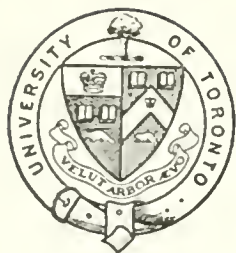


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EDWARD BAILEY (S)

Edw. Bailey

THE
B1625h

HISTORY

OF

THE COUNTY PALATINE

And Duchy

OF

LANCASTER.

BY

EDWARD BAINES, ESQ. M.P.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT BY W. R. WHATTON, ESQ., F. S. A.

VOL. I.

FISHER, SON, & Co., LONDON, PARIS, AND NEW YORK.

MDCCCXXXVI.

ad. 5-8 M. H. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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T O H I S M A J E S T Y,

WILLIAM IV.

KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AND

DUKE OF LANCASTER.

SIRE,

EMBOLDENED by Your most gracious permission, I beg to dedicate to Your Majesty this History of that important portion of the British dominions, of which Your Majesty is by a double title the illustrious Head.

As little inclined to offer as Your Majesty, in the noble frankness of Your character, is disposed to receive, the homage of servile adulation, permit me, most gracious Sire, to express an ardent wish, that uninterrupted peace may be the glory of Your Majesty's reign; that Your triumphs may consist in the achievements of Arts rather than of Arms, and in the extension of the liberties and happiness of Your Majesty's subjects, rather than in

the enlargement of dominions, already sufficiently ample to gratify every purpose of legitimate ambition.

That Your Majesty may long govern a contented and loyal people, and that when in the course of nature You shall be called, by that power by whom Kings reign, to descend to the tomb of Your illustrious ancestors, the appropriate inscription upon Your monument may be—“The Father of his People,”—is the fervent wish of

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most grateful

and devoted Subject,

EDWARD BAINES.

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In each volume, the Contents and List of Plates are immediately to precede the body of the Work. In Volume I. the original pages, 319, 320, 321, 322, in signatures 2 S and 2 T, (which were printed *before* the passing of the Reform Bill,) are to be cancelled, and the reprint of those pages substituted in their stead.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

LANCASHIRE, so eminent in ages that are past for its baronial dignity, has, in modern times, become equally distinguished for its manufactures and commerce; and it has long been a matter of regret, that of this great division of the kingdom there is no History at all worthy of its importance. The late venerable and learned DR. WHITAKER having written the History of one of the parishes of Lancashire, it is intended, in the volumes now announced for publication, to present to the public a History of ALL the Parishes, corresponding in some measure with that of the parish of Whalley—less antiquarian, indeed, and it is feared less profound, but somewhat more popular, and equally accurate.

In exploring the historical treasures of this County for the purposes of a late publication, the Author of this work was surprised by the vast body of information dispersed throughout its various parishes, and gratified in the highest degree by the readiness with which it was every where laid open to his inspection: thus encouraged, his views expanded beyond their original limits, and though he sat down only to write a *sketch*, he rose with the ambition to complete a *history* of his native County. The materials which he thus collected, his close and extensive connexion with the County has enabled him continually so to increase, that they form a store more rich and varied, perhaps, than is possessed by any other individual in the kingdom, on the subject of Lancashire history; and he now submits to his readers, in a connected and condensed form, a work comprising all the valuable and curious matter which is scattered through piles of detached volumes, or locked up in the numerous unpublished pedigrees, and other MSS. in his possession, or to which he may have access.

The work he has already published,* honoured as it has been with public patronage to an extent that inspires his mind with gratitude, has, he trusts, imparted to his readers some grounds of confidence in his future labours. In his former volume, it was barely possible to glance at the stores of information contained in the public Libraries of the Kingdom; but the Manuscripts in those Libraries will now be examined with diligence and accuracy proportioned to the importance of the information they contain; and whatever is valuable on the subject of Lancashire History in the Harleian, Cottonian, and Lansdowne collections in the British Museum, will be extracted, to enrich this publication. All the important materials relating to the County of Lancaster, collected and arranged under the authority of the Commissioners appointed by his late Majesty, King George III. will also be extracted from the Domesday Survey of William the Conqueror, the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of P. Nicholas IV., the *Testa de Nevill*, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* temp. Hen. VIII., and the *Ducatus Lancastriæ*, as presented in the public records of the Kingdom. The period for compiling the decennial census of the County having again arrived, the whole of the Lancashire returns, as made to Government in the year 1831, will be inserted in this History, with a summary of the official returns of 1801, 1811, and 1821, for the purpose of exhibiting the rapid increase of the population during the present century.

The Plan of the Work will embrace a general History of the County, succeeded by the history of each Hundred, in which the Parishes and Townships will follow in regular succession, according to their local connexion. The history of the regal House of Lancaster will be traced from the foundation of that House to the time when Henry IV. the son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, ascended the throne of these realms; and while the remains of other periods are preserved, the concerns of the age in which we live will by no means be neglected. A full and comprehensive view of the rise and progress of the Manufactures and Commerce of the County, from their earliest introduction to the present time, will be taken. All the public Institutions, rendered venerable by time, or important as modern establishments, will be described; and a complete record will be preserved of all the public Charities in each Parish and Township of the County, as they existed in the 26th George III., with their annual produce, and the names of the benefactors and the trustees in whom they were vested, when the parliamentary return was made in that year. Connected with this subject, the interesting reports of the Commissioners acting under the authority of Parliament “for inquiring concerning Charities,” so far as these reports concern the schools,

* The Topographical Sketch of the County of Lancaster.

hospitals, and other benevolent institutions in the County of Lancaster, will be consulted, and their substance communicated.

A few years ago, WILLIAM ROBERT WHATTON, Esq. F. A. S., announced a publication under the title “LANCASTRENSSES ILLUSTRÆ; or, Historical and Biographical Memoirs of Illustrious Natives of the Palatine County of Lancaster, with Genealogical and Heraldic Observations.” The materials for this undertaking were drawn from Original Records, public and private Manuscripts, General and County Histories, Heraldic Visitations, Monumental Inscriptions, &c., enriched from the collections in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the University Library of Cambridge, and the Chetham Library of Manchester. Professional engagements having prevented Mr. Whatton from prosecuting his design to maturity, he has, since the original Prospectus of the present Work was announced, generously transferred his ample biographical collections to the appropriate depository of the General County History, to which Work it will form a highly interesting acquisition.

To the last Volume of this History will be subjoined copious indexes of places, persons, and subjects, accompanied by chronological tables, so arranged as to exhibit a regular connexion of characters and events, as they successively arise in the different parts of the County. To secure the greatest authenticity, every Parish in the County has either already been visited, or will be visited by the Author in the progress of this work, which it is his earnest wish to render worthy to descend as a record through successive generations.

The graphic Embellishments, Drawings, and Illustrations, will consist of about one hundred and twenty Views, &c. antiquarian and modern, taken by artists eminent in their profession, with a Map of the County, a Map of each Hundred, and armorial bearings of the principal Nobility and Gentry of the County; and, to secure uniformity in the impressions, the Engravings will be executed on steel by engravers of reputation in their respective departments. Some select subjects inserted in the “Illustrations of Lancashire” will be introduced amongst the Embellishments.

A complete List of Subscribers will be published as nearly as possible in the order in which the names are received. In the distribution of this Work amongst the Subscribers, the periodical mode is adopted, in order to increase the number of its patrons.

The Nobility and Gentry are respectfully solicited to furnish Drawings of their Arms, Crests, &c., in order to ensure accuracy.

Public bodies, and private individuals, in possession of documents calculated to shed light upon the History of Lancashire, or to afford materials for biographical notices of the worthies of the County, are requested to allow the Author to inspect the originals, or to furnish him with copies or extracts, through the medium of Messrs. Fisher & Co. of London; Messrs. Wales & Co. of Liverpool; or Messrs. Clarke & Co. of Manchester, taking their receipt if necessary; and he pledges himself that all papers committed to their charge for his use shall be carefully preserved, and punctually returned.

P R E F A C E.

THE labours of ten years have at length enabled the Author of these volumes to present to his readers the history of his native county. The baronial family designated by the illustrious title of The House of Lancaster, which ranks amongst its early members the renowned John of Gaunt, has imparted a dignity to this portion of the kingdom, which will be as durable as the national records; and the transmission of the title, in the person of Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby and Duke of Hereford, from the ducal family of Lancaster to the Royal Family of England, serves to shed additional honour on the early history of the county.

Subsequent to the Reformation, the conflicts of parties arising out of that memorable event, and, at a still later period, the wars of the Commonwealth, have rendered this county the theatre of transactions of the highest political interest; and, in our own times, the rapid rise of commerce and manufactures in the towns of Liverpool and Manchester, with their extensive ramifications through the hundreds of West Derby, Salford, and Blackburn, has accumulated within a narrow space more wealth, population, and enterprise than are to be found in any other division of the kingdom, the metropolitan county of Middlesex alone excepted.

That a county so circumstanced should have been so long destitute of a county history, is a matter of surprise and regret. Several attempts have been made to supply this *desideratum*. As early as the middle of the seventeenth century, the learned and indefatigable Dr. Kuerden announced his intention to publish a history of "the honorable Dukedom of the County of Lancaster," under the title of "*Brigantia Lancastriensis Restaurata*;"* but the life of the laborious antiquary was spent in collecting the materials, and death overtook him before the first page of his publication was committed to the press. More than a century after this time, namely, in 1787, Dorning Rasbotham, esq., at the instance of the magistracy acting for the hundred of Salford, himself a member of that body, undertook to write a "*History of Lancashire*," and collected no fewer than five volumes of notes and documents, principally written in short-hand,† in furtherance of his object; but before the materials had assumed the form of history, sickness and death arrested his

* See Vol. III. p. 461.

† See Vol. III. p. 42, 43.

progress, and the task, undertaken with so much zeal, and under circumstances so auspicious, was left to be executed by other hands. At a still later period (in 1825) a gentleman of the name of Corry imposed upon himself the duty of producing a "History of Lancashire;" but owing to adverse circumstances, his work fell into disrepute, and terminated in a manner equally unsatisfactory to himself and to the public.

Detached portions of our county history have been written by the Whitakers, in a manner highly creditable to their learning and their talents. "The History of Manchester," by the Rev. John Whitaker, has always been considered a piece of valuable topography, too imaginative, indeed, for the sobriety of history, but abounding with learning, and full of information; while Dr. Thomas Dunham Whitaker's "History of the Original Parish of Whalley and the Honor of Clitheroe," and his history of that part of Lancashire comprehended within the archdeaconry of Richmond, rank the reverend and learned author amongst the most popular and eloquent of antiquaries, as well as amongst the most prejudiced declaimers against the state of society under the system of modern manufacturing industry. The history of the "Antiquities of Furness," by West, possesses distinguished merit for accuracy and laborious research. At an earlier period, Dr. Charles Leigh published "The Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak of Derbyshire," which occupied seventeen years in the completion, though aided by doctors, proctors, and heads of colleges.* In the mention of works connected with the history of this county, it would not be proper to omit "The Portfolio of the Fragments of the History of Lancashire, by Matthew Gregson, esq.," compiled with exemplary industry, but published without arrangement. Two other works, of a more antiquarian character, not confined to Lancashire, but containing considerable portions of topographical information connected with the county in the sixteenth century, will be found frequently quoted in the following pages, namely, "Leland's Itinerary" and "Camden's Britannia," both of them works of high authority, at a time when kings and queens sent forth learned men to explore "distant counties," and directed that the results of their inquiries should be published for the benefit of their subjects. "Harrison's Description of the Manners and Customs of Britain in Elizabeth's Reign," is also quoted at some length; and Stukeley, Gale, and Horsley have been frequently consulted on subjects relating to Roman antiquities discovered in various parts of Lancashire, and numerous passages transferred from them to these volumes.

* See Leigh's History, Epistle Dedicatory.

All these sources of information fall far short of a History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster; and to supply this deficiency in a county to which the Author is bound by many ties, has been one of his strongly actuating motives for engaging in an undertaking that will stand so much in need of the candour of his readers. In the midst of numerous public and private engagements, he has devoted all his leisure for years to the compilation of this history; and if others should derive as much pleasure from reading as he has enjoyed in writing his history, he will not have raised this monument of his attachment to his native county in vain.

Some errors, indeed many, are unavoidable in a work of this nature, when thousands of inquiries were to be instituted in all the great divisions of the county, and when the information as to events, families, and persons was to be obtained from so many different quarters; but to secure the accuracy of the narrative as far as possible, every parish in the county has been visited, and many of the most intelligent persons in each parish consulted upon the subjects most likely to be within their own knowledge. That the Author's health, strength, and spirits have been spared, to conduct him through labours under which others better qualified have sunk, is a cause of gratitude to the great Disposer of all events, in whom we live, and move, and have our being.

The plan of the work is simple and inartificial. The first volume consists of the general history of the county, which also extends through 146 pages of the second volume. The history of the separate hundreds, parishes, and townships is then commenced, and constitutes the principal part of the remaining volumes.

Rising from the aboriginal state of the county in the general history, the period of the Roman occupation of Britain, and especially of the Brigantine provinces, is briefly treated. The Saxon and Danish periods succeed, terminating with the Conquest by the Normans. The Domesday Survey, so far as relates to this county, is given at length, both in the Norman Latin and by translation; and a map, founded upon that judicial record, is presented, with the names of the manors and other places engraved according to the orthography, and in the character, of the original manuscript,—being a new feature in county history. The possessions of the Norman barons are traced through the earls of Chester, the baronial house of the Ferrers, earls of Derby, to the Plantagenets, dukes of Lancaster, and till the possessions of the Derby family merged in the crown by the elevation of Henry IV. to the throne. In this and other portions of the work, the Record Office of the Duchy of Lancaster has been freely resorted to; and selections from the enormous piles of documents in that office, liberally conceded by the noble chancellor, Lord Holland, through the

medium of Frederick D. Danvers, esq., registrar of the council, and the late W. Minchin, esq., the clerk of the duchy court, from that invaluable depository of local and general information, serve to enrich these pages.

The representative history of the county, never before systematically treated, is derived from the writs of summons, and the rolls of parliament, commencing with the original institution of the House of Commons, in the reign of Henry III., and extending to the passing of the Reform Bill in the reign of William IV., with the exception of the period of the wars of the Roses, of which the writs of summons are not in existence; nor are the returns of the county or borough members to be found amongst the public records of those times.

The wars of the Barons, and the invasions of the Scots, undertaken against the border counties in the reigns of the Henrys and the Edwards, so far as their influence extended to the county of Lancaster, are treated at some length; and the history of witchcraft, once so rife in Lancashire, having been traced through a period of two hundred years, is shewn to have given way before the progress of education—the best security against individual and popular superstition.

The wars of the Commonwealth, which raged in Lancashire in the early periods of the contest between the Stnarts and the parliament, necessarily occupy considerable space, both in the general history of the county and in the local history of the parishes visited by this scourge; and the information supplied from the King's Library, in the British Museum, and from the stores of this and all other topics of Lancashire history accumulated by that liberal patron of literature, Thomas Heywood, esq., have supplied ample materials for rendering this interesting portion of the Author's labours complete.

The general history is concluded with such particulars of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 as regard the transactions which took place in Lancashire in those periods of alarm and agitation, and with a number of miscellaneous subjects relating to the public institutions, the charities, and the population of the county, copied from the official decennial returns of 1801, 1811, 1821, and 1831, exhibiting a rapidity of numerical growth unequalled in any other county in the kingdom.

Having treated these subjects of a more general nature, the history of the separate Hundreds is commenced with that important manufacturing district comprehended within the hundred of Salford; and in the parishes and townships of that division of the county, Manchester appropriately takes the lead. In writing the history of that parish, all the sources of information, published and unpublished, that are open to the topographer, have been carefully explored. The history of the out-townships of

the parish, taken consecutively in their regular order, till the tour of the ecclesiastical limits is completed, is then treated with as much particularity as the nature of this publication would allow; and the same course is pursued through all the hundreds and parishes of the county, as they successively come under review.

In writing the History of the County of Lancaster, it became indispensably necessary to exhibit the history of that most important of all our sources of national industry—the cotton manufacture; and the Author has to offer his affectionate acknowledgments to his son, Mr. Edward Baines, for an original and comprehensive history—the first ever written—on that stupendous source of wealth and of employment. These chapters have since been expanded by their Author into a volume, which, in addition to a wide circulation in Great Britain, and the United States of America, has received the honour of translation into the German language.

The sources of information, both general and local, from which this History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster have been derived, are to be found in the Rolls of Parliament, in the Charter Rolls, in the Hundred Rolls, in the Inquisitiones Post Mortem, Escheats, and other official inquiries into landed property; in the Taxation Rolls of Edward I., and in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., deposited in the Tower of London; in the Domesday Book, in the Pipe Rolls, in the Bags of “*Pedes Finium*,” (or Fines,) in the Quo Warranto Rolls in the reigns of Edw. I. II. and III., and in the Surveys of Abbeys, Monasteries and Priories, deposited in the Chapter House at Westminster; in the books of Pedigrees and Arms, and in the Visitations of the Heralds in the College of Arms; in the Records of the Presentation to Benefices, in the Ecclesiastical Court at Chester;* in the Chartularies, Registers, and Ledgers of the Monasteries, and in the Surveys and Inquisitions of the larger and smaller religious houses in the Harleian, Cottonian, Lansdowne, and Hargrave Collections; in the Records of Pious Uses, taken before Bishop Bridgman, in the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of James I., contained in the British Museum; and in the Charters of Grants of various kings, under the Great Seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Court Rolls of the Duchy, the Inquisitiones Post Mortem, the Presentations to Livings, the Calendar of Pleadings, and the Abstracts of Duchy Records, in the Bags and Rolls of the Duchy Courts, deposited in the Record Office of the Duchy, in Lancaster-place, London. When room could be afforded, copies of the documents themselves have generally been inserted, but, in most cases, they have been necessarily withheld, though never without a description of their contents being

* Owing to the defective state of these records in the early ages of the bishoprics, the returns are less perfect than might be expected.

given, and references attached to indicate where they are to be found by those who wish to consult them for purposes connected with family history, or the rights of property, or in support of municipal privileges.

In addition to the advantages afforded to the Author by the public records, much valuable information has been derived from Dr. Kuerden's MSS. in the Heralds' College in London, and in the Chetham Library at Manchester; from the Norris and Derby papers; from the MS. Collection of Dornig Rasbotham, esq., obligingly furnished by his daughter, Mrs. Gray; from the Mancuniensis of Hollingworth; and from the MS. History of Manchester, in possession of the Rev. Dr. Smith; as well as from the ample MS. collections of pedigrees by Hopkinson and Wilson, in the Leeds Library, and from the MS. entitled "*Familie Lancastrienses*," compiled from the collections of sir John Byron, sir George Booth, Ralph Thoresby, John Lucas, and others in the Author's possession; but most of all is he indebted for genealogical information to the accurate and valuable MS. collection of pedigrees, originally compiled by Mr. Vernon, of Shackerley, for the Asshetons of Middleton, and politely furnished from the library of the late deeply-lamented lord Suffield.

In the transcription of documents from the public records, and in quotations from those documents, as well as from private collections, the varying orthography of the original has been faithfully copied, as well for the purpose of preserving the fidelity of the quotation, as to shew the changes in the spelling of names and places in different ages.

Some years before the publication of this work was commenced, William Robert Whatton, esq., F.A.S., announced a biographical work, under the title of "*Lancastrenses Illustres; or Historical and Biographical Memoirs of illustrious Natives of the Palatine County of Lancaster, with Genealogical and Heraldic Observations*;" but, professional engagements having prevented Mr. Whatton from prosecuting his design to maturity, he generously transferred his ample collections, contained in four manuscript volumes, to the appropriate depository, the general history of the county. In the progress of this work through the press, literature and science were suddenly deprived by the stroke of death of this accomplished man; but, fortunately, his biographical labours were completed before that calamity befell his family and friends.

To the noblemen and gentlemen who have liberally communicated, from their pedigrees and evidences, much valuable information relating to their own and to other distinguished families in the county, the Author is deeply obliged. To the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., LL.D, the Author feels himself under great obligations.

For several years this gentleman had been engaged in collecting materials for a History of the Hundred of West Derby, with the judgment and zeal for which he is distinguished. The products of all this labour he spontaneously placed in the hands of the Author of the County History, leaving him the unrestricted use of all the papers in his collections. To Thomas Binns, esq., of Liverpool, he is also indebted for the repeated inspection of his vast collection of engravings relating to the different hundreds of Lancashire, a collection more extensive and varied than is possessed by any other individual in the county; as well as for the use of a number of rare books, from the perusal of which he has derived important facilities in the prosecution of his labours. A valuable original paper on the Roman roads converging to Wigan from the hundreds of West Derby, Salford, and Amounderness, was contributed by the Rev. Edmund Sibson, a laborious and successful antiquary; and Nicholas Grimshaw, esq., the guild-mayor of Preston, emphatically so called, has in a variety of ways placed the Author under obligations by his contributions and his corrections, in matters connected with the history of the ancient borough of Preston. To his valued friend, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Hunter, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, he is indebted for many useful suggestions, as well as for a copious catalogue of the MS. works of Roger Dodsworth connected with the county of Lancaster, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In every parish in the county he has received numerous acts of kindness and assistance in the progress of his publication, but the instances are too numerous to admit of distinct and separate acknowledgment.

It is due to Mr. Hampson, the gentleman who has filled the humble but confidential office of amanuensis to the Author for several years, to say, that his learning and research have contributed essentially to the accuracy of this publication; and it is also due to Mr. Edwin Butterworth, who has visited all the parishes and townships of the county, without a single exception, for the purpose of collecting local information, and to verify facts already obtained, to say, that he has performed his duty with zeal, intelligence, and fidelity.

The Appendix to these volumes, which follows the parish histories, will be found to contain a variety of information connected with the statistics of the County and Duchy of Lancaster; and, amongst other matter, Abstracts of the Ecclesiastical Survey of the various parishes of the county, made by commissioners under the authority of the Lord Protector during the period of the Commonwealth, usually designated "The Oliverian Survey." These documents are found in the unpublished MSS. in the Lambeth Library, obligingly opened to the Author for transcrip-

tion, by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury ; to whom he is also indebted for permission to make the Abstracts of the Endowments of Vicarages in the county of Lancaster, by Dr. Ducarel.

The Engravings (upwards of two hundred,) consisting of portraits, views, maps, antiquarian subjects, and drawings of manufacturing machinery, with which this publication is adorned, by artists eminent in their profession—and the uniformity of the volumes in paper, print, and embellishments—reflect credit upon the spirited publishers ; and the vignette initial letters affixed to each chapter and parish history, from which the design is derived, display the taste of the engraver in wood, and the advanced state of that branch of the arts. The pedigrees are also arranged with skill by the printer ; and the arms and crests by which these family trees are surmounted, though simple in their construction, have the merit of perfect accuracy in the execution.

A number of Additions and Corrections, arranged in the order of the parishes, follow the Appendix ; and a general Index of places, persons, and subjects, for the facility of reference, concludes the work.

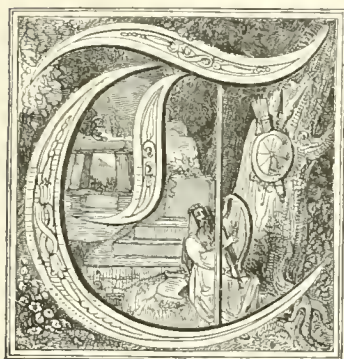
The extensive and highly respectable support which this publication has received during the long period of its progress through the press, is indicated by the number and station of the subscribers ; and the best acknowledgment that can be offered in return is the assurance that an anxious desire has existed to execute the work in every department in such a manner as to deserve that patronage which has been so liberally awarded.

LEEDS, December, 1836.

THE
HISTORY OF LANCASHIRE.

Chap. I.

Introductory Observations.—Roman name of Lancashire.—Brigantes.—Aborigines.—Druidism.—Manners and customs.—Languages.—Cæsar's invasions.—Renewed invasion by the Romans.—Lancashire overrun by the Romans.—Hadrian's wall.—Roman stations in Lancashire.—Lancashire estuaries.—Roman roads in Lancashire.—Antonine's Itinerary of the Lancashire routes.—Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary.—Arrival of the Emperor Severus in the Brigantian capital.—His acts.—His death and deification.—His successors.—The goddess of the Brigantes.—Recent discovery of Roman remains at Ribchester.—Provinces and districts.—Britain finally abandoned by the Romans.—Roman institutions.—Roman remains in Lancashire.



THE County of Lancaster, though not particularly famed for those monuments of antiquity which shed a lustre on history, local as well as national, is by no means destitute of ancient remains. Its distinguishing characteristics, however, consist in the extent of its commerce, the importance of its manufactures, the number and value of its modern institutions, and the activity and enterprise of its abundant population. In tracing the history of such a County, it becomes the duty of the historian to

CHAP.
I.

Introduc-
tion.

describe with accuracy the monuments bequeathed to us by our ancestors, without exhausting the patience of his readers with prolix details and controversial disquisitions; which, however interesting to the antiquarian, seldom tend to any valuable result. Where facts are wanting, conjecture may be resorted to, in order to supply the defect; but in a portion of the kingdom where there is so much of the real history of human affairs, it would be unpardonable to spend that time in barren speculation, which may be so much more advantageously devoted to the concerns of the great community for whose information this work is intended.

CHAP.
I.

For nearly four thousand years of the world's existence, the history of this County, and of this country, is almost a blank, except so far as it may be read in its geological phenomena; and it may be confidently asserted, that before the first landing of Julius Cæsar upon our shores, scarcely any thing is known of the people who inhabited this island, or of the government and institutions under which they lived. There have been, it is true, certain zealous and adventurous antiquarians, who have assigned dates much earlier than the fifty-fifth year before the birth of Christ, to the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the champion of the antiquity of Cambridge going back to Cantaber, who, as we are told, lived 394 years before the Christian era; and the still bolder Oxonian dating the birth of his *Alma Mater* as far back as the fall of Troy!

The history of Britain before the Norman Conquest may be divided into four portions:

- First, the Aborigines;
- Second, the Roman period;
- Third, the Anglo-Saxon period; and,
- Fourth, the Danish period.

Each of these epochs had its distinct character, and in all of them the inhabitants of Lancashire took their share; though it is doubtful whether this County, even at the Conquest, had obtained its present name.

roman
name of
Lancashire.

According to Ptolemy, the inhabitants of the country between the lofty ridge which now separates Yorkshire from Lancashire, and the bay of Morecambe, bore the name of the *Setantii*, or *Segantii*—the dwellers in “the country of water;” which district, on the second invasion of the Romans, was included in the more extensive province of the *Brigantes*,* extending on the east side of the island from the Humber to the Tyne, and on the west from the Mersey to the Eden, and comprehending the five counties of Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. This being the most powerful and populous nation in Britain, during the Roman sway, it is the most celebrated by the best writers.†

Brigantes.

Aborigi-
nes.

Historians are generally agreed that the Aborigines of Britain, as Cæsar calls our earliest ancestors, were a tribe of the Gauls, who emigrated from the Continent, and settled in this island‡ about a thousand years before the birth of Christ. The more probable conjecture is, as Cæsar intimates, that the interior parts of Britain, to the north and to the west, and consequently Lancashire, were peopled by the earliest inhabitants, and the maritime parts by

* *Brigantes*. From the Spanish *Briga*, a city, or from the Belgic *Brigantes*, free lands, rather than from the French *Brigands*, piratical marauders.

† Camden, vol. iii. p. 233.

