit of clergy.’ We have arrived at the first of those many steps by which at length it was finally put away—a step which did not, however, as yet approach the heart of the evil, but touched only its extreme outworks.

“The exemption from secular jurisdiction, which the clergy obtained in virtue of their sacred character, had been used as a protection in villainy for every scoundrel who could write his name.

“Under this plea, felons of the worst kind might claim, till this time, to be taken out of the hands of the law judges, and to be tried at the bishops’ tribunal; and at these tribunals such a monstrous solecism had Catholicism become, the payment of money was ever welcomed as the ready expiation of crime.

“To prevent the escape of the Bishop of Rochester’s cook, who was a ‘clerk,’ Parliament had specially interfered, and sentenced him without trial, by attainder.

“They now passed a general Act, remarkable alike in what it provided as in what, for the present, it omitted to provide.

“The preamble related the nature of the evil which was to be remedied, and the historical position of it. It dwelt upon the assurances which had been given again and again by the ordinances, that their privileges should not be abused.

“But these promises had been broken as often as they had been made, so that continually manifest thieves and murderers, indicted and found guilty of their misdeeds by good and substantial inquests, and afterwards, by the usages of the common laws of the land, delivered to the ordinaries as clerks convict, are speedily and hastily delivered and set at large by the ministers of the said ordinaries for corruption and lucre.

“To provide such necessary remedy, it was enacted that henceforward no person under the degree of sub-deacon, if guilty of felony, should be allowed to plead ‘his clergy.’ So far as it was possible to go—an enormous step if we think of what the evil had been; and in such matters to make a beginning was the true difficulty.

“The measure, however, if imperfect, was excellent in its degree; and when this had been accomplished, the House proceeded next to deal with the Arches Court—the one enormous grievance of the time.

“The petition of the Commons has already exhibited the condition of this institution. Again, as with the ‘benefit of clergy,’ the real ground for surprise is that any fraction of a system so indefensible should have been permitted to continue. The courts were nothing else but the vicious sources of unjust revenue; and with the opportunity so fairly offered, it is strange indeed that they were not swept utterly away.

“But sweeping measures have never found favour in England.

“Looking with impatience for some large measure of relief, we find Parliament contenting itself with forbidding the bishops, under heavy penalties, to cite any man out of his own diocese, except for specified causes, heresy being one of them, and with limiting the fees which were to be taken by the officers of the courts.

“Another serious matter was dealt with in the same moderate temper. The Mortmain Act had prohibited the church corporations from further absorbing the lands; but the Mortmain Act was evaded in detail, the clergy using their influence to induce persons on their death-beds to leave estates to provide a priest for ever ‘ to sing for their souls.’

“ The arrangement was convenient possibly for both parties, or if not for both, certainly for one; but to tie up lands for ever for a special service was not to the advantage of the country; and it was held unjust to allow a man a perpetual power over the disposition of property to atone for the iniquities of his life.

“But the privilege was not abolished altogether; it was submitted only to reasonable limitations. Men might still burden their lands to find a priest for twenty years. After twenty years the lands were to relapse for the service of the living, and sinners were expected in equity to bear the consequence in their own persons of such offences as remained after that

time unexpiated.

“There remained yet to be disposed of the legislative power of the Convocation and the tyrannical prosecutions for heresy. The last of these was not yet ripe for settlement; the former was under reconsideration by the Convocation itself, which at length was arriving at a truer conception of its position.

“One more important measure, however, was passed by Parliament before it separated, and it is noticeable as the first step which was taken in the momentous direction of a breach with the See of Rome.

“A practice had existed for some hundreds of years in all the churches of Europe, that bishops and archbishops, on presentation to their Sees, should transmit to the pope, on receiving their bulls of investment, one year’s income from their new preferments.

“It was called the payment of annates, or first-fruits, and had originated in the time of the Crusades, as a means of providing a fund for the holy wars. Once established, it had settled into custom, and was one of the chief resources of the papal revenue.

“On Parliament re-assembling after the Easter recess, the two Houses of Convocation presented an address to the crown for the abolition of the impost. That they contemplated a conclusive revolt from Rome, as a consequence of the refusal to pay annates, appears positively in the close of their address. ‘ May it please your Grace,’ they concluded—after detailing their occasions for complaint—‘may it please your Crace to cause the said unjust exactions to cease, and to be foredone for ever by Act of your high court of Parliament, and in case the pope will make process against this realm for the attaining those annates, or else will retain bishops’ bulls till the annates be paid; forasmuch as the exaction of the said annates is against the law of God and the pope’s own laws, forbidding the buying or selling of spiritual gifts or promotions.

“‘And forasmuch as all good Christian men be more bound to obey God than any man; forasmuch as St. Paul willeth us to withdraw from all such as walk inordinately; may it please your Highness to ordain in this present Parliament that the obedience of your Highness and of the people be withdrawn from the See of Rome.’

“The bill was passed, but passed conditionally, leaving power to the crown, if the pope would consent to a compromise, of settling the question by a composition.

“The business of the session was closing. It remained to receive the reply of Convocation on the limitation of its powers. The Convocation, presuming, perhaps, upon its concessions on the annates question, and untamed by the premunire, had framed their answer in the same spirit which had been previously exhibited by the bishops. They had re-asserted their claims as resting on divine authority, and had declined to acknowledge the right of any secular power to restrain or meddle with them. The second answer, as may be supposed, fared no better than the first. It was returned [by the king] with a peremptory demand for submission; and, taught by experience the uselessness of further opposition, the clergy, with a bad grace, complied.

“The form was again drawn by the bishops, and it is amusing to trace the workings of their humble spirit in their reluctant descent from their high estate. They still laboured to

protect their dignity in the terms of their concession.

"'As concerning such constitutions and ordinances,' they wrote, 'as shall be made hereafter by your most humble subjects, we, having our special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal for the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and specially in your incomparable learning, far exceeding in our judgment the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of; and not doubting but that the same should still continue and daily increase in your Majesty, do offer and promise here unto the same, that from henceforth we shall forbear to enact, promulge, or put in execution any such constitutions and ordinances so by us to be made in time coming, unless your Highness by your royal assent shall license us to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions, and the same so made be approved by your Highness's authority,' etc., etc.

"The language of the bishops was converted into an Act of Parliament. A mixed commission was appointed to revise the cannon law, and the clergy, with a few brief strokes, were reduced for ever into their fit position of subjects.

" Thus with moderate hand this great revolution was effected, and, to outward appearance, with offence to none except the sufferers, whose misuse of power when they possessed it deprived them of all sympathy in their fall."

CHAPTER XXXV.

ON the 11th of May, three days before the prorogation of Parliament, the king," we learn from Bishop Burnet, "sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons, and told him 'That he found upon inquiry that all the prelates, whom he had looked on as wholly his subjects, were but half subjects, for at their consecration they swore an oath quite contrary to the oath they swore to the crown; so that it seemed they were the pope's subjects rather than his. Which he referred to their care, that such order might be taken in it that the king might not be deluded.'

"Upon which the two oaths that the clergy swore to the king and the pope were read in the House of Commons.

"The contradiction that was in these was so visible that it had soon produced a severe censure from the House, if the plague had not hindered both that and the bill of subsidy. So on the 14th of May the Parliament was prorogued.

"Two days after, Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor, having oft desired leave to deliver up the great seal, and be discharged of his office, obtained it; and Sir Thomas Audley was made Lord Chancellor.

"More had carried that dignity with great temper, and lost it with much joy. He saw now how far the king's designs went, and though he was for cutting off all the illegal jurisdiction which the popes exercised in England, and therefore went cheerfully along with the suit of premunire, yet when he saw a total rupture like to follow, he excused himself, and retired from business with a greatness of mind.

" In September following, the king created Anne Boleyn Marchioness of Pembroke, to bring her by degrees up to the height for which he had designed her, and on the 25th of January [1533] he married her. Rowland Lee, who afterwards got the Bishoprick of Coventry and Lichfield, did officiate in the marriage.

"It was done secretly in the presence of the Duke of Norfolk [her uncle], and her father, her mother, and brother.

"On the 4th of February another session of Parliament began. In this, the breach with Rome was much forwarded by the Act they passed against all appeals to Rome [known as the Act of Appeals]."

Many inconveniences had arisen by appeal to the see of Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, and other cases, by which the king and his subjects were put to great charges; and Rome being at such a distance, evidences could not be brought thither, nor witnesses so easily as within the kingdom.

It was therefore enacted that all such causes, whether relating to the king or any of his subjects, were to be determined within the kingdom in the several courts to which they belonged.

And all such cases as had hitherto admitted of appeal to Rome should be referred from the Archdeacon's Court to the Bishop's Court, and from the Bishop's Court to that of the Archbishop, and no further.

"As this bill passed," the Bishop tells us, "the sense of both Houses of Parliament about the king's marriage did clearly appear, but in the Convocation the business was more fully debated.

"The Convocation of the province of Canterbury was at this time destitute of its head and principal member. For Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, was dead since August last year. He was a great canonist, an able statesman, a dexterous courtier, and a favourer of learned men.

"The king, finding none in the episcopal order so qualified for the vacant office, selected Cranmer, then in Germany on Henry's business [the divorce], to fill the See."

Cranmer, however, made acquainted with the king's wishes, "did all he could to excuse himself from the burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned very slowly to England, hoping that some other person might step in between him and the dignity.

"But neither the delays of his journey, nor his entreaties, could divert the king from his purpose. Cranmer was forced to yield.

"In the end of January [1534] the king sent to the pope for the bulls for Cranmer's promotion; and though the statutes were passed against procuring more bulls from Rome, yet the king resolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the pope; nor had his holiness a mind to precipitate a rupture with England; therefore he consented to it, and the bulls were expedited, though instead of annates there was only nine hundred ducats paid for them. They were the last bulls that were received in England in this reign.

"When these bulls were brought into England, Thomas Cranmer was on the 30th of March consecrated by the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph."

"On the occasion," says Froude, "of the ceremony, when the usual oath to the pope was presented to him, Cranmer took it with a declaration that his first duty and first obedience was to the crown and laws of his own country," and adds in a foot-note:

"The Act of Appeals was the law of the land. The separation from communion with the papacy was a contingency which there was still a hope might be avoided. Such a protest was therefore the easiest solution of the difficulty. Strype's Cranmer, appendix, p. 683."

On the 2nd of April, Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, presided for the first time over the Upper House of Convocation, and after the business of the king's divorce had, simultaneously, been considered in this and the Lower House, "It was," continues Froude, decided by both houses that Pope Julius, in granting a licence for the marriage of Henry and Katherine, had exceeded his authority, and that this marriage was therefore, ab initio, void."

And, says Bishop Burnet, "The Church of England having, in her representatives, made such a full decision, nothing remained but to give judgment and to declare the marriage null. The thing was already determined; only the formality of a sentence declarative was wanting.

"But before they proceeded to that, a new message was sent to the queen, to lay all that had passed before her, and to desire her to acquiesce in the opinions of so many universities and learned men. But she still persisted in her resolution to own her marriage, and to adhere to her appeal till the pope should judge in it."

From another source—the National History of England—we further learn that "Cranmer, after the decision of Convocation, opened, on the 8th of May, a court at St. Peter's Priory, Dunstable, four miles from Ampthill, where the queen was residing, and before this court she was cited to appear. With the Archbishop were the Bishops of London, Winchester [Gardiner], Bath and Wells, and Lincoln, and many divines.

"The royal lady, as was expected, took no notice of the citation; whereupon she was declared verily and manifestly contumacious; and after some more formalities, Cranmer, on the 23rd of May, declared her marriage null and void."

From a communication addressed to the king, we learn that the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham waited upon Queen Katherine, some days before Cranmer gave his judgment.

Referring to this interview, Bishop Burnet says, vol. 1, p. 213, that "The Lord Herbert[1] has published a letter, which he transcribed from the original, written by the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Duresme [Durham] to the king, the nth of May, 1534, giving an account of a conference they had with Queen Katherine; in which, among other motives they used, this was one —to persuade her to comply with what the king had done—namely, that the pope had said at Marseilles, ' That if the king would send a proxy to Rome, he would give the cause for him against the queen, because he knew his cause was good and just.' Which is a great presumption, that the pope did really give some engagements to the French king about the king's business."

Here it will be desirable to say that the pope and the French king, Francis, had met by arrangement, at Marseilles, the preceding October, "where the marriage was made up between the Duke of Orleans [son of Francis] and Katherine de Medici [the pope's niece]."

The pope is said to have, at this meeting, promised Francis, "that if King Henry would return to his wonted obedience to the Apostolic See, and submit the matter [of divorce] to the judgment of the consistory (excepting only to the cardinals of the Imperial fraction as partial and incompetent judges), the decision should be made to his heart's content."

At the date the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham wrote the king, the cardinals at Rome had already, in the previous March, refused to entertain the pope's promise, as will be seen from Bishop Burnet's narrative, continued as follows:

" When the Bishop of Paris came to Rome [at King Henry's request], the motion was liked; and it was promised that, if he sent a promise of that under his hand, there should be judges sent to Cambray to form the process, and then the matter should be determined for him at Rome.

"This was sent to the king, with the notice of the day that was prefixed for the return of his answer, and with other motives which must have been very great, since they prevailed

1 Historian of King Henry's reign, and living at this period.

so much. For, in answer, there was a courier dispatched from the king, with a formal promise under his hand.

“And now the matter seemed at a point, the French interest was great in the court of Rome; four new cardinals had been made at Marseilles, and there were six of that faction before, which, with the pope’s creatures, balanced the Imperial [Spanish] faction, so that a wound that was looked on as fatal was now almost healed. But when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the courier from England was elapsed, all the cardinals of the Imperial faction pressed the pope to proceed to a sentence definite, and to censures.

“Bellay, the Bishop of Paris, represented the injustice of proceeding with so much precipitation, since where there were seas to cross, in such a season, many accidents might occasion the delay of the express.

“But the Imperialists represented that those were only delays to gain time, and that the King of England was still proceeding in his contempt' of the Apostolic See, and of the cardinals, and publishing books and libels against them.

“This so wrought on the angry pope that, without consulting his ordinary prudence, he brought the business into the Consistory, where the plurality of voices carried it to proceed to a sentence.

“And though the process had been carried on all that winter in their usual forms, yet it was not so ripe, but by the rules of the Consistory there ought to have been three sessions before sentence was given.

“ But they concluded all in one day; and so, on the 23rd of March [1534] the marriage between the king and Queen Katherine was declared good, and the king required to take her as his wife; otherwise censures were to be denounced against him.

“Two days after that, the courier arrived from England, with the king’s submission under his hand in due form, and earnest letters from the French king to have it accepted, that so the business might be composed.”

Desired by Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Pope Paul III., and other cardinals, “the matter was brought again into the Consistory, but confirmed anew by the pope and the Consistory, and they ordered the emperor [Charles V.] to execute the sentence.” Fortunately, he, from political circumstances, was never able to carry it out.

Returning to the National History of England:

“ Five days after declaring the marriage null and void, at Dunstable, the primate held another court at Lambeth, at which a judicial confirmation of the king’s marriage with Anne Boleyn was issued in due form. Beyond this, on Easter Eve, the 12th of April, Henry had gone through a second nuptial ceremony with the lady, quite as private and mysterious as the first.

“On Whit-Sunday, Anne Boleyn was solemnly crowned Queen of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury placing the royal diadem on her head at the altar of Westminster

Abbey. All the illustrious nobles of the realm, with scarcely one exception, were present at the ceremonial, and the king himself watched it from a closet over the choir.

"Sceptre in hand and the crown on her head, Anne Boleyn then marched from the Abbey into Westminster Hall, her canopy of state being borne by proud earls and barons. A grand banquet stood ready prepared, and when the king's consort and all the company had taken their places, the Duke of Suffolk and Lord William Howard rode into the hall, high on horseback, escorting a file of Knights of the Bath, each bearing two dishes, besides subtleties of ships made of coloured wax, marvellous and gorgeous to behold. The banquet lasted from an hour before noon till six o'clock in the evening.

"The whole of next week was spent in tilts, balls, tournaments, and other amusement, great reverence being paid to the new queen by all the nobles.

"While these grand and costly exhibitions were going on, Anne Boleyn revelling in the sunshine of her glory, poor Queen Katherine was persecuted by her husband in the most odious manner. On her refusal to submit to Cranmer's judgment it was attempted to force her into submission through a slow species of torture, by filling her house with spies, depriving her of her attendants, and even threatening the life of her daughter. The last menace threw her on a bed of sickness; nevertheless, she refused to give way, and Henry responded by ordering her removal from the healthy air of Ampthill to a place called Bugden, four miles from Huntingdon, on the border of the Fens."

On the 7th of September, Anne Boleyn brought forth a daughter, at the palace at Greenwich, named at her baptism, three days later, Elizabeth, after the king's mother, Cranmer being the godfather.

The young princess lived to become the renowned Queen of England.

And Froude tells us, "Te Deums were sung in all the churches; again the river decked itself in splendour; again all London steeples were musical with bells. A font of gold was presented for the christening.

"To the king, to the Parliament, to the healthy heart of England, she was an object of eager hope and an occasion for thankful gratitude. But to Katherine's friends the offspring of the rival marriage was not welcome.

"Katherine had been called upon, at the coronation of Anne Boleyn to renounce her title, and she had refused. Mary had been similarly deprived of her rank as princess. She was not with her mother. It had been held desirable to remove her from an influence which would encourage her in a useless opposition, and she was residing at Beaulieu, afterwards New Hall, in Essex, under the care of Lord Hussey and the Countess of Salisbury.

"Lord Hussey was directed to inform his charge that for the future she was to consider herself not as a princess, but as the king's natural daughter, the Lady Mary Tudor."

Mary, now sixteen, and sharing her father's temerity, made, through her guardian, the somewhat hasty reply that, "Her Grace not doubting that she is the king's true and legitimate daughter and heir procreate in good and lawful matrimony; and unless she were advertised

from his Highness by his writing, that his Grace was so minded as yet to diminish her estate, name, and dignity, which she trusted his Highness would never do, she would not believe it."

And writing also herself, she told the king that she "neither could nor would in her conscience think the contrary, but that she was his lawful daughter born in true matrimony, and that she thought that he, in his own conscience, did judge the same."

Henry, much angered, and looking upon her answer "as expressions of petulant folly," sent Lord Oxford, the Earl of Essex, and the Earl of Sussex to Beaulieu, to bring her into a better state of mind, but to no purpose; and, as a punishment, she was now sent to reside, as the Lady Mary, in the household of the Princess Elizabeth—a hard but not unwholesome discipline," says

Froude, adding, in a foot-note:

"Mary had a voracious appetite, and in Elizabeth's household expenses an extra charge was made necessary of £26 [about £260 in our money] a year for the meat breakfasts and meat suppers served into the Lady Mary's chamber. Rolls House MS."

The Countess of Salisbury, just referred to, was the daughter of the Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

Henry VII., for the greater security of the throne to his family, put the countess's brother to death, and honoured her with this title in her own right. She married, after her brother's death, a Sir Richard Pole, a supporter and relation of the king; and, says Froude, "when left a widow, she received from Henry VIII. the respectful honour which was due to the most nobly born of his subjects. In his kindness to her children,[2] "the king had attempted to obliterate the recollection of her brother's wrongs, and she had been herself selected to preside over the household of the Princess Mary." But he had her beheaded eventually.

2 One of whom, Reginald Pole, became an eminent scholar and cardinal, and, in her reign, Queen Mary's chief adviser.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

RETURNING to the Parliament, the next session began on the 15th of January, 1535, and "its first step," says Froude, "was to receive the final submission of Convocation. The undignified resistance was at last over, and the clergy had promised to abstain for the future from unlicensed legislation. To secure their adherence to their engagements, an Act was passed to make the breach of that engagement penal, and a commission of thirty-two persons, half of whom were to be laymen, was designed for the revision of the canon law.

"The next most important movement was to assimilate the trials for heresy with the trials for other criminal offences.

"The bishops' judicial powers were not absolutely taken away, but ecclesiastics were no longer permitted to arrest ex-officio and examine at their pleasure. Where a charge of heresy was to be brought against a man, presentments were to be made by lawful witnesses before justices of the peace; and then, and not otherwise, he might fall under the authority of the ordinary. Secret examinations were declared illegal. The offender was to be tried in open court, and, previous to his trial, had a right to be admitted to bail, unless the bishop could show cause to the contrary to the satisfaction of two magistrates.

"Turning next to the relations between England and Rome, the Parliament reviewed the Annates [first-fruits] Act, which had been left unratified in the hope that the pope might have consented to a compromise. The expectation had been disappointed.

"The pope had not condescended to reply to the communication which had been sent to him, and the Act had in consequence received the royal assent. An alteration had thus become necessary in the manner of presentation to vacant bishoprics. The anomalies of the existing practice have been already described. The pope's part in the matter was now terminated.

"No annates would be sent any longer to Rome, and no bulls would be returned from Rome. The appointments lay between the chapters and the crown. The practice of granting the conge d'elire to the chapters on the occurrence of a vacancy, which had fallen into desuetude was again adopted, and the church resumed the forms of liberty."

"On the 9th of March," we learn from Bishop Burnet, "a bill came up from the Commons for discharging the subjects of all dependence on the court of Rome. It was read the first time in the House of Lords the 13th of March, and on the 14th was read the second time and committed. On the 19th it was read the third time, and on the 20th the fourth time, and then passed without any protestation. Some provisoes were added to it by the Lords, to which the Commons agreed, and so it was made ready for the royal assent.

"In the preamble, the intolerable exactions for Peter's-pence, provisions, pensions, and bulls of all sorts are complained of, which were contrary to all laws, and grounded only on the pope's power of dispensing, which was usurped.

"And since the king was acknowledged the supreme head of the church of England, therefore it was enacted that all payments made to the apostolic see, and all provisions, bulls, or dispensations should from thenceforth cease.

“It was also declared that they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ’s church about the articles of the catholic faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the word of God, necessary for their salvation.

“The offenders against this Act were to be punished according to the statutes of provisors and premunire.

“On the same day that the bill was passed in the House of Lords, another bill was read for confirming the succession to the crown in the issue of the king’s present marriage with Queen Anne. It was read the second time on the 31st of March and committed. It was reported on the 23rd, and read the third time and passed, and sent down to the Commons, who sent it back again to them on the 26th; so speedily did this bill go through both houses without any opposition.”

This Act emanated from a petition the two Houses addressed to the king, in which the following passages appeared:—

“1. That the marriage between your Highness and the Lady Catherine, widow of the Prince Arthur, be declared to have been from the beginning null, the issue of it illegitimate, and the separation pronounced by the Archbishop of Canterbury good and valid.

“ 2. That the marriage between your Highness and your most dear and entirely beloved wife, Queen Anne, be established and held good, and taken for undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect ever hereafter.”

Froude, referring to this, says: “The Act then assumed a .general character, laying down a table of prohibited degrees within which marriage might not, under any pretence, be in future contracted.

“After this provision, it again returned to the king, who fixed the order in which his children by Queen Anne were to succeed. First the sons were to succeed. If sons failed, then the daughters with their heirs.”

“And,” says Bishop Burnet, “all the subjects were to swear that they would maintain the contents of the Act, and whoever being required did refuse it, was to be judged guilty of misprision of treason, and punished accordingly.”

“When the session of Parliament was at an end, commissioners were sent everywhere to offer the oath of succession to the crown to all, according to the Act of Parliament, which was universally taken by all sorts of persons.

“But Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester refused to take the oath as it was conceived. There was a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, to which many were cited to appeal, and take the oath.

“ Sir Thomas More was first called, and the oath was tendered to him under the great seal; then he called for the Act of Succession, to which it related, which was also shewed him. Having considered of them, he said he would neither blame those that made the Act, nor those that swore the oath; but, for his part, though he was willing to swear to the succession,

if he might be suffered to draw an oath concerning it, yet for the oath that was offered him, his conscience so moved him that he could not, without hazarding his soul, take it.

"Upon this, the Lord Chancellor told him that he was the first who had refused to swear it, and the king would be highly offended with him for denying it.

"Asked the reason why he refused, he answered, he feared it might provoke the king more against him if he should offer reasons, which would be called a disputing against law ; but when he was further pressed to give his reasons, he said, if the king would command him to do it, he would put them in writing.

" Thus both he and the Bishop of Rochester refused it, but offered to swear another oath for the succession of the crown to the issue of the king's present marriage, because that was in the power of the Parliament to determine it.

"Cranmer, who was a moderate and wise man, did by an earnest letter to Cromwell, dated the 27th of April, move that what, they offered might be accepted; for if they once swore to the succession, it would quiet the kingdom; for they acknowledging, all other persons would acquiesce and submit to their judgments.

But this sage advice was not accepted.

"The king was much irritated against them, and resolved to proceed with them according to law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the statute and committed prisoners to the Tower.

"The old bishop was hardly used. His bishopric was seized on, and his goods taken from him; and he was neither supplied well in diet nor other accessories, of which he made complaints to Cromwell. More's family were left in the enjoyment of his property."

After being confined in the Tower for about a year, they were at last beheaded.

To complete the great measures of England's severance from Rome in all its details, Henry summoned the Parliament again on the 3rd of November, 1535, seven months after its prorogation.

"The first Act," Bishop Burnet tells us, "confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the clergy, 'that the king was the supreme head in earth of the church of England, which was to be annexed to his other titles. It was also enacted that the king and his heirs and successors should have power to visit and reform all heresies, errors, and other abuses which in the spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed.'

"By the second Act they confirmed the oath about the succession, because there was no oath specified in the former Act, though both Houses had taken it. It was now enacted that all the subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, under the pains in the Act passed in the former session.

"By the first Act, the first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices were given to the king, as the supreme head of the church.

The clergy were easily prevailed on to consent to the putting down of the annates, paid to the court of Rome; but at that time it had, perhaps, abated much of their heartiness if they had imagined that these duties should have been still paid.

"In the thirteenth Act, among other things that were made treason, one was the denying the king the dignity, title, or name of his estate royal, or the calling the king heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown.

"It was now twelve years since there was any subsidy granted to the king. A fifteenth and a tenth were now given, to be paid in three years, the final payment being to be at Allhallowtide, in the year 1537.

"Upon this, the king sent a general pardon, with some exceptions, ordinary in such cases. But Fisher and More were not only excluded from this pardon by general clauses, but in two particular acts they were attainted of misprision of treason.

"By the third Act, according to the record, John, Bishop of Rochester, and five clerks were attainted for refusing the oath of succession; and the bishopric of Rochester, with the benefices of the other clerks, were declared void from the 2nd of January next; yet it seems few were fond of succeeding him in that see, for John Hilsey, the next Bishop of Rochester, was not consecrated before the year 1537.

"By the fourth Act, Sir Thomas More is, by an invidious preamble, charged with ingratitude for the great favours he had received from the king, and for studying and refusing to take the oath of succession; therefore they declared the kings grants to him to be void, and attaint him of misprision of treason.

"This severity, though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was necessary in so great a change; since the authority of these two men was such, that if some signal notice had not been taken of them, many might, by their endeavours, have been corrupted in their affections to the king.

"But others observed the justice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own severities to others; for as Fisher did grievously prosecute the preachers of Luther's doctrine, so More's hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had power, and he had shewed them no mercy, but the extremity of the law, which himself now felt to be very heavy."

With reference to this, it is strange and sad to say that "as soon as More came into power, he persuaded the king much to put the laws against heretics in execution, and a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, and many of their books were prohibited."

The following is one out of the many sad cases recorded of his cruelty:—

"The clergy, resolving to strike a terror in the gentry, carried one James Bainham,[1] a barrister of the Temple, to the Lord Chancellor's house, where much pains was taken to persuade him to discover such as he knew in the Temple who favoured the new opinions; but fair means not prevailing, More made him be whipped in his own presence, and after that sent

1 "He had challenged suspicion by marrying the widow of Simon Fish, the author of the famous 'Beggar's Petition,' who had died in 1528," says Proude.

him to the Tower, where he looked on and saw him put to the rack. Yet it seems nothing could be drawn from him, but overcome with fear, he abjured and did penance.

"But having no quiet in his conscience, he went soon after publicly to church, with a New Testament in his hand, and confessed with many tears that he had denied God, and prayed the people not to do as he had done. Again carried to the Tower, he was judged an obstinate heretic, and was burnt in Smithfield in April, 1532."

Not long after the king had, as we have just seen, degraded the bishop and the ex-chancellor, " Pope Clement; by an officious kindness," we learn from Bishop Burnet, "to Fisher, or rather to spite King Henry, declared him a cardinal, and sent him a red hat.

"When the king knew this, he sent to examine him about it; but he protested he had used no endeavours to procure it, and valued it so little that if the bat were lying at his feet, he would not take it up.

"It never came nearer to him than Picardy, yet this precipitated his ruin. But if he had kept his opinion of the king's supremacy to himself, they could not have proceeded further.

"He would not do that, but did upon several occasions speak against it, so he was brought to his trial on the 17th June [1535].

"The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, and some lords, together with the judges, sat upon him by a commission of Oyer and Terminse. He pleaded not guilty. Judgment was passed on him to die as a traitor, but he was, by a warrant from the king, beheaded.

"Upon the 22nd of June, being the day of his execution, he dressed himself with more than ordinary care, and when his man took of it, he told him he was to be that day a bridegroom.

" As he was led to the place of execution, being stopped in the way by the crowd, he opened his New Testament, and prayed to this purpose : that as that book had been his companion and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so then some place might turn up to him that might comfort him in his last passage.

"This being said, he opened the book at a venture, in which these words of St. John's Gospel turned up: 'This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.'

"So he shut the book with much satisfaction, and all the way was repeating and meditating on them. When he came to the scaffold, he pronounced the Te Deum, and after some other devotions, his head was cut off. [He was executed on Tower Hill.]

"Thus died John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a learned and devout man, but much addicted to the superstitions in which he had been bred up; and that led him to great severities against all that opposed them.

"Sir Thomas More was brought to his trial on the 1st of July [1535].

“ The special matter in his indictment is that, on the 7th of May preceding, before Cromwell, Bedyl, and some others, that were pressing him concerning the king’s supremacy, he said he would not meddle with any such matter, and was fully resolved to serve God, and think upon his passion, and his own passage out of the world.

“He had also sent divers messages by one George Gold to Bishop Fisher, to encourage him in his obstinacy, and said, ‘The Act of Parliament is like a sword with two edges; for if a man answer one way, it will confound his soul; and if a man answer another way, it will confound his body.’

“When he was brought to the bar, he pleaded not guilty; but being found guilty, judgment was given against him as a traitor. He received it with equal temper of mind which he had shewed in both conditions of life, and then set himself wholly to prepare for death.”

Froude has the following affecting story relating to More’s journey back to his prison:—

“Returning to the Tower from Westminster Hall after his trial, his daughter, Mrs. Roper, the best beloved of his children, desirous to see her father, whom she feared she should never see in the world after, to have his best blessing, waiting for him at the Tower Wharf, there embraced him about the neck and kissed him, not able to say any word but ‘Oh, my father! oh, my father ! ’

“He, liking well her most natural and dear affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing, telling her that whatsoever he should suffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God, and that He knew well enough all the secrets of her heart, counselling her to accommodate her will to God’s blessed pleasure, and to be patient for his loss.

“With a full heart she was severed from him, at which tears fell also from his eyes.

“His letters to her, in early life, are of unequalled grace, and she was perhaps the only person whom he very deeply loved. He never saw her again.

“The four days which remained to him he spent in prayer and in severe bodily discipline, and on the night before his execution he sent her his hair shirt and whip, as having no more need for them, with a parting blessing and affection.

“At the scaffold, next morning, he repeated the fifty-first Psalm on his knees, after which, binding his eyes in a cloth which he had brought with him, he laid his head upon the block. The fatal stroke was about to fall, when he signed for a moment’s delay while he moved aside his beard. ‘Pity that should be cut,’ he murmured; ‘that has not committed treason.’ With which strange words, the lips most famous through Europe for eloquence and wisdom closed for ever.

“And never was there a Christian’s victory over death more grandly evidenced than in that last scene lighted with its lambent humour.”

CHAPTER XXXVII.

RETURNING to Bishop Burnet, we learn that at this time “the persecuted preachers had ease and encouragement everywhere. And their chief encouragement was from the queen, who reigned in the king’s heart as absolutely as he did over his subjects, and was a known favourer of them.

“ She took Shaxton and Latimer to be her chaplains, and soon after promoted them to the-bishoprics of Salisbury and Worcester, then vacant by the deprivation of Campegio and Ghinucci [Cardinals at Rome]; and in all other things cherished and protected them, and used her most effectual endeavours with the king to promote the Reformation.

“Next to her, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was a professed favourer of it, who, besides the authority of his character and see, was well fitted for carrying it on, being a very learned and industrious man.

“Next him, or rather above him, was Cromwell, who was made the king’s vicegerent [one having a delegated power] in ecclesiastical matters. A man of mean birth, but noble qualities; only he made much haste to be great and rich. He joined himself in a firm friendship to Cranmer, and did promote the Reformation very vigorously.

“But there was another party in the court, that wrestled much against it. The head of it was the Duke of Norfolk, who, though he was the queen’s uncle, yet was her mortal enemy. He was a dexterous courtier, and complied with the king both in his divorce and separation from Rome, yet did upon all occasions persuade the king to innovate nothing in religion.

“ His great friend, that joined all along with him in those councils, was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was a crafty and politic man, and understood the king well, and complied with his temper in everything. He despised Cranmer, and hated all reformation.

“Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, that had been the king’s confessor, was also managed by them, and they had a great party in the court, and almost all the churchmen were on their side.

“That which prevailed most with the king was, that himself had writ a book in defence of the faith, and they said, would he now retract that which all learned men admired so much, or would he encourage Luther and his party, who had treated him with so little respect?

“But, on the other side, Cranmer represented to him that since he had put down the pope’s authority, it was not fit to let those doctrines be still taught which had no other foundation but the decrees of popes.

“On the 4th of February [1535] Parliament sat, and during the session a great many bills relating to civil concerns were passed.

“By the 15th Act, the power that had been given by a former Act to the king, for naming thirty-two persons to make a collection of ecclesiastical laws was again confirmed.

But there was no limitation of time in this Act, and so there was nothing done in pursuance of it.

"The great business, however, was the suppressing of the lesser monasteries to the number of three hundred and seventy-six," an event which led to the insurrection known as "The Pilgrimage of Grace," the end of which was the downfall of all the abbeys and the execution—for taking part in it—of many monks, clergy, noblemen, and other leading men of the laity, events we need not stay to refer to again in detail, having already done so at some length in previous chapters.

The Parliament, which had done the king such eminent service, and had now sat six years, was dissolved on the 14th of April [1536].

"In the Convocation a motion was made of great consequence, that there should be a translation of the Bible in English, to be set up in all churches of England. The clergy, when they procured Tyndal's translation to be condemned, and suppressed it, gave out that they intended to make a translation into the vulgar tongue; yet it was afterwards, upon a long consultation, resolved that it was not expedient to do it.

"In the times of the Old Testament the Scriptures were writ in the vulgar tongue, and all were charged to read and remember the law.

"The apostles wrote in Greek, which was then the most common language in the world.

"Christ did also appeal to the Scriptures, and sent the people to them.

"In the primitive church, as nations were converted to the faith, the Bible was translated into their tongue.

"The Latin translation was very ancient. The Bible was afterwards put into the Scythian, Dalmatian, and Gothic tongues.