‡ Rich. de Cir. b. I. cap. ii. sect. 4.

those who crossed over from Belgium, in Gaul, for the purpose of invading it, almost all of whom had their names from the tribes whence they sprang, and, on the cessation of hostilities, remained here. CHAP.
I.

Before the first invasion of the Romans, the inhabitants of this part of the island subsisted chiefly by hunting; and their cattle grazed upon pastures, unencumbered by any of the artificial divisions which a state of cultivation never fails to produce. For their clothing, when the severity of the season compelled them to submit their limbs to such restraints, they were indebted to the skins of animals; and their dwellings were formed by the pillars of the forest, rooted in the earth, and enclosed by interwoven branches, which but imperfectly served to shelter them during the hours of repose from the conflict of the elements. Their governments, according to Diodorus Siculus, the ancient historian, though monarchical, were free, like those of all the Celtic nations; and their religion, which formed one part of the government, was Druidical: their deities were furies; human sacrifices were offered to them;* and the eternal transmigration of souls was inculcated, and universally believed.

According to Cæsar,† “the Druids attend on divine offices, perform the public and private sacrifices, and explain the mysteries of religion. To them great numbers of youth resort for instruction, and they are held in great honour among them, for they decide in almost all cases, public and private; and if any crime or murder is committed, or any disputes arise about estates or bounds, they determine it, and appoint rewards and punishments. If any individual or body of men refuses to abide by their sentences, they forbid him to come to the sacrifices. This is esteemed the heaviest punishment among them. The persons thus forbidden are considered as impious wretches, shunned by all, and their conversation is avoided, as if for fear of being injured by the contagion of their company. They can obtain no benefit from the laws, nor are they allowed any share in public honours. Over all these Druids presides one with supreme authority. Upon his death the next in rank succeeds; but if there are many equal in rank, a successor is elected by the suffrage of the rest. They sometimes dispute for the superiority by the sword. These priests, at a certain time of the year, hold a general assembly, in a consecrated place in the confines of the Carnutes, whose country is supposed the centre of all Gaul. Hither repair all who have any disputes, and submit themselves to their judgments and decrees. This system of discipline is supposed to have been planned in Britain, and thence transferred to Gaul; and, to this day, those who desire to acquire a more intimate knowledge of it, generally go thither to be instructed in it. The Druids are dispensed from

* Solinus.

† C. Julii Cæsaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. cap. 13, 14.

CHAP.
I.

attending on war, nor do they pay tribute, like the rest of the nation; and they are exempted from military and all other service. Encouraged by such rewards, and frequently of their own choice, many come to them to be instructed, or are sent by their relatives and parents. They are said to learn by heart a great number of verses, and therefore spend several years in this discipline; nor do they think it right to commit what they are taught to writing, whereas, in almost every thing else of a public or private nature, they use the Greek characters. This I suppose them to do for two reasons; because they would not have the common people acquainted with their discipline, nor their scholars who learn it trust to letters more than their memory, it being a too common case that persons who rely upon the assistance of writing, lay too little stress on memory. The points they chiefly inculcate are, the immortality and transmigration of the soul,* which they think very conducive to inspire courage, by occasioning a contempt of death. They likewise discourse with youth much about the heavenly bodies and their motion, the size of the heaven and the earth, the nature of things, the influence and power of the immortal gods."

According to Pliny,† "the Druids (as the Gauls call their magicians or wise men) hold nothing so sacred as the *mistletoe*, and the tree on which it grows, provided it be an oak. They make choice of oak groves in preference to all others, and perform no rites without oak leaves; so that they seem to have the name of Druids from thence, if we derive their name from Greek. They think whatever grows on those trees is sent from heaven, and is a sign that the Deity has made choice of that tree. But as the mistletoe is seldom to be met with, when found, it is fetched with great ceremony, and by all means on the sixth day of the moon, which with them begins the months and years, and the period of thirty years, which they term an age; for, at that season, the moon has sufficient influence, and is above half full. They call this plant in their

* The effects of this opinion are very strikingly described by Lucan, in a highly poetical apostrophe to the Druids:—

‘ Vobis auctoribus umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundis
Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populos quos despicit Arctos
Felicis errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus! Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, et ignavum rediturae parcere vitæ.”

LUCAN, PHARSAL. l. i.

† Nat. Hist. xvi. c. 44.

own language *All-heal*; and, after preparing it for the sacrifice and feast under the tree, they bring up two white bulls, whose horns have been bound for the first time. The priest, habited in white, mounts the tree, and, with a golden hook, cuts the misletoe, which is received in a white cloth. They then sacrifice the victims, praying the deity to render this, his gift, favourable to those to whom they distribute it. They suppose it renders any animal fruitful which drinks a decoction of it, and it is a remedy against all sorts of poison. So much does the greatest part of a national religion consist in trifles.”

Manners
and cus-
toms.

The manners and customs of the ancient Britons resembled those of the Gauls. They were extremely warlike, eager for slaughter, and bold and courageous in battle. Dion Cassius, speaking of the Britons in the northern part of the island, (the Brigantes,) says, “They never cultivate the land, but live on prey, hunting, and the fruits of trees; for they never touch fish, of which they have such prodigious plenty. They live in tents, naked, and without shoes; have their wives in common, and maintain all their children. The people share the government amongst them, and they practise robbery without restraint. They fight in chariots, having small fleet horses; they have also infantry, who can run very swiftly, and while they stand are very firm. Their arms are a shield, and a short spear, on the lower part of which is a bell of brass, to terrify the enemy by its sound when shaken. They likewise wear daggers. They are accustomed to brave hunger, cold, and all kinds of toil; for they will continue several days up to their chins in water, and bear hunger many days. In the woods they live on bark and roots of trees. They prepare a certain kind of food for all occasions, a piece of which, of the size of a bean, prevents their feeling hunger or thirst.”*

Xiphilinus† says, Boudinica, the British queen, “wore a gold collar, and was dressed in a party-coloured robe.” Pliny says, “the Britons and Gauls wore a ring on their middle finger;” and Cæsar describes them as wearing long hair.‡ They wore, like the Gauls, a particular dress, called brachæ:

Quam veteres brachæ Britonis pauperis.§

Like the old brachæ of a needy Briton.

But the description of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons, as given by Cæsar, is the most full and clear.|| “The Britons,” says the Roman conqueror, “use brass money, or iron rings of a certain weight instead of it. They think it not

* Sir Robert Sibbald supposes this to be the root of orobus, or the wild astragalus thalius, which has a taste like liquorice, and is called by the Highlanders, who chew it for the same purpose at present, *karemyle*. Scotia Illust. p. i. lib. i. c. 17—19. The plant meant by Sir Robert (for it is not easily identified by this description) is the heath peaseling, the *orobus tuberosus* of Linnæus.

† LXII. Punc.

‡ B. G. v. 14.

§ Martial.

|| B. G. v. 12.

CHAP.
1.

right to eat hares, poultry, or geese, though they breed them all for amusement. Of all the natives, the most civilized are the inhabitants of Cantium, all that country lying on the sea-coast; and the manners of this people are not very different from those of the Gauls. The inland inhabitants for the most part sow no corn, but live on milk and flesh, and for clothing wear skins. All the Britons stain themselves with woad, which produces a blue colour, and gives them a more horrible appearance in battle. They wear the hair of their head long, but close and bare on every part of their body, except their head and upper lip. They have their wives in common among ten or twelve of them, especially brothers with brothers, and parents with children; but the issue by these wives belongs to those who married them when virgins. Most of them use chariots in battle. They first scour up and down on every side, throwing their darts, creating disorder among the ranks by the terror of their horses and noise of their chariot wheels; and when they are got among the troops of horse, they leap out, and fight on foot. Meantime the charioteers retire to a little distance from the field, and place themselves in such a manner, that if the others are overpowered by the number of the enemy, they may be secure to make good their retreat. Thus they act with the agility of cavalry, and the steadiness of infantry, in battle, and become so expert by constant practice, that in declivities and precipices they can stop their horses on full speed, and on a sudden check and turn them, run along the pole, stand on the yoke, and then as quickly dart into their chariots again. They frequently retreat on purpose, and, after they have drawn our men a little way from the main body, leap from their poles, and wage an unequal war on foot. Their manner of fighting on horseback creates the same danger, both to the retreator and the pursuer. Add to this, that they never fight in bodies, but scattered and at great distances, and have parties in reserve supporting one another, and fresh troops ready to relieve the weary."

Language. From the affinity of language, Camden contends that the Britons sprang from the Germans, and the Scotch from the Irish; and though Cæsar says that the Gauls had different languages, he adds, as we have seen, that it was usual for the Gauls, who wished to acquire greater proficiency in the Druidical mysteries, to come over to Britain to receive instruction from our Druids; and Tacitus* says, "The language of the Britons and the Gauls is not very different."

The Romans, in their thirst for universal empire, after subduing Gaul, turned their attention towards Britain; and if any thing can palliate the disgrace of a conquered country, that alleviation is to be found in the name of the conqueror, which will live throughout all ages, as well in the glory of his arms, as in the fidelity of his classical Commentaries.

* Vit. Agr. xi.

Nec stetit oceanus, remisque ingressa profundum
Vincendos, alio quæsit in orbe Britannos.

Nor ocean stopped him, but with daring oar
He sought new conquests on the British shore.

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I.

Cæsar's own account of the conquest, as presented in the fourth and fifth books of his "De Bello Gallico," exceeds all other descriptions, and is substantially as follows :

Cæsar's
invasion.

In the summer of the 55th year before the birth of Christ, Cæsar resolved to pass over into Britain. Having marched his army into the territory of the Morini, (now the French department of the Pas de Calais,) he ordered a great many ships in the neighbouring ports to attend him, for the purpose of undertaking the invasion. The Britons, in the mean time, having notice of his design, came to Cæsar with offers of hostages and submission to the authority of Rome. The answer returned to these overtures was, that he should visit them in person, and he hoped they would be ready to enter into alliance with the Romans. The preliminary arrangements having been made, he weighed anchor about midnight, and about ten o'clock in the morning reached the coast of Britain, where he saw all the cliffs covered with the British force assembled to repel the invaders. To effect a landing, the Romans were obliged to leap from their ships breast-high into the water. In their endeavours to land they were strenuously opposed by the Britons, whose chariots lined the shore, while their cavalry advanced boldly to the edge of the water, and cast their darts at the invaders with murderous effect. The Roman soldiers, shrinking from this unequal warfare, demurred to leap into the sea, when the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, having first invoked the gods for success, cried out aloud—"Follow me, fellow-soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman eagle into the hands of the enemy: for my part, I am determined to discharge my duty to Cæsar and the commonwealth." Upon this he jumped into the sea, and advanced with the eagle against the enemy. Excited by this heroic example, the Roman soldiers leaped promiscuously from their ships, and, falling upon the enemy, speedily put them to the rout. The Britons, being thus vanquished in battle, despatched ambassadors to Cæsar, to offer hostages, and an entire submission to his commands. A peace was thus concluded four days after Cæsar's arrival in Britain; but that very night a storm came on suddenly, and destroyed or dismantled all the conqueror's shipping. Consternation spread through the camp, there being no ships left to carry back the troops, and the army was wholly without corn whereon to subsist. This disaster being known to the British chiefs, who, after the battle, had repaired to Cæsar's camp to perform the conditions of the treaty, they confederated amongst themselves, and left the camp to draw the islanders together; but Cæsar, suspecting

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1.

their design, had daily supplies of corn brought to his camp, and by extraordinary exertions the fleet was repaired, and soon in a condition to take the sea. During these transactions, the seventh legion being sent out to forage, according to custom, the soldiers were attacked by a strong body of the Britons placed in ambush, and only escaped destruction by the timely arrival of Cæsar, who came to their relief. Meanwhile the Britons despatched messengers into all parts, to make known to their countrymen the small number of the Roman troops, and the favourable opportunity they had of making immense spoil, and freeing their country from future invasion, by storming the enemy's camp. Having by this means got together a great body of infantry and cavalry, they marched towards the Roman entrenchments. Cæsar lost no time in drawing up his legions in order of battle before the camp, and, falling upon the Britons, who were not able to sustain the shock of disciplined troops, they were soon put to flight. The Romans, pursuing them as long as their strength would permit, made a terrible slaughter, and, setting fire to their houses and villages a great way round, returned to the camp. The same day ambassadors came to Cæsar to sue for peace, when Cæsar, doubling the number of the hostages he had before imposed upon them, ordered them to be sent to the continent, and, not judging it prudent to winter in Britain, embarked his army and returned to Gaul.*

Taught by experience, Cæsar's next invasion was undertaken with a much superior force, consisting of five legions and two thousand horse, accompanied by a fleet of eight hundred sail of vessels, which quitted Portus Itius in the summer of the following year. Though a great army of Britons had repaired to the coast, to resist the landing of the invaders, they became terrified by the vast number of ships, and retired hastily to the mountains, where they hid themselves in dismay. Cæsar having landed his army without resistance, chose a proper place for his camp upon the coast, in which he left ten cohorts, with three hundred horse, to guard the fleet, when, after a march of about twelve hours by night into the country, he came in sight of the British army, who, having posted themselves behind a river, with their cavalry and chariots, attacked the invaders from their high ground, to resist their passage. After a bloody conflict, the Britons were first driven into the woods, which were strongly barricadoed by felled trees; but the soldiers of the seventh legion, advancing under cover of their shields, and having cast up a mound, forced the entrenchments with little loss, and obliged the native troops to abandon the wood. The next morning Cæsar was preparing to pursue the enemy; but when he had advanced a little way, intelligence was brought him, "that a dreadful storm arising on the preceding night, had fallen violently upon his fleet, and driven almost all the

* B. G. iv.

ships on shore." Cæsar, upon this, recalled his legions and cavalry, and returned to his camp, from whence, after spending ten days in repairing the disaster, he returned to the place where he had quitted the pursuit of the Britons. Upon his arrival he found their numbers had been considerably increased in the interval; and that the command of their forces had, by common consent, been conferred upon Cassibelannus, whose territories were divided from the maritime states by the Thames, a river eighty miles from the sea. The British horse, supported by their chariots, vigorously charged the Roman cavalry on their march; yet they were every where dispersed, and driven back to their woods and hills with great slaughter. The Romans, in their turn, suffered considerable loss by a sally made by the enemy from the woods, and Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, was slain on the occasion. On the following day a most sanguinary and decisive engagement took place, in which the Britons were routed. Still unsubdued, they stationed themselves in great numbers upon the banks of the Thames, at the only place where the river was fordable; but the Roman cavalry succeeded in crossing the river, though nothing but their heads were above the water, and charged the Britons with so much impetuosity as to oblige them to quit the banks, and betake themselves to flight. A predatory warfare was carried on for some time against the Romans: but at length the Britons, finding further resistance hopeless, the Trinobantes, the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, sent ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of submission; and Cassibelannus, discouraged by so many losses and the devastation of his territory, sued for peace. Cæsar, designing to pass the winter in Gaul, listened the more readily to their overtures, and, having demanded hostages, and appointed the yearly tribute which Britain was to pay to the Romans, embarked his army, and quitted the British shores never to return. A more empty conquest was scarcely ever achieved: and yet, on his return to Rome from the conquest of Britain, Cæsar dedicated a breast-plate made of British pearls, in the temple of Venus Genetrix,* and exhibited a number of British prisoners in the theatre of that city.

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I.

Cæsar
quits Bri-
tain.

The sun of Roman glory had now passed its meridian. Distracted by domestic wars, which ended in the establishment of an absolute monarchy in Rome, the conquerors had little force to spare for the preservation of distant conquests; the Britons were, therefore, for a long time, left to themselves, and, for nearly a century after the invasion of Cæsar, they enjoyed, unmolested, their own civil and religious institutions.

* In Britannia parvos atque decolores (uniones) nasci certum est, quoniam Divus Julius thoracem, quem Veneri genetrici in templo ejus dicavit, ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi.—*Plin.* lib. ix. c. 35.

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I.

A.D. 43.

Renewed
invasion
by the Ro-
mans.

In the interval between the first and second invasion of Britain by the Romans, the founder of the Christian religion had accomplished his divine mission, in a province of the Roman empire, but almost without observation at Rome; and, ten years after his death, the Emperor Claudius sent over an army to this country, under the command of Aulus Plautius, the first Roman general who landed on this island since the invasion of Julius Caesar. Plautius having obtained a footing in Britain, was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, by whom the southern part of the island was reduced to a Roman province. The Emperor Claudius considered the conquest of Britain of sufficient importance to call for the royal presence; and after a visit to Camelodunum (*Colchester*), where he received the submission of several of the native kings, he returned to Rome with the additional title of “BRITANNICUS.”

“ O’er Britain he the Roman sceptre sway’d,
Him the BRIGANTES azure-arm’d obey’d.”

Extermi-
nation of
the
Druids.

Suetonius Paulinus, the successor of Ostorius, soon after the departure of the emperor, embarked his army, with the determination to exterminate the Druids. The island of Mona (*Anglesey*) being their chief seat, he resolved to direct his operations against that place. The Britons, aware of its importance, used every means in their power to resist the landing of the enemy; but all their endeavours were in vain. The scene which followed was one of utter despair. “On the shore,” says Tacitus, “stood a motley group of armed men, mixed with women running up and down amongst them, dressed like furies in black garments, their hair dishevelled, and torches in their hands. The Druids also attended, lifting up their hands to heaven, and uttering dreadful execrations. The novelty of the sight so struck the Roman soldiers, that they stood as it were motionless, exposing themselves to the enemy’s weapons, till, animated by the exhortations of the general, and encouraging one another not to fear an army of women and madmen, they advanced, bore down all they met, and involved them in their own fires. The tribunals of the Druids were overturned;* garrisons were afterwards placed in the towns, and the groves, sacred to their bloody superstitions, cut down. For it was their practice to offer the blood of their prisoners upon their altars, and to consult the gods by the entrails of men.”

* In the year 1702, while removing the rubbish from the remains of the chief tribunal of the Druids in Anglesey, a brass medal of our Saviour was found, on which was inscribed in Hebrew—“*This is Jesus Christ, the Mediator* ;” from which it is inferred, that the Christian religion had been preached here in the early part of the first century; and it seems probable, that this medal was the property of some of its ministers, who had been condemned and sacrificed by the Druids.—*Burton’s Mon. Ebor.* b. i. p. 3.

The exactions of the Roman procurator, and the licentiousness of the legionaries, had produced the most inveterate hatred towards the conquerors in the south of Britain; and, instead of the family of the king of the Iceni, who was lately deceased, being treated with respect, Boadicea, his widow, was ignominiously scourged, and her two daughters ravished. Driven to desperation by their wrongs, the people took up arms under Boadicea,* in the absence of Suetonius, and, after driving in the outposts with great slaughter, they stormed the forts, took possession of Camulodunum, the capital of the colony, and put to death the Roman garrison. On hearing of this disaster, Suetonius repaired by forced marches to London, then a commercial city, but not a Roman station, from whence he marched against the Britons, who, during their short career of victory, had put to death 70,000 of their enemies. A sanguinary battle now approached; Suetonius, at the head of the fourteenth legion, with the vexillarii of the twentieth, amounting in the whole to 10,000 men, met Boadicea with her countless undisciplined followers, and, after a desperate engagement, fought on the confines of Epping Forest, in which, as usual, discipline prevailed over numbers, the Roman soldiers triumphed, and 80,000 Britons, without distinction of age or sex, were left dead on the field. Boadicea, finding that all was lost but her honour, and scorning to grace the triumph of the conqueror, terminated her life by poison.

At this period the principal and the most able commander amongst the Britons was Venutius, of the state of the Brigantes; and it is probable, that the progress of the Roman arms in the country of the Segantii (Lancashire), was arrested by the skill and valour of this native general; but the discipline and constancy of the Roman troops, now commanded by Julius Agricola, the successor of Suetonius, “struck a panic into the state of the Brigantes, which,” according to Tacitus, “was accounted the most numerous of the whole country, by attacking them with great force; and after several, and some of them bloody battles, he reduced great part of Britain by victory, or involved it in war.” When Agricola, who added to the bravery of the soldier the skill of the statesman, had alarmed the native inhabitants by his severity, he offered inducements to peace by his clemency. By this conduct many of the states, and the Brigantes amongst the rest, which till then had stood out, gave hostages, and submitted to have a line of garrisons and castles drawn round them. This was the origin of our Roman stations. “In order that men who, by their

Lancashire over-run by the Romans.

A.D. 80.

* Tacitus, Vit. Agr. xvi.

CHAP. I. honourable emulation produced the effect of obligation. He applied himself to instruct the sons of the chiefs in the liberal arts, and appeared to prefer the genius of the Britons to the accomplishments of the Gauls; inasmuch as they, who but a little time before disdained the language, now affected the eloquence of Rome. This produced an esteem for the Roman dress, and the *toga* came into general use. By degrees the Britons adopted the vicious indulgences of the Romans, and the porticoes, the baths, and the splendid banquets, entered into the number of their enjoyments. This, which they called cultivation, was in effect the appendage of slavery.”* Pursuing his victorious career, Agricola carried the terror of his arms to the remotest part of Scotland, and added Ireland to the number of his conquests. At length, having traversed the country from its southern to its northern extremity, in the short period of eight years, he returned to Rome, where the Emperor Domitian, rendered jealous by his renown, received him with a cold salute, and then left the conqueror of Britain, to mix with the servile crowd of the imperial court.†

Without plunging into the depths of antiquarian research, it may be proper to point out the Roman stations in Lancashire,—to trace the Roman roads which intersected this county—to glance at the institutions, secular and religious, introduced by imperial Rome—and to describe the infant efforts of that commercial spirit which was destined to rank Britain amongst the first of nations, and Lancashire amongst the first of counties.

A.D. 82. From the departure of Agricola till the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian in
A.D. 117. Britain, the name of the Brigantes scarcely occurs in history. It appears, however,
Hadrian's wall. and that the emperor, “after correcting many things, drew a wall eighty miles in length, on the northern boundary of the country of the Brigantes, to confine the ‘Barbarians’ within the limits of their own borders.”‡ Nearly a century had now elapsed since the second invasion of Britain by the Romans, and in the course of that period there had risen up in Lancashire the stations§ of *Mancunium*, MANCHESTER;|| *Veratinum*, WARRINGTON; *Rerigonium*, RIBCHESTER;|| *Columium*, COLNE; *Coccium*, BLACKRODE; *Ad Alaunam*, (the Longovicus of the Notitia,) LANCASTER; *Bremetonacæ*, OVERBOROUGH.

Estuaries. The estuaries into which the rivers that watered these stations fell, though involved in some degree of uncertainty, from the vague and indecisive character of the Roman charts, were—THE MERSEY, called *Belisama*; THE NEB OF THE

* Tacitus, Vit. Agricolæ, xxi.

† Vit. Agr. xl.

‡ Vit. Hadriani, Scrip. Hist. Aug. p. 51.

§ Whitaker's History of Manchester.

|| The name or termination *Castor*, *Cester*, or *Chester*, from *Castra*, a camp, generally indicates a Roman station.

NESE (Freckleton), at the mouth of the Ribble, called the *Haven of the Setantii*, or the *Setantian Port*, and THE BAY OF MORECAMBE. CHAP.
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The Lancashire stations communicated with Isurium (Aldborough), and Eboracum (York), the Brigantine capitals, by roads constructed by the Roman soldiery, and with other towns enumerated in the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Chorography of Ravennas, and the Description of Britain, by Richard of Cirencester.

It is conjectured that the principal part of the Roman roads in Britain were commenced by Julius Agricola, to facilitate his conquests; and an imperial general of modern times, in devoting so much attention to the public roads, only imitated these ancient conquerors. The four grand military Roman ways in Britain bear the names of Watling Street, Hermin Street, the Fosse, and Ikening or Iknild Street; but it is only the first-mentioned of these roads that comes within the scope of this history. Each of the stations affords its antiquities: at Blackrode, the Roman roads are seen expanding like radii from a centre; Ribchester abounds with remains; and Colne, Freckleton, Lancaster, Manchester, Overborough, and Warrington, will be found, in the progress of this work, to exhibit in succession their antiquarian stores, and to proclaim their ancient alliance with the Mistress of the World.

Roman
roads in
Lanca-
shire.

After the lapse of sixteen centuries, the County of Lancaster still presents innumerable remains of these celebrated roads. Four great Roman roads pass through this county—two of them from north to south, and two others from west to east.

The first of the Roman routes extends from Carlisle (Languvallium), in Cumberland, to Kinderton (Condate), in Cheshire: passing through Lancaster, it advances pretty nearly due south, near Garstang and Preston, to Blackrode; then taking the direction of Walden Moor, where it assumes the name of Staney-street, it advances by the Hope Hall estate, crosses the highway from Manchester to Warrington, and, having passed the ford of the Irwell at the shallow which gives denomination to Old Trafford, proceeds through the village of Stretford to the bridge over the Mersey; then pointing at Altringham, it passes along the declivity of the hills, and enters Dunham Park; here it takes the name of Street to Buckley Hill; from hence it passes to Mere Town; when, leaving Northwich about half a mile to the right, it takes the name of King Street, at Broken Cross, and proceeds to Kinderton, the *Condate* of Antoninus, now a suburb of Middlewich.

The second Roman road extends from Overborough to Slack or Almondbury (Cambodunum), in Yorkshire. This road passes through Ribchester, across the Ribble; then, proceeding to the east of Blackburn, through Ratcliffe and Prestwich over Kersall Moor, is carried by Strangeways Lane to Manchester; traversing that

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I.

township obliquely, it passes over Newton Heath, by Haigh Chapel, to the summit of Austerlands, where it enters Yorkshire, passes Knoll Hill in Saddleworth, and, crossing the Manchester and Huddersfield road at Delph, leaves Marsden about a mile and a half to the south, skirts Golcar Hill, and attains the plot of Cambodunum.

The third route commences at the Neb of the Nese, on the right bank of the Ribble, called by the Romans *The Setantian Port*, or, as we should express it, *The Port of Lancashire*; this road ranges from west to east, and, crossing the Lancaster road, leaves Preston about a mile to the right, assuming on Fulwood Moor the name of Watling Street; hence it proceeds to Ribchester, from which station it passes over Longridge Fell, and then, turning to the north, traces the Hodder to its source.

The fourth Roman road commences at the ford of the Mersey, near Warrington, and passes through Barton and Eccles to Manchester; it afterwards traverses the townships of Moston, Chadderton, and Royton, and keeping about a quarter of a mile to the right of Rochdale by the Oldham road, continues through Littleborough; afterwards, mounting the British Apennines, it sweeps over Rumbles Moor, and advances to Ilkley, the Olicana of Ptolemy, where stood the temple of Verbeia, the goddess of the Wharf.

Antonine's
Itinerary
of Lanca-
shire
Routes.

The Roman Stations in Lancashire occur in the second and the tenth routes of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and are thus arranged:—

ITER. II.

* * * * *

EBORACVM,	LEG. VI. vic.	. . .	York.
CALCARIA,	M.P. IX.	. . .	Tadcaster.
CAMBODVNS,	M.P. XX. al. XXX.	. . .	Almondbury.
MANVICO,	M.P. XVIII. al. XXIII.	. . .	Manchester.
CONDATE,	M.P. XVIII.	. . .	Northwich.
DEVA,	LEG. XX. vic. M.P. XX.	. . .	Chester.

ITER. X.

From Lanchester, in the County of Durham, to Drayton, in the County of Shropshire.

A GLANOVENTA.

From *Lanchester*.