"It continued thus for several ages, till the state of monkery rose; and then, when they engrossed the riches, and the popes assumed the dominion, of the world, it was not consistent with these designs, nor with the arts used to' promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known; therefore legends and strange stories of visions, with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their credit and carrying on their ends.

"It was now generally desired that if there were just exceptions against what Tyndal had done, these might be amended in a new translation; and Cranmer therefore moved, in Convocation, that they should petition the king for leave to make a translation of the Bible.

"But Gardiner and all his party opposed it, both in Convocation and in secret with the king, notwithstanding which, Convocation prevailed, and they petitioned the king that he would give order to some to set about it. To this great opposition was made at court. Some, on one hand, told the king that a diversity of opinion would arise out of it, and that he could no more govern his subjects if he gave way to that. But, on the other band, it was represented that nothing would make his supremacy so acceptable to the nation, and make the pope more hateful, than to let them see that whereas the popes had governed them by a blind obedience,

and kept them in darkness, the king brought them into the light, and gave them the free use of the Word of God.

"These arguments, joined with the power that the queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the king that he gave order for setting about it immediately. To whom the work was committed, or how they proceeded in it, I know not."

Froude, however, tells us that Miles Coverdale, a member of the same circle which had given birth to Cranmer, to Latimer and Barnes, to the Scotch Wishart, silently went abroad with a license from Thomas Cromwell. With Tyndal's help he collected the scattered portions of his translation, and in 1536 there appeared in London, dedicated to Henry VIII., the first complete copy of the English Bible.

"The separate portions, still anomalously prohibited in detail, were exposed freely to sale in a volume, under the royal sanction.

"And, ordered to lie open in every church in England, the clergy were required not to permit only, but to exhort and encourage all men to resort to it and read.

"In this act was laid the foundation-stone on which the whole later history of England, civil as well as ecclesiastical, has been reared.

"Though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say that it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar.

" The peculiar genius, if such a word may be permitted, which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled, unapproached, in the attempted improvements of modern scholars—all are here, and bear the impress of the mind of one man—William Tyndal.

"Lying, while engaged in that office, under the shadow of death, the sword above his head and ready at any moment to fall, he worked under circumstances alone,, perhaps, truly worthy of the task which was laid upon him—his spirit, as it were divorced from the world, moved in a purer element than common air.

"His work was done; he lived to see the Bible no longer carried by stealth into this country, where the possession of it was a crime, but borne in by the solemn will of the king—solemnly recognised as the word of the Most High God. And then his occupation in this earth was gone. His eyes saw the salvation for which he had longed, and he might depart to his place.

"He was denounced to the Regent of Flanders; he was enticed by the suborned treachery of a miserable English fanatic beyond the town under whose liberties he had been secure; and with the reward which, at other times as well as those, has been held fitting by human justice for the earth's great ones, he passed away in smoke and flame to his rest."

The Englishman here referred to was the son of a custom-house officer at Poole. Going over to Antwerp, he made the acquaintance of Tyndal, and after partaking of his hospitality at dinner and supper once or twice, he delivered him up to the authorities there.

Tyndal was condemned to death by virtue of the emperor's decree made in the assembly at Augsburgh, and, brought forth to the place of execution, he was there tied to the stake and then strangled by the hangman, and afterwards consumed with fire in the town of Vilvorden in 1536 [the same year that his Bible was published in London]. *Vide* Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

Returning to Coverdale, Froude further tells us that "his edition was followed, in 1537, by Matthews'—'printed with the king's most gracious license'—and the same version, after being revised by Cranmer, was reprinted in 1538, 1539, 1540, and 1541, under the name of ' The Great Bible,' or ' Cranmer's Bible.'

"The offence in Tyndal's translation was less in the rendering of the words than in the side-notes, prefaces, and commentaries. By the omission of these, Cranmer had been able to preserve the text almost without change.

"Simultaneously, however, other editions were put in circulation, with the private connivance of Cromwell, where the same prudence had not been observed.

"In 1539 appeared Taverner's Bible, with a summary at the commencement, in which Protestantism of an audacious kind was openly professed. The priesthood was denied; masses and purgatory were ignored; the sacraments were described as nothing but outward signs; and the eucharist as a memorial supper, without sacrificial character, figurative or real.

"On the death of Cromwell, Taverner paid for his rashness by imprisonment in the Tower; and although he was soon released, and grew to favour at the court, yet Henry so far listened to the remonstrances of the church authorities as to forbid the sale of unauthorised editions; and in 1542 the Convocation was informed that the text of the Great Bible itself was to undergo an examination.

"The errors of translation were said to be in the New Testament rather than the Old. The Gospels and Epistles were divided into fifteen parts, and were distributed among the bishops.

"The learned prelates, or two-thirds of them, desired to find blemishes; they had no intention of correcting them; and Cranmer, aware that the real wish was to suppress the translation altogether, appealed to the king. The quarrel ended in a compromise. The original editions of Tyndal, which were accompanied with his annotations, were prohibited under penalties. The Bible, as edited by Cranmer, was left untampered with; but a temporary limitation was imposed, perhaps wisely, upon its indiscriminate use."

"There was no Parliament in the year 1537," says Bishop Burnet, "yet there was a commission, upon the conclusion of which there was printed an explanation of the chief points of religion, signed by both the archbishops and seventeen bishops, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and law. In which there was an exposition of the creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the salutation of the Virgin, with an account of justification and purgatory."

Published by Convocation, the work is known to us under the title of "The Godly and Pious Institution of a Christian Man."

A second edition, containing some additions, was published in 1540, under the title of "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man."

The same year a commission was appointed to reform the rituals and offices of the church, and the next year the prayers for processions and litanies were ordered to be translated into English and publicly used.

Returning to the Bishop, he goes on to say: " The king did also set forward the printing of the English Bible, which was finished next year [1538], at London, by Grafton, the printer, who printed 1,500 of them at his own charge.

"This Bible Cromwell presented to the king, and procured his warrant, allowing all his subjects in all his dominions to read it, without control or hazard. For which the archbishop wrote Cromwell a letter of most hearty thanks, dated the 13th of August: ' Who did now rejoice that he saw this day of reformation, which he concluded was now risen in England, since the light of God's Word did shine over it without any cloud.'

"And injunctions were given out in the king's name, by Cromwell, to all incumbents, 'to provide one of these Bibles, and set it up publicly in the church, and not to hinder or discourage the reading of it, but to encourage all persons to peruse it, as being the true lively Word of God, which every Christian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected to be saved.'

"Then some other rules were added about instructing the people in the principles of religion by ' teaching the creed, the Lord's Prayer, and ten commandments in English, and that in every church there should be a sermon made every quarter of a year, at least, to declare to the people the true Gospel of Christ, and to exhort them to works of charity, mercy, and faith, and not to trust in other men's works, or pilgrimages to images, or relics, or saying over beads, which they did not understand; since these things tended to idolatry and superstition, which of all offences did most provoke God's indignation.

'They were to take down all images which were abused by pilgrimages, or offerings made to them, and to suffer no candles before the cross, and before the sacrament, and about the sepulchre.

"'And if any of them had formerly magnified such images or pilgrimages to such purposes, they were ordered openly to recant and acknowledge that in saying such things they had been led by no ground in scripture, but were deceived by a vulgar error, which had crept into the church through the avarice of those who had profit by it.'

"Then followed orders for keeping the registers in their parishes; for reading all the king's injunctions once every quarter at least; that none were to alter any of the holy-days without directions from the king; and all the eves of the holy-days, formerly abrogated, were declared to be no fasting days; the kneeling for the Aves after sermon was also forbidden, which were said in hope to obtain the pope's pardon.

"These injunctions struck at three main points of popery, containing encouragements to the vulgar to read the Scriptures in a known tongue, and putting down all worship of images, and leaving it free for any curate to leave out the suffrages to the saints, so that they were looked on as a deadly blow to that religion.

"Many of the relics of idolatry, existing at this time, were brought to London, and were burnt at St. Paul's Cross, in the sight of all the people, broken, that they might be fully convinced of the juggling impostures of the monks. And in particular, the crucifix of Boxley, in Kent, commonly called the 'Rood of Grace,' to which many pilgrimages had been made because it was observed sometimes to bow and to lift itself up, to shake and to stir head, hands, and feet, to roll eyes, move the lips, and bend the brows; all which were looked on by the abused multitude as the effects of Divine power.

"These were now publicly discovered to have been cheats, for the springs were shewed by which all these motions were. Upon which, John Hilsey, then Bishop of Rochester, made a sermon, and broke the rood in pieces. -

"There was also another famous imposture discovered at Hales, in Gloucestershire, where the blood of Christ was shewed in a vial of crystal, which the people sometimes saw, but sometimes they could not see it; so they were made believe that they were in mortal sin; and so they continued to make presents till they bribed heaven to give them the sight of so blessed a relic.

"This was now discovered to have been the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; and the one side of the vial was so thick that there was no seeing through it, but the other side was as clear and transparent; and it was so placed upon the altar that one in a secret place behind could turn either side of it outward.

"So when they had drained the pilgrims that came thither of all they had brought with them, then they afforded them the favour of turning the clear side outward; who, upon that, went home very well satisfied with their journey and the expense they had been at.

"There was brought out of Wales a huge image of wood, called Darvel Gatheren, of which one Ellis Price, visitor of the diocese of St. Asaph, gave this account on the 6th of April, 1537:

'That the people of the country had a great superstition for it, and many pilgrimages were made to it; so that, the day before he wrote, there were reckoned to be above five or six hundred pilgrims there. Some brought oxen and cattle, and some brought money; and it was generally believed that if any offered to that image, he had power to deliver his soul from hell.' So it was ordered to be brought to London, where it served for fuel to burn Friar Forest."

"Many rich shrines of our Lady of Walsingham, of Ipswich, and Islington, with a great many more, were brought up to London and burnt by Cromwell's orders.

"But the richest shrine of England was that of Thomas a Becket, at Canterbury, and, being a martyr for the papacy, was more extolled than all the apostles or primitive saints had ever been. So that for three hundred years he was accounted one of the greatest saints in heaven, as may appear from the accounts in the ledger-books of the offerings made to the three greatest altars in Christ Church [the cathedral], in Canterbury.

"In one year there was offered at Christ's altar £5 2s. 6d.; to the Virgin's altar, £63 5s. 6d.; but to St. Thomas' altar, £832 12s. 3d."

This devotion to a popish saint, together with his disloyal practices before his death, "made the king resolve both to unshrine and unsaint him at once. And then his skull, which had been much worshipped, was found an imposture, for the true skull was lying with the rest of his bones in his grave.

"The shrine was broken down and carried away, the gold that was about it filling two chests, which were so heavy that they were a load to eight strong men to carry them out of the church. And his bones were, as some say, burnt, so it was understood at Rome; but others say they were so mixed with other dead bones, that it would have been a miracle indeed to have distinguished them afterwards.

"The king also ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, and the office for his festivity to be crushed out of all breviaries. And thus was the superstition of England to images and relics extirpated."

Reference has just been made to Friar Forest. He had been prior of the Observants' Convent at Greenwich before its dissolution.

"In his office of confessor he was," says Froude, "found to have instructed his penitents that, for himself, ' he had denied the Bishop of Rome in his outward, but not in his inward man,' and he had encouraged them, notwithstanding their oath, to persevere in their own allegiance.

"He had thus laid himself open to prosecution for treason. When first arrested he was terrified, he acknowledging his offence, and was pardoned; but, recovering his conscience, he returned to his loyalty to the papacy. He declared his belief that in matters spiritual the pope was his proper sovereign, that the Bishop of Rochester was a martyr, as Thomas à Becket had been a martyr.

"'In matters secular his duty was to his prince,' but on the threshold of the exception lay the difficulty which no catholic could evade—what was the duty of a subject when a king was excommunicated [referring to Henry II., Becket's master], and declared to have forfeited his crown?

"Forest, therefore, fell under treason law; but inasmuch as Catholic churchmen declared the denial of the pope's supremacy to be heresy, so, for a few months, English churchmen determined the denial of the king's supremacy to be heresy."

Here we see for the first time Catholics described as Catholic churchmen, and Protestants as English churchmen, but there were not, as yet, two sets of churches or two different forms of Divine service, as these religious terms would seem to imply, and as some persons in our day, unacquainted with history, suppose.

Nor did the churches—Deane included—belong to either of these bodies, for they were the property of the nation, and so treated by King, Parliament, and Convocation, as we have already seen in the many Acts passed since 1529 for reforming the church and the clergy, particularly the one abolishing the pope's authority, and constituting, in his place, the king " The supreme head of the clergy and the church of England," not, be it noted, the church of Catholics or Protestants, but the " church of England."

Whence, then, comes the statement, made by many people in our day, that the ancient churches still adorning, like the venerable one at Deane, our villages and towns, were stolen from the Catholics by the Protestants at the Reformation?

Returning to the poor Friar, he was indicted for heresy, and, found guilty, was delivered over, in the usual form, to the secular arm to be burnt, the huge image of wood called Darvel Gatheren serving for fuel, at St. Paul's Cross.

"The preparations," says Froude, "were made with a horrible completeness. A gallows was erected over the stake, from which the wretched victim was to be suspended in a cradle of chains.

"When the machinery was complete, and the chips of idol lay ready, he was brought out and placed upon a platform. The Lord Mayor, and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Lord Southampton, and Cromwell were present with a pardon if he would ask for it." Latimer was selected to preach, and when the sermon was over he turned to Forest, and asked him whether he would live or die. "I will die. Do your worst upon me. Seven years ago you durst not, for your life, have preached such words as these; and now, if an angel from heaven should come down and teach me any other doctrine than that which I learnt as a child, I would not believe him. Take me; cut me to pieces, joint from joint; burn, hang—do what you will—I will be true henceforth to my faith."

"It was enough. He was laid upon his iron bed, and strung off into the air, and the flame was kindled. In his mortal agony he clutched at the steps of the ladder, to sway himself out of the blaze."

Literally speaking, the poor Friar was roasted alive, a death as horrible as that of the cook, Rouse, boiled alive.

And one wonders how Parliament, in any age, could have been induced to pass Acts condemning men to such awful deaths. But, says Goldsmith, " There was neither faith nor honour to be found in all the nation at this dreary period," alluding to the untimely end of men and women in high life, brought about by treachery, intrigue, and conspiring the death of each other.

It was in this year of 1537 that the king seized the Abbey of Whalley and all the possessions of the monks, including Deane Church, with its tithes and glebe, and from that time became the patron of the Living.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

NOW let us return to Anne Boleyn. It was due, in a great measure to her influence that the king permitted Cranmer to proceed with the translation of the Bible, and, says Bishop Burnet, "this was the last public good act of this unfortunate queen, who, the nearer she drew to her end, grew more full ofgood works. She had distributed, in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor, and was designing great and public good things.

"In January [1537] she brought forth a dead son. This was thought to have made ill impressions on the king, and that, as he concluded from the death of his sons by the former queen that the marriage was displeasing to God, so he might, upon this misfortune, begin to make the like judgment of this marriage.

"Sure enough, the popish party were earnestly set against the queen, looking on her as the great supporter of heresy. And at that time, Fox, then Bishop of Hereford, was in Germany, at Smalcald, treating a league with the Protestant princes, who insisted much on the Augsburg Confession. There were many conferences between Fox and Dr. Barnes with the-Lutheran divines, for accommodating the differences between them, and the thing was in good forwardness. All which was imputed to the queen."

"The Augsburg Confession" here referred to is the name given to the profession of faith of the Lutheran church, which was laid before the great Diet of Augsburg, in Bavaria, over which the emperor, Charles V., presided on the 25th of June, 1530.

Charles summoned this Diet in order, if possible, to bring about an amicable settlement of the religious differences then existing in Germany.

In anticipation of the meeting, John, the Elector of Saxony, applied to his Wittenburg theologians, at whose head was Luther, to draw up articles of their faith, and to lay them before him at Torgan.

These "Torgan Articles" as they are sometimes called, formed the basis of the Augsburg Confession, which was drawn up at Augsburg by Melancthon, with the advice of Luther.

Luther himself could not be present at this great and important meeting, for he was under the ban of the empire, pronounced at the Diet at Worms.

He remained at the Castle of Coburg, not far distant, watching and directing the course of events.

That he was heart and soul with the Protestants' deputies is shown by his own words. "Great is my joy," he said, "to have lived to see this hour, when Christ is proclaimed by such confessions before such an assembly. Now the word is fulfilled, 'I will speak of thy testimony also before kings.' "

Read before the Diet, the subjects of the articles are as follow: 1, of God; 2, of Original Sin; 3, of the Person and Mediation of Christ; 4, Justification; 5, Preaching and the Sacraments; 6, Faith; 7 and 8, the Church; 5, Baptism; 10, the Lord's Supper; 11, Confession;

12, Repentance; 13, the Use of Sacraments; 14, Church Government; 15, Rites of human institution to be observed; 16, Secular Occupations; 17, Christ's Second Coming; 18, Free Will; 19, God not the author of sin; 20, Faith and Good Works; 21, Saints to be respected, not worshipped.

These twenty-one articles represent the Lutheran tenets of faith and doctrine, while the following seven refer to the points in dispute between the Lutheran and Roman churches:

22, Denying the sacramental cup to the laity; 23, Imposing celibacy on the clergy; 24, of the Mass; 25, of Confession; 26, of Fasts and other ceremonies of human invention; 27, of Conventual Vows; 28, of Civil and Ecclesiastical Power.

The papal theologians, headed by one Faber, wrote a confutation of the confession, and this was also read before the Diet in the following August.

And to the doctrines and opinions contained in Faber's answer, the partisans of Rome demanded of the Protestants an unlimited submission. But the demand was made in vain, and, interposing his authority, the emperor suspended all further proceedings.

After the Diet, however, many conferences were held between leaders on both sides, to endeavour to heal the divisions which existed, but still in vain.

Returning to the Bishop, "Gardiner was then," he tells us, "ambassador in France, and wrote earnestly to the king to dissuade from entering into any religious league with these princes, for that would alienate all the world from him, and dispose his own subjects to rebel.'

"But the Duke of Norfolk at court, and Gardiner beyond the sea, thought there might easily be found a mean to accommodate the king, both with the emperor and the pope, if the queen were once out of the way ; for then he might freely marry any one whom he pleased, and that marriage, with the male issue of it, could not be disputed; whereas, as long as the queen lived, her marriage, as being judged null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the court of Rome or any of that party."

" Anne Boleyn had been the king's wife three years, but at this time he entertained a secret love for Jane Seymour [Anne's maid of honour], who had all the charms both of beauty and youth in her person ; and her humour was tempered between the severe gravity of Queen Catherine and the gay pleasantness of Queen Anne.

"The queen, perceiving this, used all possible arts to recover that affection. But the success was quite contrary to what she designed, for the king saw her no more with those eyes which she had formerly captivated, but grew jealous and began to suspect her.

"She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and discretion. She had rallied some of the king's servants more than became her.

"Her brother, the Lord Rochford, was her friend as well as brother; but his spiteful wife [a lady of the bed chamber], was jealous of him, and being a woman of no sort of virtue—as will appear afterwards by her serving Queen Catherine Howard in her evil practices, for she was attainted and executed—she carried many stories to the king, or some

about him, to persuade that there was greater familiarity between them beyond so near a relation could justify.

“Henry Norris, that was groom of the stole; Weston and Brereton, that were of the king’s privy chamber; and one Mark Smeton, a musician, were all observed to have much of her favour.

“ Many circumstances were brought to the king, which, working upon his aversion to the queen, together with his affection for Mistress Seymour, made him conclude her guilty.

“Yet somewhat which himself observed or fancied, at a tilting at Greenwich, is believed to have given the crisis to her ruin. It is said that he spied her let her handkerchief fall to one of her gallants to wipe his face, being hot after a course, and thereupon immediately returned to Whitehall, it being the 1st of May [1536].

“The queen was immediately restrained to her chamber; the other five were also seized on; but none of them would confess anything but Mark Smeton. Upon this, they were carried to the Tower. The poor queen was in sad condition, and seeing that the king was in earnest, she desired to have the sacrament in her closet, and expressed great devotion, and seemed to be prepared for death.

“The Duke of Norfolk and some of the king’s council saw her at the Tower, but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe that Norris and Mark had accused her. But when they were gone, she fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often: ‘Jesus have mercy on me,’ and desired to have the sacrament still by her, that she might cry for mercy.

“This misery of the queen drew after it the common effects that follow persons under such disgrace, for now all the court was against her, and everyone was courting the rising queen. But Cranmer had not learned these arts, and had a better soul in him than to be capable of such baseless and ingratitude.

“He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived a high opinion of her, and so could not easily receive ill impressions of her; yet he knew the king’s temper, and that a downright justification of her would provoke him. He wrote on the 3rd of May, with all the softness that so tender a point required, in which he justified her, as far as was consistent with prudence and charity.

“ But jealousy and the king’s new affection had quite defaced all the remainders of esteem for the beloved queen; yet the ministers continued practising, to get further evidence for the trial, which was not brought on till the 12th of May; and then Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton were tried by a commission of Oyer and Terminer, in Westminster Hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were formed by two grand juries, in the counties of Kent and Middlesex, the crimes with which they were charged being said to be done in both these counties. Mark Smeton confessed he had known the queen carnally three times; the other three pleaded not guilty; but the jury, upon the evidence formerly mentioned, found them all guilty, and judgment was given, some to be hanged, others to be beheaded, as guilty of high treason.

“On the 15th of May, the queen and her brother, the Lord Rochford, were brought to

be tried by their peers; the Duke of Norfolk being lord high steward for that occasion. With him sat the Duke of Suffolk and other peers, in all twenty-six.

"Here the Queen of England, by .an unheard-of precedent [and without the aid of counsel], was brought to the bar [within the walls of the Tower] and indicted of high treason. When the indictment was read, she held up her hand and pleaded not guilty, and so did her brother, and answered the evidence brought against her discreetly.

"One thing is remarkable, that Mark Smeton, who was the only person that confessed anything, was never confronted with the queen, nor was kept to be an evidence against her; for he had received his sentence three days before, and so could be no witness in law. But perhaps, though, he was wrought on to confess, yet they did not think that he had confidence enough to aver it to the queen's face; yet this, or rather the terror of offending the king, so wrought on the lords, that they found her and her brother guilty, and judgment was given that she should be burnt or beheaded, at the king's pleasure.

"The Lord Rochford was also condemned to be beheaded and quartered. Yet all this did not satisfy the enraged king, but the marriage between him and her must be annulled, and the issue illegitimated. On the 17th of May she was brought to Lambeth; and in court, the afflicted archbishop sitting judge, some person of quality being present, she confessed some just and lawful impediments; by which it was evident that her marriage with the king was not valid. Upon which confession, the marriage between the king and her was judged to have been null and void.

"Two days after this, she was ordered to be executed in the green on Tower Hill; and writing the king the night before her execution, she said he had, from a private gentlewoman, first made her a marchioness, and then a queen; and now, since he could raise her no longer, was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She protested her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care.

"Kingston, the Lieutenant of the Tower, records, on the morning of her death, 'I have seen many men, and also women, executed, and that they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death.'

"A little before noon, being the 19th of May, she was brought to the scaffold, where she made a short speech to a great company that came to the last scene of this fatal tragedy, the chief of whom were the Dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the Lord Chancellor, and Cromwell, with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and Aldermen of London. She said she was come to die, as she was judged by the law; she would accuse none, nor say anything of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king, and called him a most merciful and gentle prince, and that he had been always to her a good, gentle, sovereign lord; and if any would meddle with her cause, she required them to judge the best. And so she took her leave of them and the world, and heartily desired they would pray for her.

"After she had been some time in her devotions, her last words being, 'To Christ I commend my soul,' her head was cut off by the hangman. Her body, thrown into a common chest of elm tree, was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o'clock.

"Her brother, with the other four, did also suffer. None of them were quartered, but they were all beheaded except Smeton, who was hanged. It was generally said that he was

corrupted into that confession, and had his life promised him, but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales.

"These proceedings occasioned as great a variety of censures as there were diversity of interests, but nothing did more evidently discover the secret cause of this queen's ruin than the king's marrying Jane Seymour the day after her execution"; and, says Goldsmith, "his cruel heart being no way softened by the wretched fate of one that had been so lately the object of his warmest affections."

Jane had been Queen Anne's maid of honour, just as she herself had been Queen Katherine's, and was the eldest of eight children of Sir John Seymour, a country esquire, of Wolf Hall, Wiltshire.

Henry's first wife—Katherine—devoted to him to the last, had died at Kimbolton Castle the previous January, and was buried in the abbey church, now the cathedral, of Peterborough.

Shortly before her death, Henry, hearing she was ill, sent a kind message to her, and is said to have received the news of her death with some regret.

Making her will, she forgave him all the trouble he had caused her, and added, "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things."

On the 12th of October, 1537, Jane Seymour was delivered, after great suffering, of a boy at Hampton Court, and, after enduring terrible pain, she unfortunately expired twelve days afterwards. She was buried at Windsor.

Baptised Edward, and with Cranmer for his godfather, the young prince became, in his tenth year, the amiable king known as Edward VI., the next sovereign of that name being, after an interval of some 350 years, our own good King Edward VII,

Under date 1537, we alluded to English divines visiting Germany. In the summer of 1538, "Lutheran divines were," Froude tells us, "invited to England to discuss the terms of their confession with the bishops; and though unsuccessful in the immediate object of finding terms of communion, they did not return without having established, as it seemed, a generally cordial relationship with the English reformers.

"Purgatory, episcopal ordination, the marriage of the clergy, were the comparatively unimportant points of difference.

"On the vital doctrine of the real presence, the Lutherans were as jealously sensitive as the vast majority of the English."

These divines came from Saxony, and their presence in England was made the pretext for charging the king with a leaning towards doctrines with which he was most anxious to disavow a connection, by those Catholics at home and abroad who persisted in identifying a separation from Rome with heresy.

And Henry now chose out for prosecution a conspicuous member of the Christian brotherhood, John Lambert, who had already been in trouble for suspicion of heresy, and, left

in prison by Sir Thomas More, had been set at liberty by Cranmer.

He was now arrested on the charge of having denied the real presence, contrary to the Articles of Faith, and, tried in the Archbishop's Court and there condemned, he appealed to the king.

"Lambert [known also as John Nicholson] had," Bishop Burnet tells us, "been minister of the English company at Antwerp, where, being acquainted with Tyndal and Frith, he improved that knowledge of religion which was first infused in him by Bilney; but Chancellor More ordered the merchants to dismiss him, so he came over to England, and was taken by some of Archbishop Warham's officers, and many articles were objected to him.

"But Warham died soon after, and the change of counsels that followed occasioned his liberty. So he kept a school at London, and hearing Dr. Taylor, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, preach of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his reasons why he could not believe the doctrine he had preached, which he put in writing, digesting them into ten arguments.

"Taylor shewed this to Dr. Barnes, who, as he was bred among the Lutherans, thought that nothing would more obstruct the progress of the Reformation than the venting that doctrine in England. Therefore, Taylor and he carried the paper to Cranmer, who was, at that time, also of Luther's opinion. Latimer was of the same belief. So Lambert was brought before them, and they studied to make him retract his paper; but all was in vain, for Lambert, by a fatal resolution, appealed to the king.

"This Gardiner laid hold on, and persuaded the king to proceed solemnly and severely in it. The king was soon prevailed with, and both interest and vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity for shewing his zeal and learning. .

"So letters were written to many of the nobility and bishops, to come and see this trial, in which the king intended to sit in person and to manage some part of the argument.

"When the court was opened in Westminster Hall, on the 16th of November, 1538, there was a great appearance of the bishops and clergy, the nobility, judges, and the king's council, with an incredible number of spectators. The king's guards were all in white, and so was the cloth of state."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

RETURNING to Froude, he tells us that “In the grey twilight of the dawn the whole peerage of England, lay and spiritual, took their seats to the right and left of the throne. The twelve judges placed themselves on raised benches at the back, the prisoner was brought in, and soon after the king entered, clothed all in white, with the yeomen of the guard.

“The Bishop of Carlisle rose first to open the case. The king, he said, had put down the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome, but it was not to be thought, therefore, that he intended to give license to heresy.

“They were not met, at present, to discuss doctrines, but to try a person accused of a crime, by the laws of the church and of the country.

“Lambert was then ordered to stand forward.

“‘What is your name?’ the king asked. ‘My name is Nicholson,’ he said, ‘though I be called Lambert.’

“‘What!’ the king said, ‘have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, though you were my brother.’

“The persecutions of the bishops, Lambert answered, had obliged him to disguise himself; but now God had inspired the king’s mind, endowing him with wisdom and understanding to stay their cruelty.

“‘I come not here,’ said Henry, ‘to hear mine own praises pointed out in my presence. Go to the matter without more circumstance; answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, is it the body of Christ or no? ’

“‘I answer with Augustine,’ the prisoner said, ‘it is the body of Christ after a certain manner.’

“‘Answer me not out of St. Augustine,’ said the king; ‘tell me plainly whether it be He.’

“‘Then I say it is not,’ was the answer.

“‘Mark well,’ the king replied; ‘you are condemned by Christ’s own words—“Hoc est corpus meum,” ’ He turned to Cranmer, and told him to convince the prisoner of his error.

“The argument began in the morning. First Cranmer, and, after him, nine other bishops, laboured out their learned reasons - reasons which for 1,500 years had satisfied the whole Christian world, yet had suddenly ceased to be of cogency.

“The torches were lighted before the last prelate had ceased to speak.

“Then once more the king asked Lambert for his opinion. ‘After all these labours taken with you, are you yet satisfied? ’ he said. ‘Choose, will you live, or will you die?’

“‘I submit myself to the will of your Majesty,’ Lambert said.

‘“Commit your soul to God,’ replied Henry, ‘not to me.’

“‘I commit my soul to God,’ he said, ‘and my body to your clemency.’

“‘Then you must die,’ the king said; ‘I will be no patron of heretics.’

“It was over. The appeal was rejected. Cromwell read the sentence. Four days’ interval was allowed before the execution.

“The morning on which Lambert suffered he was taken to Cromwell’s house, where he breakfasted simply in the hall; and afterwards he died at Smithfield, crying with his last breath, ‘None but Christ! None but Christ! ’ ”

“He was executed,” Bishop Burnet tells us, ‘in a barbarous manner, for when his legs and thighs were burnt to the stumps, there not being fire enough to consume the rest of him suddenly, two of the officers raised up his body on their halberds, he being alive, and crying out [as Froude tells us] ‘None but Christ; none but Christ!’ and then they let him fall down into the fire, where he was quickly consumed to ashes.

“He was a learned and good man. His answers to the articles objected to him by Warham, and a book which in his imprisonment he wrote for justifying his opinion, which he dedicated to the king, do shew both great learning, for those times, and a very good judgment.

“ This being done, the party that opposed the Reformation did magnify all the king had said, as if the oracle had uttered it; by which they said it appeared he was indeed a defender of the faith, and the supreme head of the church.

“And he had so good a conceit of what was done, that he intended to pursue these severities further, and likewise make a new law for punishing some opinions which were then spreading, about the sacrament and some other articles.”

Speaking of men’s opinions, Froude says that at this time, “To the Romanist, schism and heresy were an equal crime. All who had separated from the papal communion were alike outcasts, cut off from grace, children of perdition.

“The Anglican [Romanist in all else but pope’s supremacy] could extend the terms of salvation only to those who submitted to ordinances, to the apostolical succession, and the system of the sacraments.

“The Lutherans anathematised those who denied the real presence. The followers of Zuinglius and Calvin, judging others as they were themselves judged, disclaimed and murdered such as had difficulties on the nature of the Trinity. The Unitarians gave the same measure to those who rejected the inspiration of Scripture.

“And with the word ‘heretic’ went along the full passion of abhorrence which had descended the historical stream of Christianity in connection with the name.

“ To the Lutheran party belonged Cranmer, Latimer, Barnes, Shaxton, Crome, Hilsey, Jerome, Barlow, all the government reformers of position and authority adhering to the real presence, and in a general sense, to the sacraments, but melting them away in the interpretation.

“The true creed of these men was spiritual, not mechanical; they abhorred idolatry, images, pilgrimages, ceremonies, with a Puritan fervour.

“They rejected masses, they did not receive the sacerdotal system, they doubted purgatory, they desired that the clergy should be allowed to marry, they differed from the Protestants in the single but vital doctrine of transubstantiation.”

Referring to this period, Goldsmith tells us: “Those who adhered to the pope, or those who followed the doctrines of Luther, were equally the objects of royal vengeance and ecclesiastical persecution. From the multiplied alterations which were made in the national systems of belief, mostly drawn up by Henry himself, few knew what to think or what to profess.

“Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer were both seen to favour the Reformation with all their endeavours. On the other hand, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Norfolk, were for leading the king back to his original superstition.”

“After Lambert’s trial,” continues the bishop, “Cranmer’s interest at court now suffered a great diminution, his only firm friend there being Cromwell, who was also careful to preserve himself. There was not a queen now in the king’s bosom to favour their motions. Queen Jane had been their friend, though she came in Anne Boleyn’s room, that had supported them most.

“The king-was observed to be much guided by his wives, as long as they kept their interest with him. Therefore, Cromwell thought the only way was to engage the king in an alliance with some of the princes of Germany, from whence he had heard much of the beauty of the Lady Anne of Cleves, the Duke of Cleve’s sister, whose eldest sister was married to the Duke of Saxony.

“But while he was setting this on foot. Parliament was summoned to meet the 28th of April, 1539, and the first sign of reaction in Henry’s policy was seen in the bill of the six memorable articles, which was passed by this Parliament.”

The title of this measure was, “An Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion.”

And the six articles, or “The whip with six strings,” as the Protestants termed them, were as follow:—

That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present.

That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds.

That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God.

That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God.

That the use of private masses ought to be continued; which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them.

That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church.

"To give room for differences of opinion, two committees," says Froude, " had been appointed, the first consisting of Cranmer, the Bishops of Ely and St. David's, and Sir William Petre; the other of the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, and Dr. Tregonnell.

"The separate reports were drawn and presented. The peers accepted the second [the one with the hardest penalties], and 'the cruel character of the resolutions was attributed, by sound authority, to the special influence of Gardiner.'"

The Act received the royal assent on the 28th of June, 1539, and, referring to it, Green says: "A more terrible feature of the reaction was the revival of persecution.

"Burning was denounced as the penalty for a denial of transubstantiation. It was only on a second offence that it became the penalty for an infraction of the other five doctrines. A refusal to confess or attend mass was made felony.

"It was in vain that Cranmer, with the five bishops who partially sympathised with the Protestants, struggled against the bill in the Lords.

"But, zealous as Henry was for order, he was still true in heart to the cause of a moderate reform."

Present in the House of Lords " when the bill passed, Henry," Bishop Burnet tells us, " desired Cranmer to go out of the House, since he could not give his consent to it; but he humbly excused himself, for he thought he was bound in conscience to stay and vote against it."

And the same day, "the king, apprehending that the archbishop might be much cast down with the Act, sent for him and told him that he had heard how much and with what learning he had argued against it, and therefore desired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him.

"Next day he sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Lord Cromwell, to dine with him; ordering them to assure him of the king's constant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could.

"When they were at table with him at Lambeth, they ran out much on his commendation, and acknowledged he had opposed the Act with so much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even those that differed from him were much taken with what he said, and that he needed fear nothing from the king.

" Cromwell saying, that this difference the king put between him and all his other counsellors : that when complaints were brought of others, the king received them, and tried the truth of them; but he would not so much as hearken to any complaint of the archbishop.