GALAVA,	M.P. XVIII. al. XXVIII.	. . .	Old Town.
ALONE,	M.P. XII.	. . .	Whitby Castle.
GALACVM,	M.P. XIX.	. . .	Appleby.
BREMETONACIS,	M.P. XXVII. al. XXXII.	. . .	Overborough.

COCCIA,	M.P. XX. al. XXV.	. . . <i>Ribchester.</i>
MANCVNIO,	M.P. XVII. al. XXXII.	. . . <i>Manchester.</i>
CONDATÉ,	M.P. XVIII.	. . . <i>Near Northwich.</i>
MEDIOLANO,	M.P. XVIII. al. XXVIII.	. . . <i>Near Drayton.</i>

CHAP.
I.

The Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester is more full, and thus exhibits the Lancashire Stations, with their immediate connexions, in the VI. VII. and X. routes :—

Richard of
Cirences-
ter.

ITER. VI.

Ab EBORACO DEVAM USQUE SIC.

From *York* to *Chester*.

CALCARIA,	M.P. VIII.	. . . <i>Tadcaster.</i>
CAMBODUNO,	M.P. XXII. al. XXXII.	. . . <i>Slack.</i>
MANCUNIO,	M.P. XVIII. al. XXIII.	. . . <i>Manchester.</i>
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ ET FLAVIÆ, M.P. XVIII. al. VI.		. . . <i>Stratford on Mersey.</i>
CONDATÉ,	M.P. XVIII. al. XXIII.	. . . <i>Kinderton.</i>
DEVA,	M.P. XVIII.	. . . <i>Chester.</i>

ITER. VII.

A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM EBORACUM USQUE, SIC.

From *Freckleton* (on the Rib-
ble) to *York*.

RERIGONIO,	M.P. XXIII. al. XIII.	. . . <i>Ribchester.</i>
AD ALPES PENINOS,	M.P. VIII. al. XXIII.	. . . <i>Burrens in Broughton.</i>
ALICANA,	M.P. X.	. . . <i>Ilkley.</i>
ISURIO,	M.P. XVIII.	. . . <i>Aldbrough.</i>
EBORACO,	M.P. XVI. al. XVII.	. . . <i>York.</i>

ITER. X.

* * * * *

BROCAVONACIS,		. . . <i>Brougham.</i>
AD ALAUNAM,	M.P. XXXXVII.	. . . <i>Lancaster.</i>
COCCIO,	M.P. XXXVI.	. . . <i>Blackrode.</i>
MANCUNIO,	M.P. XVIII.	. . . <i>Manchester.</i>
CONDATÉ,	M.P. XXIII.	. . . <i>Kinderton.</i>

* * * * *

Several other roads, called Vicinal-ways, are to be found in this county, but the routes above described form the four principal military communications. These roads generally consist of a regular pavement, formed by large boulder stones or

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I.

fragments of rock imbedded in gravel, and vary in width from four to fourteen yards. It is a singular characteristic of the Roman roads, that they are not carried over rivers by bridges, but by fords, except where the rivers are impassable, and then bridges are thrown over.*

The terror of the Roman name, and the vigour of their arms, seemed scarcely able to keep in subjection the inhabitants of Britain, who sought every opportunity to shake off the foreign yoke. According to Herodian, the proprætor in Britain addressed a despatch to the Emperor Severus, to the effect that "the insurrections and inroads of the Barbarians, and the havoc they made far and near, rendered it necessary that he should either increase the Roman force in this country, or that he should come over in person." On this intimation, the emperor, though then advanced in life, and sinking under bodily infirmities, repaired to Britain, and established his court in Eboracum (York), the capital of the Brigantes. Having collected his force round that city, the emperor, attended by his sons Caracalla and Geta, marched from York, at the head of a powerful army, to the North, where he drove the Caledonians within their frontiers, and erected a stone wall within the vallum of Hadrian, and very nearly upon the site of that celebrated earthen rampart. The loss of Roman soldiers in this expedition, according to Dion Cassius, amounted to 50,000 men, partly by war, and partly in cutting down the woods, and draining the mosses, for which the north of England, and Lancashire in particular, is to the present day distinguished.

To commemorate his victories, Severus coined money with the inscription, VICTORIA BRITANNICA; he also assumed the name of BRITANNICUS MAXIMUS, and gave to his son Geta the name of BRITANNICUS.

His coin.



Mints were established by the Romans at eleven of their British stations, two of which were York and Chester; and it is probable that from these northern mints the coin was circulated over Lancashire. No fewer than fifty different Roman coins have been found at Standish, in this county, near the ancient Coccium, several of which are from dies struck by the Emperor Severus.

* Galen, ix. c. 8. methodi.

A few years after the return of Severus to York, where he held his court in all the splendour of Roman magnificence, the Caledonians again took up arms, and penetrated beyond the wall which the conqueror had pronounced an insurmountable bulwark. This renewed irruption excited the indignation of the emperor beyond all bounds; forgetting that he was himself an invader, he commanded his legions to advance once more against the enemy, and to put the whole population, without distinction of age or sex, to the sword, as the poet has expressed it.*

Sanguinary orders.

Τρῶες δ' αὖ ἐτέρωθεν ἀνὰ πόλιν ὠπλίζοντο,
Παυρότεροι μέμασαν ἐὲς ἃς ὧς ὑσμῖνι μάχεσθαι,
Χραιοὶ ἀναγκάῃ, πρὸς τε παίδων ἃς πρὸς γυναικῶν.

No sooner had Severus put down this new insurrection, than the infirmities of age, and the cares of the government, brought on a mortal disease, of which he died in the Brigantine capital, the city of his adoption. His last words to his sons were—"I leave you, my Antonines, (a term of affection,) a firm and steady government, if you will follow my steps, and prove what you ought to be,—weak and tottering, if otherwise."—"Do every thing that conduces to each other's good."—"Cherish the soldiery, and then you may despise the rest of mankind: a disturbed and every where distracted government, I found; but to you I leave it firm and quiet—even to the Britons." "I have risen from the lowest to the highest station, and am now no better for it." Then calling for the urn which was to contain his ashes, after the *ossilegium* (the burning of his body), and, looking steadily upon it, he said—"Thou shalt hold what the world was not large enough to contain."

His death.

After the dead body of the emperor had been consumed in the flames, his ashes were collected, and sent in a porphyrite urn to Rome, where they were deposited in the capitol, and the honour of *apotheosis*, or deification, was conferred upon him by the senate and the people. That his memory might not be lost in Britain, his devoted army, with infinite labour, raised three large hills in the place where his funeral rites were performed, in the vicinity of the city of York, which elevations bear the name of Severus's Hills, and are still very prominent.†

The manner of "making a god," as described by Herodian‡ in the case of Severus, is extraordinary, and will yield more amusement to the reader than the object of deification could afford benefit to his disciples. "The ceremony," says the historian, "has a mixture of festivity and pomp. The corpse is buried, like other emperors, in a sumptuous manner. But they make an effigy [of wax] as like the deceased as possible, and place it in the porch of the palace, upon a large and lofty bed of ivory covered with cloth of gold. This image is of a pale complexion, and

His deification.

* Homer Il. viii. 55.

† Drake's Eboracum, book i. p. 14.

‡ Book iv. c. 3.

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I.

lies at full length like a sick person. Round the bed on each side sit, for the greatest part of the day, on the left hand, the whole senate in black habits; on the right, ladies whose husbands or parents are persons of distinction. None of these latter wear any gold or bracelets, but thin white habits, like mourners. This they do for seven days together, the physicians coming every day to the bed to visit the sick person, whom they report to grow worse and worse. At last, when they think he is dead, the noblest and choicest youths of equestrian and senatorian rank take up the bed on their shoulders, and carry it along the sacred way into the Old Forum, where the Roman magistrates usually resign their authority. -On both sides are built steps like stairs, on which are placed, on one hand, a band of boys of the noblest and patrician families; on the other, of noble women, singing hymns in honour of the deceased, and dirges set to solemn and mournful measures. This being ended, they take up the bed again, and carry it out of the city into the Campus Martius. In the widest part of this field is raised a kind of scaffold of a square form, and equilateral, built of nothing but vast quantities of wood in form of a house. The bed being placed in the second story, they throw over it heaps of spices and perfumes of all kinds, fruits, herbs, and all sorts of aromatic juices. For there is no nation, city, or individual, of any rank or eminence, who do not vie with each other in making these last presents to the memory of the emperor. After a great heap of spices has been piled up, and every part of the building filled, the grand procession on horseback is made by the whole equestrian order round the structure, in certain orders, and returns in Pyrrhic measure and time. Chariots also are driven round in like order, by persons dressed in purple, and representing all the Roman generals and emperors. This being ended, the successor to the empire takes a torch, and puts it to the building. All the rest immediately set fire to it, and instantly the whole, being filled with dry combustibles and perfumes, is in a strong blaze. Presently from the highest and least story, as from a pinnacle, an eagle is let loose, and, towering up into the air with the flame, is supposed to convey the emperor's soul to heaven. From thenceforth the emperor is worshipped among the rest of the gods."

His suc-
cessors.

The conduct of the sons of Severus, Caracalla and Geta, shews but too clearly the necessity that was felt by their dying father for urging upon them the duty of brotherly affection and union. After the emperor's death, the imperial dignity was divided between them: but Caracalla, aspiring to the undivided power, resolved upon his brother's death, and, on a slight pretence, caused 20,000 soldiers, whom he supposed to be in his brother's interest, to be put to the sword. Not satisfied with this horrible atrocity, and familiarized to blood by the sanguinary deeds of his deified father, he pursued his unoffending brother into the presence of his mother, Julia,

and, with his own hands, pierced the unhappy prince's heart in the arms of her who gave him life.*

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I.

After the return of Caracalla to Rome, a long and profound silence is observed by the Roman historians as to the affairs of Britain; and it is not till the reign of Dioclesian, when Carausius, himself a Briton, who, being sent by the emperor with a fleet to guard the Belgic coast, embraced the opportunity to pass over into this island, and got himself proclaimed emperor at York, that any incident appertaining to the subject of this history is recorded.

A. D. 211.

At a subsequent period Carausius was slain by his compeer Alectus, who immediately assumed the purple, and bore sway in Britain, till Constantius, surnamed Chlorus, dethroned the usurper, and reigned in his stead. Constantius, having previously married a British princess who had embraced the Christian religion, manifested his attachment to the doctrines of the Cross, rather by following its precepts than by openly avowing its faith; and on his death, at York, the honour of the *apotheosis*, or deification, was conferred upon him by the Roman senate. The

A. D. 297.

A. D. 306.

issue of his marriage with the Princess Helena, was Constantine, by whom he was succeeded. The inauguration of this emperor took place in the imperial city of York, the place of his birth, and the British soldiers, in Roman pay, presented their countryman with a golden ball, as a symbol of his sovereignty over the island. Upon his conversion to Christianity he placed a cross upon the ball; and ever since this emperor's time, the globe surmounted by the cross has been used as the emblem of majesty in all the kingdoms of Christendom.

A. D. 341.

On the death of Constantine the Great, the empire was divided among his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. In this division Britain fell to the share of Constantine, the eldest of the number. Not content with his part of the empire, Constantine invaded the territories of his youngest brother; in which invasion he lost his life, and was succeeded in Britain by Constans, who thus became Emperor of the West. Constans having fallen in the village of St. Helena, at the foot of the Pyrenees, his only surviving brother succeeded to the purple; and he was succeeded by Julian, in whose reign the statue of the Brigantine goddess is supposed to have been erected. This ancient piece of Roman sculpture was

Goddess
of the
Brigantes.



* *Xiphilinus à Dione.*

CHAP.
I.

found in the ruins of a temple in Amandale, in the year 1732. The figure is supposed to represent Victory, or a Panthea, adorned with the symbols of Victory and Pallas; and the inscription, according to Roger Gale, the antiquary, may be read thus:

*“ Brigantiæ sacrum Amandus
Arcitectus ex imperio imperatoris Juliani.”*

The most recent, and one of the most interesting discoveries of Roman remains in Lancashire, was made during the summer of 1796, at Ribchester, in this county, by a youth, the son of Joseph Walton, in a hollow, nine feet below the surface of the ground, that had been made in the waste land at the side of the road leading to the church, and near the bed of the river. It is conjectured, that when these antiquities were deposited in this place, the sand was thrown amongst them to preserve them in a dry state, but they are in general much defaced by the corrosive effect of sand upon copper during a period of nearly two thousand years. These antiquities were purchased by Charles Townley, Esq., of Townley Hall, in this county, from the persons who found them, and they are described by that gentleman in a letter addressed by him to the Rev. John Brand, secretary to the Society of Antiquarians, the substance of which will be found in its proper place in these volumes. It will be sufficient to say here, that they consist of a helmet; a number of patera; the remains of a vase; a bust of Minerva; the remains of two basins; a number of circular plates; and various other curiosities, many of which appear to have been appropriated to religious uses. “The helmet,” says Mr. Townley, “deserves the particular attention of the curious as the remains of remote ages; very few ancient ones, decorated with embossed figures, have as yet appeared. The three or four which were preserved in the Museum at Portici are esteemed to be the most richly ornamented, and the best as to style of workmanship; but when this helmet was in its proper state, it must have been equal, at least, to those in point of decoration, and in respect to its having a vizor imitating so exactly the human features, I believe it to be the only ancient example of the kind that has yet been discovered. This singularity may excite a doubt, whether such a helmet was destined for real combat, or only for the enrichment of occasional trophies which were erected in the celebration of military festivals, or carried in procession amongst the Greeks and Romans. Trophies of this sort are seen on various medals, with the names of the people, whose subjugation such trophies are meant to record, inserted upon them; as for example,—DE SARMA-TIS—DE GERMANIS, on the medals of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

“The superior style of workmanship of the mask to that of the head-piece is also remarkable; in the former, the beauty of the features, the excellent work of the



figures in relief, and more particularly by the sharp edges and lines with which the eye-brows, eye-lids, and lips are marked, after the manner of Grecian art preceding the Cæsars, denote it to have been executed some ages before the head-piece, the coarse and heavy work of which corresponds with that of the artists employed in the reign of Septimius Severus, and particularly with the sculpture upon the arch of that emperor, situated near the Capitol hill at Rome. The cheek measures ten inches and a half from its junction to the scull-piece, at the top of the forehead, to its bottom, under the chin. A row of small detached locks of hair surrounds the forehead a little above the eyes, reaching to the ears, which are well delineated. Upon the locks of hair rests the bottom of a diadem or tutulus, which at the centre in the front is two inches and a quarter in height, diminishing at the extremities to one inch, and it is divided horizontally into two parts, bearing the proportionate heights just mentioned.* The lower part projects before the higher, and represents a bastion wall, separated into seven divisions by projecting turrets with pyramidal tops, exceeding a little the height of the wall. The apertures for missile weapons of defence, are marked in each of the turrets. The two arched doors appear in the middle division of this wall, and one arched door in each of the extreme divisions. The upper part of the diadem, which recedes a little, so as to clear the top of the wall and of the turrets, was ornamented with seven embossed figures, placed under the seven arches, the abutments of which are heads of genii. The central arch, and the figure that was within it, are destroyed, but the other six are filled with a repetition of the following three groupings:—A Venus, sitting upon a marine monster; before her a draped figure with wings, bearing a wreath and a palm branch, and behind her a triton, whose lower part terminates in tails of fish. Two serpents are represented on each side of the face, near the ears, from whence the bodies of these reptiles surround each cheek, and are joined under the chin. The union of various characters recalls the pantheic representations of the goddess Isis; and when the accompaniments of the work are attentively considered, I am persuaded they will be found to represent the goddess in her generating, preserving, and destroying capacities, which primitively constituted her universal dominion, and characterized her as the *Dea Triformis*.”

Britain was soon after this period divided into two consular provinces, *Maxima Cæsariensis* and *Valentia*, and into three præsidial districts—*Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda*, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*.† This division was probably made in

Provinces
and
Districts.

* From subsequent information it is ascertained, that a Sphinx was found with these remains, which the person who discovered them, omitted to deliver to Mr. Townley, but which, it is judged, served to decorate the top of the helmet.

† *Notitia*.

CHAP.
I.

the reign of Valentinian, after the memorable victory obtained by Theodosius over the united power of the Picts and the Scots;* and Lancashire came under the consular government of Valentia, as forming part of that province.

From this period the Roman power rapidly declined, and the empire was menaced with desolation by the continental barbarians. The inhabitants and troops that were quartered in Britain, fearing lest the Vandals should pass over the sea, and subdue them with the rest, revolted from their obedience to Honorius, and set up one Mark, whom they declared emperor; but they soon deprived him of his dignity and his life, placing Gratian in his room, who was a countryman of their own. Within four months they murdered him also, and conferred the sovereignty upon one Constantine, not so much in respect to his courage or his quality, for he was a very inconsiderable man in the army, but in regard to his name, which they looked upon as fortunate; hoping he would do as much as Constantine the Great had done, who had been advanced to the imperial dignity in the same island. This new prince, immediately after his promotion, passed over into Gaul, and, taking with him the very flower of the British youth, so utterly exhausted the military force of the island, that it was wholly broken, and the island left naked to her invaders.† Britain, being thus deprived both of the Roman soldiers and of the most vigorous part of her own population, became an easy prey to the incursions of the northern invaders, the Picts and Scots, to whose inroads the County of Lancaster was peculiarly exposed. The wall of Severus, though it stretched across the island, and was built of solid stone, twelve feet in height and eight feet in thickness, and though it was strengthened by fortresses well supplied with munitions of war, no longer formed a barrier against the inroads of the enemy.

Britain
finally
abandoned
by the
Romans.

A.D. 418.

In this deplorable situation the Britons invited over the Saxons, to protect them against an evil that they knew, and thereby fell upon a greater that they never anticipated. But, before proceeding to this new period of our history, it may be proper to take a summary survey of the Roman institutions as they existed in this country, and in this county, during the four centuries that Britain was subject to the Roman sway, and to glance at the remains with which some of the Lancashire Roman stations abound, though the details must be reserved for their more appropriate arrangement, under the respective heads in the Hundred and Parish Histories.

Roman in-
stitutions.

The government of Britain, during the Roman period, was præsidial, and with the president or vicar was associated, in military matters, the *Comes Britanniarum*. The country was garrisoned, and the conquest principally achieved and maintained by three out of the twenty-nine Roman legions, namely,—Legio II., Legio VI.,

* Ecard, vol. iii. p. 272, 273

† Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. c. 8.

Victrix, principally stationed in the Brigantian capital of Eboracum, and Legio XX., usually called Valens Victrix.*

According to Josephus, the Jewish historian, who wrote in the first century of the Christian era, there were four legions. His words are, "Britain is surrounded by the ocean, and almost equal in extent to our world! Yet it was reduced by the Romans, and four legions controlled such a populous island."† The knowledge of geography possessed by this ancient historian seems scarcely more accurate than the knowledge of astronomy displayed by Cæsar and Tacitus.

The manufacture of woollens was introduced into England, and probably into Lancashire, at an early period of the Roman conquest, and the luxury of dress soon succeeded the painting of the body. After-ages have increased and perfected these useful fabrics, and the ancient country of the Brigantes is still the most famous of all the districts of England for this invaluable production of the loom.

The religion of the Romans consisted, till after their final departure from Britain, of the idolatry of the Pantheon, though the light of Christianity began to dispel the mist of heathenism during the reign of Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great. Constantius erected the first episcopal see in Britain, and the seat of that high dignity was at Eboracum.‡ Constantine not only favoured the Christian doctrine, but, to display his attachment to Christianity, he stamped upon his coins the emblem of the Cross, A.D. 311. The progress of the true faith was, however, continually retarded by the wars with which this country was distracted, and it was not till a later period of British history that the great body of the nation could be called Christians.

The lapse of sixteen centuries, during which time fifty generations of men have passed over the stage of time, though it has consigned to destruction numberless Roman remains, has served to bring to light a great mass of antiquities in the stations of Lancashire. Hence in Mancunium, and in Ad Alaunam, we have altars, statues, coins, and medals; and in Rerigonium, a rich collection of antiquities, consisting of masks, helmets, and domestic utensils, serves to shew that this retired village was once the abode of the conquerors of the world. But of these, each in its proper place. The goddess of the Brigantes, being a general subject, will serve as a specimen of the monuments of antiquity in the general department of our history.

Roman
remains.

In dismissing for the present the Roman period, it may be observed, that skilful as were some of the Cæsars, and many of their subjects, in arts and in arms, they were deplorably ignorant of some of the great phenomena of nature. Hence we

Romans
not astro-
nomers.

* A Roman legion, when full, consisted of about 6,000 infantry and 400 cavalry.

† Bell. Jud. ii. c. 16. sec. 4.

‡ Burton's Monasticon, p. 6.

CHAP.
I.

find Julius Cæsar, in his Commentaries, astonishing his readers by communicating a rumour, that in the Isle of Man, a few leagues from the Lancashire coast, the nights were of thirty days' duration, and expressing himself in a manner indicating his own uncertainty upon the subject. The words are, "In hoc medio cursu est insula, quæ appellatur *MONA*; complures præterea minores objectæ insula existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos xxx sub bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil de eis percontationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex aqua mensuris breviores esse, quam in continente noctes videbamus."*

Another classical author of great celebrity, who wrote one hundred and fifty years after Cæsar, records, that it was said of the Isle of Anglesey, that the days and nights were each of them six months long!† The Romans, in the days of their emperors, conceiving the earth to be a flat surface, imagined that night was occasioned by the sun retiring behind high mountains. It was reserved for Copernicus to announce the rotundity of the globe, and for Sir Isaac Newton, a native of that island which in Cæsar's time was the abode of savages, to calculate, with mathematical precision, the length of the days and nights in all parts of the world.

Strange as this ignorance of the most learned of the Romans may sound in modern ears, since the light of science has opened the volume of nature to the great body of mankind, and rendered them to a certain extent more learned than the ancient philosophers, a period was now approaching in British history, when the gloom of heathen darkness was to become still more impervious, and when the native inhabitants of Britain were to be exposed to the horrors of those sanguinary contests, which so long existed between their northern invaders and the Saxons.

* De Bello Gallico, lib. v. c. 13.

† Pliny, lib. ii. sec. 75. It is understood that the *Mona* of Cæsar was the Isle of Man, and that of Pliny, the Isle of Anglesey.

Chap. II.

Saxon period.—State of Britain on the departure of the Romans.—Urgent application of the Britons for foreign aid.—Assistance offered by the Saxons.—They visit Britain as friends.—Remain as enemies.—Take possession of Kent.—Defeat of the Saxons at York.—Saxon ingratitude.—King Arthur.—Battles on the Douglas.—The Round Table.—Sir Torquin.—The Heptarchy.—Northumbria.—Saxon idolatry.—Introduction of Christianity.—Missionaries to Britain.—Conversion of the Northumbrians.—Restoration of churches.—Lancashire castles.—Oswald.—Archbishop Wilfrid.—Papal authority acknowledged.—Transference of the people of Furness.—Rain of blood.—Venerable Bede.—Invasion of the Danes.—Battle of Whalley.—Dissolution of the Heptarchy.—State of Lancashire in the ninth century.—Reign of Alfred the Great.—Saxon name of Lancashire.—Early tradition of the Eagle and Child.—The tenth century.—The south of Lancashire in Northumbria, and not in Mercia.—Wars in Northumbria.—Lancashire not mentioned in the Saxon Chronicles.—Passes under the Danish power.—Termination of the Saxon and Danish dynasties in England.—Manners and institutions of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors.



THE progress in civilization made by the Britons during the four hundred years that this county and this country were occupied by the Romans, was almost obliterated by the six centuries which succeeded, of invasion from without, and discord within the island. One redeeming event served, however, to dispel the night of heathen darkness; and the general introduction of Christianity, perverted and contaminated though it was by superstition and error, irradiated the gloom of the Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman

CHAP.
II.

Saxon period.

dominion. So fair a country as Britain, suddenly abandoned by its Roman conquerors, and possessed by a people without union in the governments, and without reliance upon themselves, naturally became a prize for foreign competition; and the struggles for independence were rather the transient and convulsive efforts of despair, than the dauntless energies of patriotic confidence. The ships which transported the legionaries of Rome from the shores of Britain had scarcely weighed anchor, when the invading hordes of the Scots and Picts dislodged the British troops from their fortresses, and, forcing a passage through the Roman wall, penetrated into the counties of Cumberland and Lancaster, and even to the gates of York, from whence they menaced the other parts of the island. The state of the country at that time, as described by one of the earliest British historians,* serves to shew that considerable progress had been made in the arts, in commerce, and in agriculture;

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II.

State of
Britain on
the depar-
ture of the
Romans.

and that the people no longer painted their bodies, and depended for their food on the precarious resources of the chase. "The island of Britain," says this sapient ecclesiastic, "placed in the balance of the divine poising hand, which weigheth the whole world, at almost the uttermost bounds of the earth towards the south-west, extending itself from the south-west out towards the North Pole, 800 miles in length and 200 in breadth, embraced by the embowed bosoms of the ocean, with whose most spacious, and on every side impassable enclosure, she is strongly defended, enriched with the mouths of noble floods, by which outlandish commodities have in times past been transported into the same, besides other rivers of lesser account; strengthened with eight-and-twenty cities, and some other castles, not meanly fenced with fortresses of walls, embattled towers, gates, and buildings, (whose roofs, being raised aloft with threatening hugeness, were mighty in the aspiring tops compacted,) adorned with her large spreading fields, pleasantly seated hills, even framed for good husbandry, which ever mastereth the ground, and mountains most convenient for the changeable pastures of cattle; watered with clear fountains and sundry brooks, beating on the snow-white sands, together with silver streams gliding forth with soft sounding noise, and leaving a pledge of sweet savours on bordering banks, and lakes gushing out abundantly in cold running rivers."*

A.D. 118.

Invaded
by the
Picts and
Scots.

Urgent
applica-
tion for
foreign
aid.

This description of the wealth of Britain, and of its scenery, drawn thirteen hundred years ago, was doubtless applicable to the county of Lancaster at the time of the departure of the Romans. "After this," continues our author, "Britain being now despoiled of all armed soldiers, and of her own brave and valorous youth, (who quitted the island along with the Romans, never returning to their homes,) and absolutely ignorant of all practice of war, was trampled many years under the feet of two very fierce outlandish nations—the Scots and the Picts. Upon whose invasion, and most terrible oppression, she sent ambassadors, furnished with letters, to Rome, humbly beseeching, with piteous prayers, the hosts of soldiers to redress her wrongs, and vowing with the whole power of her mind her everlasting subjection to the Roman empire, if they would allow their soldiers to return, and to chase away their foes. These letters were indited to this purpose,—*The Lamentations of the Britons unto Agitius, thrice Consul.* 'The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians. Thus, of two kinds of death, one or other must be our choice, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the sword.' In this deplorable condition, no relief could be afforded by the Romans; the Goths were at their own gates; and to aggravate the miseries of the Britons, a dreadful famine raged in the ravished country, which obliged many of them to yield their necks to the yoke of the invaders for a little food; and those who had too much

* Epist. of Gildas, cap. i.

constancy to submit to this humiliation were constrained to seek refuge in the mountains, or to conceal themselves in caves and thickets.”*

CHAP.
II.