"From that he went on to make a parallel between him and Cardinal Wolsey, that the one lost his friends by his haughtiness and pride, but the other gained on his enemies by his gentleness and mildness.

"Upon which, the Duke of Norfolk said he might best speak of the cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled Cromwell, who answered, that though he had served him, yet he never liked his manners ; and that, though the cardinal had designed, if his attempt for the popedom had been successful, to have made him his admiral, yet he had resolved not to accept it, nor to leave his country.

"To which the Duke of Norfolk replied, with a deep oath, 'that he lied,' with other reproachful language. This troubled Cranmer extremely, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them.

"But now the enmity between those two great ministers broke out to that height that they were never afterwards hearty friends.

"The Act," continues the bishop, "was received, by all that secretly favoured popery, with great joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all those who had hitherto set forward a reformation.

"The popish clergy liked all the Act very well except that severe branch of it against their unchaste practices.

"There was but one comfort that the poor reformers could pick out of the whole Act—that they were not left to the mercy of the clergy and their ecclesiastical courts, but were to be tried by a jury.

" Shaxton and Latimer, the Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester, within a week after the session of Parliament, resigned their bishoprics ; but they, being presented as having spoken against the six Articles, were put in prison, where the one lay till the king died, and the other till a little before his death.

"And in a very little time five hundred Protestants were indicted and put in prison under the Act. Cranmer himself was only saved by Henry's personal favour.

"Upon this, not only Cranmer and Cromwell, but the Duke of Suffolk, and Audley, the chancellor, represented to the king how hard it would be, and of what ill consequence, to execute the law upon so many persons. So the king was prevailed with to pardon them all."

Persons, however, accused of treason continued to be sent to the gallows or stake, as hitherto. " On the 4th of December there were," continues the bishop, " indicted Sir Geofrey Pole, for holding correspondence with his brother, Cardinal Pole, of a treasonable character, and saying that he approved of his proceedings, but not of the king's; Sir Edward Nevill, for saying the king was a beast, and worse than a beast; George Crofts, chancellor of the

cathedral of Chichester, for saying the king was not, but the pope was, the supreme head of the church ; and John Collins, for saying the king would hang in hell one day for the plucking down of the abbeys.

"All were condemned and executed but Sir Edward Nevill, who had discovered the matter.

"At the same time, also, Cardinal Pole, Michael Throgmorton, gentleman; John Hilliard and Thomas Goldwell, clerks; and William Peyto, a Franciscan of the Observance, were attainted in absence, because they had cast off their duty to the king, and had subjected themselves to the Bishop of Rome, Pole being made cardinal by him; and for writing treasonable letters and sending them into England.

" On the 4th of February following, Sir Nicholas Carew, master of the horse, was arraigned for being an adherent to the Marquis of Exeter—already executed, with Lord Montacute, for treasonable designs against the king. He was also attainted and executed upon the 3rd of March.

" When brought to the scaffold, he openly acknowledged the errors and superstition in which he had formerly lived, and blessed God for his imprisonment; for he then began to relish the life and sweetness of God's holy Word, which was brought him by his keeper, one Phillips, who followed the Reformation, and had formerly suffered for it.

"After the executions followed the Parliament, in the year 1539, in which not only these attainders that were already passed were confirmed, but new ones of a strange and unheard-of nature were enacted.

"It is a blemish never to be washed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice which is capable of no excuse.

" It was the attainting of some persons whom they held in custody without bringing them to a trial, concerning which I shall add what the great Lord Chief Justice writes :

"'Although I question not the power of the Parliament, for without question the attainder stands of force in law, yet this I say of the manner of proceeding, auferat oblivio, si potest, si non utemuque silentium tegat. For the more high and absolute the jurisdiction of the court is, the more just and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give example of justice to inferior courts.'

"The chief of these were the Marchioness of Exeter and the Countess of Sarum [Salisbury]. The special matter charged on the former is her confederating herself to Sir Nicholas Carew in his treasons; to which is added, 'that she had committed divers other abominable treasons.' The latter is said 'to have confederated herself with her son, the cardinal, and forbade her tenants to have the New Testament in English, or any of the books that had been published by the king's authority.' She was kept two years prisoner in the Tower. Beheaded, in her the name and line of Plantagenet determined.

"The Marchioness of Exeter died a natural death."

More executions followed next year. “Giles Heron was attainted of treason, no special matter being mentioned.

“Richard Fetherstonn, Thomas Abell, and Edward Pole, priests, and William Horn, a yeoman, were attainted for denying the king’s supremacy and adhering to the Bishop of Rome.

“One Laurence Cook, of Doncaster, was also attainted for contriving the king’s death; and for refusing her duty of allegiance, and denying Prince Edward to be heir of the crown, the wife of one Tirrell, esquire, was attainted.

“Three clerks, and Clement Philpot, a gentleman, were attainted for corresponding with Cardinal Pole, and for adhering to the Bishop of Rome.

“William Bird, a priest, and chaplain to the Lord Hungerford, was attainted for having said to one that was going to assist the rebels in the north, ‘I am sorry thou goest. Seest thou not how the king plucketh down images and abbeys every day? And if the king go thither himself, he will never come home again, and in truth it were pity he should ever come home again.’

“And at another time, upon one’s saying ‘O good Lord, I ween all the world will be heretics in a little time,’ Bird said, ‘Dost thou marvel at that? I tell thee it is no marvel, for the great master of all is a heretic, and such an one as there is not his like in the world.’

“The Lord Hungerford was likewise attainted. The crimes specified are, that he, knowing Bird to be a traitor, did entertain him in his house as his chaplain ; that he ordered another of his chaplains, Sir Hugh Wood, and one, Doctor Maudlen, to use conjuring, that they might know how long the king should live, and whether he should be victorious over his enemies or not.”

CHAPTER XL.

RETURNING to 1539, in that year the king, at Cranmer's intercession, granted the free use of the Scriptures, by letters patent directed to Cromwell, bearing date the 13th of November, the substance of which was: " That the king was desirous to have his subjects attain the knowledge of God's Word, which could not be effected by any means so well as by granting them the free and liberal use of the Bible in the English tongue, which, to avoid dissension, he intended should pass among them only by one translation.

"'Therefore Cromwell was charged to take care that for the space of five years there should be no impression of the Bible, or any part of it, but only by such as should be assigned by him.'"

"The great matter of the king's marriage," continues the bishop, "came on at this time. Many reports were brought the king of the beauty of Anne of Cleves, so that he inclined to ally himself with that family.

"Hans Holbein, having taken her picture, sent it over to the king. But in that he bestowed the common compliment of his art somewhat too liberally. The king liked the picture better than the original when he had the occasion afterwards to compare them.

"The Duke of Saxony, who was very zealous for the Augsburg confession, finding the king had declined so much from it, dissuaded the match.

"But Cromwell set it on mightily, expecting a great support from a queen of his own making, whose friends, being all Lutherans, it tended also to bring down the popish party at court.

"Those that had seen the lady did much commend her beauty and person. But she could speak no language but Dutch, to which the king was a stranger; nor was she bred to music, with which the king was much taken. So that, except her person had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by.

"After some months' treaty, her brother, the Duke of Cleves (for his father was lately dead), and one of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine, with other ambassadors from the Duke of Saxony, came over and concluded the match.

"In the end of December [1539] she was brought over to England, and the king, being impatient to see her, went down incognito to Rochester."

From Froude we gather that she had been conducted to Calais under a German escort, and there received by Lord Southampton and four hundred English nobles and gentlemen.

Resting here for a few days, waiting calmer weather, she crossed the channel on Saturday, the 27th of December, landing under the walls of Deal Castle, the Duke of Suffolk receiving her and conveying her to Dover, where she remained Sunday over.

On Monday she continued her journey, staying the night at Canterbury, and the next evening at Sittingbourne.

And on New Year's Eve they reached Rochester, "to which," says Froude, "the king was already hastening, for the sight of the lady, the fame of whose charms had been sounded in his ears so loudly.

"He came down in private, attended only by Sir Anthony Brown, the master of the horse. His visit was meant for a surprise. He had brought with him 'a little present,' a graceful gift of some value, to soften the embarrassment and conciliate, at first sight, the lovely being into whose presence he was to be introduced.

"The master of the horse was sent in to announce his arrival and request permission for his highness to present himself."

Sir Anthony, relating afterwards his impressions of Anne, says: "'The graces of Anne of Cleves were moral only, not intellectual, and not personal. She was simple, quiet, modest, sensible, and conscientious; but her beauty existed only in the imagination of the painter. Her presence was ladylike, but her complexion was thick and dark, her features were coarse, her figure large, loose, and corpulent.'

"The required permission was given. The king entered. His heart sank; his presence of mind forsook him; he was 'suddenly quite discouraged and amazed' at the prospect which was opened before him. He forgot his present, he almost forgot his courtesy. He did not stay in the room 'to speak twenty words.' He would not even stay in Rochester.

'"Very sad and pensive,' says Brown, he entered his barge and hurried back to Greenwich, anxious to escape from the unwelcome neighbourhood.

"Anne arrived at the palace at Greenwich, in her barge, on Saturday, the 3rd of January, 1540; and Henry, meeting her, conducted her from the stairs to her apartments, and on the way Cromwell saw her.

"The sovereign and the minister then retired together, and the just displeasure became visible. 'How say you, my Lord?' the king said. 'Is it not as I told you? Say what they will, she is nothing fair. The personage is well and seemly, but nothing else.'

"Cromwell attempted faintly to soothe him by suggesting that she had 'a queenly manner.' The king agreed to that, but the recommendation was insufficient to overcome the repugnance which he had conceived."

Two days later we find the king, returning to the subject, addressing Cromwell as follows:

"'I have been ill-handled. If it were not that she is come so far into England, and for fear of making a ruffle in the world, and driving her brother into the emperor's and French king's hands now being together, I would never have her. But now it is too far gone; wherefore I am sorry.'"

Tuesday, the 6th of January, was the day fixed for the marriage. "As Henry was preparing for the sacrifice, he called Cromwell to him in the chamber of presence. 'My lord,' he said openly, 'if it were not to satisfy the world and my realm, I would not do that I must do this day for none earthly thing.' The marriage was solemnized."

"The union of France and the empire, which had obliged the accomplishment of this unluckly connection, prevented either an open fracas or an alteration in the policy of the kingdom. Cromwell continued in power, and the Protestants remained in security.

"Henry was personally kind to Anne. His provocations did not tempt him into discourtesy."

On the 12th of April, Parliament met again, and, "after the Lord Chancellor had opened the reasons," says Bishop Burnet, for the king's meeting them at that time, Cromwell, as Lord Vicegerent spake next in the king's name, and said:

"'There was nothing which the king so much desired as a firm union among all his subjects, in which he placed his chief security.

"'The rashness and licentiousness of some of his majesty's subjects had raised great dissensions, to the sad regret of all good Christians. Some were called papists, others heretics; which bitterness, of spirit seemed the more strange, since now the Holy Scriptures, by the king's great care of his people, were in all their hands, in a language which they understood.

"'But these were grossly perverted by both sides, who studied rather to justify their passions out of them than to direct their belief by them. The king leaned neither to the one nor to the other party, but set the pure and sincere doctrine of the Christian faith only before his eyes.

"'And therefore was now resolved to have this set forth to his subjects, without any corrupt mixtures; and to have such decent ceremonies continued, and the true use of them taught, by which all abuses cut off, and disputes about the exposition of the Scriptures cease, that so all his subjects might be well instructed in their faith, and directed in the reverent worship of God; and resolved to punish severely all transgressors, of what sort or side soever they were.

"'The king was resolved that Christ, that the Gospel of Christ, and the truth, should have the victory; and therefore had appointed some bishops and divines to draw up an exposition of those things that were necessary for the institution of a Christian man; who were the two Archbishops, the bishops of London, Druesme [Durham], Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. David's, and Doctors Thirleby, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgeworth, Cray ford, Symonds, Robins, and Tresham.

"'He had also appointed others to examine what ceremonies should be retained, and what was the true use of them; who were the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum [Salisbury], Chichester, Worcester, and Llandaff.'

"The Lords approved of this nomination, and ordered that these committees should sit constantly on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; and on other days they were to sit in the afternoon."

It would doubtless have been interesting to have learned the result of the meetings of these important committees, but we fail to trace anything more than that Parliament, on the 20th of July following, enacted: " That whatsoever was determined by the archbishops,

bishops, and other divines, now commissionated, or by any others appointed by the king, or by the whole clergy of England, and published 'by the king's authority, concerning the Christian faith, or the ceremonies of the church, should be believed and obeyed by all the king's subjects; as well as if the particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this Act, any custom or law to the contrary notwithstanding."

"To this," says Bishop Burnet, "a strange proviso was added, which destroyed the former clause, 'That nothing should be done or determined by the authority of this Act which was contrary to the laws and statutes of the kingdom.'"

Severe alike to both parties, Cromwell's speech is noteworthy as showing that Protestants were now considered as much a part of the state as Catholics, an evidence, too, of the marvellous change which had taken place in the religious feelings of the nation since the Bible found its way into the churches.

And probably it was the last time that he had the opportunity of addressing Parliament, for by a clever scheme, patiently planned, Norfolk and Gardiner succeeded, in little more than a couple of months hence, in accomplishing his ruin, as we shall presently see.

"Parliament," says the National History of England, "was called together to replenish the king's exchequer. The immense sums procured from the dissolution of the monasteries had already been wasted, and to open another source which promised to be bountiful it was resolved to despoil the Knights of Malta, who owned many rich lands, houses, and moveable goods in England.

"The plan of this confiscation came from the vicar-general, and Henry was so much pleased with it that, five days after the meeting of Parliament, he elevated him to the earldom of Essex, which had just become vacant.

" One of Cromwell's first measures in the new Parliament was to settle the dowry of Queen Anne, after which the demanded subsidies to the king were voted without opposition, as well as the spoliation of the Maltese Knights, on the ground that 'they had lost the Island of Rhodes to the Turks, and that their revenues might be better employed.'

"This having been accomplished, Henry opened his heart to Cromwell on another subject, that of getting rid of his wife. But he, for the first time since he had made himself the slave of the king, offered opposition. Being well aware of Henry's passion for Catherine Howard, he rightly judged that the fall of the Queen would lead to his own destruction, and probably the loss of his life, and therefore spoke eloquently in her behalf."

Catherine Howard, like the late Ann Boleyn, was a niece of the Duke of Norfolk, and though her parents, the Lord and Lady Howard, were still living, she had been brought up in the household of the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, her grandmother.

And, as part of the clever scheme we have incidentally referred to, she had, without his previous knowledge, been brought to the notice of the king, by arrangement, as follows:

"Humbly solicited," says the National History of England, "the king honoured Gardiner one day by a dinner visit, when he found at the table a relative of the Duke of

Norfolk, Catherine Howard, a beautiful creature, small featured, dark eyed, and altogether bewitching. He instantly got enamoured, and the obliging bishop [Gardiner] so far favoured the sentiment as not only to give Henry every opportunity of declaring his passion, but arranging subsequent meetings, more or less clandestine, within the precincts of his own mansion."

Returning to Cromwell and the king: "With wonted hypocrisy, Henry pretended to be convinced by the arguments of his minister in favour of retaining the queen, only lamenting that she was 'unfit to nourish love.'

"But the pretended submission served but to mask the plans of the king, who from that moment determined to get rid of his old servant now that he had become an obstacle in the way of his passion.

"There were long and intimate conferences with Catherine and her friends, and the result became visible on the 1oth of June, in the sudden arrest of the Earl of Essex [Cromwell]. He was presiding at the council board, in the full exercise of his exalted power, when his great enemy, the Duke of Norfolk, marched into the room, accompanied by soldiers, and, laying hold of him, exclaimed, ' I arrest you in the name of the king."

"Cromwell quietly walked to the Tower, in the midst of the guards, followed by a mob led by papists."

"He had many enemies," says Bishop Burnet, "among all sorts of persons. The nobility despised him. All the popish party hated him out of measure. The suppression of the abbeys was laid wholly at his door.

"But other more secret reasons wrought his ruin with the king. The fear he was in of a conjunction between the emperor and France did not abate, for he understood that it went no further than compliments.

"Another secret cause was, that as the king had an unconquerable aversion to his queen, so he was taken with the beauty and behaviour of Mistress Katherine Howard, daughter of the Lord Edmund Howard, a brother of the Duke of Norfolk.

"And as this designed match raised the credit of her uncle, so the ill consequences of the former drew him down who had been the chief counseller in it.

"In his fall, Cromwell had the common fate of all disgraced ministers, to be forsaken by his friends and insulted over by his enemies. Only Cranmer retained still so much of his former simplicity that he could never learn these court arts.

"Cromwell's ruin was now decreed. A bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords on the 17th of June, which was passed by both Houses on the 19th. And that very day the king assented to it.

"His fall was the first step towards the king's divorce, for on the 25th of June he sent his queen to Richmond, pretending the country air would agree better with her. But on the 6th of July a motion was made and assented to in the House of Lords, that they should make an

address to the king, desiring him to suffer his marriage with the queen to be tried. To which the king consented.

"So a commission was issued out to the Convocation to try it." And on the 7th of July the case was opened by the Bishop of Winchester, and a committee appointed to consider it, the result being the singular decision, "That the king, having married her against his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and complete consent; and since a man's act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promises do not bind."

"So that the whole convocation, without one disagreeing vote, judged the marriage null and of no force, and that both the king and the lady were free from the bond of it.

" This was the greatest piece of compliance that ever the king had from the clergy, for they laid down a most pernicious precedent for invalidating all public treaties and agreements ; since, if one of the parties being unwilling to it, so that his consent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there was no safety among men more. For no man can know whether another consents inwardly."

"On the 10th of July, the Archbishop of Canterbury reported to the House of Lords that the Convocation had judged the marriage null, both by the law of God and the law of the land. The Bishop of Winchester delivered the judgment in writing, which, being read, he enlarged on all the reasons of it. This satisfied the Lords, and they sent down Cranmer and him to the Commons to give them the same account.