Repulsed by the Roman government, and without confidence in their own strength, the Britons sought assistance from the Saxons, a nation of warriors and pirates. The military renown of these people pointed them out as the most efficient of auxiliaries, while their ambition and their avarice made them in reality the most dangerous of allies. To avert a present danger, ambassadors were sent to the heads of their government, and, an audience having been obtained, they spoke as follows :—

“ Most noble Saxons—The poor and distressed Brets (Britons), outworn and exhausted by the incursions of their enemies, hearing the fame of those victories which you have most gallantly obtained, have sent us supplicants unto you, craving that you would not deny us your help and succour. A large and spacious land we have, plentiful and abundant in all things, which we yield wholly to your command. Hitherto we have lived freely under the patronage and protection of the Romans ; next unto them we know not any more powerful than yourselves, and therefore we seek for a refuge under the wings of your valour. So that we may, by your puissance, be superior to our enemies ; and whatsoever service you shall impose upon us, that we will willingly afford.”†

To this urgent invitation the peers and the governors of the Saxons replied :—

“ Know ye, that the Saxons will be fast friends to the Britons, and ready at all times to assist them in their necessity for a suitable return ; with joy, therefore, embark again for your country, and make your countrymen glad with these good tidings.”

Assistance
offered by
the Sax-
ons.

The Saxons were confederated tribes, consisting of the Angles, (and hence Anglo-Saxons,) the Jutes, and the genuine Saxons. They were settled on the shores of the German ocean, and extended from the Eyder to the Rhine. The etymology of their name is involved in the obscurity of remote antiquity. Their leaders are supposed to have bequeathed the appellation to their followers. The classical historians have painted this nation with the features of terror ; the word *Saxum*, a rock, as an expression of unfeeling ferocity, has been thought by some to have produced the name, while *Sacæsons*, the sons of the *Sacæ* ; *Sassen*, a settled people ; *S-ness-on*, or *Saxon*, Celtic for the waters of the river ; and *Saex*, or *Sachs*, the short sword they fought with, has each found its advocates.‡ The first Saxon expedition to England, which consisted of 1000 soldiers, embarked in three vessels, called *Cyulæ*, or *Kules*, composed of hides,§ under the command of Hengist

The Sax-
ons.

* Epist. of Gildas, cap. xvii.

† Witichindus.

‡ Sh. Turner's Hist. of the Anglo Saxons, vol. 1. p. 22-3.

§ Nennius, cap. xxviii.

CHAP.
II.

They visit
Britain as
friends.

and Horsa, the latter serving under the former, and both being in the fourth generation from Woden, one of the principal gods of the Saxons. On their arrival in England, they were directed by Vortigern, the British king, to march against the enemy, then spread over the greatest part of the country of the Brigantes; and on their arrival in the neighbourhood of York, a bloody engagement took place, by which the Picts and the Scots were driven out of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and compelled to take refuge within their own borders. The Saxon generals, disinclined to finish the campaign by a single battle, neglected to follow up this victory, and their troops remained in York and in Manchester, to recover from the fatigues of their journey, and to recruit their numbers with fresh levies. So short-sighted are nations frequently, as well as individuals, that great rejoicings took place in Britain on the expulsion of the Picts and Scots, and the Saxons were every where hailed as deliverers. Vortigern, held by the double tie of gratitude to Hengist, and love to his fascinating daughter, Rowena, became insensible to the danger that menaced his country. The poison of Saxon perfidy was poured into the royal ear, while he reposed on the bosom of the "blue-eyed" enchantress, and the king closed his eyes to those dangerous designs of ambition in his foreign auxiliaries, which every day became more manifest to his people.

A D. 450.

Remain as
enemies.

Having possession of Mancunium and Eboracum, the Saxons sent for a further supply of troops from Germany, which speedily arrived in seventeen *cyulæ*, and were encamped in the Isle of Thanet. This measure naturally increased the suspicion of the Britons, and they expressed their displeasure, by refusing to provide for the fresh levies. A proclamation, commanding them to quit the country, immediately followed, at which Hengist took deadly offence; and the Saxons, who had come to expel invaders, now assumed themselves the character of open enemies. Further reinforcements, under the command of Octa, the son of Hengist, and Ebissa, the son of Octa, soon after arrived, and marched to the north, spreading themselves over the Brigantian districts, which were soon to assume another name. The demands of the Saxons rose with the concessions of the Britons; and it at length became clear, that nothing short of the full possession of this fair island would allay the cravings of their ambition and cupidity. Disgusted with the blindness and effeminacy of Vortigern, his people drove him from his throne, and Vortimer, his son, reigned in his stead. After several battles between the Britons and the Saxons, fought with various success, in one of which Vortimer fell, Vortigern again ascended the throne, and Hengist demanded a conference between the Saxon chiefs and the British nobility, to arrange terms, as was alleged, for the Saxons quitting the kingdom. This meeting took place upon the plain of Ambrij, now called Salisbury Plain. The unsuspecting Britons came unarmed, but the perfidious Germans had each a short skeine

concealed under his cassock. After the conference, the horns of festivity went round, till the spirits of the assembly had become exhilarated, when, at the terrible exclamation of “Nemed Saxas,” out rushed the Saxon weapons; the unarmed Britons fell before the perfidious assassins, and three hundred of the bravest chiefs and the most elevated men of the country perished on the spot.* Well may the venerable Gildas speak of the men who could perpetrate so horrible an atrocity as *ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones Deo hominibusque irvisi*.†

CHAP.
II.

Hengist now possessed himself of the southern part of the island, which he erected into a principality, under the designation of the Kingdom of Kent, while Octa and Ebissa remained settled in Northumbria. The fortunes of the Britons were partially retrieved by Aurelius Ambrosius, a Briton of Roman extraction. Under his direction the military spirit of his countrymen was roused into action, and after marching from Totness at the head of a formidable force, accompanied by Uter, his brother, surnamed Pendragon, he arrived before the gates of York, when he summoned Octa to surrender. A council of war being called, at which the question to be discussed was, whether the Saxon garrison should stand a siege? it was determined to surrender at discretion, and to cast themselves upon the clemency of the Britons. This determination having been formed, Octa, accompanied by his principal captains, carrying each a chain in his hand, with dust upon his head, presented himself to Ambrosius with this address,—“My gods are conquered, and I doubt not but the sovereign power is in your god, who has compelled so many noble persons to come before you in this suppliant manner: be pleased, therefore, to accept of us and this chain; if you do not think us fit for your clemency, we here present ourselves ready to be fettered, and are willing to undergo any punishment you shall think us worthy of.” Moved by this humiliating appeal, Ambrosius granted a free pardon to the invaders, and, instead of shipping them out of the country, he assigned to them a district on the borders of Scotland. Ebissa, who had probably occupied Manchester while Octa was stationed in York, encouraged by the success of his kinsman’s appeal to the conqueror’s clemency, came and surrendered himself in the same manner, and met with a similar reception.

Take possession of Kent.

Surrender of York.

The gratitude of the Saxons did not outlive their merciful conqueror. On the death of Ambrosius, who was succeeded by Uter the Pendragon, Octa and Ebissa revolted, and issued from their northern retreat, by the route of Bremetonacæ (Overborough) and Coccium (Blackrode), both which places they took, as well as Mancunium (Manchester) and Veratinum (Warrington). On their arrival before Eboracum (York), an obstinate battle took place under the walls of that city, which ended in the defeat and capture of the two ingrates.‡

A.D. 490.

Saxon ingratitude.

* Nennius, c. xlvi. † Epist. of Gildas, c. xxiii. ‡ Geof. Mon. Polichron, &c.

CHAP.
11.

A.D. 516.

King
Arthur.

The son and successor of Uter, born of Lady Igren, Duchess of Cornwall, was the renowned King Arthur. Trained to arms by Ambrosius, under whose commission he for some time fought,* and animated by the wrongs of the Britons, over whom he was appointed to reign, he became himself the leader of their wars, and in all of them he came off conqueror. The first of his battles was fought at the mouth of the river called the Glem. The second, third, fourth, and fifth, upon another river called the Douglas, in the territory of Linuis. The sixth was on a stream which bears the name of Bassas. The seventh was in the wood of Celidon, that is, in Cattoit Celidon. The eighth was at Castle Gumnion. The ninth at the city of Legion. The tenth on the banks of the river Ribroit. The eleventh on the hill Agned Cathregonion; and the twelfth at Mount Badon.†

His mili-
tary
achieve-
ments.

The history of this distinguished warrior is mixed up with so much romance as to render it extremely difficult to separate truth from fiction. That part of it, however, which regards the subject of this history, is not only supported by early tradition extending through many generations, but it is also supported by the concurrent testimony of indubitable facts. The ingenuity and research of Mr. Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, has placed this subject in so strong and interesting a light, in the second chapter of his Saxon History of Manchester, that it may be quoted with advantage, with the exception of those passages for which the public is indebted more to the vigorous imagination of the author than to historical evidence.

“The second, third, fourth, and fifth battles of Arthur are supposed to have been fought in our own county (Lancashire), and upon the banks of our little Douglas.‡ And the name of the river concurs with the tradition concerning Arthur, and three battles prove the notice true. On the traditionary scene of this engagement remained, till the year 1770, a considerable British barrow, popularly denominated Hasty-Knoll. It was originally a vast collection of small stones taken from the bed of the Douglas; and great quantities had been successively carried away by the neighbouring inhabitants. Many fragments of iron had been also

* Malmesbury, f. 4.

† “Artur ipse dux erat bellorum, et in omnibus victor extitit. Primum bellum fuit in ostium fluminis quod dicitur Glem. Secundum et tertium et quartum et quintum super aliud flumen, quod vocatur Duglas, quod est in regione Linuis. Sextum bellum super flumen quod vocatur Bassas. Septum bellum fuit in silva Calidonis, id est, Cattoit Celidon. Octavum fuit bellum in Castello Gumnion. Nonumque bellum gestum est in urbe Legionis. Decimum bellum gestum est in litore fluminis quod vocatur Ribroit. Undecimum bellum fuit in monte quod dicitur Agned Cathregonion. Duodecimum fuit bellum in monte Badonis.”—*Historia Britonum, auctore Nennio*, cap. lxx. lxxi.

‡ Higden, p. 225, from Radulphus, Hodie fluvius vocatur—Dugglis, et currit sub urbe de Wigan, and Brompton, c. 1153.

occasionally discovered in it, together with remains of those military weapons which the Britons interred with their heroes at death. On finally levelling the barrow, there was found a cavity, in the hungry gravel immediately under the stones, about seven feet in length, the evident grave of the British officer, and all filled with the loose and blackish earth of his perished remains. At another place, near Wigan, was discovered, about the year 1741, a large collection of horse and human bones, and an amazing quantity of horse shoes, scattered over a large extent of ground—an evidence of some important battle upon the spot. The very appellation of Wigan is a standing memorial of more than one battle at that place; *Wig* signifying, in Saxon, a fight, and *Wig-en* being its plural. According to tradition, the first battle fought near Blackrode was uncommonly bloody, and the Douglas was crimsoned with blood to Wigan. Tradition and remains concur to evince the fact, that a second battle was fought near Wigan-lane many ages before the rencounter in the civil wars. And credulity, deeply impressed with the story, not unfrequently fancies, to the present period, that it sees warriors habited in strange dresses, and hovering about the scene of slaughter. The defeated Saxons appear to have crossed the hill of Wigan, where another engagement or engagements ensued; and in forming the canal there, about the year 1735, the workmen discovered evident indications of a considerable battle on the ground. All along the course of the channel from the termination of the Dock to the point of Pool-bridge, from forty to fifty roods in length, and seven or eight yards in breadth, they found the ground every where containing the remains of men and horses. In making the excavations, a large old spur, carrying a stem four or five inches in length, and a rowel as large as a half-crown, was dug up; and five or six hundred weight of horse-shoes were collected. The point of land on the south side of the Douglas, which lies immediately fronting the scene of the last engagement, is now denominated the Parson's meadow; and tradition very loudly reports a battle to have been fought in it. To attack the Saxons in this situation was a bold effort; but victory heightens the courage and increases the power of an army. The attack was made: it could not be sustained. The dispirited Saxons fell before the superior bravery and dauntless spirit of the Britons.

“These four battles were fought upon the river Douglas, and in the region *Linnis*. In this district was the whole course of the current, from its source to its conclusion, and the words “*super flumen quod vocatur Douglas, quod est in Linnis*,” shew the stream to have been less known than the region. This was therefore considerable; one of the cantreds or great divisions of the Sistuntian kingdom, and comprised, perhaps, the western half of south Lancashire. From its appellation of *Linnis*, or the Lake, it seems to have assumed the denomination from the Mere of

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II.

On the
Douglas.

Marton, which was once the most considerable object within it, and was traversed by the Romans in canoes of a single tree.*

“ Thus by four successive victories had Arthur subdued the great army of the Saxons, which had so often beaten the Britons of the north, and then held the Sistuntii in bondage. But Lancashire was not yet entirely delivered. The castles which had been previously erected there by the provincials, would naturally be garrisoned by the Saxons on their conquest of the country, and the towns and their vicinities more immediately bridled by their barbarous oppressors. Tradition asserts Manchester to have been thus circumstanced in particular at this period.”† Here, in the Castle-field, according to our authority, stood the Roman castle, now occupied by the Saxon commander Sir Torquin, who was not expelled till after two desperate attempts to carry the fortress, in which the Britons at length succeeded, and Torquin fell before the victors. The traditions of Lancashire still cherish and uphold the memory of Sir Torquin, the lord of the castle, and the knights of the Round Table, many of whom fell within the tyrant’s toils, till Sir Lionell of Lioness slew the sanguinary knight, and liberated his captives.‡

The last of Arthur’s victories was achieved at the battle of Badon Mount; and Mr. Whitaker contends, that these memorable engagements not only checked the progress of Cerdic, but annihilated the Saxon army, and that a long interval of repose, extending through seventy years, followed. It appears, however, from the Saxon chronicles, that Cerdic died in the year 534, “ and was succeeded by his son Cynic in the government of Wessex; and that he,” in the peculiar language of these chronicles, “ reigned afterwards twenty-six winters.” It is also shewn from the

* Leigh’s Lancashire, b. i. p. 18.

† Whitaker’s Manchester, vol. II. b. ii. c. 2.

‡ The chivalrous order of the Knights of the Round Table was, according to the *Vetus Ceremoniale MSS.*, instituted by King Arthur and the Duke of Lancaster, and is thus mentioned by Du Cange:—“ *Le roy Arthur d’Angleterre et le duc le Lancastre ordonnerent et firent la Table Ronde, et les behours tournois, et joustes, et moult d’autres chose nobles et jugemens d’armes dont ils ordonnerent pour juger dames et damoiselles, roys d’armes et heraux.*” This Table is described in the romantic annals of Tristan:—

“ The great and skilful Merlin has exhausted all the secrets of his art in the constructing of that table. Thirteen seats were placed round it, in honour of the thirteen apostles. Twelve only of these could be filled up, and only by the bravest and truest knights. The thirteenth represented that of the execrable traitor Judas. It was called the perilous chair, ever since a rash and presumptuous Saracen had dared to set himself on it, when on a sudden the floor gave way, and the miscreant was swallowed up and consumed by devouring flames. By means of the spell, an invisible hand traced on the back of the seat the name of the candidate who deserved to fill it, and who must have proved himself superior in every respect to the companion whom he was to succeed; otherwise, whoever presented himself was instantly repelled by an unknown force. This was the trial those brave champions underwent whenever an election was become necessary, by the decease of any of the worthies.

history of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, that Ella and Ida reigned in Deira and Bernicia, within thirteen years from the death of Arthur, and that the Saxon conquests gradually advanced, till all England was subdued, and erected into seven sovereign states, under the name of the *Heptarchy*. The propriety of this appellation has been disputed, and the term *Octarchy* adopted in its stead. The difference is capable of an easy explanation,—Northumbria being considered one kingdom by the advocates for the Heptarchy, and two (that is, Deira and Bernicia,) by the supporters of the Octarchical division. The seven kingdoms were, Sussex, Kent, Wessex, East Anglia, Essex, Mercia, and Northumbria. This latter kingdom,

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The heptarchy.

Of the twelve honourable seats, that of Mourhoul, of Ireland, had remained ten years vacant. Arthur led Tristan to the empty seat. A celestial harmony was heard as he advanced, and the ambient air was sweetened by the most fragrant perfumes; the name of Mourhoul disappeared, and that of Tristan was seen most resplendent and conspicuous. Now his modesty was put to a hard trial; he was obliged, when seated, to detail all his achievements, which the clerks, as usual, took down."

The episode of Sir Torquin, in the celebrated history of King Arthur, under the title of "La Morte d'Arthur," portrays with vivacity the achievements of the gallant Knights of the Round Table, and, according to Mr. Whitaker, the scenery of the Castle-field, Manchester, and the surrounding country, in the Saxon period, would answer to this description:—

"Sir Lancelot of the Lake (Marton Mere), and Sir Lionell of Lionces, two brothers, and Knights of King Arthur, entered a deep forest in quest of adventures, and came into a great plain within it. Here (in the usual awkwardness with which events are brought about by these ancient romances,) the former lay down to sleep under an apple-tree, and the latter guarded him. While they were thus employed, three knights rode by on full speed, pursued by a fourth; and, as Lionell fixed his eyes upon the last, he thought that he never beheld so stout a knight, so handsome a man, or so well-accounted a hero. This was Sir Torquin, the lord of a castle in the neighbourhood; who, in the view of Sir Lionell, overtook the knights that he was pursuing, seized them, and bound them. Moved with generous pity at the sight, Lionell resolved to engage him. Without waking his brother, he followed Torquin, and bade him turn. He turned, overcame, and bound his challenger; and took all four away with him to his castle. And there he stripped them of their arms and clothes, whipped them with thorns, and put them in a deep dungeon, to share the fate of the many knights that were in the same prison, and to join with them in lamentations of their misery.

"In the mean while, Sir Ector de Maris, brother to Lionell and Lancelot, followed them to partake of their adventures, and came also into a great forest. There he heard, that within a mile was a castle, strong and well ditched, and by it, upon the left hand, a ford; and that over this grew a fair tree, on the branches of which were hung the shields of the many gallant knights who had been overcome by the owner of the castle; and at the stem was a basin of copper, with a Latin inscription, which challenged any knight to strike upon it, and summon the castellans to a contest. Ector came to the place, saw the shields, recognized many that belonged to his associates of the Round Table, and particularly noticed his brother's: fired at the sight, he beat violently on the basin, and then gave his horse drink at the ford. And immediately a knight appeared on horseback behind him, and called him to come out of the water. He turned himself directly. He engaged the knight, was conquered,

which alone concerns the subject of this history, was occasionally divided into two, under the names of Deira and Bernicia, but in its integrality it may be exhibited thus, with the succession of its Saxon sovereign princes :—

NORTHUMBERLAND consisted of the counties of . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{LANCASHIRE} \\ \text{YORKSHIRE} \\ \text{DURHAM} \\ \text{WESTMORELAND} \\ \text{CUMBERLAND} \\ \text{NORTHUMBERLAND} \end{array} \right\}$	And its Kings are ..	1. { Ella	11. Alkfryd
			{ Ida	12. Osred
			2. { Adda	13. Kenred
			{ Elappea	14. Oswick
			3. Theodwald	15. Ceolulph
			4. Fretnulse	16. Egbert
			5. Theodrick	17. Oswalph
			6. Ethelrick	18. Ediswald
			7. Ethelfrid	19. Elhred
			8. Edwin	20. Ethelred
			9. Oswald	21. Alfwald
			10. Egfrid	22. Osred.

This kingdom existed 379 years, dating its commencement from 547, and its desolation in 926. During the Roman period, the largest portion of this county took its name from the Brigantes; but the Saxons, from its local situation to the *North of the Humber*, changed its designation to *Nopþan Humbep Londe*, or *Northumberland*. The Saxon inhabitants of this kingdom were the Angles, who arrived from Anglia,* or Angloen, in Pomerania, as early as the year 449, though their kingdom of Northumberland was not established till one hundred years after that date. It has been conjectured, that Mercia included Deira, or that the country between the Mersey and the Ribble was within the Mercian terri-

and taken prisoner by him. The brother of both these unfortunate heroes, Sir Lancelot, whom we left sleeping before in the forest adjoining to the castle, had been carried from thence by enchantment, and confined for some time. But, as soon as he was released, he went in search of Lionell, and came into the same forest, where they had so strangely parted. There, in the midst of a highway, he heard that a knight dwelt very near, who was the most redoubted champion that ever existed, and had conquered, and now kept in prison, no less than sixty-four of King Arthur's knights. He hastened to the place. He came to the ford and tree; and he let his horse drink at the ford, and then beat upon the basin with the end of his spear. This he did so long and so heartily, that he drove the bottom out; and yet no one answered. He then rode along the gates of the castle almost half an hour. At last he descried Sir Torquin coming upon the road with a captive knight. He advanced, and challenged him. The other gallantly accepted the challenge, defying him and all his fellowship of the Round Table. They fought. The encounter lasted no less than four hours. Lancelot at last slew his antagonist, took the keys of his castle, and released all the prisoners within it, who instantly repaired to the armoury there, and furnished themselves completely.

* Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 449.

tory. But the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the more generally recognized limits; namely, that the Humber and the Mersey to the south, and the Eden and the Tyne to the north, formed the Northumbrian boundary; and that when this kingdom was divided, the kingdom of Deira consisted of the counties of Lancaster, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Durham, precisely the ancient Brigantine limits, while Bernicia comprehended Northumberland and the south of Scotland, between the Tweed and the Frith of Forth.

The system of government established by our Saxon ancestors had in it the germ of freedom, if it did not always exhibit the fruits. In religion they were idolaters, and when they settled in Britain, their idols, altars, and temples soon overspread the country. They had a god for every day in the week. *Thor*, or *Thur*, represented Thursday; *Woden* conferred his name on Wednesday; *Frisco* presided over Friday; *Seater* over Saturday; and *Tuyse*, the tutelar god of the Dutch, conferred his name on Tuesday. The attributes of the first four of these deities corresponded with those of the Roman deities, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Saturn; *Tuyse* had no parallel in the pantheon, but the Saxons had their *Ermensewl*, who, like Mercury, was the bestower of wit; and *Heile*, a sort of Esculapius, the preserver and restorer of health. Besides these gods, the Saxons worshipped the sun and the moon, who each conferred a name on one of the days of the week; *Sunnan* on Sunday, and *Monan* on Monday. The people worshipped the statues of these gods. *THOR* the supreme was seated on a throne, and on either side of him stood *WODEN* and *FRISCO*. *Thor*, according to the prevailing superstition, bore rule in the air, and governed the thunder, the lightning, and the winds; he likewise directed the weather, and regulated the seasons, giving plenty or inflicting famine at his will. *Woden* made war, and ministered rigour against enemies; while *Frisco* bestowed upon mortals peace and pleasure. So gross was the Saxon superstition, and so strong their incentives to war, that they believed, if they obtained the favour of *Woden* by their valour, they should be admitted after death into his hall, and, reposing on couches, should satiate themselves with ale from the skulls of their enemies, whom they had slain in battle! This beverage was in high esteem amongst them; and *Eoster*, to whom they sacrificed in the month of April, gave the name to Easter, by which the festival of the resurrection is designated in the Christian system. The Saxon women were not allowed to contract a second marriage, and a similar restriction applied to the men, except those in elevated stations who were childless; for, amongst such, “to be without children was to be without reputation.” The most dismal feature of their superstition was the custom which they had in war, after a successful enterprise, of selecting by lot, and sacrificing, one-tenth of their captives to their sanguinary gods.* In this spirit they

Saxon
idolatry.

* Sid. Apoll. Epist. vi. l. 8.

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II.

offered human sacrifices, to obtain success in battle; and Herald, a poet of that name, offered up on the altar two of his sons to his idols, that he might obtain a storm, to scatter and to destroy the Danish armada, which had sailed against him!

Christi-
nity intro-
duced.

Before the arrival of the Saxons, Christianity had taken root in England, and spread its healing branches over the whole land, recommending itself even to the Roman legionaries; but the invasion of the Saxon infidels for a time obscured, if it did not extinguish, the light of the gospel in Britain; and both Gildas and Bede concur in representing the Saxons, at that period, as a nation “odious both to God and man,”* the subverters of altars, and the enemies of the priesthood.

Before Gregory, surnamed the Great, had attained the pontifical chair, he formed the pious design of undertaking the conversion of the Saxon Britons. Observing in the market-place, at Rome, a number of Saxon youths exposed to sale, whom the Roman merchants in their trading voyages had bought from their British parents, and being struck with their beauty, he inquired to what country they belonged, and was told they were *Angles*, from the kingdom of Deira. Moved by the same spirit that now actuates so many of the people of England towards the heathen nations, he determined himself to undertake a mission to Britain, to convert the heathen of that country.† The popular favour of the monk disinclined the people to allow him to be exposed to so much danger in person; but no sooner had he assumed the purple, than he resolved to fulfil his benevolent design towards the Britons, and he pitched upon two Roman monks, Augustine and Paulinus, to preach the gospel in that island.

* Gildas Brit. Epist. xxiii. Bede l. i. 22.

† Die quadam cum advenientibus nuper mercatoribus multa venalia in forum fuissent collata, multique ad emendum confluxissent, et ipsum Gregorium inter alios advenisse, ac vidisse inter alia pueros venales positos, candidi corporis, ac venusti vultus, capillorum quoque forma egregia. Quos cum aspiceret, interrogavit, ut aiunt, de qua regione vel terra essent allati? dictumque est quod de Britannia insula, cujus incolæ talis essent aspectus. Rursus interrogavit utrum iidem insulani, Christiani; an pagani adhuc erroribus essent implicati? Dictumque est, quod essent pagani. At ille intimo ex corde longa trahens suspiria, Heu pro dolor; inquit, quod tam lucidi vultus homines tenebrarum auctor possidet, tantaque gratia frontis conspici mentem ab interna gratia vacuum gestant! Rursus ergo interrogavit, quod esset vocabulum gentis illius? Responsum est quod Angli vocarentur. At ille bene inquit,—Nam et angelicam habent faciem, et tales angelorum in cœlis decet esse coheredes. Quod, ait, habet nomen ipsa provincia, de qua isti sunt allati? Responsum est, quod Deiri vocarentur iidem provinciales. At ille bene inquit, Deiri de ira eruti, et ad misericordiam Christi vocati. Rex provinciæ illius quomodo vocatur? Responsum est, quod Elle diceretur. At ille alludens ad nomen, ait, Alleluia laudem Dei creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari.—BEDÆ. lib. ii. cap. I.

 CHAP.
II.

 Missiona-
ries to
Britain.

 Conver-
sion of the
Northum-
brians.

 Destruc-
tion of a
heathen
temple.

In the year 596, Augustine, at the head of about forty missionaries, embarked from Italy, and landed in the Isle of Thanet. Their arrival was immediately announced to Ethelbert, king of Kent. Ethelbert had married Bertha, the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris; and, as a condition of this alliance, he had stipulated that the princess should enjoy the free exercise of her religion, which was Christian. The exemplary conduct of the queen had prepossessed Ethelbert in favour of the Christian religion, and thus paved the way for the missionaries. On hearing of their arrival, he invited them to Canterbury, his capital, and assigned them habitations in that city. Their holy doctrines were recommended by their pious lives; and their blissful views beyond the grave so much gained upon the king and upon his subjects, that they all, as with one accord, received the faith of the Cross. In 604 the neighbouring East Saxons were proselytized; in 627 the East Angles adopted the Christian faith; and in the following year the example extended to Mercia. Thus the flame spread from kingdom to kingdom, till the whole heptarchy had become Christian. Edwin, the king of Northumbria, one of the best and the wisest of the Saxon sovereigns, having married Ethelburga, a Christian princess, received Paulinus with distinguished favour; and in the year 627 he was consecrated archbishop of the Northumbrians. Not satisfied with his own reflections, and with reasoning in private with his ministers on the subject, Edwin convened all his nobility, counsellors, and friends, to examine the grounds of both religions, the Christian and the Pagan, in a solemn assembly held at York. This memorable convocation having assembled, the king announced the object of the meeting. The coifi, or chief pontiff, of Northumbria, was heard first in favour of paganism; but the tenor of his argument was more favourable to the Christian faith than to his own; and he did not hesitate, in conclusion, to award to it the preference. He was followed by one of the Saxon barons, who strongly condemned the general system of heathenism, for keeping mankind in a state of darkness, shewing them neither what had preceded nor what was to follow the present state of being. In their views the court generally concurred, and the heathen pontiff, if he any longer was entitled to that reproach, requested that Paulinus would explain to the assembly the nature of the religion he professed, and the attributes of the God he worshipped. The missionary spoke with his usual fervour. Conviction flashed more strongly than before upon the whole assembly. The king openly declared himself a believer, and the cause of Christianity had a solemn and signal triumph. After the assembly had broken up, the pontiff, with the zeal of a proselyte, mounted a war-horse, and rode to Godmundin Gaham, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where stood the great Northumbrian temple of pagan worship, laid out in various courts, enclosed with several walls, containing within it many altars and idols, and attended by the first personages of the priesthood. Having cast a javelin

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II.Preaching
of Pauli-
nus in
Lanca-
shire.

at the principal idol, he commanded that those around him should be thrown down, and the temple consigned to the flames.* Edwin now embraced the Christian religion, with his whole court; and on Easter Sunday, in the year 627, the king and his nobles were all baptized at York. The great body of the people followed the example of their sovereign and his barons, and in one day 10,000 persons were baptized by Paulinus in the river Swale, since designated the Northumbrian Jordan. Christianity now became the prevailing religion. 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. From that period to the present, Christianity has continued to maintain its ascendancy in the northern parts of Britain; and in 678 the South Saxons, who were the last of the states to bow down to idols, discarded their superstitions, and became the worshippers of the only true God. Paulinus was consecrated first archbishop of York, which dignity he enjoyed “nineteen winters, two months, and twenty-one days, when he died, in the year 644.” So states the Saxon Chronicle, but there is here an evident error, as his elevation could not take place earlier than the year 627, when Edwin was converted to Christianity.

Restora-
tion of
churches.

The British churches, which the Saxons had not demolished, had fallen into decay: but they were now repaired, and the heathen temples were many of them converted into places of Christian worship, with appropriate dedications; and the Saxon churches in London, York, and Manchester, were distinguished by the names of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Mary. The feasts of dedication were instituted to preserve the memory of the consecration of the churches; and these annual festivals, which commenced in the evening preceding the celebration of the dedication, were called church wakes, which have gradually assumed a secular character, and are now ranked amongst the village festivals of Lancashire.

Lanca-
shire
castles.

Coeval with the churches, a number of castles were also erected, or re-edified; and it is conjectured, that not fewer than twelve considerable ones arose at the south of the Ribble, Wall-ey, Wal-ton, Child-wall, and Win-wick, Black-stone, Seph-ton, Stan-dish, and Pen-wortham,† Wig-an, Roch-dale, Middle-ton, and Berry. These were, probably, the seats of twelve Saxon chiefs, before the institution of parishes; and, therefore, the seats of as many parochial churches.‡ Edwin survived his conversion only six years, having fallen in a sanguinary battle, fought with Penda, the Mercian, and Cadwallan, the Cambrian, at Hethfield, where his whole army was put to the sword.

* Bede, lib. ii. cap. 14.

† Domesday Book, fo. 270.

‡ Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9. s. 3

The ancient kingdom of Northumberland revived, on the death of Edwin, in the person of Oswald, his successor ; of which king it is said, that though his power extended to three kingdoms, “ he was lowly to all, gracious to the poor, and bountiful to strangers.” Under the force of his arms, Cadwallan fell, and the flower of his army perished. The victories of Oswald served but to inflame the resentment of the pagan Penda, king of Mercia, who fought against him, and slew him at Mirfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, according to the Saxon Chronicles,* or, according to the venerable Bede, at Winwick, in the county of Lancaster. For some years, the people of Lancashire, with the rest of their fellow-subjects of the kingdom of Deira, had been in a state of constant hostility with their ancient allies and neighbours, the people of Bernicia ; but by the mild and enlightened rule of Oswald, their differences were reconciled, and they united in allegiance to one sovereign.

CHAP.
II.

Oswald.

A new era was now opening in the ecclesiastical history of this province, the effects of which were to be felt through a long series of ages, and to 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 hand of that distinguished prelate Winfrid, sole bishop of Northumberland ; and in a few years numbers of monasteries and nunneries sprung up in Lancashire, and other parts of the province. The practice of introducing relics into the churches belongs also to this age, and innumerable were the pilgrimages made to Rome, and to the venerable places which had been hallowed by the blood of the martyrs, to collect the remains of the saints. By the constitution of the western churches, the pope was invested with a patriarchal authority over them ; but the Britons had hitherto never acknowledged the pontifical jurisdiction. He was now, however, requested to confirm the immunities of religious houses, which had been previously ratified by the king, and Wiremouth was the first that received the papal confirmation.†

Introduc-
tion of
monastic
institu-
tions into
Britain

Theodore, the archbishop of Canterbury, having long seen the necessity for affording to the people some more extensive means of religious instruction, than they at that time possessed, and for dividing such of the bishoprics as were too large for the proper discharge of the episcopal duties, recommended to the king to convene a synod in 678, at which Egfrid and his Saxon barons were present. By this august assembly it was provided, by an unanimous decision, that as the number of Christians was daily increasing, new sees should be erected ; and, as if in anticipation of some formidable opposition, a declaration was appended to the decrees, to the effect, that, whoever presumed to violate them, should be degraded of his sacerdotal office, and excommunicated.‡ In virtue of these canons, the bishopric of the East Angles was

Arch-
bishop
Winfrid.

* Sax. Chron. A. D. 642.

† Bede, lib. i. c. 29.

‡ Bede, lib. iv. c. 5.

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II.

divided into two, and the dominions of the Mercians, which lay beyond the Severn, were assigned to the new see of Hereford. Wilfrid still remained the sole bishop amongst the Northumbrians, and his diocese reached from the Frith of Forth to the Humber, on the east of the kingdom, and from the Frith of Clyde to the Mersey, on the west. No prelate in these early days had aggrandized the church so much as Wilfrid. With influence almost unbounded in all parts of the kingdom, and amongst all the upper classes, from the greatest to the humblest of the Saxon barons, he was enabled to procure manors and lordships for the erection and endowments of churches; and in his time the precedent was first established of alienating the demesnes of the crown, to augment the revenues of the church. Resembling, in many respects, an archbishop of York of more modern days, (Cardinal Wolsey,) Wilfrid was munificent and ostentatious, affable and accomplished, ambitious and intractable, pious but proud. By one of the decrees of the synod, it was directed that the bishopric of this prelate should be divided into two, Deira and Bernicia, of which York was to be the capital of one, and Hexham of the other.

Refractory
conduct of
Wilfrid.

The haughty spirit of the prelate was wounded by this partition, which he did not hesitate to designate as an unjust spoliation. Repairing to the court, where the king and the archbishop were sat in council, he required the reason why he had been deprived of his income, given by princes for pious uses, without being guilty of any offence? To this inquiry it was replied, that the synod had charged him with no crime, but that they had, in virtue of their functions, and for the benefit of the church, divided his province, and should adhere to their decision; on which he exclaimed, that “from that decision he appealed for redress to Rome.” This threat excited the derision of the court, from its novelty and singularity. Wilfrid was not slow to execute it. He appealed to the pope in person; and his holiness, conceiving this a fit opportunity for establishing his patriarchal power in Britain, decreed—“That Wilfrid should be restored to the possession of the bishopric he had before; that such coadjutors as he should choose, with the consent of a synod, should be ordained by the archbishop; that those who had been made bishops in his absence should be expelled; and that every person who should oppose this sentence should be degraded, if in holy orders, but, if laymen, or even kings, that they should be excommunicated.”

This insolent mandate was resented by the king in full convocation, who directed that the property of the archbishop should be confiscated, and his person committed to prison. In the course of these proceedings, a convocation of all the bishops in England was summoned; the place of meeting was the plains of Nesterfield, between Wada and Wathe, in the county of York, where tents were pitched for holding the assembly. The archbishop of Canterbury came in person, to preside; the king was

present in council; and the abbots assisted in great numbers. Wilfrid still refused to subscribe the canons, and asked the king and the abbots, how they dared to oppose the papal power, and to prefer the decrees of Theodore to those of popes Agatho, Benedict, and Sergius. The convocation broke up, after a decree of inhibition against Wilfrid, by which he was deprived of his ecclesiastical functions, and obliged to seek his personal safety in Mercia. After a contest, continued for twenty-seven years, the quarrel was terminated in a compromise, under the mediation of Elfleda, the abbess, and daughter of Elfrid, by which Wilfrid was reinstated in the see of Hexham; but the Saxon bishops refused to admit the authority of the Roman pontiff in any affairs relating to the British churches. When the angry passions excited by this controversy had subsided, the pontifical claim was again advanced, and, in the middle of the eighth century, the Roman see was authoritatively declared, in the canons of Northumbria, to be the court of appeal in all ecclesiastical differences.

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11.

Papal au-
thority
acknow-
ledged.

Although the Britons had 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 Egfrid, king of Northumberland, that monarch “gave St. Cuthbert the land called Carthmell, and all the Britons in it.”*

Transfer-
ence of
the people
of Fur-
ness.

It is recorded, in the Saxon Chronicle, that in the year 685 there was in Britain a bloody rain, and milk and butter were turned to blood. A similar phenomenon is mentioned in 734; and this year the moon was as if *he†* were covered with blood. Bede, or Beda, a native of our kingdom of Northumbria, died this latter year, after a life of unparalleled literary labours. This venerable ecclesiastic, who was born in the year 672,‡ ranks the first in the number of early British historians, though his works are defaced by legendary tales, which serve to shew that his mind was not free from the superstitions which for so many ages afterwards prevailed in the county of Lancaster, to an extent scarcely equalled in any other part of the kingdom. In the time of Bede, but in what exact year is not ascertained, the ecclesiastical divisions of parishes were first established, and before the middle of the seventh century, and within twenty-five years from the conversion of the Saxon inhabitants of Northumbria to the Christian faith, churches were erected in the various districts of this county, to which ministers were appointed to dispense the ordinances of religion.

Rain of
blood.

Venerable
Bede.

The Saxon heptarchy was now drawing towards its termination. Ambition agitated all parts of the country by its conflicts, and the face of nature seemed to sympathize with the general disorder. Dreadful forewarnings came over Lancashire

* Camden's Brit. vol. iii. p. 380.

† In the Saxon, as in most of the Oriental languages, the moon is masculine, and the sun feminine.

‡ At Wearmouth, in the bishopric of Durham.

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II.Invasion
of the
Danes.Battle at
Whalley.

and the other parts of the land of the Northumbrians,* which excited general terror amongst the people. “Immense sheets of light were seen rushing through the air, (qu. the *aurora borealis*,) accompanied by whirlwinds, and fiery dragons flying across the firmament. These tremendous tokens were soon followed by a great famine; and not long after, on the sixth day before the ides of January, in the same year, the harrowing of heathen-men (the Danes) made lamentable havoc in the church of God.” In the year 798, adds the Saxon Chronicle, “a severe battle was fought in the Northumbrian territory during Lent, on the fourth day before the nones of April, at Whalley; wherein Alric, the son of Herbert, was slain, and many others with him.” The sentence is curious, as being the first time in which the parish of Whalley is mentioned in civil history, and the precise terms are these:—

“An. DCCXCVIII. Ðeƿ ƿær mýcel Ʒeƿeoht on Noƿð-hýmbƿa lande. on Lengtcenc. on iv. non. Aprī. æt ÐƿeallæƷe. Ʒ þær man oƿfloh Alƿic. Ðeapð-bephƿeƿ ƿunu. Ʒ oðƿe mænige mið him” :

The version of Simeon of Durham, of the same event, is more explanatory:—

“A. D. 798. Conjuratiōe facta ab interfectoribus Ethelredi regis, Wada Dux in illa conjuratione cum illis bellum inivit contra Eardwlfum regem, in loco qui appellatur ab Anglis Billangahoh, juxta Walalega, et ex utraque parte plurimis interfectis. Wada Dux cum suis in fagum versus est.”†

Dissolu-
tion of the
heptar-
chy

A.D. 800.

While these wars were raging in the north, Egbert, the son of Alcmund, king of Wessex, was preparing himself, under the tuition of Charlemagne, in his wars against the Avarians and the Huns, on the banks of the Danube, to overrun all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, and to appropriate them to the purposes of his own ambition. On his return to England, having mounted the throne of his ancestors, he penetrated successively into Devonshire and Cornwall, and ravaged the country from east to west. Beornwulf, the usurper of the kingdom of Mercia, alarmed by the progress of Egbert's arms, and aspiring himself to general dominion, attacked the West Saxon prince, and the conflict was brought to an issue at Wilton. After a sanguinary battle, fought with great obstinacy, the laurel of victory was awarded to the pupil of Charlemagne, and Beornwulf fled in confusion from the field. Mercia was still further weakened by a long and sanguinary war with the East

* Saxon Chron. A.D. 793.

† Dr. Whitaker supposes Billange, or Billinge, to have been at that time the name of the whole ridge, extending from the mountain near Blackburn, now bearing that appellation, to Whalley. Billangaton will, on that supposition, be the orthography of Billington, and Billongahah, or the low hill by Billinge, will leave, after cutting off the first syllable, the modern village of Langho. Of this great battle there are, however, no remains, unless a large tumulus near Hacking Hall, and in the immediate vicinity of Langho, be supposed to cover the remains of Alric, or some other chieftain amongst the slain. — HISTORY OF WHALLEY, Book I. cap. iii. p. 31.

Anglians ; and when the two usurpers, Beornwulf and Ludecan, had destroyed their military strength, Egbert invaded Mercia,* and compelled Wiglaf, who had just ascended the throne of that distracted kingdom, to take refuge in the monastery of Croyland. Through the intercession of the venerable abbot, the difference between the two kings was reconciled, but it was that species of accommodation which courage and strength dictate to compromising weakness : the conditions were, that Wiglaf should still occupy the throne of Mercia, but that it should be in the character of the tributary vassal of Wessex. The balance of power being lost, the subversion of East Anglia was easily effected ; and Kent and Essex soon sunk into the general vortex. After the conquest of Mercia, Egbert marched against Eanred, king of the Northumbrians ; but this prince, feeling that resistance was hopeless, acknowledged his superiority, and the whole Anglo-Saxon heptarchy merged in the kingdom of Wessex, under the sway of Egbert, the founder of the feudal system in England.†

Before Egbert ascended the throne, the north-men had commenced their attacks upon Britain ; and so early as the year 787 a small expedition landed at Teignmouth, in Devonshire. The invaders were principally from the promontory of Denmark, the *Cambrica Chersonesus* of Tacitus, “ at the utmost end of nature, and of the world,” where, according to the astronomy of the times, it was supposed that the sun was heard daily at its rising and setting in the sea. In 794, a more formidable armament effected a landing in Britain, and spread devastation amongst the Northumbrians, plundering the monastery of king Everth, at the entrance to the Wear. The resistance made to the invaders was so determined, that some of their leaders were slain ; several of their ships were shattered by the violence of a storm ; and such of the invaders as escaped the fury of the waves, fell by the sword. The following year, Erdulf, the viceroy or king of Northumbria, ascended the throne, and was consecrated in the capital of York.‡ Four years afterwards, Northumbria was again subjected to a Danish visitation, and the immediate cause of this invasion is thus narrated by our early historians : Osbert, the viceroy of Ethelred, having established his court and residence at York, returning one day from hunting, called at the mansion of Earl Bruern Bocard, guardian of the sea-coast against the irruptions of the Danes. The earl happening to be from home, his lady, to whose beauty was joined the most engaging behaviour, entertained her guest with the respect and attention due to his quality. Osbert, overcome by the sight of so much beauty, took the lady into an inner chamber, under pretence of a secret conference, in which the advancement of her lord and herself was

A.D. 800.

Cause of renewed invasion.

* Ingulfus Chron. Petr. xii. † Kuerden's MS. in the Manchester College Library, 4to. p. 229.

‡ Sax. Chron.

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concerned. The base designs of the viceroy soon became manifest, when, not being able to effect his purpose by persuasion, he resorted to violence, and triumphed over her chastity. On the entrance of her lord, she communicated to him the grievous wrong she had suffered, and so imbued his mind with resentment against the perfidious representative of the monarch, that he first repaired to his court at York, to complain of his wrongs, and then invited Godericke, the king of Denmark, to take possession of the country. Godericke received this invitation with great alacrity, and despatched a strong armament, under Ingwar and Hubba, to Britain. On their arrival in Northumbria, on the coast of Houlderness, the Danes fell upon the inhabitants with the utmost fury, and massacred all before them, without regard to age, sex, or condition. Marching on to York, they took possession of that city, and slew Osbert, the tyrant, by whose lust his country had been involved in so much ruin. Emboldened by their success in the north, they advanced into Norfolk, and demanded of Edmund, the king of the West Saxons, that he should surrender his throne. With this insolent summons he refused to comply; on which a bloody battle ensued, at Thetford, which ended in the overthrow of the Saxons, and in the execution of their king, who, because he would not abjure the Christian faith for the errors of paganism, was bound to a stake, and shot by the arrows of the Danish invaders.*

State of
Lancashire.

The situation of Lancashire, and of the other parts of Northumbria, must now have been most deplorable: for forty years the war raged amongst them with various success; and Ella, the governor, like Osbert, fell by the sword. Ethelred for a while kept the field, but at length his life and his power fell before the superior discipline of the Danes. In the midst of these sanguinary conflicts, the clergy, resting their claim on the Jewish law, insisted that a tenth of the produce of the land belonged to the priesthood under the Christian dispensation: this claim, though long resisted, was at length admitted by Ethelwulf, for the honour of God, and for his own everlasting salvation;† and it was further agreed, that the revenues of the church should be exempt from the burdens of the state.

Excesses
of the
Danes.

The Danes, in the fury of their warfare, laid waste every town and place that resisted their sway; but their especial fury was directed against religious houses, and, amongst others, against Bradney, Crowland, Peterborough, Ely, and Colding Low,‡ in the last of which monasteries, Lady Ebbe and her nuns, to avoid the savage pollution of the spoilers, cut off their own noses and upper lips, lest the attraction of their beauty should prove the bane of their honour. The exactions of the Danes

* The Danes, like the original Saxons, were idolaters; their principal god was Thur, and to him they offered human sacrifices.

† Saxon Chron. A.D. 854.

‡ Stow.

made upon the impoverished people, advanced from £10,000 to £40,000 a year, which sum in those days was considered of enormous amount.

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A.D. 869.

Famine.

Lancashire, and, no doubt, other parts of the island, were this year visited by one of the most dreadful calamities to which mankind are subject—a severe famine, and, its inevitable consequence, a mortality of cattle and of the human race.* The equalizing operations of commerce, by which the failure of the crops in one country is supplied by the superabundance of another, were then scarcely known in Britain. Agriculture was but imperfectly understood, and almost every district of the same kingdom was left to depend upon its own precarious resources. The contest between the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes, in this and the neighbouring counties, had withdrawn the husbandman from his employment, and, having neglected to sow, of course he had nothing to reap. The consequence was, that not only many parts of these fair regions mourned in want, but they were absolutely depopulated. Merciless and slow-consuming famine devoured its wretched victims, and the small share, which might have fallen to the native inhabitants, was consumed by the ruthless Danes, who, from their principal station in York, spread like swarms of locusts across the island, from sea to sea.

Reign of
Alfred the
Great.

Driven
from the
throne.

Both Northumbria and East Anglia had now fallen under the sanguinary sword of the Danish invaders, who began to aspire to the conquest of the whole island. Mercia next became the object of their attack, and Ethelred, king of Wessex, fell in a battle fought with the invaders at Merton. Alfred was now advanced to the throne of Wessex; but within a month of his elevation, he was attacked and defeated at Wilton.† A new swarm of the Danes soon after landed, under three of their princes, Guthrum, Oscital, and Amund, and proceeded into Northumbria, the favourite seat of their power. The husbandmen became the slaves of the invaders, and the thanes were made subservient to their purposes of avarice and aggrandizement. The noble spirit of Alfred bent beneath the storm, and, finding no security upon the throne, he withdrew from his elevated station, and took up his residence in an obscure part of the kingdom, as a guest in the family of a swineherd.

Such was his distress, that he knew not where to turn—such his poverty, that he had no subsistence but that which he obtained by plunder, or by fishing and hunting. He wandered about in woods and marshes—sometimes in the greatest penury, sometimes with a few companions, sometimes alone. He had neither territory, nor, for a time, the hope of regaining it. His occupation, while in the swineherd's house, was of the most humble kind; and his historian relates, that one Sunday, when the peasant had led his herd to their usual pasture, his wife prepared her fire to make the rustic bread against his return. Other domestic business

* Asser, 20.

† Saxon Chron. A. D. 871.

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II.Re-as-
cends the
throne.

requiring her attention, she committed her cakes to the care of the king, who sat furbishing his bow and arrow, intending to use them for the acquisition of food.* Alfred, on whose mind reflections the most interesting must have been continually pressing, forgot his allotted task, and suffered the bread to burn. The woman, irritated by his neglect, poured out her invectives upon him, telling him that he had a great capacity for food, but was too idle to prevent it from being spoiled. Alfred's lofty spirit calmly brooked this angry reproof, and he applied himself in future with more attention to the new and homely labour. The hospitable rustic, notwithstanding the asperity of his wife's temper, obtained the favour of the king. By his advice he applied himself to learning; and Alfred, on his return to power, acknowledged the obligation he had received, by elevating his host from the shepherd's crook to the bishop's crosier, and afterwards made him bishop of Winchester.† The humiliation of Alfred disciplined his temper, purified his heart, and served to enlighten his already profound understanding. His measures to regain his throne, and to surround it with its only impregnable bulwark, the love and confidence of the people, were judicious and exemplary. An auspicious incident at this juncture occurred, to fortify his courage; for having, in the assumed character of a minstrel, observed the conduct of the Danes in their encampments, he suddenly assembled a strong force, and inflicted a signal overthrow upon the invaders, at Eddington, where the Danes were encamped. With a generosity equal to his bravery, he gave them their lives, on the condition that they should, through their leader Guthrum, exchange paganism for Christianity. Guthrum was permitted, with his followers, to colonize East Anglia, and the Northumbrians were afterwards put under his rule. The sovereignty of Mercia, on the defeat of the Danes, fell into the power of Alfred, and, without avowedly incorporating it with Wessex, he discontinued its regal honours, and constituted Ethelred his military commander, to whom he afterwards married his daughter Ethelfleda. To fortify his kingdom against hostile attacks, he rebuilt the cities and castles which had been destroyed by the invaders; but his principal care was to construct a navy for the protection of the coast, and he has ever been considered as the founder of the English marine. In Northumbria the Danes continued to govern till towards the close of Alfred's reign, when Anarawd abandoned his power in that kingdom, and besought the friendship of Alfred. The king received him hospitably; and, to confirm the good intentions that he had formed in favour of the Christian faith, he became his sponsor in baptism, and his friend in all the relations of life. The state of learning in Lancashire, in the ninth century, may be inferred from Alfred's own declaration—"When I took the kingdom," said he, "there were very few on the south side of the Humber, the most improved part of England, who

* Asser, 30.

† Malmsb. p. 242.

could understand their daily prayers in English, or translate a letter from the Latin. I think there were not many beyond the Humber; they were so few, that I cannot indeed recollect one single instance on the south of the Thames, when I took the kingdom.”* The encouragement given to learning by this enlightened and benevolent monarch was highly exemplary. His own example served as a stimulus to the exertions of his courtiers; and, strange as it may appear, the king instituted schools for the instruction of his nobles in reading and writing, much after the model of the Lancastrian schools of the present day. His maxims have descended to posterity. It is recorded of him, that he divided his time into three portions: one third of the day and night he gave to sleep and refreshment; one third to the affairs of his kingdom; and one third to those duties which he considered as sacred.† To the mechanical arts he was a munificent patron. He invited, from all quarters, industrious and ingenious foreigners. He introduced and encouraged manufactures of all kinds, and prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, to push commerce into the most remote countries, and to acquire riches by propagating industry amongst their fellow-citizens. Mechanics were then so little known, that Alfred had not the aid either of dials, or of clocks or watches, to measure the progress of time. To supply this defect, he resorted to a simple expedient; his chaplains, by his orders, procured wax, and he ordered seventy-two denarii of it to be made into six equal candles, each candle to be twelve inches long, which were separately marked. These candles, successively used, lasted through the whole twenty-four hours; and, of course, every inch marked the lapse of twenty minutes; but sometimes the wind rushing in through the windows and doors, and the numerous chinks of the royal palace walls, or the slender covering of the tents, consumed the candles with undue celerity. To cure this evil, which confused his calculation, he thought, skilfully and wisely, says Asser, “*consilioque artificiose atque sapienter invento;*” and the result of his skill and wisdom was the invention of lanterns. He found that white horn, when cut thin, became transparent, like glass,‡ and with this and wood, a case for a candle was admirably made.

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II.State of
learning
in Lanca-
shire, &c.
in the 9th
century.Institu-
tions of
Alfred.

A passage in the life of Alfred serves to shew that the Christian religion had obtained a footing in India as early as the ninth century; for among other of his public acts it is recorded, that he sent an embassy to the shrine of St. Thomas, in the great eastern peninsula, by Suithelm, the bishop of Shireburn;§ and it is also ascertained that the light of the gospel had begun to shine in China at a period equally early. The invasion of the Danes, and their predatory depredations, particularly in the county of Lancaster, and the other parts of the kingdom of Northumbria, had almost destroyed the ancient police of the kingdom. To remedy this disorganized

Chris-
tianity in
India.

* Alfred's Preface, p. 82. † Malmsb. p. 45. ‡ Asser, p. 67. § Flor. Wig. 320.

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state of society, Alfred changed the ancient provisional divisions of England into counties, and the distribution of these into hundreds, which were again subdivided into tenths or tithings. Under these divisions the population of the country has been ever since arranged; and every person was directed to belong to some hundred or tenth, while every hundred and tenth became pledged to the preservation of the public peace and security in their district, and were made answerable for the conduct of their several inhabitants. In consequence of this arrangement, every criminal accused was sure to be apprehended; and it may be supposed that in this part of the kingdom the number of the lawless was at first very large. A short period sufficed greatly to reduce their number; and before the termination of the reign of Alfred, it was exultingly maintained, that a pair of golden bracelets might be exposed upon the highway, or in the most populous of our cities, without any danger of being stolen. So rigid and efficient a measure of police might comport with the state of society in Anglo-Saxon times, but it would be wholly incompatible with the freedom of locomotion in modern days, when, by the rapidity of our movements, and the frequent change of place and residence, no registration would be sufficient to ascertain to what tithing we belonged.

Division
of the
kingdom
into counties.