"Next day the king sent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of Winchester, to let the queen know what was done. They told her that the king would, by letters patent, declare her his adopted sister, and give her precedence before all the ladies of England, next to his queen and daughter, and assign her an estate of £3,000 a year, and that she had her choice either to live in England or to return home again.

"She accepted the offer, and under her hand declared her consent and approbation of the sentence, and chose to live in England, where she was in great honour, rather than return under that disgrace to her own country.

"She was also desired to write to her brother, and let him know that she approved of what was done in her matter, and that the king used her as a father, or a brother; and therefore to desire him and her other friends not to take this matter ill, or lessen their friendship to the king." This she did on the 12th of July, and the same day Parliament passed a bill annulling the marriage.

Cromwell, after he had been six weeks a prisoner, was brought to his execution. "He had," says Bishop Burnet, "used all the endeavours he could for his own preservation. Once he wrote to the king in such melting terms that be made the letter to be thrice read, and seemed touched with it.

"But the charms of Katherine Howard, and the endeavours of the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Winchester, at length prevailed; so a warrant was sent to cut off his head, on the 28th of July, 1540, at Tower Hill.

“When he was brought to the scaffold, his kindness to his son made him very cautious in what he said. He acknowledged his sins against God, and his offences against his king, who had raised him from a base degree.

“He declared that he died in the Catholic faith, not doubting of any article of faith, or of any sacrament of the church, and denied that he had been a supporter of those who believed ill opinions. He confessed he had been seduced, but now died in the Catholic faith, and desired them to pray for the king and for himself; and then prayed very fervently for the remission of his past sins, and admittance into eternal glory; and having given the sign, the executioner cut off his head very barbarously.

“Thus fell that great minister. His great wisdom, and dexterity in business, raised him up through several steps till he became as great as a subject could be. He carried his greatness with wonderful temper and moderation, and fell under the weight of popular odium rather than guilt.

“By what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died, but it is certain he was a Lutheran. The term Catholic faith used by him seemed to make it doubtful, but that was then used in England [and still seen in our Athanasian Creed] in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome.”

Referring to this, Froude says: “The last effort of Cromwell’s enemies was to send him out of the world with a lie upon his lips, to call in his dying witness in favour of falsehoods which he gave up his life to overthrow.

“But a fairer version of his parting faith will be found in words which those who loved him handed down as his last prayer to the Saviour:

“‘O Lord Jesu, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in Thee, I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly to Thy most blessed will; and, being sure that the thing cannot perish which is submitted to Thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in some hope that Thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day in the resurrection of the just.

“‘I beseech Thee, most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that Thou wilt by Thy grace make strong my soul against all temptation, and defend me with the buckler of Thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is m myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust is in Thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before Thee; of sin and evil works, alas! I see a great heap.

“‘But yet, through Thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom Thou wilt not impute their sins, but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wast born for my sake; Thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; all Thy holy actions and works Thou wroughtest for my sake; Thou sufferedst both grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally Thou gavest Thy most precious body and blood to be shed on the cross for my sake.

“‘Now, most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me that Thou hast freely done for me, which hast given Thyself also for me. Let Thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots

and foulness of my sins. Let Thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of Thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, Thy grace, that the faith in my salvation in Thy blood waver not, but may ever be firm and constant; that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me; that love wax not cold in me; finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with fear of death.

"'Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon Thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto Thee, " Lord, into Thy hands I commend my soul."

"'Lord Jesu, receive my spirit. Amen.'[1]

"With these words upon his lips perished a statesman whose character will ever remain a problem. For eight years his influence had been supreme with the king, supreme in Parliament, supreme in Convocation. The nation, in the ferment of revolution, was absolutely controlled by him; and he has left the print of his individual genius stamped indelibly, while the metal was at white heat, into the constitution of the country.

"Wave after wave has rolled over his work. Romanism flowed back over it under Mary: Puritanism, under another even grander Cromwell [Oliver Cromwell], overwhelmed it; but Romanism ebbed again [under Elizabeth], and Puritanism is dead, and the polity of the Church of England remains as it was left by its creator.

"The king is said to have lamented Cromwell's death after it was too late, but the fall of the new queen that followed not long after, and the miseries which fell also on the Duke of Norfolk and his family, some years after, were looked upon as the scourges of heaven for their cruel prosecution of this unfortunate minister.

"Hated by all those who had grown old in an early system— by the wealthy, whose interests were touched by his reforms— Cromwell was the defender of the weak, the defender of the poor, defender of the 'fatherless and forsaken'; and for his work, the long maintenance of it was borne witness that it was good—that he did the thing which England's true interests required to be done.

"Two days after his execution, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome died bravely at the stake [as heretics], their weakness and want of wisdom all atoned for, and serving their Great Master in their deaths better than they had served Him in their lives.

"With them perished, not as heretics, but as traitors, three Romanizing priests [Fetherstone, Abel, and Cook, already referred to]. The united executions were designed as an evidence of the even hand of the council." "One of each," says Bishop Burnet, "was put into a hurdle, and carried together to execution at Smithfield."

1 " Prayer of the Lord Cromwell on the scaffold,—Foxe, vol. 4,"

CHAPTER XLI.

FROM interesting specimens, taken by Froude from "MSS. in State Paper Office," of the language used by different men towards Cromwell, after his execution, we extract the following:—

"'I did ask of my friends,' said a Mr. Lascelles, 'what news there were pertaining to God's holy word; we have lost, I said, so noble a man, which did love and favour it so well. I supposed the ringleaders, as the Duke of Norfolk and my Lord of Winchester [Gardiner], not to lean that way; and I did advise that we should not be rash and quick; for if we would let them alone, and suffer a little time, they would, I doubt not, overthrow themselves, standing manifestly against God and their prince.'

'"A servant of Cromwell in the Exchequer had married a nun. The Duke of Norfolk met the man a few days after the execution. "I know ye well enough," the Duke said; "by God's body sacred it will never out of my heart as long as I live." The servant quoted scripture. "I never read the Scripture," the duke answered, "nor never will read it. It was merry in England afore the new learning came up; yea, I would all things were as hath been in times past.

"'Now,' said Lord Surrey [son of Norfolk], is that foul churl dead, so ambitious of others' blood; now is he stricken with his own staff.' Knyvet answering that 'it was sin to say ill of dead men,' Surrey replied, 'These new-created men would by their wills leave no nobleman in life.'

"Anne of Cleves," continues Froude, "being pensioned off, the king now married, without delay or circumstance, Catherine, daughter of Lord Edmund Howard. The domestic arrangements were established at last, it was to be hoped, satisfactorily."

In May of this year, 1540, "a new impression of the Bible was," says Bishop Burnet, "finished, and the king, by proclamation, 'required all curates and parishioners of every town and parish to provide themselves a copy of it before Allhallowtide, under the penalty of forfeiting forty shillings a month, after that, till they had one.

"'He declared that he set it forth to the end that his people might, by reading it, perceive the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, observe his commandments, obey the laws and their prince, and live in godly character among themselves.

'"But that the king did not thereby intend that his subjects should presume to expound, or take arguments from Scripture, nor disturb divine service by reading it when mass was celebrating; but should read it meekly, humbly, and reverently, for their instruction, edification, and amendment.'

"Provision was also made for people's daily instruction; and because there could not be found a sufficient number of good preachers, they would not trust the instruction of the people to every one; therefore none was to preach except he had gotten a particular licence for it from the king or his diocesan.

" But, to qualify this, a book of Homilies was printed, in which the Gospels and Epistles of all the Sundays and holy-days of the year were set down, with a homily to every one of these, which is a plain and practical paraphrase on these parcels of Scripture.

"To these were- also added sermons on several occasions, as for weddings, christenings, and funerals; and these were to be read to the people by such as were not licensed to preach."

Returning to Froude, he tells us that "on the 1st of July, Henry set out for the north, in high spirits, accompanied by the queen and council [in expectation of meeting at York his nephew, King James of Scotland].

"He went by Ampthill into Lincolnshire, and passed purposely through that part of the country where the commotion [the Pilgrimage of Grace] had been greatest.

"On the border of Yorkshire he was met by two hundred gentlemen of the shire in coats of velvet, and four thousand tall yeomen well horsed. Every man of the whole company had, doubtless, worn the pilgrim's badges. They now presented themselves in an eager demonstration of loyalty, and made their submission on their knees.

"The clergy, whose guilt had been greater, hastened, with the archbishop at their head, to show equally their repentance, with professions and presents.

"He went to Hull to inspect the fortifications, and at the end of August he was at Pomfret [Pontefract], and here one of the King of Scots' most secret councillors arrived at the court to arrange a meeting between the sovereigns before Henry's return to London.

"The utmost caution was observed. Every person concerned in making arrangements was sworn to secrecy; and although the matter was uncertain, the interview was thought not unlikely to take effect.

"Safe-conducts were prepared by the Lord Chancellor for the Scotch train, and were despatched in haste. The king proceeded to York; and at York, in the middle of September, James was expected to present himself, and it may be supposed that he really intended to come.

"But the proposal had been urged upon him without the privity of a statesman whose influence was a fascination. At the critical moment Cardinal[1] Beton [King James' minister] discovered the scheme, and in an instant all was changed.

"The condition of Europe made the Scotch alliance more than ever necessary to France, and the cardinal successfully interposed for the moment."

" King James' exchequer, at this time, was," says the National History of England, "at a very low figure, hence his projected interview with Henry, to induce him to forego which, his minister, Cardinal Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, with the other bishops) presented him with the offer of a yearly addition of £100,000 to the crown revenues, and, as an earnest of the engagement, put £50,000 into his hand at once, arguments too weighty for James to decline them. Cardinal Beton now had it all his own way, and it being arranged that the

1 Conferred upon him by the pope at the instance of the French king.

meeting with Henry should not take place under any circumstance, a message to that effect was sent to York."

"The principal object," continues Froude, "of the northern progress had failed, and in October Henry came back to Hampton Court to find a fresh domestic calamity preparing for him.

"Though other trials might pursue Henry till his death, he believed himself secure of the attachment and uprightness of Catherine Howard; but on the 2nd of November a letter was brought to him from Cranmer, revealing a story of profligacy necessary to be told, yet too hideous to dwell upon.

"The letter was received at first with utter incredulity. The king had seen nothing in his wife's character to lend credibility to so odious a charge [unchastity before and since her marriage]. He laid the account which the archbishop had sent before such of his ministers as were in attendance.

"Lord Southampton was sent to London to see and examine the archbishop's informant." Named Lascelles, this latter gentleman was probably the same Lascelles who, as we have seen, regretted Cromwell's death. He came to the archbishop, during the king's absence in the north, and told him that his sister had been in the household of the dowager Duchess of Norfolk, where Catherine Howard had been brought up; that he had advised her to seek, on the plea of early acquaintance, for a situation as maid of honour at the palace, and that she had replied that she would not take service under a mistress who, before her marriage, had disgraced herself.

She was sorry to speak in such terms of the king's wife, but she mentioned the names of two gentlemen, one of them her cousin, Francis Derham, the other a person called Mannock, on the establishment of the duchess, with whom her intimacy had been of the most undoubted description.

The archbishop, perplexed and frightened, consulted the chancellor and Lord Hertford, the only members of the council remaining in London, and they agreed that Lascelles' story must be made known to the king before any other step should be taken.

Unable to summon nerve to speak on so serious a subject, Cranmer wrote the king on his return to Hampton Court, as we have just seen.

Finding Lascelles adhere to his story, Lord Southampton, after cautioning him to be silent, went down into Sussex to question the sister, while Derham and Mannock were arrested and sent to the Tower. All was found true, and "Southampton returned with the miserable burden of his discoveries to court."

The Duke of Norfolk, Lord Sussex, the Lord Chancellor, and Cranmer were deputed to wait upon the queen, and hear what she could say in her defence.

"The wretched lady at first attempted a denial, but from the questions which were put to her she discovered that too much was already known, and she acknowledged as much of her guilt as she saw it was useless to deny."

Further inquiries disclosed that Derham had been lately taken back into her service; while another court official, Thomas Culpeper, who had accompanied the progress, had been admitted to interviews late at night in the queen's private apartments by her chosen friend, Lady Rochford, who had kept guard to prevent a surprise. Her establishment had been separate from the king's.

"It soon appeared, too, that the old Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard [the queen's father], the Countess of Bridgewater, and many other members of the family, had been acquainted with her misconduct as a girl, and had nevertheless permitted the marriage to go forward, and had even furthered and encouraged it.

"The offending lady herself was removed to Sion House [devoted to religious women], where she was confined to three rooms, and, with Lady Rochford, waited for the judgment of Parliament upon her.

"Derham and Culpeper were left to the ordinary course of justice. On the 1st of December they were tried in the Guildhall before a special commission. They pleaded guilty, and twelve days after they were hanged at Tyburn."

Parliament met on the 16th of the following month, January, 1542, and on the 21st a bill of attainder was brought in, and on the 28th passed, against the queen and Lady Rochford.

In another clause of the bill it was also enacted that the Duchess Dowager of Norfolk, Countess of Bridgewater, the Lord William Howard and his Lady, with nine other persons that knew the queen's vicious life and had concealed it, should be all attainted of misprision of treason.

"This Act being assented to by the king's letters-patents, the queen and Lady Rochford were," we learn from Bishop Burnet, "beheaded on Tower Hill the 12th of February. The queen confessed the miscarriage of her former life, before the king married her, but stood absolutely to her denial as to anything after that.

" But for the Lady Rochford, everybody observed God's justice on her, who had the chief hand in Queen Anne Boleyn's and her own husband's death. She had been a lady of the bedchamber to the last four queens, but now it was found how unworthy she was of that trust.

"It was thought extreme cruelty to be so severe to the queen's kindred for not discovering her former life, since the making such a discovery had been inconsistent with the rules of justice or decency. But the king pardoned the old Duchess of Norfolk, her grand-mother, and most of the rest, though some continued in prison after the rest were discharged."

Next year, 1543, Parliament met on the 22nd of January, "the title of the first bill of which was," according to the same author, "'An act for the advancement of true religion, and abolishment of the contrary.' The king was now entering upon a war, so it seemed reasonable to qualify the severity of the late acts about religion, that all might be quiet at home. Cranmer moved it first, and was faintly seconded by the Bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Chichester and Rochester, who had promised to stick to him in it.

"At this time a league was almost finished between the king and the emperor, which did again raise the spirits of the popish faction. They had been cast down ever since the last queen's fall. But now that the emperor was like to have an interest in English councils, they took heart again, and Gardiner opposed Cranmer's motion with all possible earnestness; but the archbishop plied the king and the other lords so earnestly that at length the bill passed, though clogged with many provisoes, and very much short of what he had designed."

"The completion of the alliance with Charles V. promised," says Froude, "a council which, supported by two powerful sovereigns, would reimpose upon the world the Catholic creed, modified in the article of the papal supremacy.

"And now Gardiner believed that he might show his colours more bravely. Cromwell was gone; but while Cranmer remained, he had a rival who was still able to thwart him; whose influence with the crown, so long as it continued, impaired the completeness of the reaction, and checked persecution.

"He would strike a blow, then, boldly at the archbishop, and when this obstacle was disposed of, his course would be easy.

"He wove his intrigue. He arranged his snare. His prey was within his grasp, when Henry calmly interposed, and rent the scheme to atoms.

"'Thus far and no further,' was the stem answer which checked the zeal of conservatism, and the blow which the bishop had aimed was fatal in its recoil.

"It was not everyone who had skill or the dishonesty to eliminate out of Catholicism the one only element which it was inconvenient or dangerous to retain.

"His secretary, Germayn Gardiner, developed orthodoxy into Romanism. He was caught under the Supremacy Act, and the death which the bishop designed for Cranmer fell upon his own kinsman."

What a pity Froude has not furnished us with the details of this intrigue, as, in their absence, we fail to see in what way it was to have accomplished Cranmer's death; and how interesting it would have been to learn how it came about that the bishop's relative was brought to the block or gallows prepared for the good archbishop, a happy turn in events reminding us of the Bible story of Haman.

Turning to Bishop Burnet, he makes, under date 1543, the following brief reference to Gardiner's relative:—

"In 1543, one Gardiner, that was the Bishop of Winchester's kinsman and secretary, and three other priests, were tried for denying the king's supremacy, and for which Gardiner was executed. But what special matter was laid to the charge of the others cannot be known, for the record of their attainder is lost."

Returning to Froude, he goes on to say that "a failure so instructive might have warned Gardiner of the dangerous ground on which he was treading. But the treaty had heated his fancy.

“He missed his stroke at the archbishop, but meaner victims were still available. The Bill of Six Articles was the law of the land. It had received a second emphatic sanction from Parliament, and the king could not intend that it should be defied with impunity.

The town of Windsor, and even the royal household, were reported to be impregnated with heresy.

“Dr. London, the warden of New College, now a prebendary of St. George’s [Windsor], was ready with his services to assist in the purification.

“With the assistance of the prebendary and of a Windsor attorney named Olkham, evidence was collected or invented to sustain a charge of heresy against four of the townsmen, while Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Thomas Carden, and other gentlemen belonging to the privy chamber, were accused of supporting and encouraging them.

“The accusations were probably true, although the evidence was obtained with the help of spies and traitors. One of the men was pardoned through private interference; the other three satisfied the orthodoxy of the Bishop of Winchester [Gardiner] by perishing on the meadow in front of Windsor Castle.

“Dr. London, in his eagerness to make a case against the gentlemen of the household, had blundered into perjury. These gentlemen laid the circumstances of the prosecutions before Henry, and two of the judges who had sat on the trial were sent for and examined.

“ The insidious conspiracy was unfolded, and the judges ‘told the king plainly’ that although, with the evidence which was produced, an acquittal was impossible, ‘ they had never sat on any matter under his Grace’s authority which went so much against their consciences as the deaths of these men,’ and the king, as they spoke, turned away, saying, ‘Alas, poor innocents!’