In the division of Britain into counties, the south-western portion of the Brigantine territory of the Romans, and of the Northumbrian kingdom of the Saxons, was named *Lonecaſterſcyre*, or *Loukeshire*, from the capital *Loucaſter*, the castle on the *Lone*, or *Lune*. South Lancashire was divided into six hundreds, which have since undergone some alteration. The designation of each of these hundreds was derived from the principal place in the division, in the reign of Alfred; and those names now serve to indicate the mutations to which places as well as persons are exposed. The Lancashire hundreds of our Saxon ancestors were *Derbei*, *Newtone*, *Walintune* (*Warrington*), *Blackeburne*, *Salford*, and *Lailand*. Of the names of the Lancashire tithings we have no distinct remains; but the nearest approximation to them may be found in each ten of our modern townships. The *Wittenagemot*, or Assembly of Wise-men, as the name of the Anglo-Saxon parliament imports, was an institution earlier than the days of Alfred; and the earls, the prelates, the aldermen, and the great landed proprietors, of which that body consisted, were called upon to concur in these early reforms.

Hitherto the administration of justice was confided to a species of provisional prefects, but in the time of Alfred the functions of these officers were divided into those of judges and sheriffs. The institution of juries belongs to the same period; and so tenacious was Alfred of the faithful discharge of the judicial office in penal judgments, that he caused forty-four justices to be executed as murderers, because they had exceeded their duty, and condemned to death unjustly the persons they

judged.* Alfred compiled a code of laws, (the *Dom-Boc*) which he enlarged with his own hand, and of which he himself says :

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“Hence I, King Alfred, gathered these together, and commanded many of those to be written down which our forefathers observed—those which I liked,—and those which I did not like, by the advice of my Witan I threw aside. For I durst not venture to set down in writing over many of my own, since I knew not what among them would please those who should come after us. But those which I met with either of the days of me, my kinsman, or of Offa, king of Mercia, or of Athelberht, who was the first of the English who received baptism,—those which appeared to me the justest,—I have here collected, and abandoned the others. Then I, Alfred, king of the West Saxons, showed these to all my Witan, and they then said that they were all willing to observe them.”

LAWS OF ALFRED, from *Price's MSS.*

Amongst his other legal institutions, it is perfectly clear that he had none corresponding with our Court of Chancery, since it appears that he hastened the decision of causes, and allowed no delay exceeding fifteen days.†

Death deprived the world of this most brilliant luminary at the age of fifty-two years. He was a pattern for kings in the time of extremity; a bright star in the history of mankind. Living a century after Charlemagne, he was, perhaps, a greater man, in a circle happily more limited.‡ Power was with him but the servant of his reason, and the instrument of his virtue. Of the many humane traits in his character, one is mentioned, which serves to show that our popular Lancashire tradition of the *EAGLE AND CHILD* is of the date of several centuries earlier than the time of the *De Lathoms*:—“One day, as Alfred was hunting in a wood, he heard the cry of a little infant in a tree, and ordered his huntsmen to examine the place. They ascended the branches, and found at the top, in an eagle’s nest, a beautiful child dressed in purple, with golden bracelets, the marks of nobility, on his arms. The king had him brought down, and baptized, and well educated; from the accident, he named the foundling *Nestingum*. His grandson’s daughter is stated to have been one of the ladies for whom Edgar indulged an improper passion.” The question here arises, if, for *Edgar* we may not read *Oscital*, the Danish prince, and thus complete the parallel.

Death
of Alfred
A.D. 900

Early tra-
dition of
the Eagle
and Child.

Though the life of Alfred exhibited a series of indefatigable exertions, both bodily and mental, it was literally a life of disease. The fœus molested him severely in his childhood.§ “*Quod genus infestissimi doloris etiam ab infantia habuit.*” This,

* *Miroir des Justices*, cap. ii. sec. 3.

† *Herder's Outlines*, p. 245.

‡ *Miroir*, p. 245.

§ *Asser*, p. 4.

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II.

after distressing him many years, disappeared; but at the age of twenty was succeeded by another disease, of the most tormenting nature. Its seat was internal and invisible, but its agony was incessant. The skill of the Saxon physicians was unable to detect its nature, or to alleviate its pain, (probably an internal cancer.) Alfred had to endure it unrelieved, but, as if born to subdue all difficulties, corporeal, mental, and political, his activity suffered no interruption in the midst of all this bodily affliction; and if any thing can add to the magnanimity of his character, it is the consideration, that all his virtues were exercised, and all his patriotic deeds performed, amidst the spirit-subduing power of almost perpetual agony.

The tenth
century.

In the century which succeeded the death of Alfred, there is little to relieve the contests of ambition, which so generally prevailed. Lancashire and the whole Northumbrian territory had, by the clemency of Alfred, become a species of Danish colony. There the resident Danes concocted their schemes of ambition and aggression against the Saxon power; and, upon the shores of Yorkshire and of Lancashire, fresh swarms of invaders effected their landing, and found succour and support. Edward the Elder succeeded to the power of his father; but his title was disputed by Ethelwald, son of king Ethelbert, who established his head-quarters in York, and was joined by the Northumbrians in his rebellion. The insurgents, quitting their strong hold in the north, marched into Kent, where a sanguinary battle ensued, and Ethelwald fell in the action, when his followers sought their safety in flight. Unsubdued, though vanquished, the Northumbrians penetrated again into Wessex, where they were again defeated, and pursued with great slaughter into their own country. Following up his successes, he subdued the two next princes of Northumberland, Reginald and Sidoc, and acquired the dominion of that province. In his wars between the Mersey and the Humber, the king was assisted by his sister Ethelfleda, the widow of Ethelbert, earl of Mercia, who, after her husband's death, had retained the possession of the government of that province. This princess is extolled by the early British historians as the wisest lady in Britain, the very emblem of her illustrious father, Alfred; and to her munificence the Mercians were indebted for the rebuilding of the city of Chester, while her royal brother built the ancient city of Thelwall, on the southern bank of the Mersey, and placed a garrison there.* The princess, Ethelfleda, who had been reduced to extremities in child-birth, persisted, that it did not become a king's daughter to pursue any pleasure that endangered her life, or interfered with her usefulness, and declined afterwards all chance of a repetition of such danger. The poets, like the historians, were loud in her praise; and Huntingdon, combining the two characters in the ardour of his admiration, has thus celebrated her fame:—

Ethelfle-
da, daugh-
ter of
Alfred.

* Saxon Chron. A.D. 923.

“ O Ælfleda potens! O terror virgo virorum!
 Victrix naturæ, nomine digna viri!
 Tu quoque splendidior fecit natura puellam,
 Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
 Te mutare decet, sed solum nomine, sexus;
 Tu regina potens, rexque trophea parens.
 Jam nec Cæsarei tantum meruere triumphi:
 Cæsare splendidior, virgo, virago, vale!”

“ Ælfleda great, though thou a virgin art,
 Thou strik'st a terror in each manly heart.
 Thou nature dost so conquer and refine,
 Thy virtue makes thee more than masculine.
 A royal changeling thou, only the name;
 A queen in that, a king in worth and fame:
 The virtues of each sex in thee are found;
 Farewell, brave dame, than Cæsar more renowned.”

The more effectually to maintain his dominion over the province of Northumbria, the king collected an army in Mercia, which he ordered to march to Manchester, which place he repaired and garrisoned.*

In the excess of antiquarian disputation, a controversy has arisen, whether, in the era of the Saxon heptarchy, the country between the Mersey and the Ribble, comprehending the southern part of Lancashire, was included in the kingdom of Northumbria; and Dr. Whitaker, with his usual tone of decision, maintains that this district, under the heptarchy, formed a portion, not of Northumbria, but of Mercia. This argument he rests principally on the authority of the *Status de Blackburnshire*, from which it appears, that the parish of Whalley was from the earliest times a portion of the diocese of Litchfield, which diocese, as he contends, never passed the Mercian kingdom. It is further urged, that the peculiar dialect of the Northumbrian kingdom ceases on the confines of the parish of Whalley, where the Mercian dialect commences. On the first of these points, (the historical argument, as it is called,) it is well known, that in the early ecclesiastical division of Britain there was great eccentricity, and that it is extremely difficult to fix the limits of the respective dioceses at this distant period; and on the second, it would be unsafe to draw a conclusion of this nature from the variety of dialects in the different parts of Northumbria, seeing that there is a still more marked difference between the dialects of the North and the West Riding of Yorkshire, than exists between those to the north and to the south of the Ribble. To these theories are opposed the generally received opinion, that the kingdom of Mercia was terminated on its north-western boundary by the

The south
of Lanca-
shire in
Northum-
bria, not in
Mercia.

* Saxon Chron. A.D. 923.

CHAP. II. river Mersey; and the positive fact, that in the Saxon Chronicle, the highest existing authority perhaps upon this subject, Manchester is said to be in Northumbria. The
 A.D. 923. passage is conclusive upon this point:—"This year went king Edward with an army, late in the harvest, to Thelwall; and ordered the borough to be repaired, and inhabited, and manned. And he ordered another army also from the population of Mercia, the while he sat there, to go to Manchester, *in Northumbria*, to repair and to man it."

AN. DCCCCXXIII. Ðer on þýrrum Ʒeape for EadƷeard cýning mid fýrde. on ufan hæƷferƷ. to Ðælpæle. Ʒ het ƷeƷýrcan þa buhƷ. Ʒ ƷeƷeƷtan. Ʒ Ʒemannian. and het oðre fýrð eac of Mýrcna þeode. þa hƷile þe he þær fæƷ. ƷeƷarian ManiƷe-ceaƷter on Norð-hýmbrian. Ʒ hie Ʒebetan Ʒ Ʒemannian.

To contend, in opposition to this evidence, that the Saxon Chroniclers did not know the limits of their own kingdom within nearly a degree of latitude, and to compare their records with the vague notions of certain of the uninformed inhabitants of the south of England, who call all persons born north of the Trent, Yorkshiremen, is to push a favourite theory to the confines of absurdity. A line in Nennius would seem to favour a conclusion of quite an opposite nature, by representing Mercia as included in Northumbria :

"Pendor primus separavit regnum Merciorum a regno Nordorum."*

But it would be as unjust to appropriate Mercia to Deira, on this unsupported evidence, as it is to appropriate the most important part of the county of Lancaster to Mercia, on the authority of a vague ecclesiastical division, which might, or might not, be co-extensive with the civil jurisdiction of that kingdom.

First Eng-
lish mo-
narch.

The ascendancy of the Danish power in Northumbria, owing to their colonization in that kingdom by Alfred, subjected this part of Britain to a frequent recurrence of the horrors of war, when all the other parts of the island were at peace. In order to extinguish the spirit of rebellion, and to give security to his throne, Athelstan marched into Northumbria, and after a signal victory, gained at Brunsbury, he united Northumbria to the rest of his kingdom; and in that way acquired the title of the first English monarch, thus eclipsing the fame of Alfred, who had suffered the Danes to divide the kingdom with him, by apportioning to them Northumbria and East Anglia. Athelstan, whose mind and education rose superior to the age in which he lived, liberalized his institutions; and it is mentioned as honourable to his general policy, that, amongst the laws passed by his authority, it was enacted, That any merchant who should make three voyages over the sea with his own manufactures, should have the right of a thane,† that is, should rank with the privileged orders. By this means encouragement was given to manu-

A. D. 935.

* Page 117.

† Wilkin's Leges Anglo-Sax. p. 71.

factures and commerce at the same time; and that agriculture might enjoy its share of the royal favour, any ceorl who had five hides of his own land, a church, a kitchen, a bell-house, and a separate office in the king's hall, also became a thane. CHAP.
II.

The Danish Northumbrians, still impatient of the Saxon rule, broke out again into rebellion, in the reign of Edmund, the successor of Athelstan, and chose Anlaf, of Ireland, as their king;* but Edmund, marching suddenly into the southern part of Northumbria, (Lancashire and Yorkshire,) overthrew the malcontents, who, to appease his indignation, and to conciliate his confidence, offered to embrace the Christian religion, and to abandon their idolatry. The king also conquered Cumberland, and conferred that territory on Malcolm, king of Scotland, by the following grant, which is amongst the most ancient in the records of British history:—
 “Edmundus rex totam Cumberland prædavit, et contrivit, et commendavit eam Malcolmo regi Scotiæ, hoc pacto quod in auxilio sibi foret terra et mari.” Reign of
Edmund.

A.D. 946.
 The short but glorious reign of Edmund was terminated by the hand of Leolf, a notorious robber, who had obtruded himself into the royal presence, and who resented the king's rebukes by plunging his dagger into his heart. His memory and his deeds are perpetuated in the annals of his country in the following strain:—

An. DCCCCXLII. Dep

Eadmund cýning.
 Engla þeoden.
 maga mund-bopa.
 Mýpce ge-eode.
 dýpce dæd-fpuma.
 fpadoƿ fpædeð
 hƿitan pýlles geat
 7 Dumbpa ea".
 bƿada bƿým-ƿtƿeam.
 bƿpħga fipe.
 Liƿopa-cearƿep.
 7 Lindeýlne.
 7" Snotingaham.
 ƿýlce Stanƿopð eac
 7 Deopabý :
 Dene pæƿon æƿ".
 undeƿ Noƿðmannum
 nýðe gebezðe.

A.D. 942. Here

Edmund king,
 of Angles lord,
 protector of friends,
 author and framer
 of direful deeds,
 o'erran with speed
 the Mercian land,
 where'er the course
 of Whitwell-spring,
 or Humber deep,
 the broad brim-stream,
 divides five towns,—
 Leicester and Lincoln,
 Nottingham and Stamford,
 and Derby eke.
 In thraldom long
 to Norman Danes
 they bowed through need,

* Saxon Chron. A.D. 941

CHAP.
II.

ou hæþenra	and dragged the chains
hæfƿe-clommum	of heathen men ;
lange þraȝe.	till, to his glory,
oð ðe hie alýrðe	great Edward's heir,
eƿƿ ƿop hir ƿeopð-ƿcýpe.	Edmund the king,
ƿiȝȝenðra hleo.	refuge of warriors,
aƿopa Eaðƿeapðeƿ.	their setters broke.
Eaðmund cýning :	

Wars in
Northumbria.

From the middle to the end of the tenth century, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles are almost entirely occupied by the wars in Northumbria, and the changes in the monastic orders, which were then taking place, under the influence of the ambitious Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury. Under the auspices of Dunstan, the Benedictine rule was introduced into nearly fifty monasteries south of the Trent; but notwithstanding Wilfrid's endeavours in former times, and Dunstan's energies and activity in the present day, there was not, before the Norman conquest, a single monk in all the Northumbrian territory.* The tribute of Danegeld, a tax upon the people to repel the ravages of the Danes, was imposed for the first time in the year 991, and was at first of the amount of £10,000.† All the land in the county contributed to this impost by a rateable assessment, except the lands of the church, which were exempt on account of the efficacy of the prayers of the clergy, which were supposed to form an equivalent for their contributions. "The payment of Danegeld was first ordained on account of the pirates; for in their ravages of our country, they did all they could to desolate it. To check their insolence, *Danegeld* was levied annually, 12*d.* on every hide throughout the country, to hire men to oppose the pirates. From this tax every church, and every estate held in property by the church, wheresoever it lay, was exempted, contributing nothing towards this payment, because more dependence was placed on the prayers of the church than on the defence of arms."‡ The produce of this tax, which was at first employed in resisting the Danes, was afterwards used to purchase their forbearance. Their irruptions and exactions became continually more oppressive, and in the year 1010 the base expedient was resorted to, of purchasing peace from them by the payment of £48,000.

Lancashire not
mentioned
in the
Saxon
Chronicles.

It is remarkable, that in the whole of the Saxon Chronicles, the term "Lancashire" never once occurs, though the neighbouring counties, in the kingdom of Northumbria, are mentioned in those ancient annals several times. Hence it is said, A.D. 966, "This year Thored, the son of Gunner, plundered *Westmoreland*; and the same year Ostac took the aldermanship." In A.D. 1000, "This year the king

* Sim. Dunelm, A.D. 1074. † Saxon. Chron. A.D. 991. ‡ Camden, vol. i. p. 177.

Ethelred, the unready, went into *Cumberland*, and nearly laid waste the whole of it with his army, while his navy sailed about Chester, consequently near to the Lancashire coast, with the intencion of co-operating with his land forces, part of which were probably quartered in the latter county. It is also remarkable, that the name of Lancashire is not to be found in the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror, though the manors and lands are described in that imperishable record, with the usual accuracy and precision.

CHAP.
II.

DR. KUERDEN, in his unpublished preface to his History of Lancashire, deposited in the Chetham Library at Manchester, says—

“ King Egbert, after his victorious conquests, having reduced the Saxon Heptarchy into a monarchy, and called it England, he divided his new acquisits into seuerall portions and shares, and for the preservation of a future peace, set over each of them a Comes, to rule them, whence each portion or bailiwick was styled Comitatus, a scyre or county, sc. an earldome. So that the kingdome of Northumbria, which extended from the riuer Humber and the riuer Mersey, on the south part, to the riuer Tweed upon the north, which was the beginning of Scotland ;—this region was divided into diuers schyres or prouinces.

Kuerden's
Lancashire.

“ 1. The prouince of York upon the East part from the riuer Humber to the riuer Tese. He styled it EVRVCKSHYRE, or Yorkshire, in which were 22 hundreds or Wapentakes.

Division
of North-
umbria.

“ 2. And from the Tese to the riuer Tyne, the prouince of the Bishoprick of Durham. This he cald DUROHMSCHIRE.

“ 3. And from the riuer Tyne to the riuer Tweed, he cald it NORTHUMBRIA, or the shyre of Northumberland.

“ 4. And on the west part, from the riuer Solway to the riuer Duden on the South. This he cald CARLIERSHIRE or CUMBERLAND.

“ 5. And what lay upon the West on Durham and Lancashyre he cald APLEBY-SCHYRE or WESTMORLAND.

“ 6. And from the riuer Duden to the riuer Mersey upon the south, was styled LANCASTERSCHYRE.

“ In whych schyre or Prouince contains within it five lessor schyres, sc. West Derbyschyre, Salfordscyre, Leylandscyre, and Blackburnscyre, Amundernes and the territory of Lancaster. Thes now are cald Hundreds or Wapentakes.

“ Ouer euery scyre, as hath been said, he placed a Comes to ryle and gouern it according to the Lawes and customes of the country, who, together with the Byshop of the Diocess, were to instruct and rule the people, the one declaring to them the laws of God, and the other the laws of the land; and they had likewise vnder them a Heretoge chosen by the people in a *folcmote*, who had the power to raise the

Earl.

Byshop.

Heretoge.

CHAP.
II.

people, to compell the otherwise disobedient to obedience, or to inflict chastisement for offences, by fines or imprisonment.*

“ King Alured, grandchild to the said Egbert, to check the evils occasioned by the Danish pyrats making inroads upon the people, and the dissolut caryage of his owne subjects, by filching and stealing clandestinely, upon deliberat aduize (divided the country) into centurys or Hundreds, and to enery century appointed to defend them as occasion required, from such theifs and robbers.

“ And every such century or hundred he subdivided into Tythings or Fred-burges, to respond for the good behaviour of one another.

“ And as Moses, whom God set over the Isralits, aduised by Jethro his father-in-law, for his better ease, to constitute Judges ouer Tribes, Hundreds and fiftyes, to whom he committed power to determine lesser matters, euer reseruing thos of greatest Importance to his own wisdom and definitive sentence, so did King Alured constitute his companions,† to whom he bestowed such territory or schyre, to sit in courts of Judicature with the Byshop, to take care of the people’s Interest, and for the better defence of the reahn.

“ And the Byshop was an assistant to the Comes, to se the Interest of the Church not to be diminished, but ordered according to the lawes of God.

Sheriff.

“ And the Heretogen, upon all occasions, endowed likewise with power to compell all refractory people to ther obedience to the Laws as Justice dictated, as now the Vicecomes (sheriff), with his posse comitatus, acts the same.

Coroner.

“ The Coroner likewise is chosen by the people, and assigned *super visum corporis mortui*, and to give account to the King of the loss of his subject, and what deodands do acerne to the King thereby.”‡

This quaint, but comprehensive and interesting passage is, no doubt, substantially correct ; but it would have been more satisfactory, had the learned antiquarian quoted his authority for asserting that king Egbert styled the country from the river Duden to the river Mersey *Lancasterschyre*. That authority, if it exists, would at once have decided two disputed points—first, whether the country between the Ribble and the Mersey did, in Saxon times, form part of the kingdom of Mercia; and, second, at what period the county of Lancaster first obtained its present designation.

Passes
under the
Danish
power.

The long and inglorious reign of Ethelred was perpetually distracted by the invasions of the Danes, first under Sweyn, and afterwards under Canute, his son and successor; and in the reign of Edmond Ironside, the king was obliged to surrender up one-half his kingdom, by awarding to Canute, Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria, which he had entirely subdued. The unfortunate Edmond

* Heretoch—a Saxon word, literally meaning the leader of an army.

† Comitatus, literally companions.

‡ Kuerden’s MS. 4to. f. 229.

survived the treaty by which his kingdom was dismembered, only a month, having been murdered at Oxford by two of his chamberlains; and in this way the succession of Canute, the Dane, to the throne of England, was secured.

In order to gratify the ambition of the chief of the English nobility, and to attach them to his interest, Canute created Thurkill earl or viceroy of East Anglia, Eric earl of Northumbria, and Edric earl of Mercia, reserving to himself only the government of Wessex: but this power of the earls was of short duration; Thurkill and Eric were soon expelled from the kingdom, and Canute became sole monarch of England. Finding himself firmly seated on his throne, he restored the Saxon customs, to which the people were attached, in a general assembly of the states; justice was administered with impartiality; the lives and property of all the people were protected, and the Danes were gradually incorporated with his subjects. Canute, the greatest sovereign of his age, had the fame to reign over six kingdoms,* and yet such was his humility, that having in a moment of intemperance killed one of his soldiers, and by that criminal deed violated the law, he confessed his crime in the presence of his assembled army, and fined himself three hundred and sixty talents, as a punishment for his offence—the punishment for homicide being in that age forty talents.† Surrounded as he was with courtiers and flatterers, his mind might have swelled into presumption, and, like Alexander, he might have felt more disposed to rank himself amongst the gods than amongst mortals. But with all his power, he felt that he was a mere creature, as impotent as the humblest of his subjects, when opposed to the great operations of nature, under the control of that Being, who has said to the ocean with effect, “Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.” To communicate this reverential sentiment to those who were accustomed to offer to him the incense of their servile adulation, the king ordered a chair to be placed on the sea-shore on the approach of the tide, and, seating himself upon it, with an air of command he exclaimed—“Ocean! the island on which I sit is mine, and thou art a part of my dominions. None of my subjects dare to resist my orders, I therefore command thee that thou ascend not my coasts, nor presume to wet the borders of my robes. Thus far shalt thou advance, but no further.” In vain the royal mandate was issued. Every wave drew nearer, till the general elevation of the waters threatened to immerse the chair of state and its royal occupant in its indiscriminating embrace; when, arising from his seat, he thus expressed the sublime sentiment which filled his mind—“Let every dweller upon the earth confess, that the power of kings is frivolous and vain. God only is the great supreme; let him only be honoured with the name of Majesty, whose everlasting laws, the heavens,

Sublime
reproof
given to
courtly
sycophan-
cy.

* Saxo 196.

† Encom. Emmæ, 492.

CHAP. and the earth, and the sea, with all their hosts, obey." In conformity with this
 11. exalted feeling, Canute would never afterwards wear his crown.*

Canute in
 Lanca-
 shire.

The closest connexion subsisted between Northumbria and Scotland, in the reign of Canute, and even Cumberland was subject to Malcolm, the Scotch king. This division of his kingdom was inconsistent with the policy of Canute, who, after marching through Lancashire at the head of a formidable army, took possession of Cumberland, and placed Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm, in possession of that province, subject to the throne of England.

A.D. 1035.

Harold I.

Canute, by a treaty with Richard Duke of Normandy, had stipulated that his children by Emma, the sister of that prince, should succeed to the throne of England; but, in violation of that engagement, he appointed Harold, surnamed Harefoot for the swiftness of his speed, as his successor, instead of Hardicanute, the son of that princess. A short and disturbed reign was terminated by the succession of Hardicanute, who appointed Siward, duke of Northumbria, along with Godwin, duke of Wessex, and Leofric, duke of Mercia, to put down the insurrection which prevailed against his government.

A.D. 1041.

Edward
 the Con-
 fessor.

In an age when the benefit of the right of undisturbed hereditary claims was but imperfectly understood, Edward the Confessor succeeded to the throne, to the prejudice of Sweyn, king of Norway, the eldest son of Canute. The English flattered themselves, that by the succession of Edward they were delivered for ever from the dominion of the Danes, and their rejoicings were unbounded; but the court was soon filled with Normans, to the prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon nobility, and the language and the fashions of France were very generally introduced. This circumstance gave great offence to the native nobles, who, with Godwin at their head, supported by his three sons, Gurth, Sweyn, and Tosti, rose in rebellion against the king.

Candi-
 dates for
 the throne.

On the death of duke Godwin, one of the most powerful nobles of his time, his son Harold aspired to the English throne, and was joined by Macbeth, an ambitious Scotch nobleman, who had put to death his sovereign, Duncan king of Scotland, and usurped his throne. In the wars which ensued, the men of Lancashire were deeply engaged, and Siward, duke of Northumberland, resisted the usurper with all his force. To defeat the ambitious progress of Harold, the king cast his eye towards his kinsman, William, duke of Normandy, as his successor. This prince was the natural son of Robert, duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner in Falaise.† The character of the young prince qualified him for the duties of government in the age in which he lived, and to a courage the most intrepid he added a severity the most inflexible. During a visit paid by Harold to Rouen, William

* Matt. of West, p. 409. and Hen. of Hunt. p. 367.

† Brompton, p. 910.

disclosed to him the intentions of Edward, and prevailed upon him, by an offer of one of his daughters in marriage, and by other motives of fear and reward, to promise that he would support his claims to the throne of England. Not satisfied with a promise, on which he had little reliance, William required Harold to take an oath in ratification of that engagement; and, in order to give increased solemnity to the pledge, he secretly conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to swear, the reliques of some of the most revered martyrs. Notwithstanding this solemn engagement, which Harold considered as extorted, and therefore not binding, on his return to England he resorted to every means within his power to strengthen his influence. Earl Tosti, a tyrannical prince, the brother of Harold, who had been created duke of Northumberland, acted with so much cruelty and injustice in the counties of York and Lancaster, that the inhabitants, headed by the thanes, rose in rebellion against him, and expelled him from his government. Morcar and Edwin, the sons of duke Leofric, who possessed great powers in this part of the kingdom, concurred in the insurrection; and the former, being elected duke, advanced from York with an army, collected on the north of the Mersey and of the Humber, to oppose Harold, who had, through the royal favour, been appointed governor of Wessex, and who was commissioned by the king, on the representation of Tosti, to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians. Morcar, “advancing south with all the shire, and with Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and Lancashire,”* marched to Northampton. Here they were met by Harold, at the head of the king’s forces, and a desperate battle appeared inevitable; but Morcar, wishing first to appeal to Harold’s generosity and sense of justice, rather than to the issue of arms, represented to him that Tosti had acted with so much injustice and oppression in his government, that the inhabitants of Yorkshire and of Lancashire, with those of Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, being accustomed to the government of the law, and being determined to support their birth-right, preferred death to slavery, and had taken the field, determined to perish rather than to submit to the iron yoke of the tyrant. After communicating with the king, Harold abandoned the cause of his brother, and obtained a royal amnesty for the insurgents, who returned to their homes as conquerors, driving before them all the cattle they could collect, amounting to many thousands. Morcar was from this time confirmed in his government of Northumbria; and Harold, instead of consummating the family alliance contracted with the daughter of William of Normandy, married the daughter of duke Morcar. The death of Edward speedily followed the suppression of the great northern insurrection, and his body was interred in the abbey of Westminster, “which he had himself erected, to the honour of God and St. Peter, and all God’s saints.† The religious zeal of this sovereign, with whom

Expulsion
of Earl
Tosti.

Early as-
sertion of
liberty in
Lanca-
shire.

* Saxon Chron. A. D. 1065.

† Saxon. Chron.

CHAP.
II.

the Saxon line of English sovereigns terminated, procured him the name of the Confessor; and his love of justice induced him to complete a code of laws from the works of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred, though those which pass under his name were, according to Sir Henry Spelman, composed after his death. This sovereign was the first who touched for the king's evil—a superstition which maintained its hold of public credulity through six centuries, and was not discontinued till the time of the Stuarts.

Harold
II.

Though, by the will of Edward, William of Normandy was appointed his successor, Harold stepped into the vacant throne without hesitation, having first been crowned at York, where he was residing at the time of the king's death, by Aldred the archbishop, nor did he quit this part of the kingdom till four months afterwards, when he repaired to London,* having been every where received in his progress with the most joyous acclamation. The appearance in the heaven of a phenomenon of malign influence at this juncture, filled men's minds with apprehension. "Then was over all England," say the Saxon Chroniclers, "such a token as no man saw before. Some men said it was the comet-star, which others denominated the long-haired star. *He* appeared first on the eve called *Litania major*, that is, on the 8th before the calends of May, and so shone all the week." Harold's danger, however, consisted not in the heavenly, but in earthly bodies. Earl Tosti, who had taken refuge in Flanders with earl Baldwin, his father-in-law, on his expulsion from Lancashire, collected a large fleet, and endeavoured to regain his forfeited possession by sailing up the Humber, and penetrating into Northumbria. Finding his power ineffectual, he associated himself with Harold Halfagar, king of Norway, who with 300 ships assembled in the Isle of Wight, and there remained all the summer.

Portent-
ous star.Invasion
of North-
umbria.

On the approach of autumn, Halfagar appeared off the Yorkshire coast with his 300 ships, and was joined by earl Tosti, who had replenished his force amongst the Danish Northumbrians, and, after entering the Humber, they sailed up the Ouse towards York. On receiving this intelligence, Harold, whose army was collected in the south, under the expectation of an invasion undertaken by the Normans, hastened to the north by forced marches. But before his arrival, Edwin, earl of Mercia, and Morecar, earl of Northumberland, had gathered from Lancashire, and other parts of the earldoms, a considerable force, with the intention of repelling the invaders. On their arrival at Apud Fulford, a village south of York, a sanguinary battle ensued, in which the slaughter was so great, that the Norwegians traversed the marshes on the bodies of the fallen,† and in which Morcar and Edwin were obliged to seek safety in flight, leaving the invaders in possession of the field. After demanding hostages and prisoners from the inhabitants of York, the "Northmen" marched to

Sangui-
nary bat-
tle, Sept.
20th.

* Saxon Chron. A. D. 1066.

† Snorre, p. 155. Ork. Saga, p. 95.

Sept. 25th.

Stamfordbridge, where they were surprised by Harold, at the head of the largest force ever collected in England. Before the battle commenced, a proposal was sent by Harold to his brother, offering to re-instate him in the government of Northumbria, if he would withdraw from the field. To which Tosti, in the insolence of his spirit, replied, "Last winter such a message might have spared much blood; but now what do you offer for the king my ally?" "Seven feet of ground," said the Saxon general.* The die was cast. For some time the passage of the bridge was disputed by one of the Norwegians, who, owing to the narrowness of the bridge, withstood the "English folk,"† so that they could not pass. In vain did they aim at him their javelins, he still maintained his ground, till a soldier came under the bridge, and pierced him terribly inwards, under the coat of mail. This impediment, which, by the operations of modern warfare, would have been speedily removed, no longer intervening, Harold marched over the bridge, at the head of his army, when a dreadful slaughter ensued, both of the Norwegians and the Flemings, in which was slain Halfagar, the fair-haired king of Norway, and Tosti, the expatriated earl of Northumbria. The fleet of the Norwegians fell also into the hands of Harold, who allowed prince Olave, the son of Halfagar, to depart the kingdom, with twenty of his vessels, taking with him the wreck of the Norwegian and Flemish army. This act of generosity, as historians are accustomed to consider it, was not unmingled with policy. A still more formidable invasion was approaching, and Harold wished to be freed from one body of his enemies before he had to encounter another. The shouts of victory were heard across the island, from the Humber to the Mersey; but scarcely had those shouts subsided, before intelligence was received, that William of Normandy had landed at Pevensey, at the head of 60,000 men, supported by a fleet of 3,000 sail,‡ and was constructing a castle at the port of Hastings. As William was landing from his ship, he stumbled and fell. In those days of superstition, the incident was interpreted into an omen of disaster, but the panic was checked by an artful soldier, who raised William from the ground. Seeing his hands full of mud, he exclaimed—"Fortunate general! You have already taken England; its earth is in your hands."§ Harold received the news of William's landing without any emotions of dismay, while he was at dinner in his favourite city of York. Hastening to London at the head of his army, which had been diminished by the battle of Stamfordbridge, and which was discontented by being denied a share of the spoil, he received a message from duke William, who offered Harold his choice of three proposals—to reign in fealty under William, whom he had sworn to serve; or to decide the dispute by single combat; or to submit the cause to the arbitration of the pope: to which Harold

Expulsion
of the
invaders.Landing
of William
the Con-
queror.

Sept. 28th.

* Snorre, p. 160.

† The "Roman de Row" says 696, which is more probable.

‡ Saxon Chron.

§ Matt. of West. p. 435.

CHAP.
II.

Oct. 11th.

Battle of
Hastings.

replied, that the god of battles should be the arbitrator, and decide the differences between them. Yielding to the impetuosity of his own temper, instead of listening to the wise counsels of his brother Gurth, he marched from London without due preparation, in the vain hope of surprising the Normans in the south, as he had surprised the Norwegians in the north. The night before the battle of Hastings was passed by the invaders in preparations and in prayer,* while the English devoted their hours to festivity and joyful anticipations. The fate of England hung on the issue of the day. Before the battle commenced, William joined in the solemnity of religious worship, and received the sacrament at the hands of the bishop; and to give increased effect to these solemnities, he hung round his neck the reliques on which Harold had sworn to support his claims to the English throne.† He divided his army into three bodies. In front he placed his light infantry, armed with arrows and balistæ, led by Montgomery. The second division, commanded by Martel, consisted of his heavy-armed battalions. His cavalry, at whose head he stood in person, formed the third line, and were so disposed, that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. To stimulate their courage, he addressed them in words to this effect:—"Remember Rollo, the founder of your nation, and the glorious achievements of your ancestors. You have now a rich booty before you. If *I* become the king of England, *you* will be the owners of the land; vengeance and plunder are alike before you. You are to punish the perjury of the English. They massacred our kinsmen, the Danes and the Normans. Harold, their king, has been guilty of the basest perjury. You are to fight, not only for victory, but for life. If you are victorious, glory and wealth are your rewards; if you are defeated, a cruel death, or hopeless captivity, await you. Escape there is none. On one side, an unknown and hostile country; on the other, the blockading sea. Would it not be a disgrace to be vanquished by a nation accustomed to be conquered; a nation without arrows, and without military warriors? Raise, soldiers, your standard. Let the lightning of your glory shine resplendent from the east to the west."‡ Still further to incite their ardour, Taillefer, a Norman minstrel, inflamed the martial ardour of the men of Britany, of Normandy, and of Poitou, by singing the song of Roland and Charlemagne:

" Taillefer qui mont bien chantout,
Sur un cheval qui tost alout,
Devant euls aloit chantant,
De Kallemaigne et de Roullant,
Et d'Olivier et de Vassaux
Qui moururent en Rains chevaux."§

* Will. of Malms. p. 101.

† Guil. Pict. p. 201

‡ Hen. of Hunt. p. 368.

§ Lanc. p. 461.

The English army, chiefly infantry, were arranged by Harold in the form of a wedge, meant to be impenetrable. Their shields covered their bodies; their arms wielded the battle-axe. Harold, whose courage was equal to his station, quitted his horse, to share the danger and the glory on foot. His brothers, Gurth and Sweyn, accompanied him, and his banner, in which the figure of a man in combat, woven sumptuously with gold and jewels, shining conspicuous, was planted near him.* The English, occupying the high ground, which was flanked by a wood, not only received the discharge of the Norman weapons with patient valour, but returned the attack with their battle-axes and ancient weapons with so much effect, that the foot and the cavalry of Bretagne, and all the other allies of William on the left wing, gave way. The impression extended along the whole line, and was increased by a rumour, that the duke had fallen. Dismay began to unnerve his army; and a general flight seemed about to ensue.† William, to arrest the progress of the panic, and to convince his soldiers of his safety, rushed amongst the fugitives, and, with his helmet thrown from his head, exclaimed, “Behold me—I live; and will conquer yet, with God’s assistance. What madness influences you to fly? What way can be found for your escape? They whom, if you choose, you may kill like cattle, are driving and destroying you. You fly from victory—from deathless honour. You run upon ruin and everlasting disgrace. If you continue to retreat, every one of you will perish.”‡ The Normans rallied, and made a desperate onset; but the English, forming a wall of courageous soldiery, remained unbroken. William, finding all his efforts to penetrate their ranks fruitless, resolved to hazard a feigned retreat. A body of a thousand horse were entrusted with this critical operation. Having rushed upon the English with a horrible outcry, they suddenly checked themselves, as if panic-struck, and affected a hasty flight. The English entered eagerly on the pursuit with apparent success; for the Normans, having retired upon an excavation somewhat concealed, fell into their own trap; many of them perished, and some of the English shared the same fate. While this manœuvre was occupying their attention, the duke’s main body rushed between the pursuers and the rest of their army. The English endeavoured to regain their position: the cavalry turned upon them, and, thus enclosed, many of them fell victims to the skilful movements of their adversaries. At length they rallied and regained their position, but, uninstructed by experience, they suffered themselves to be twice afterwards decoyed to a repetition of the same artifice. In the heat of the struggle, twenty Normans confederated to attack and carry off the English standard. This service they effected, though not without the loss of many of their number.§

* Will. of Malm. p. 101.

† Guild. Pict. 202.

‡ Guild. Pict. 202.

§ Brompt. p. 960.

CHAP.
II.Defeat
and death
of Harold.

The battle continued through the day with frequent changes of fortune. Harold was more distinguished for the bravery of a soldier than for the skill of a general. William united the two characters. He had three horses killed under him. While Harold lived, his valorous countrymen seemed invincible. Fertile in expedients, the duke directed his archers not to fire directly at the English, but to discharge their arrows vigorously upwards towards the sky. The random shafts descended into the English ranks like impetuous hail, and one of them pierced the gallant Harold in the eye,* and, penetrating the brain, terminated his life. A furious charge of the Norman horse increased the disorder. Panic scattered the English, and the Normans vigorously pursued them through the broken ground. A part of the fugitives rallied, and, indignant at the prospect of surrendering their country to foreigners, they sought to renew the contest. William, perceiving that the critical moment for sealing the victory had arrived, ordered Count Eustace and his soldiers to the attack. The duke, with a vigour and energy peculiar to himself, joined in the final conflict, and secured the victory of Hastings and the crown of England. The body of Harold was found by his mistress, Edith, “the Lady of the Swan Neck,” near those of his two brothers, who were also slain in the battle, and was sent, at the request of his mother, for interment, to the monastery of Waltham, which he had founded.

Extinction of the
Saxon
line.

The battle of Hastings terminated the Saxon dynasty in England, after a continuance, with occasional interruptions, of six hundred years. During this long period the foundations of some of the most important of our public institutions were laid, and it may be interesting, even for the illustration of local history, shortly to advert to their nature and origin.

Saxon in-
stitutions.

In the Saxon period, the mechanical arts, so closely interwoven with the interests of society, met with liberal encouragement: the wisest of their monarchs invited from all quarters skilful and industrious foreigners; they encouraged manufactures of every kind, and prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, and to push commerce into the most remote countries. As an indication of an approach towards a state of free traffic, and of the increase of commerce, it is mentioned, that Canute, about the year 1028, established mints for the coinage of money, in thirty-seven cities and towns of England, of which number the town of Manchester was one. A silver penny, coined at York about the year 630, and marked with the name of Edwin, the Northumbrian monarch, is supposed to be the earliest specimen of coinage in this island, after the abdication of the Romans. The king and his barons enfranchised the principal towns, to encourage the progress of manufactures, and Manchester was of the favoured number.

* Henry of Hunt. p. 368. Will. of Malm. p. 101.

It must be admitted, however, that whatever progress our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had made in commerce and in manufactures, since the time of the Roman sway in Britain, this country had retrograded deplorably in the practice of the fine arts. As early as the reign of Severus, the sculpture and the painting of Rome had obtained a high degree of perfection; but in the Saxon times these accomplishments were almost extinct in the island, and the coinage of Northumbria, in the reigns of Edelstan, of Harold, surnamed Harefoot, and of Edward the Confessor, as exhibited in the following specimens, serve sufficiently to prove the lamentable deterioration :—



The Anglo-Saxons were divided into four classes:—men of birth—men of property—freemen—and serviles. Their money was in pounds, shillings, and pence; twenty shillings constituted a pound, and twelve pence a shilling, as at present, with this difference, however, that twenty shillings weighed a pound troy—and hence the term *pound*. Guilds, or communities of mutual protection, were formed by persons engaged in trade, which sought at once to protect the interests of those branches of business, and to provide for the members of their fraternities in sickness and old age.* Markets and fairs were pretty generally established; attention was paid to agriculture; and the yeoman was held in deserved estimation. Their monarchy was partly hereditary, and partly elective; and the power of their sovereigns not absolute, but limited. Their Witena-Gemot of “wise men” formed the great council of the nation, and was a body, the foundation of our parliaments, that at once enacted laws and administered justice. Besides the trial by jury, they had the trial by ordeal of water and of iron: by the iron ordeal, the accused carried a piece of red-hot iron, three feet, or nine feet, according to the magnitude of the offence; in the water ordeal, he plunged his hand into a vessel of boiling-hot water up to the wrist in some cases, and to the elbow in others; the hand was then bound up, and sealed for three days, at the end of which time the bandage and seal were removed; when, if the hand was found clean, he was pronounced innocent, if foul, guilty.† This was a trial, not a punishment, and it was performed before the priest, in the presence of two witnesses, after due preparation. Sometimes the party choosing this mode of trial *prepared* his own hand, to endure the fiery trial; and

* Eden on the Poor Laws.

† Wilk. Leg. Ince, p. 27.

CHAP.
II.

sometimes probably *prepared* the hand of the priest, and thus induced him to abate the height of the temperature. There was another ordeal by water: the culprit, having a rope tied about him, was plunged into a river two ells and a half deep; if he sunk, he was acquitted; but if he floated, being considered deficient in weight of goodness, he was condemned.* The punishments were various, and consisted of banishment, slavery, branding, amputation of limb, mutilation of the nose, ears, and lips, plucking out the eyes, stoning, or hanging. The trial by jury was a rational and enlightened inquiry. The Saxons have the merit of having introduced this invaluable institution into England; and some authors contend, that it originated in the time of Alfred, but it is certain that it was in use amongst the earliest Saxon colonists.† The trial by jury did not at once attain perfection, and it is probable that Alfred matured and perfected the institution. Originally a man was cleared of an accusation, if twelve persons came forward, and swore that they believed him to be innocent of the alleged crime.‡ This was a jury in its earliest form. Afterwards it became necessary that twelve men, peers or equals of the litigants, should hear the evidence on both sides, and that they on their oaths should say whether the accused was guilty or innocent.

Feudal
system.

The *Feodal System* rose in England during the Saxon dynasty, and for many ages exercised an influence and control over society, not only in this country, but over the whole of the western nations of the world. Though the system was introduced into this country by the Anglo-Saxon, it was not till the Norman conquest that it received its complete consummation. In the heat of the battle of Hastings, William had promised his followers that the lands of England should be theirs, if victory crowned their efforts; and the possessions of earl Tosti, as well as the other Saxon barons, between the Mersey and the Ribble, and to the north of the latter river, speedily became the knights' fees of the houses of Lacie and Pictavensis. In the partition of the spoil, the most considerable share fell to the king. These lands became the subject of feudal tenures; the king conferred them upon his favourites *in capite*, on the condition that they should faithfully serve him in war and in peace, and on payment of a certain annual fine; and they again granted their Lancashire manors to Goisfridus, Willichmus, Tetbaldus, and others, as their feudatories. These thanes had their soemen and villains—in other words, their farmers and their slaves—some holding by military, and others by rustic obligations; but all, from the highest to the lowest, under feudal tenures. The whole frame of society was involved in this comprehensive system, which DR. KUERDEN has, in his unpublished MS. of the History of Lancashire, arranged under the following heads, taking for his text-book Sir Henry Spelman's *Glossarium Archæologicum*:—

* Textus Roffensis.

† Black. Com. cap. xxiii.

‡ Turner's Ang. Sax. iv. 337.

“ *Regal Franchises*.*—The King or soueraigne Governour of the Realm, from whom all franchises are deriued, being the most excelent and worthiest part or member of the body of the commonwelth, next unto God, because, as Bracton sayth, the law doth make him a king, and as the head of a natural body, doth with a prouident care look about for the safety and preseruacion of euery member of the same body, even so, the king being head of the commonwelth, doth not only cary a watchfull eye to the preseruacion of peace and quietness at home amongst his own subjects, but also to keep them in peace and quietness from euery forreign Inuasion.

“ And hereupon the Law doth allow him sufferein jurisdiction, not only through the whole land, but also to the midst of the sea, encompassing the whol realm; and for the same cause, the Lawes do attribut to the king all Honour, Dignity, Prerogative, and Pre-eminence.—Bracton, *lib. ii. cap. 24.*

“ Likewise, the king hath certain proper priuileges by the canon law, that he shal only haue thos things which by the Lawes of Nature ought to be the finders, as Treasure trone, Wrecks of the Sea, Great fishes, as Whales, Sturgeons, &c.

“ And waifes, which are said to be the goods of another man, therefore the king, by his prerogative, shal haue them.

“ He ought also, by the comon law, to haue in his own possession, such things as by the law ought to be comon, as wild beasts, fowls that are not tame, but are made proper by possession, and taking of them as by Fowling, Hunting, or the like.

“ And by the law the king may enter into the grounds of any of his subjects whersoever ther are any mynes of gold or siluer to be found, and dig the land at his pleasure for the same mines, and carry them away, for that they are things that do only belong unto the king, for gold and siluer are things of most excellency that are upon the Earth; and therefore when they are found, the law doth attribut them for their Excellency to belong unto the king as the most excellent person.

“ And in like manuer, wild beasts of Venery, and beasts of chase and waren, being things of excellent recreation, they are meetest for the dignity of a prince for his pastime and delight, and thence it is not lawful for any man within his own fee, to make any chase or park, or waren, without the king’s warrant so to do.

“ And although men may kill such wild beasts in ther wildnes when they are found wandering, being out of the forest park, or chase, or waren; yet no man hath any property in them until they haue kild them, for during the time of ther wildnes they are *nullius in rebus*, and they must needs be said to be *in manu Domini Regis*, in the king’s possession.

* Kuerden’s MS. Manchester College Library, fo. 330.

CHAP.
II.Royal
privileges.

“ And so in some measure, Treasure troue, waifs, estrays, the goods of fellows and fugitives, thos being out of any man’s right, the thre first their owners being unknown, and the 2 later as confiscated, ther owners being convicted, or not daring to justify themselves by law, when they remain as proper escheats vnto the king as owner.

“ And as Countyes, Hundreds, Honors, wards, Gaols, chief cities, and sea-port towns, with ther cheifest manors, these rights kings only assumed antiently, as belonging to the crown, where justice might most regularly be executed, malefactors most surely kept in custody, and the king preseruing thereby his subjects better in peace, more nobly maintained, and keep of his Landing.

“ All those great prerogatives were confirmed upon our English monarch, the famous Egbert, by his subdued Heptarchy, and euer since duly and justly claimed, and enjoyed by his successors, the Saxon, Danish, and Norman Kings and Queens of England.

“ Hence may be obserued, whereas the king did distribut the greater fees *capitaneis Regiis* (royal chiefs,) sc. to Archbysshops, Bysshops, Palatines, Abbots, Abbesses, under greater Franchises or privileges, which are cald regalia, to Dukes, Marchions, and Earls.

“ And thes again may be reduced into lesser fees, when any of thos capitanei do distribut any part of them to their vassals and clients with similar priuiledges, and thos are cald *Regij vel regis Valvasores*, or *capitanei medij*.^{*} The former were cald regal dignities, *quod regis splendoris radios quosdam obtinent fruebantur olim iuribus plerumque regalibus*, which are called *Serjantia maiora*, or greater Serjantyes.

“ But the *feoda capitanea media*, are thos that are granted not immediately from the prince himself, but from some of this *capitanorum regis* to ther clients, as from a count palatine to their Barons, *Valvasores*, or *Castellani*.

“ And thes *capitanei medij*, or *Valvasores*, may likewise distribut yet smaller fees, called *feoda militaria*,[†] simply, which are neither given from the Prince, nor from any of the *capitanei Regni*,[‡] but from the *medij capitanei*, or *Valvasores*, Barons, or some meaner Lords, to their Knights, or *Valvasivi minores*, and thos fees are cald *feoda militum*, or *feoda militaria*.

“ Hence became various feodists or comites, Palatini, Viccomites, Earls, Dukes, Heretochij, Hundredarij, Holdecastellani, Tithingmen.

“ Hence it appears, that it is not lawful to all to give a fee, so likewise it is not lawful for al to receive one for ignobl persons, and of seruile condition, are forbidden,

^{*} Middle chiefs.[†] Knight’s fees.[‡] Chiefs of the kingdom.

and, according to the maner received in Heroick Ages, to undertake military offices, *munera subire militaria*.

“ Therefore, only nobl persons wer susceptibl of receiuing fees, which are esteemed much before rusticks, and ignobles being unfit, *ad arma tractanda regendaque militiam*,* and in compensation of this his corporal service ther fees wer given them indued with the said priuiledges, and so made fre *a tributis rusticis*, sc. Tallage and subsidies.

“ But the nobilia illa feoda (noble fees) at length were bestowed upon the Burgesses and ignobl persons nisi auspice rege, and moneys offered into the Excheq. to obtain that liberty, becaus that *accipientis personam nobilitavit*, this ennobles the person of the receiuer.

“ Now *feodum ignobile et vulgare*† is opposed to *feodum nobile*, and is properly called that which belongs *ignobilibus et rusticis*, adorns with no feodal priuiledges, but the name of a fee in this latter age, *perperam auspicatum*.

“ We call it Soccage, and some call it *feodum Burgense*;‡ and hence it comes about that diuers franchises and priuiledges have been granted to corporations, together with markets and fayres.

“ *How Fees first Instituted*.§—The more antient Ages of the world labouring sore on each syde with great warrs, Emperors, kings, and princes, more advisedly guiding ther affayres, did distribut and bestow whol regions, and especially thos that bordered and were exposed to the enemy, upon ther patrites and great persons they cald capitanei, not so possessing them intirely might reape benefit thereby, but that being seuered into fitting portions of a fee, and each placed out *stipendij nomine* to several knights and soldiers, a respect being had to persons, and so such being cald upon unanimously might defend the country, having taken the oath of fealty might come to the assistance of that warring prince, and thereupon the necessity of warring brought forth the Invention of fees.

Institu-
tion of
fees.

“ The Germans brought forth the feodal rytes and customes, and propagated the same by long usage.

“ It was in antient time annexed to the Lord's power, that where they pleased they might take back that had been given already by them, but afterwards it was established, that it should continue to the faithfull for his life, but not to his children to belong by any hereditary right.

“ Afterward it came to pass, that their gift held firm only for a year, yet it so proceeded, that it might come to their sons, sc. to him whom the Lord was pleased to confirm the grant.

* To carry arms, and to command an army.

† A vulgar and ignoble fee.

‡ Bought fee or tenure.

§ MS. fo. 130.

CHAP.
II.

“Conrade, passing to Rome, did confirm it to granchildren. Sons did not succeed collateral, *ultra fratres patruelles*;* but in a short time after it did extend to the next degree.—Jo Faber saith, Ducatus, Countys, Baronys, &c. were made perpetual hereditary, and nobles thereupon began to take themselves surnames from their chief denomination of their fees.†

Of manors.

“*First Institutions of Manors.*—1. In the first place (the Lord) designed a fitting place for his own habitation, and to it was a messuage fit *uberiores ad familiam suam alendam conscripsit fundos qui hodie terræ dominicæ*, cald demaine lands.

“2. Another part he bestowed *clientibus quot alere videatur milites ob subsidium in bello*, such portions are cald feoda militaria Kts’ fees, but if any portion was not sufficient of itself, *ad militem alendum*,‡ yet according to its quantity, *partem pactam contribuit*,§ sc. one half, one third, a fourth pt, a 100 pt, *vel tantillo levior esset sumptus Domini militaris*, (or so much less as the Lord’s military charges were the lighter.)

“3. *Tertiâ partem colonis*—who were called soemanni—*elocat decernitque ut pro tenementorum suorum ratione frumenti vel vestis aliquid, juxta Tacitum, aut obsonii aliorumque necessariorum reddant faciantque*,||—and after he placed and sorteth out a third part to husbandmen, who are called soemanni, that proportionably to their tenements they should render, or caus something of fruit or garments and victuals, and other necessities (according to Tacitus) *et preterea ad ædes Domini et sua pradia*, as rustic and servile labours. They shal till the Lord’s ground, plow, sow, reap, cut his corn and hay, thrash, ditch, and hedg, *et greges et indicta singula exequantur*.

“4. Neither in the Interim were they forgetful of God, for they dedicated a place for the church and priest, *ut concilia volunt Agricolis—pauperibus suis qui familie navant opera latam fundi portionem cedit quo eorum victus nutriantur animalia solent nominare*.¶

“This distribution of land, which since *ut visu e domino beneficentia ejus etiam paruit voluntati*, and was governed by such laws as the lord imposed, *ut de Germanis Tacitus Agricolis suis jus—huic jurisdictioni prætorium*, (as Tacitus says, in his

* Beyond brother’s cousins on the fathers’ side.

† In no county in England do the names of the lands so much correspond with the surnames of their owners, as in Laneashire.

‡ To support a knight.

§ He finished the portion agreed upon.

|| Towards their maintenance and cultivation.

¶ As the councils will. To their poor husbandmen, who industriously laboured for their families, they granted a broad portion of ground (common) by which they might furnish food for themselves and cattle.

works on the manners of the Germans—the prætorium in this jurisdiction,) was the lord's house, sometimes thereupon cal'd *aula* (a hall), otherwise *curia tenebatur ejus clientela rebus ita postulantibus*, (a court, which was held on affairs between the lord and his tenants so requiring it), each 3 weeks here the most, but more general *sub festo annuntiationis B.M. et St. Michaelis*, at our lady day and St. Michael, from whom the courts at this day are called generally.