“But Henry did not content himself with pity. Gardiner, the chief delinquent, could not be touched; but his wretched instruments were tried for false swearing, and were convicted.

“Dr. London, stripped of his dignities, was compelled to ride through the streets of Windsor, Newbury, and Reading [towns in Gardiner’s diocese], with his face to the horse’s tail, and a paper on his head setting forth that he was a detected perjurer.

“In each town he was placed in a pillory, where every voice might revile, and every hand might hurl filth at him; and then he was thrust away into the Fleet Prison, where he miserably died.”

Bishop Burnet has a somewhat similar account of these persecutions, and he adds that “From all this it will appear what sort of men the persecutors of that time were.”

And, continuing, he tells us that “this was a small part of what Gardiner projected; for he looked on these as persons unworthy of his displeasure. Cranmer was chiefly aimed at by him, and therefore all that party were still infusing it into the king’s mind that it was great injustice to prosecute poor men with so much severity, and let the chief supporters of heresy stand in so eminent a degree, and in such favour about him.

“At length the king, to discover the bottom of their designs, seemed to give ear to their accusations, and desired to hear what particulars could be objected against him.

“This gave them great encouragement, and many particulars were quickly laid together and put into the king’s hands; who, a little after that, going to divert himself on the river, ordered his bargemen to row towards Lambeth, which being perceived by some of Cranmer’s servants, they acquainted him with it, who hasted down to his stairs to do his duty to the king.

“When the king saw him, he called him into the barge; and they being alone, the king lamented the growth of heresy, and said he intended to find out the encourager and favourer of these heresies, and make him an example to the rest. And he asked the archbishop’s opinion, who answered him that it was a good resolution, but entreated the king to consider well what heresy was, and not to condemn those as heretics who stood for the word of God against human inventions.

“ But, after some discourse, the king told him he was the man who, as he was informed, was the chief encourager of heresy ; and then gave him the articles that were brought against him and his chaplains, both by some prebendaries of Canterbury and the justices of peace in Kent.

“When Cranmer read them, he kneeled down, and desired the king would put the matter to a trial. He acknowledged he was still of the same mind as he was of when he opposed the six Articles, but that he had done nothing against them. Then the king asked him about his wife. He frankly confessed he had a wife, but said that he had sent her to Germany upon the passing the act against priests having wives.

“Cranmer’s candour and simplicity wrought so on the king, that he discovered to him the whole plot that was laid against him, and said that, instead of bringing him to any trial about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed against those his accusers. But he excused himself, and said it would not be decent for him to sit judge in his own cause.

Taking further time to consider the matter, it was eventually arranged to send the Dean of York into Kent, “to canvass the accusation more carefully; and he, who had been well acquainted with the art of discovering secrets, when he was one of the visitors of the Abbey, ordered a search to be made of all suspected persons, among whose papers letters were found, both from Gardiner and Doctor London, and some of those whom Cranmer had treated with the greatest freedom and kindness, in which the whole plot against him was discovered.

“But it was now near the session of Parliament, and the king was satisfied with the discovery, but thought it not fit to make much noise of it; and he received no addresses from the archbishop to prosecute it further, who was so noted for his clemency. And all persons that were not unjustly prejudiced against him acknowledged that his behaviour was suitable to the example and doctrines of the meek and lowly Saviour of the world, and very well became so great a bishop, and. such a reformer of the Christian religion, who preached that which he taught others to do.”

It was in July of this year, 1543, that the king, we learn from the same author, married Katherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, and a secret favourer of the Reformation.

He also tells us that in the same year “the king made war upon France. The grounds of this war are recited by the Lord Herbert. One of these is proper for me to repeat: ‘That the French king had not deserted the Bishop of Rome, and consented to a reformation, as he had once promised. The rest related to other things, such as the seizing our ships, the detaining the yearly pension due to the king, the revealing of the king’s secrets to the emperor.’

CHAPTER XLII.

IN 1544, Parliament met on the 14th of January, and "although it was meeting for a session unusually busy," says Froude, "it could find time to limit the opportunities of cruelty which it had lately bestowed. The Six Articles had been provoked by excesses and extravagances. It was still necessary to leave the bishops some weapon to repress disorder, but it should be a weapon with a blunter edge.

"It was now enacted that no person should be arraigned for any offence under the Act of the Six Articles except on presentment by twelve men, made either before a special commission, or before justices of the peace sitting in sessions, or before the judges of the assizes, and within twelve months of the alleged offence. And, further, that no person might be arrested before his indictment, except under a warrant from a privy councillor, or from two justices of the peace, one of whom must be a layman. If the offence consisted of spoken words, the deposition must be taken within forty days of the time of utterance; and the accused persons should be allowed to challenge the jury.

"The tone of the Act, as well as the substance of it, indicates the direction in which the tide was once more setting. We no longer hear of 'the foul and detestable crime of heresy.' The penalties were not changed, but the object was not any more to ensure the infliction of them, but to throw obstacles in the way of persecution."

"This Act," says Bishop Burnet, "has clearly a relation to the conspiracies mentioned the former year, both against the archbishop and some of the king's servants."

Another Act, passed at this time, provided for the succession of the crown, as follows:—

" That the king, being now to pass the seas, to make war upon his ancient enemy the French king, and being desirous to settle the succession to the crown, it is enacted that, in default of heirs of Prince Edward's body, or of heirs by the king's present marriage, the crown shall go to the Lady Mary, the king's eldest daughter; and in default of heirs of her body, or if she do not observe such limitations or conditions as shall be declared by the kings letters- patents, under his great seal, or by his last will under his hand, it shall next fall to the Lady Elizabeth and her heirs ; or if she have none, or shall not keep the conditions declared by the king, it shall fall to any other that shall be declared by the king's letters-patents, or his last will, signed by his hand."

"This was done, no doubt," continues the bishop, "upon a secret article of the treaty with the emperor, and did put new life into the popish party, all whose hopes depended on Lady Mary.

"The king was now to cross the seas, but before he went he studied to settle the matters of religion, so that both parties might have some content. Audley, the chancellor, dying, he made the Lord Wriothesley, that had been secretary, and was of the popish party, lord chancellor; but made Sir William Petre, that was Cranmer's great friend, secretary of state.

"He also committed the government of the kingdom, in his absence, to the queen, to whom he joined the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Hertford

[Prince Edward's uncle], and Secretary Petre. And if there was need of any force to be raised, he appointed the Earl of Hertford his lieutenant, under whose government the reformers needed not fear anything.

"But he did another act, that did wonderfully please that whole party; which was, the translating of the prayers for the processions and litanies into the English tongue. This was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the nth of June, with an order that it should be used over all his provinces.

"Things being thus settled at home, the king, having sent his forces over before him, crossed the seas with much pomp, the sails of his ship being of cloth of gold. He landed at Calais the 14th of July. The emperor pressed his marching straight to Paris; but he thought it of more importance to take Bulloign, and, after two months' siege, it was surrendered to him; into which he made his entry with great triumph on the 18th of September.

" But the emperor, having thus engaged those two crowns in a war, and designing, while they should fight it out, to make himself master of Germany, concluded a treaty with the French king the very next day, which is set down at large by the Lord Herbert. On the 30th of September the king returned to England."

In the following year, 1545, we also learn from the bishop, that "Cranmer had almost prevailed with the king to make some further steps in a reformation; but Gardiner, who was then ambassador in the emperor's court, being advertised of it, wrote to the king that the emperor would certainly join with France against him if he made any further innovation in religion.

"This diverted the king from it; and in August, this year, the only great friend that Cranmer had in the court died, [namely] Charles, Duke of Suffolk, who had long continued in the height of favour; which was always kept up, not only by an agreement of humours between the king and him, but by the constant success which followed him in all his exploits."

Evidently of a humorous and, probably, a sporting turn of mind, this is doubtless the duke to whom Baines, in his account of Eccles parish, makes the following reference:—

"Connected with the tithes of Eccles there is a singular tradition that, in the reign of Henry VIII., these tithes became the subject of a bet on a cock-fight, and were won from Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Sir Anderton, of Ince (more properly of Lydiate), in this county.

"According to this tradition, the tithes were granted to the Duke by his royal master, Henry VIII. Sometime subsequently a cock-fight took place in Westminster, when Sir Anderton is said to have produced the first duck-wing cock that was ever fought at a main, with the vaunting challenge:

"'There is a jewel of England!
For a hundred in hand,
And a hundred in land,
I'll fight him against any cock in England!'

"The Duke of Suffolk, on finding that Anderton was able to make good his bet, produced another cock, and bet the tithes of Eccles parish as his share of the wager. Anderton won the battle, and became possessed of the tithes, by whom, continues the story, they were afterwards sold to Sir John Heathcote, of Langton, in Co. Stafford.

"So much currency has this story obtained, that duck-winged cocks are called 'Anderton jewels' in Lancashire to this day. Local traditions are generally founded in truth, though erroneous in detail; but in the present case, the whole story appears to be a fabrication."

"Now Cranmer was left alone," continues the bishop, "without friend or support; yet he had gained one great preferment in the church, to a man of his own mind. The Archbishopric of York falling void by Lee's death, Robert Holgate, that was Bishop of Landaff, was promoted to that see in January; Kitchin being made Bishop of Landaff, who turned with every change that was made under the three succeeding princes. The Archbishop of York set about the reforming of things in his province, which had laid in great confusion all his predecessor's time.

"Bell, that was Bishop of Worcester, had resigned his bishoprick the former year, the reason of which is not set down. The Bishop of Rochester, Heath, was translated to that see; and Holbeach, that favoured the Reformation, was made Bishop of Rochester. And, upon the translation of Sampson from Chichester to Coventry and Lichfield, Day, that was a moderate man, and inclinable to reformation, was made bishop of that see.

"So that now Cranmer had a greater party among the bishops than at any time before," a pleasing indication that the Catholic bishops were at last becoming, like the laity long before them, converts to the Protestant faith—a change so notable that, on Henry's death, two years later, Gardiner and Bonner were the only bishops that gave Cranmer any further trouble.

And in the council of sixteen, of which Cranmer was one, and from which Gardiner and Bonner were excluded, selected by Henry in his will, to administer the affairs of the kingdom during the minority of his son, Edward VI., the new king, there was for a time only the lord chancellor that differed from the rest of his colleagues, and he, exceeding the limits of his high office, had soon to relinquish the great seal.

Commenting upon the great reforms accomplished in recent years in church and state, Froude, under date 1545, tells us "that sixteen years had now elapsed since the memorable meeting of Parliament in 1529, and in those years the usurpation of Rome had been abolished; the phantom which overshadowed Europe had become a laughing-stock. The clergy for four centuries had been the virtual rulers in state and church; their authority had extended over castle and cottage; they had monopolized the learned professions, and every man who could read was absorbed under the privileges of their order. Supreme in the cabinet, in the law courts, and in legislature, they had treated the Parliament as a shadow of Convocation, and the House of Commons as an instrument to raise a revenue, the administration of which was theirs.

"Their gigantic prerogatives had now passed away from them; Convocation, which had prescribed laws to the state, endured the legislation of the Commons, even on the Articles of the Faith; the religious houses were swept away; their broad lands had relapsed to the laity,

with the powers which the ownership conveyed with it; the mitred abbots had ceased to exist; the temporal lords had a majority in the House of Peers; and the bishops battled ineffectually to maintain the last fragment of their independent grandeur.

"Tremendous as the outward overthrow must have seemed to those who remembered the old days, the inward changes were yet more momentous. A superstition which was but the counterpart of magic and witchcraft, which buried the Father of heaven and earth in the coffins of the saints, and trusted the salvation of the soul to the efficacy of mumbled words,, had given place to a real, though indistinct, religion.

"Copies of the Bible were spread over the country in tens of thousands. Every English child was taught in its own tongue the Lord's Prayer, and the creed, and the ten commandments.

"Idolatry existed no longer; and the remaining difficulties lay only in the interpretation of the sacred text, and in the clinging sense, which adhered to all sides alike, that to misunderstand it was not an error, but a crime.

"Here, although Catholic doctrine, not only in its practical corruptions, but in its purest developments, shook at the contact with the Gospels, yet the most thoughtful had been compelled to pause embarrassed.

"Next to the Bible, there are few things which have affected the character of the modern English more deeply than the Liturgy. The beautiful roll of its language mingles with the memories of childhood; it is the guide of our dawning thought, and accompanies us through each stage of our life with its chaste ceremonials, from the font to the edge of the grave.

"Having been composed at a period when old and new beliefs were contending for supremacy, it contains some remnants of opinions which have no longer, perhaps, a place in our convictions; and the spirit of the Prayer book is the spirit of piety more than of theology, of wisdom more than of dogma.

"In the following year, a collection of English prayers was added to the Litany, a service for morning and evening, and for the burial of the dead; and the king, in a general proclamation, directed that they should be used in all churches and chapels in the place of the Breviary."

In November, 1545, "a new Parliament was held," so Bishop Burnet tells us, "where, toward the expense of the king's wars, the Convocation of Canterbury granted a continuation of the former subsidy of six shillings in the pound, to be paid in two years; but, for the temporality, a subsidy was demanded from them of another kind.

"There were in the kingdom several colleges, chapels, chantries, hospitals, and fraternities, consisting of secular priests, who enjoyed pensions for saying mass for the souls of those who had endowed them.

"Now the belief of purgatory being left indifferent by the doctrine set out by the bishops, and the trade of redeeming souls being condemned, it was thought needless to keep up so many endowments to no purpose.

“Those priests were also generally ill-affected to the king’s proceedings, since their trade was so much lessened by them. Therefore many of them had been dealt with to make resignations, and four and twenty of them had surrendered to the king.

“ It was found, also, that many of the founders of these houses had taken them into their own hands, and that the masters, wardens, and governors of them had made agreements for them, and given leases of them ; therefore now, a subsidy being demanded, all these were given to the king by Act of Parliament; which also confirmed the deeds that any had made to the king, empowering him, in any time of his life, to issue out commissions for seizing on these foundations, and taking them into his own possession; which, being so seized on, should belong to the king and his successors for ever.

“When all the business was done, the king came to the House [for the last time], and made a long speech, thanking them for the subsidy, and the bill about the colleges and chantries,” etc.

“Now I enter into the last year,” continues the bishop, “of the king’s reign [1546]. The war in France was managed with doubtful success. And the forces being commanded by the Earl of Surrey [son of the Duke of Norfolk], who was brave but unsuccessful, he was not only blamed, but recalled, and the Earl of Hertford sent to command in his room. But he, being a man of high spirit, and disdaining the Earl of Hertford, who was now preferred before him, let fall some words of high resentment and bitter contempt, which not long after wrought his ruin.

“The king was now alone in the war, which was very chargeable to him; therefore he listened to the counsels of peace. And though he was not old, yet he felt such decays in his strength, that, being extremely corpulent, he had no reason to think he could live very long; therefore, that he might not leave his young son involved in a war of such consequence, peace was concluded in June, which was much to the king’s honour; though the taking and keeping of Bulloign (which by this peace the king was to keep for eight years) cost him above £1,300,000.

“Upon the peace, the French admiral, Annebault, came over to England. And now, again, a resolution of going on with a reformation was set on foot; for it was agreed between the king and the admiral that in both kingdoms the mass should be changed into a communion, and Cranmer was ordered to draw a form for it. They also resolved to press the emperor to do the like in his dominions, otherwise to make war upon him; but how this project failed does not appear.

“The animosities which the former war had raised between the two kings were converted into a firm friendship, which grew so strong on Francis’ part, that he never was seen glad at anything after he had the news of the king’s death.

“But now one of the king’s many fits took him at the reformers, so that there was a new persecution of them. Nicholas Shaxton, that was Bishop of Salisbury, had said in his imprisonment in the Compter, in Bread Street, ‘That Christ’s natural body was not in the sacrament, but that it was a sign and memorial of his body that was crucified for us.’ Upon this he was indicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the king sent the Bishops of London and Worcester to deal with him to recant, which, on the 9th of July, he did, acknowledging

‘That that year he had fallen, in his old age, in the heresy of the sacramentaries; but that he was now convinced of that error by their endeavours whom the king had sent to him; and therefore he thanked the king for delivering him both from temporal and eternal fire.’ Upon this, he had his pardon sent him, July 13th, and soon after preached the sermon at the burning of Anne Askew.

“Others were also indicted upon the same statute, who got off by a recantation, and were pardoned. But Anne Askew’s trial had a more bloody conclusion. She was nobly descended, and educated beyond what was ordinary for her sex. But she was unfortunately married to one Kyme, who, being a violent papist, drove her out of his house when he discovered the Reformation. So she came to London, where, information being given of some words that she spoke against the corporeal presence in the sacrament, she was put in prison.

“The Bishop of London examined her, and, after much pains, she was brought to set her hand to a recantation, by which she acknowledged ‘That the natural body of Christ was present in the sacrament after the consecration, whether the priest were a good or an ill man; and that, whether it was presently consumed or reserved in the Pix, it was the true body of Christ.’ Yet she added to her subscription, that she believed all things according to the Catholic faith, and not otherwise.

“With this the bishop was not satisfied, but after much ado and many importunate addresses, she was let out upon bail in the end of March this year.

“But not long after that she was again apprehended, and examined before the king’s council, then at Greenwich, where she seemed very indifferent what they did with her. She answered them in general words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made some sharp repartees upon the Bishop of Winchester [Gardiner].

“Some liked the wit and freedom of her discourse, but others thought she was too forward. From thence she was sent to Newgate, where she wrote some devotions and letters that shew her to have been a woman of some extraordinary parts.

“She wrote to the king, ‘That as to the Lord’s supper, she believed as much as Christ had said in it, and as much as the Catholic church from him did teach.

“Upon Shaxton’s recantation, they sent him to her to prevail with her; but she, instead of yielding to him, charged his inconstancy home upon him. She had been oft at court, and was much favoured by many great ladies there; and it was believed the queen had shewed kindness to her. So the lord chancellor examined her of what favour or encouragement she had from any in the court, particularly from the Duchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Hertford, and some other ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, save that one in livery had brought her some money, which he said came from two ladies in the court; but they resolved to extort further confessions from her; arid, therefore, carrying her to the Tower, they caused her to be laid on the rack, and gave her a taste of it. Yet she confessed nothing.

“That she was racked is very certain, for I find it in an original journal of the transactions in the Tower, written by Anthony Anthony. But Fox adds a passage that seems scarcely credible; the thing is so extraordinary, and so unlike the character of the lord chancellor, who, though he was fiercely zealous the old superstition, yet was otherwise a great person. It is, that he commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to stretch her more, but he

refused to do it, and, being further pressed, told him plainly he would not do it. The other threatened him, but to no purpose ; so the lord chancellor, throwing off his gown, drew the rack so severely, that he almost tore her body asunder, yet could draw nothing from her, for she endured it with unusual patience and courage.

"When the king heard this, he blamed the lord chancellor for his cruelty, and excused the Lieutenant of the Tower. Yet the poor gentlewoman's being racked wrought no pity in the king towards her, for he left her to be proceeded against according to her sentence. She was carried to the stake in Smithfield a little after that in a chair, not being able to stand through the torments of the rack.

" There were brought with her, at the same time, one Nicholas Belenian, a priest; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lassels, one of the king's servants (it is likely he was the same person that had discovered Queen Katherine Howard's unchastacy, for which all the papish party, to be sure, bore him no good will). They were all convicted upon the statute of the Six Articles, for denying the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament.

"When they were brought thither, Shaxton, to complete his apostacy, made a sermon of the sacrament, and inveighed against their errors. That being ended, they were tied to the stake, and then the lord chancellor sent and offered them pardon, which was ready passed under the seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their lives so well as to redeem by the loss of a good conscience, and therefore encouraging one another to suffer patiently for the testimony of truth, so endured to the last, and were made sacrifices by fire unto God. There were also two in Suffolk, and one in Norfolk, burnt on the same account a little before this.

"But the popish party at court, having incensed the king against those heretics, resolved to drive it further, and to work the ruin both of Cranmer and the queen, concluding that, if these attempts were successful, they should carry everything else.

"They therefore renewed their complaints of the archbishop, and told the king that though there were evident proofs ready to be brought against him, yet, because of his greatness and the king's carriage upon the former complaints, none durst appear against him; but if he were once put in the Tower, that men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear evidences of his being a heretic.

"So the king consented that he should be the next day called before the council and sent to the Tower, if they saw cause for it. And now they concluded him ruined; but, in the night, the king sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth to bring the archbishop to speak to him; and when he came, the king told him what information had been brought against him, and how far he had yielded to them, that he should be sent to the Tower next day, and therefore desired to hear from himself what he had to say upon it.

"Cranmer thanked him that he had not left him in the dark to be surprised in a matter that concerned him so nearly. He acknowledged the equity of the king's proceedings, and all that he desired was that he might be brought to make his answer, and that, since he was to be questioned for some of his opinions, judges might be assigned who understood those matters.

" The king heard this with astonishment, wondering to see a man so little concerned in his own preservation, but pleasantly told him ' he was a fool that looked to his own safety so little; for did he think that if he were once put in prison, abundance of false witnesses would

not be suborned to ruin him? Therefore, since he did not take care of himself, he [the king] would look to it.'

"And so the king ordered him to appear next day before the council, upon their summons, and, when things were objected to him, to say, that since he was a privy-counsellor, he desired they would use him as they would look to be used in the like case; and, therefore, to move that his accusers might be brought face to face, and things be a little better considered before he was sent to the Tower. And if they refused to grant that, then he was to appeal personally to the king (who intended to be absent that day), and in token of it should shew them the king's seal-ring which he wore on his finger, and was well known to them all. So the king, giving him his ring, sent him privately home again."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE next morning, a messenger of the council," continues Bishop Burnet, "came early to Cranmer, and summoned him to appear that day before the council. So he went over, but was long waiting in the lobby before he was called. At this unusual sight many were astonished; but Dr. Buts, the king's physician, that loved Cranmer, and presumed more on a diseased king than others durst do, went and told the king what a strange thing he had seen—'the primate of all England waiting at the council-door among the footmen and servants.'

"So the king sent them word that he should presently be brought in; which being done, they said that there were many informations against him, that all the heresies that were in England came from him and his chaplains. To which he answered as the king had directed him. But they insisting on what was before projected, he said he was sorry to be thus used by those with whom he had sate so long at that board, so that he must appeal from them to the king ; and with that, took out the king's ring and shewed it.

"This put them in a wonderful confusion; but they all rose up and went to the king, who checked them severely for using the archbishop so unhandsomely. He said 'he had a wiser council than now he found they were. He protested, by the faith he owed to God,' laying his hand on his breast, ' that if a prince could be obliged by his subject, he was by the archbishop, and that he took him to be the most faithful subject he had, and the person to whom he was most beholding.' The Duke of Norfolk made a trifling excuse, and said 'they meant no harm to the archbishop, but to vindicate his innocency by such a trial, which would have freed him from the aspersions that were cast on him.' But the king answered, 'he would not suffer men that were so dear to him to be handled in that fashion. He knew the factions that were among them, and the malice that some of them bore to others, which he would either extinguish or punish very speedily.'

"So he commanded them all to be reconciled to Cranmer, which was done with the outward ceremony of taking him by the hand, and was most real on his part, though the other party did not so easily lay down the hatred they bore him.

"That party, finding it was in vain to push at Cranmer any more, did never again endeavour it; yet one design failing, they set on another, against the queen. She was a great favourer of the reformers, and had frequently sermons in her privy-chamber by some of those preachers, which were not secretly carried, but became generally known. When it came to his ears, the king took no notice of it, and the queen carried herself, in all other things, not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the king's person which became a wife, so that none durst venture on making any complaints against her.

"Yet the king's distempers increasing, and his peevishness growing with them, he became more uneasy; and whereas she had frequently used to talk to him of religion, and defend the opinions of the reformers, in which he would sometimes pleasantly maintain the argument, now, becoming more impatient, he took it ill at her hands. And she had sometimes, in the heat of discourse, gone very far.

" So one night, after she had left him, the king, being displeased, vented it to the Bishop of Winchester [Gardiner], that stood by; and he craftily struck in with the king's anger, and said all that he could devise against the queen, to drive his resentments higher, and took in the lord chancellor into his design to assist him.

“They filled the king’s head with many stories of the queen and some of her ladies, and said they had favoured Anne Askew, and had heretical books amongst them; and he persuaded the king that they were traitors as well as heretics. The matter went so far, that articles were drawn against her, which the king signed; for without that it was not safe for any to impeach the queen.

“But the lord chancellor putting up that paper carelessly, it dropped from him, and, being taken up by one of the queen’s party, was carried to her. Whether the king had really designed her ruin or not is differently represented by the writers who lived near that time; but she, seeing his hand to such a paper, had reason to conclude herself.

“Yet, by advice of one of her friends, she went to see the king, who, receiving her kindly, set on a discourse about religion. But she answered, ‘that women, by their first creation, were made subject to men; and they, being made after the image of God, as the women were after their image, ought to instruct their wives, who were to learn of them; and she much more was to be taught by his majesty, who was a prince of such excellent learning and wisdom.’ ‘Not so, by St. Mary,’ said the king, ‘you are become a doctor able to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us.’ To which she answered, ‘that it seemed he had much mistaken the freedom she had taken to argue with him, since she did it partly to engage him in discourse, and so put over the time, and make him forget his pain; and partly to receive instructions from him, by which she had profited much.’ ‘And is it even so? ’ said the king; ‘then we are friends again.’ So he embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with very tender assurance of his constant love to her.

“But the next day had been appointed for carrying her and some of the ladies to the Tower. The day being fair, the king went to take a little air in the garden, and sent for her to bear him company. As they were together, the lord chancellor came in, having about forty of the guard with him, to have arrested the queen. But the king stepped aside to him, and after a little discourse, he was heard to call him knave, fool, and beast, and bade him get him out of his sight. The innocent queen, who understood not that her danger was so near, studied to mitigate the king’s displeasure, and interceded for the lord chancellor. But the king told her she had no reason to plead for him.

“So this design miscarried, which, as it absolutely disheartened the papists, so it did totally alienate the king from them, and in particular from Gardiner, whose sight he could never after this endure. But he made a humble submission to the king, which, though it preserved him from further punishment, yet could not restore him to the king’s favour.

“But the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey, fell under a deeper misfortune. The Duke of Norfolk had long been lord treasurer of England; he had done great services to the crown on many signal occasions, and success had always accompanied him.

“His son, the Earl of Surrey, was also a brave and noble person, witty and learned to a high degree, but did not command armies with success. He was much provoked at the Earl of Hertford’s being sent over to France in his room, and upon that had said, ‘ that within a little while they should smart for it,’ with some other expressions that savoured of revenge, and a dislike of the king, and a hatred of the counsellors.”

At this time the duke had been separated about four years from his duchess, “ who had complained of his using her ill, and now she turned informer against him, while his daughter and his son, Surrey, were also in ill terms together.

“So the sister informed all that she could against her brother. And one Mrs. Holland, for whom the Duke was believed to have an unlawful affection, discovered all she knew; but all amounted to no more than some passionate expressions of the son, and some complaints of the father, who thought he was not beloved by the king and his counsellors, and that he was ill used in not being trusted with the secret of affairs.

“And all persons being encouraged to bring information against them, Sir Richard Southwell charged the Earl of Surrey in some points that were of a higher nature; which the earl denied, and desired to be admitted, according to the martial law, to fight in his shirt with Southwell. But that not being granted, he and his father were committed to the Tower.

“That which was most insisted on was their giving the arms of Edward the Confessor, which were only to be given by the kings of England. This the Earl of Surrey justified, and said they gave their arms according to the opinion of the king’s heralds

“But all excuses availed nothing, for his father and he were designed to be destroyed upon reasons of state, for which some colours were to be found out.

“ The Earl of Surrey, being but a commoner, was brought to his trial at Guildhall, and put upon an inquest of commoners, consisting of nine knights and three esquires, by whom he was found guilty of treason, and had sentence of death passed upon him, which was executed on the 19th of January [1547], at Tower Hill. It was generally condemned as an act of high injustice and severity.

“But the king, who never hated nor ruined anybody by halves, resolved to complete the misfortunes of that family by the attainder of the father. And as all his eminent services were now forgotten, so the submissions he made could not allay a displeasure that was only to be satisfied with his life and fortune.

“ A Parliament was called, and on the 18th of January a bill of attainder was read the first time, and on the 19th and 20th it was read the second and third time. And so passed in the House of Lords, was sent down to the Commons, who on the 24th sent it up also passed; and on the 27th the Lords were ordered to be in their robes, that the royal assent might be given to it, which the lord chancellor, with some others joined in commission, did give by virtue of the king’s letters-patents.

“As soon as the Act was passed, a warrant was sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower to cut off his head the next morning; but the king dying in the night, the lieutenant could do nothing on that warrant. And thus the Duke of Norfolk escaped very narrowly.

“Cranmer’s carriage in this matter was suitable to the other parts of his life, for he withdrew to Croydon, and would not so much as be present in Parliament when so unjust an Act was passed. The Duke of Norfolk had been his constant enemy, therefore he would not so much as be near the public councils when so strange an Act was passing.

"But, at the same time, the Bishop of Winchester was officiously hanging on in the court; and though he was forbid to come to council, yet always, when the counsellors went into the king's bedchamber, he went with them to the door, to make the world believe he was still one of the number, and, staying at the door till the rest came out, he returned with them; but he was absolutely lost in the king's opinion. ,

"Overgrown with corpulency and fatness, the king could not go up or down stairs, but he was raised up or let down by an engine. And an old sore in his leg became very uneasy to him; so that all the humours in his body sinking down into this leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding forward and untractable. His servants durst scarce speak to him to put him in mind of his approaching end.

"But he felt nature declining apace, and so made the will that he had left behind him, at his last going to France, be written over again; with this only difference, that Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, whom he had appointed one of his executors of his will, and of the counsellors to his son till he came of age, was now left out. The will was said to be signed the 30th December. It is printed at large by Fuller.

"He continued in a decay till the 27th of the following month [January, 1547]; and then, many signs of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on so unwelcome a thing as to put him in mind of his change, then imminent. But Sir Anthony Denny had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy through Jesus Christ.

"Upon which, the king expressed his grief for the sins of his past life; yet he said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then Denny asked him if any churchman should be sent for; and he said, if any, it should be the Archbishop Cranmer. And after he had rested a little, finding his spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be sent for to Croydon, where he was then.

"But before he could come, the king was speechless; so Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ, upon which he squeezed his hand, and soon after died, after he had reigned thirty-seven years and nine months, in the six-and- fiftieth year of his age."

Speaking of the king's reign, "the dexterous application of flattery," says the bishop, "had generally a powerful effect on him; but whatsoever he was, and how great soever his pride and vanity and his other faults were, he was a great instrument in the hands of Providence for many good ends. He first opened the door to let light in upon the nation; he delivered it from the yoke of blind and implicit obedience.

"He put the Scriptures in the hands of the people, and took away the terror they were formerly under by the cruelty of the ecclesiastical courts.

"He declared the church to be an entire and perfect body within itself, with full authority to decree and regulate all things, without any dependence on any foreign power.

"He attacked popery in its strongholds—the monasteries—and thus he opened the way to all that came after, even down to our day; so that, while we see the folly and weakness of man in all his failings, which were very many and very enormous, we at the same time see

both the justice, the wisdom, and the goodness of God, in making him, who was once the pride and glory of popery, become its scourge and destruction.

"And above all the rest, we ought to adore the goodness of God in rescuing us, by his means, from idolatry and superstition; from the vain and pompous shows in which the worship of God was dressed up, so as to vie with heathenism itself, into simplicity of believing, and a purity of worship conform to the nature and attributes of God, and the doctrine and example of the Son of God.

" May we ever value this as we ought; and may we, in our tempers and lives, so express the beauty of this holy religion, that it may ever shine among us, and may shine out from us, to all round about us! and then we may hope that God will preserve it to us, and to posterity after us, for ever."

" Henry spent the day before his death," Froude tells us, " in conversation with Lord Hertford and Sir William Paget on the condition of the country, and continued his directions to them as long as he could speak, and they were with him when he died at two o'clock in the morning of the 28th January [1547].

"And at three o'clock the earl [with Sir Anthony Brown, we add from Bishop Burnet] hastened off to bring up Prince Edward, who was in Hertfordshire with Elizabeth."

In the morning of the 31st the king's death was published in London, and Edward proclaimed king; and in the afternoon the earl arrived at the Tower with the prince.

"At the Tower," we learn from Bishop Burnet, "his father's executors, with the rest of the privy council, received Edward with the respects due to their king, so tempering their sorrow for the death of their late master with their joy for his son's happy succeeding him, that by an excess of joy they might not seem to have forgot the one so soon, nor to bode ill to the other by an extreme grief.

" The first thing they did was the opening King Henry's will, by which they found he had nominated sixteen persons to be his executors, and governors to his son, and to the kingdom, till his son [now in his tenth year] was eighteen years of age.

" These were the Archbishop of Canterbury; Lord Wrothesley, lord chancellor; the Lord St. John, great master of the household; the Lord Russell, lord privy-seal; the Earl of Hertford, lord great chamberlain ; the Viscount Lisle,[1] lord admiral; Tonstull, bishop of Durham ; Sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse ; Sir William Paget, secretary of state; Sir Edward North, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations; Sir Edward Montague, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas; Judge Bromley, Sir Anthony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy-chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais ; Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

"These, or the major part of them, were to execute his will, and to administer the affairs of the kingdom. All the executors, Judge Bromley and the two Wottons only excepted, were present, and did resolve to execute the will in all points, and to take an oath for their faithful discharge of that trust.

1John Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland.

"But it was also proposed that, for the speedier dispatch of things, and for a more certain order and direction of all affairs, there should be one chosen to be head of the rest, to whom ambassadors and others might address themselves. It was added, to caution this, that the person to be raised to that dignity should do nothing of any sort without the advice and consent of the greater part of the rest."

This was opposed by the lord chancellor, "but the Earl of Hertford had so great a party among them, that it was agreed to, the lord chancellor himself consenting when he saw his opposition was without effect.

"The next point had no long debate, who should be nominated to this high trust; for they unanimously agreed that the Earl of Hertford, by reason of his nearness of blood to the king, and the great experience he had in affairs, was the fittest person. So he was declared Protector of the Realm, and Governor to the King's person.

"More was not done that day, save that the lord chancellor was ordered to deliver up the seals to the king, and to receive them again from his hands. He was also ordered to renew the commissions of the judges, the justices of peace, and of some other officers.

"This was the issue of the first council day under the new king, in which the so easy advancement of the earl to so high a dignity gave great occasion to censure, it seeming to be a change of what king Henry had designed. But the king's great kindness to his uncle made it pass so smoothly.

"On the 2nd of February, the Protector was declared lord treasurer and earl marshal, these places having been designed for him by the late king upon the Duke of Norfolk's attainder. And the bishops were required to take out new commissions of the same form with those they had taken out in King Henry's time."

"They were," says Froude, "to regard themselves as possessed of no authority independent of the crown; they were not successors of the apostles, but merely ordinary officials; and, in evidence that they understood and submitted to their position, they were required to accept a renewal of their commissions.

"Cranmer set the willing example, in an acknowledgment that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as secular, within the realm, only emanated from the sovereign. The other prelates consented, or were compelled, to imitate him."

How interesting 1 Here we find at last all the popish bishops accepting, with the Protestant bishops, the renewal of their commissions at the hands, and as servants, of a Protestant king!