“ *Of the Value and various Qualities of a Knight's Fee.*—The antient yearly value of a fee may be gathered from the relief payd, for the most part were alike.

“ The antient relief with us was 5lb. and afterwards, about H. 3 time, he that enjoyed 25lb. in lands ought to be cald *ad dignitatem militiæ*, (to the honor of knighthood) as then the estimation of that was set upon a knight's fee.

“ Yet afterwards in E. 2. 25lb. and afterwards 40lb.

“ Thos that possest an estate of 15lb. 37 H. 3. were cald out *ad militiæ dignitatem*,* and Ed. 20lb. and in Rastal, Title, *Knights*, who possest 10 *libratas terræ*, (ten librates of land) were cald to the dignity of knighthood, or to be fyned 1256. 41 H. 3.

“ *Quantity of a Knight's Fee.*—1 MS. A certain book of the Abbot of Mamsbury sayth that A knight's fee.

“ A virgate of Land containeth 24 acres,

“ 4 virgates make a Hyde, and

“ 5 Hydes makes a knight's fee, the relief thereof 100 sh.

“ 2 MS. says, that, according to antient custome,

“ 10 acres make a fardell,

“ 4 fardels makes a virgat,

“ 4 Virgats makes a Hyde,

“ 4 Hydes makes a knight's fee.

“ 3 MS. So that the Book of Mamesbury sayth 16 virgats makes a whole knight's fee, and when taxed at 6s. 4d. makes the sum of 100sh. Therfor a knight's fee, according to the first, contains 480 acres, and this agrees with the third MS. If a virgate with 2d MS. be 40 acres; but if, as the first hath it, only 24 acres, it differs much from both, yet not above 484 recknd masse.

“ But after some time, according to the goodness of the ground, is less, and other times of larger extent for the bairness therof.

“ And ther is a respect to be had to the Lord's bounty, or parcimony, sometimes giving more sparingly, and others more profusely, as also the services imposed upon fees, sometimes according to the customes more easily, other times *ex pacto graviora*.

* To the honour of knighthood.

CHAP.
II.

“ *The Various Parts of a Knight's Fee.*—1. Hida or Hyde is a portion of land which is set apart for the alimony of the family, or that will yearly maintayn one plow, so that Hide is sometimes taken for a mansion, as when it is sayd in the charter of king Ethelbert, or about the year 845, that each 10th mansion should belong to the service of God.* W. of Mamsbery sayth, that to the end of the world that the 10 Hide should be to cloath and feed the poore.

“ 2. Taken for a family, for what Beda cald *familia*, other Authors and the Saxon Interpreters call a hyde, or hydilandes.

“ 3. Taken for a carucat of land sufficient yearly to maintain a plow.

“ The quantity of a hyde is disputable, for Gervis of Tilbery says, a Hyde in its original institution did consist of 100 acres, but by W. of Mamsbery 96 acres.†

“ The Annals of Waverly, An. 1083. The king sent 5 of his Justitiaryes throughout England to inquire upon oath, how many hydes, i. e. jugera, might be sufficient in each Town yearly to maintain a plow.

“ And the same Mathew Paris addes the same year, how many cattel might be sufficient for the village of one Hyde.

“ Domesday book in fine Cestreshire, (Land between the Ribble and the Mersey,) Tit. Derbei Hundred.

“ In the Hundred of Derbei vi. carucates make a Hyde.

“ *Regis Inæ*, cap. 24. by the name of Hydes, are known thes 12 portions which are reported to be given to the companions of Joseph of Aruanathea in the territory of the monastery of Glastonbury.

“ *Hydare* is as much as to taxe the land by Hydes.

“ *Hydatus* is taken for land that is to be taxed by Hyde.‡

“ Hydage is a tribut that is gathered from each Hyde.

“ And in paying of taxes the antient maner was to describe the kingdom by Hydes; and king Edhelred, to oppose the Danes, caused each 320 hydes to send a ship, and each 8 to give a coat of male and Helmet.

“ W. C. (William I.) received from each Hyde, A. D. 1084, 3 sh.§ W. Rufus from each Hyde 4 sh.

“ H. I. for marrying his daughter to the Emperor, A. D. 1110, from each Hyde 3 sh.

“ *Carucata Terræ*, a carucate of land, is such a portion of land as is designed for the work of a plow, or plow land, with Math. Paris a Hyde.

* The charter says, that every tenth mansion shall be devoted to the *servants* of God (*Famulis Dei*) which is a very different thing.

† Not William of Malmesbury, but the Malmsb. MS.

‡ Hidata (not hidatus) is land that is actually taxed, and hidanda, land to be taxed. § 6 solidi, or shillings.

“ A carucate of land is sayd to be so much land as a plow can work in seasonable time, containing 120 acres, yet various as the ground was more easy, or harder, or troublesome to be tild.

“ *Virgata Terræ*.—3. *Virgata Terræ*, *yard land*, (*yard land*) *sc. mensuræ quantitas pro ratione loci diversi*, in some places 20, in others 24, in others 30 acres.

“ 4. *Fer Lingate*.—10 acres makes a ferlingate.

“ 4 ferlingates makes a virgate,

“ 4 virgates makes a hyde,

“ 5 hydes makes a knight's fee.

“ *Carucat. Terræ*. The Abbot of Rochester demanded against Albereda de Basinburn 8 car. terræ and 2 bovats of land, *ut jus Ecclesiæ*, of which each carucat of land contained 8 bovats *terræ mensuratæ*. 27 H. 3. Rot. 1.

“ Rob. Constable gave his Lordship of Therlesthorpe, whereof 8 carucates makes a knight's fee.

“ Herbert de St. Quintin gave 3 bovats of land, whereof 48 carucates makes a knight's fee.

“ *H. fil. Sywardi de Kerden* gave 3 bovat of land in maritagio.

“ *Ri. fil. Adæ de Blackburn unde 16 bovats*—*sint æquales de forinseco*.

“ *Caruagio* and *Carucagio*, a tribut imposed upon plows. In charters of priviledges many being free from the Tributs termed *quieti a carucagio*, when the *R* doth taxe his land by carucates.

“ *Jugum Terræ*.—5. as much ground as a yoke of joyned oxen can plow in a day. It appears that at first a manor was divided into various portions sufficient for the nourishment of so many country families, together with the yoaks of oxen, and from thence they were cald juga, or yoaks.

“ *Jugatio* is said to be a tribut that is payd a *singulis jugis*.

“ *Bonata Terræ, or Organgs*.—6. It is sayd to be as much ground as one oxen can till; but in an antient MS. 8 bovats of land doth make a carucate, and 8 carucates a kt's fee. 18 acres makes a bovat of land. An oxegang, as much as serves the neck of an oxen, but this must be understood of oxen joyned, or a yoak of oxen.

“ *Ferdella Terræ*.—7. Out of an old MS. is the 4t part of a virgate of land, for saying that 10 acres makes a virgate, and 4 virgates makes a hyde, and 4 hydes a kt's fee.

“ *Ferdendeal, or farandea*, with Cowil, is the 4t part of an acre, which we call a road, or rood. Crompton sayth Quadrans is the 4t part of a penny, and obulus the half, and the shilling contains 12 pennyes, and a pound 20 shillings, and that in the originall *Quadrata, obulata, denariata, librata terræ*, *sc.* $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre, $\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre, the acre itself, *solidata*, 12 acres, *librata* 12 times 20 acres, *sc.* 240.

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“ Hence the word *fardeſſa* is rather to be underſtood of the 4^t part of a virgate of land, and to contain 5 acres, or ſometimes more.

“ *Acre*.—8. *Acra* from *acep*, or *ager*; it is a meaſured part of land formerly uncertain, but now by Stat. of 31 Ed. I. contains 8 ſcore perches, and by ſome is cald *jugerum*. *Cnut II. cap.* 14, if any deny to give his Tyth as the comon uſe of al is, that is 10th acre, as the plow paſſeth over.

“ *Ancia*.—9. Is conceived to be a portion of land, 4 perches broad, and 40 long, but this reſpects 10 feet Roman, or our acre.

“ *Solio Terræ*.—10. A part of land containing ſome uncertain furrows. *Sciunt præſ. Marg. f. W. de Ryleia* (1) *dedi Em̄ f. meæ 1 acrū terræ, ſc. 6 ſeliones et dimidiū*, (Know by theſe preſents, that I Margaret, daughter of William de Ruly, give to my daughter Emma, one acre of land, namely ſix furrows and a half.)

“ *Variety of Poſſeſſions*.—1. *Tofta** is taken to be a place, where, in times paſt, ſtood *mansio rustica*, or country houſe called *Messuagium*. And *Reimerus* ſayth *est genus lucis parvul: seu loci conſiti arboribus minusculis*. Hence we may obſerve, that *Toftmanni* were either natives, or ſmal cottagers, or burgess, that had ſome little parcel of land belonging to their burgage, for we find it generally in ſome corporations thoſe *Tofts* to be under an acre of land, moſt comonly to be a 4^t of an acre or therabout, on which, in al probability, in former times was the ſite of ſome ſmal houſe, unto which was annexed ſome ſmal parcel of land, as afterwards cald a *Toft*, though at preſent the houſe hath ſuffered dilapidation, or demolishment, and often in ſuch ground remans the relics of ſome fruit trees or garden ſhrubs, of roſe, curres, goſberye, in the hedges or the like.

“ *Messuagium*.—2. *Messuagium*, or *Massuagium*, is where *Messæ vel Massæ negotium agitur domesticum* (houſehold affairs are conducted) for *Massa est terræ portio certis constans jugeribus, puta 20*, (*Mas*, an old French law-term, is a portion of land, conſiſting of a certain number of acres, ſay 20), and *messuagium* differs a *massâ ut pars a toto*, (from *massa*, as a part from the whole), or as *situs manerij a manerio est sella mansi*, (the ſite of the manor from the manor itſelf.) Though *Messuagium* is properly *sedes Massæ* (ſeat of the *Mas*) and transferred *ad honestum quoddam Domicilium sire prædio* (to ſome decent dwelling or farm) whence likewiſe *ædes urbicæ* (town reſidences) are called *Messuagia*. It is *domus habitationis* (a houſe of reſidence), but it is more remarkable, *habitatione cum aliquo fundo adjacentis*, ſet apart for the uſe therof.

“ *Curtis*.—3. Sometimes taken *pro area circa ædes—domum novum curte et ædificijs*.

* A ſmall grove.

“ *Curtilagium*.—4. It is *curtis, mansio v. manerium inhabitanda*, with lands, possessions, and other emoluments, to such a manor belonging. It is said to be *adjunctus tali curti, ubi leguntur herba et olera*, so call’d from *curtis* and *lego pro colligere*.

“ *Cassata, Cassamenta*.—5. It is *habitaculum cum terra idonea ad unam familiam calendam*, (a little dwelling-house, with land suitable for the maintenance of a single family.)

“ *Cassamenta est agreste habitaculum palis, grandioribus virgultisque contextum quibus posset tueri a vi frigoris*, as an Irish crate.

“ Cassati are such as inhabit Cassatam, as well *liberi* as *serri vassali Domini*, and are those that have *suas ædes, suam familiam, sua peculia servos sen subservos quamvis Domino lucrantes*.

“ *Haga*.—6. *Domus in urbe vel oppido, qd. ex complicatis viminibus instar cratis vel sepis, fabricata*. *Наз. Saxonice sepes, Gal. hay, з in ý couversa*. (A house in the city or town, and so called because built with twisted osier twigs, wickers, or rods, like fences. *Hag*, a fence in Anglo-Saxon; becomes *hay* in French, the *g* being converted into *y*.)

“ HAMLET, HALL, VILLA, HAM or VILLA.—7. Ham, often taken for house or singl habitation, and likewise signifies *plurium conjunctiones* (the joining together of many), for as the ancient Germans *diversi colentes et discreti*, (tilling separate and apart,) as Tacitus noteth, call’d each several of their habitations a ham, and *ein heim*, (a home, in modern German.)

“ But afterwards cohabiting together, they attributed thát single word to a multitude, and so made use of *ham* and *heim* for villa, *oppido, urbe*, (village, town, city,) as now Penwortham, Nottingham.

“ 8. Hamlet may be properly taken for part or member of a greater villa, than for any villula *per se existens*.* Observe the statute Exoniæ, 14 Ed. I. concerning the names of all villas and hamletts, cc. and a little afterwards.

“ That they order and make to come before them, which are in each wapentake, hundred, or franchises, out of every intire villa eight men, and out of every half villa six men, and each hamlet four men, of the more sage and loyal men, and to declare befor the Lords of thos villas, demie villes, and hamlets.

“ *Villa integra et justa* (a perfect and just villa) was the same with Friburgum, which contained at least ten capital Burgesses’ pledges; and a Demi villa either contained the half, or at least was less than a friburgum, but a Hamlet reached not the half of a free Burgum, where five capital pledges were not to be found.

* Villa frequently signifies a town; here, however, it is a village, and villula is the diminutive of villa.

“ Villa, vill, with the antient Saxons, seems to be taken *Romano sensu pro prædio unius alicujus in rare cum idoneis ædibus ad reponend. ejusdem fructus honestato*, (in the Roman acceptation of the word, for some one’s farm, with proper buildings to lay up the produce,) but now *pro multarum mansionum connexione quod in oppidis expetendum*, (for the connection of many mansions or buildings, which is to be sought for in towns.)

“ *Services and Tributs incident to Fees.—Tenere per Servitium* (to hold by service) is, when any man *Servitium Do suo Superiori*, (owes service to his superior lord.)

“ This service is either . . .	{	Serjantia,	Serjeanty.
		Militaris,	Knights.
		Soemamei,	Service of Soccomani.
		Elemosynariæ,	Elemosynary.

“ *Serjantia*, amongst the feudal services, is the chief and most illustrious, which owns no other patron but the king, and is either Grand or Petit Serjanty.

“ 1. Grand Serjanty is *servitium militare* (knight’s service), whereby any one *prædia tenet de rege in capite*, (holds of the king in chief,) on that condition, that some honorable service be performed by the person of the man either by himself or some other in his behalf, and is calld *servitium militare*, not because it is always performed in the wars, but after maner of military service, it drawes *hæredis custodia, maritagium et relevium*, (wardship of the heir, maritage, and relief), and of this sort are,

“ 1. To lead the king’s army.

“ 2. To carry *signum vexillum, hastam in ejus acie*, (to carry the king’s standard, banner, and spear in his army.)

“ 3. To undergo the office of the king’s marschal, constabl, or champion.

“ 4. *Vexillum regis infra 4 maria sequi*, to attend the king’s standard into [upon] 4 *maria* (seas).

“ Al degrees of peers, sc. Dukes, Marqs, Earls, Vicont, Barons, *hoc tenentur servitio*, (are held by this service,) nor are the lesser duties and offices which are performed to the king in the grand solemnity of the coronation, as

“ 1. To bare the king’s sword, or other ensigns.

“ 2. To exeent the office of senescal, *camerarii* (chamberlain), *pincernæ* (butler, and other illustrious *munera*. Ther are many Serjantys that respect private persons, and not the king himself, as those who ought to ride with the Lord from manor to manor, and thes are calld Rad-knights or Radmans.

“ 2. Petit Serjanty is numbered among those services that are called *Soccagia*, as when one owe a yearly bond to bestow upon the king some smal things, *ad apparatus bellicum*; as *Arcum, gladium, pugionem, hastam, chirotheas ferreas, calcaria aurata, sagittam, falcem*, a bow, a sword, a dagger, a lance, gauntlet, gilded spurs, a barbed arrow, or a quiver, etc.

“ *Radnights*.—1. Thes were many feodal vassals, who were attendant on horsback, and solely to attend the Lord, and wayt upon him. Thos were clients on horsback who did wayt upon his Lord and his Lady by compact agreed upon, and did attend upon him as his guard cald by the Saxons Radknights, or attendants on horsback, as such at this day we call Reteyners.

“ 2. But to greater Lordships, Baronys, and Manors, did antiently belong not only Radmans, but likewis *Dapiferi, Senescalli, Camerarij, Pincernæ, Coqui, Bordarij, Villari, Socij et ancillæ*.

“ *Servitium Militare*.—*Milites seu Liberi Tenentes de feodo militare debent*, (Knights, or Free Tenants by Knight's fee) ought,

“ 1. *Esse in custodia*, (to be in wardship,) if under age, ad 21 years.

“ 2. *Relevare terram*, to pay relief after their farther deues.

“ 3. *Homagium facere*, to perform homage and fidelity to their Lord.

“ 4. *Maritari per dominum*, to be marryd by the Lord's approbation.

“ 5. *Dotari de tertio*, to be endowed with the thirds of their husband's estate.

“ 6. *Soccagia præstare*, to perform their fealty and other dutys.

“ 7. *Primogenitus succedit in toto*. The eldest son succeeds in the whole estate.

“ Thos *milites* of greater peers are sayd to hold their great fees *in feodo Haubertico*, and were to attend the king in his wars, armed cap-e-pe.

“ Or, *in feodo Loricato*, according to the custom* of Normandy, and were commanded to attend *ad Bannum et Retrobannum*, with perfect armes, i.e. a horse, his coat of mayle, his target, his lance, sword, and helmet, in the king's domaines for 40 days, but of late times so long without the kingdom, and within, for 3 months, at their own charg. And such attendance and furniture was said of thos that found a Demi Lance. But whosoever *in hostem bannitus fuerit*, (was summoned against the enemy,) and did not come accordingly, payd his full Heribannum, scil. 60s., or was to deliver himself up *pro Vadio* in the prince's service, until his mult was satisfied, and retrobannum was a 2d summons to the warrs.

“ Other *milites* hold ther fees *in feodo scutagio*, and cald thos that are of the *Valvasinorum*, and held *per servitium scuti*, sc. per scutagium, (namely, by scutage,) and are not only cald *scutiferi*, but also *armigeri quod Loricas induebant*, and so

* Kuerden has written *custody*.

CHAP. were also call'd *Loricati*, and were to attend the greater as Esquires, and bear his
II. armour, thence call'd *armigeri*.

“ For, observe in the Heriots of such Lords what provisions martial they provided for such attendance, and if thos made defect in their attend. they payd their *scutagium* to their Lord as a mulct for their disobedience.

“ *Lorica* was *annulis ferreis conserta*, (the armour call'd *Lorica* was composed of iron rings,) and was call'd Hanbergeon *quasi armatura milites*, call'd Hauerber, and transferd to al coats, by French coats of maile. Likewise ther was another sort of thos *milites* that held *per feodum vexilare*, (by banmer-fee.) Such were Knight Banerets.

“ (*Knight Banmeret*.)—This knight was to appear in the army, having his banner. He shal be led betwixt 2 other kts. before the K. or General, bearing his penon of armes in his owne hand, in the presence of the nobility and other captans. Then the Herald shal say to the K. or Gen.

“ May it pleas your Grace to understand, that this Gentleman hath shewed himself in the field, and for so doing deserveth to be advanced to the degree of a kt. baneret, as worthy from henceforth to beare a banner in the warrs.”

“ Then the king shal cause the points of his penon or gnydon to be rent, and the new made shal go to his Tent between 2 other kts., the Trumpetts sounding al the way before him, ther to receive (qu. to pay) fees, videl: to the Herald 3l. 6s. 8d., or if before he were a knight bachelor, then to pay also unto the Trumpetts 20s. Then might at least 25 knights attend on him.

“ A Baneret, and every Estate above him, may beare his Banmer displayed, if he be a Captain, and set his armes therein.

“ A BANNO RETROBANNO.—Bannum, sometimes taken for an Edict or Proclamation toward the wars, is an order to the contrary for surcessing of the wars.

“ HERIBANNUM, HARIBANNUM,—Here signifyeth *Exercitus*, a mulct, when necessity compels wars to be proclaimed against an enemy.

“ HERIBANNITUS.—Amongst the Franks and Germans it was a law, when the day and place were comanded, and accordingly each man call'd out to make himself ready, the tenant according to the custom of his fee, prepared with horse and arms, lest for his absence he might be punished with the loss of his fee, al under the penalty of both, which if he payd not *in serritium principis mancipati sunt donec satisfaceret*, (in the service of the Prince, his right and title should be suspended

until he gives satisfaction.) The full heribannum was only payd by thos who 6ls. æstimatus est (valued at £6.) and who were esteemed at 3ls. payd only 30sh., and 2ls. 20sh., of him esteemed at 20s. paid only 5s.

“ARRIBANNUM, RETROBANNUM, was a mulct for being called *ad bannum*, 2nd time, sc. *iterato evocato* (again called out.)

“SOCMANRIA, or SOCMANNIA,—Is so cald a *Soca*, quæ *privilegium immunitatem et libertatem significat, unde venit terrarum illa tenura apud nos possessionis soccagia dicta. Sumat hoc nomine qd. terra eo modo possessu sub certis scil. et nominatis servitijs a quibus cum aliis oneribus immunis fit et libera*, (from *soca*, which signifies privilege, immunity, and liberty, whence comes that tenure of lands amongst us, called Soccage of the possession. Land possessed in this manner, and under this name, is exempt and free from certain named services, and other burdens.)

“LIBERA SOCMANRIA, and all such tenants, 1. [*Non*] *possunt dare vel vendere sed ad voluntatem Dni.* (may [not] give or sell, but at the Lord's will.) 2. *Non alienare certa servitia*, (may not alienate services that are ascertained.) 3. *Averinum masculum non vendere*, (may not sell a male animal.) 4. *Filiam non maritare nisi dat domino merchetam*, sc. 3s. 4d. not to marry their daughter, unless they gift the lord for merchet, 3s. 4d. 5. *Filium omnino non facere clericum*, (not to make their son a clergyman.)

“Thes tenants are cald Free Socmanni. 1. They cannot give or sell without the Lord's good liking, lest the services due to the Lord be extinguished, the tenant being reduced to poverty. 2. He cannot enfeof another by any other tenure or title than he hath, lest the services be so extinguished. 3. He or his heir cannot be made a clergyman, nor take a religious vow, for then he cannot observe his fidelity to the Lord for defect of freedom.

“TRIBUTS INCIDENT TO KNIGHT SERVICE TENURE. *Heriot*, or *Herigate*, ought to be payd or rendered back unto the Lord, the Tenements being now deprived of a person to attend the Lord in warr, so that the tenant is now required to deliver up his warlike furniture, the better to provide himself in the Interim, and not to be unfurnished; and when a new tenant is fit for service, to be reclaimed unto him.

“WARDA.—Fees may return unto the Lord's hand for defect of service, as not to go to bail with the Lord, or for breach of fidelity.

“PROBATIO ÆTATIS, (Trial of Age.)* Assysa Com. Derby. Each person of the Town of Derby, of the age of 15 years, according to the custome time out of mind, may sell or give their tenement, and shal be esteemed of full age, when he knows

* Previous to the abolition of wards and liveries, it was customary to try whether a king's tenant was of full age, by a writ of *Ætate Probanda*.

CHAP. how to count 20sh. or measure cloath, or weigh merchandise, and the like custome
 11. for a woman. Rot. 5 Pl. de T. Pasc. Claus. G. E. I.

“ASSIGNATIO DOTIS.—*Dotalium est usufructus partis terræ et bonorum mariti quam uxor propter nuptias ut eo post suam mortem alatur.* (Dowry is the enjoyment of a portion of the land and goods of the husband given to the wife in consequence of the marriage, that she may be maintained after his death.)

“MARITAGIUM—is sayd to be that the pupil or ward depends upon his feudal Lord for license to contract maryage or nuptialls with any one. By reason of the feudal Lord having the wardship of an Infant, ought not to have a husband introduced to his charge that might p’haps be his enemy; therefore he ought to give license or approbation for such tenant to marry.

“RELEUIUM.—Ingress or Introitus into the estate is when some honorable gift or performance that a new tenant of full age, if he has been ward after the death of his ancestor, bestowed upon his feodal, for obtaining of his new inheritance; because at the death of the tenant the lands or fees seemed *decidisse se*, to have been taken into the Lord’s hands until again redeemed with some small gift bestowed upon the Lord in token of subjection, that it might be lawful for heirs to new tenements to take up their vill.

Feudal
oaths.

“FEALTY.—Particular fealty amongst the English doth individually concentrat all tenures and dismissions for the shortest term, and now a days it is more sparingly exercised, yet it can by no means be released *sine tenuræ interitu*, (without the destruction of the tenure.)

ANCIENT OATH OF FIDELITY (St. Edw. Conf. cap. 35.)—

“Thou shalt swear from this day forward, thou shalt be faithful and loyal to our Sovereign
 “Lord the King and his heirs, and thou shalt owe to him faith and loyalty, of life and limb, and
 “al worldly honor, and thou shalt know neither of any evil or damage which thou to thy power
 “shalt not prevent. So heip thee God.”

The OATH OF FIDELITY which all Tenants by reason of their fee shall take :—

“I swear by God’s Evangelists, that from this day forward I will bear faith to him as a
 “vassall to the Lord; nor any thing that under the name of fealty is commanded of me will I
 “diselose to others to his detriment, to the best of my knowledge.”

“These six things included in the oath, according to those two verses, explained.

“Incolume et tutum; sient utile semper honestum;

“Possibile et facile; et consule adfer opem.”

“HOMAGE—Is a solemn, strict, and humble kind of service, that a man, by reason of his tenure or fee, performeth to his Lord. Each new successor into a feodal inheritance, is bound within a year to appear before his Lord, and unarmed,

bareheaded, and falling down upon his knees, and his hands held together within the hands of his Lord, sitting down as if he would worship him, shall speake to him after this manner :—

“ I become your man from this day forward, of life and limb, and terrene honour, I shal be true and faithfull to you, and I shal bear faith to you for the lands I hold of you, saving the faith to our Soverain Lord the King and his heirs.”

“ This having spoken, the Lord kisseth him, and the vassall standeth up forthwith. The tenant's hands being closed within the Lord's hands, signifyeth, as Bracton saith, lib. 2 cap. 35., on the Lord's part protection, defending, waranty, and on the Tenant's part reverence and subjection.

“ CIVIL SERVICES—Is 1. to appear at the Lord's Maner Court, amongst other of his tenants. 2. To take recognizance of the affayres of the lordship. 3. *Censum reddere* (to pay his rents). 4. *Auxilia, operas, consuetudines usitatas præstare*, to pay his rents, and to perform the aydes, boons, and usual customs. But care is to be taken in the statute of 18 Edw. I. that none after that time shall give lands to be held of himself, but of the superior lord of the same, from the time that clause, *scil. de me et hæredibus meis* (namely, of me and my heirs) was no longer to be found in Charters.

Civic service.

“ MARCHETA MULIERUM.—Merch, in the Cimbric language, signified a daughter or woman, and March, what is paid for the daughter's marriage. Alluding to the custom of Scotland, that both noble servants and mercenary women payd their marchet—her marchet shall be one heifer, or 3 shillings *et rectum serrienti*, (and what is proper for the servant). The daughter of a freeman, not Lord of a Manor, shal pay one Cow or 6 shillings, *serrient*. 3d. 2. Merchet of a Thain, 2 Cowes or 12 sh., *servient*. 12d. 3. Earl's daughter, 12 Cowes to the Queen. Skenæus sayth the Margat of a thein's or ogethern daughter, is twa kids, or 12d. sc. 2 litle goats. This marchet or mulet by litle and litle spread over England, upon the mariag of a bondman's daughter, but did not belong to any freeman's daughter.*

Marcheta.

SCUTAGIUM, ESCUAGE.—The service as equally due unto inferior Lords, as to the King, obliging his tenants to attend the Lord, against the Welsh, Scotch, or French, in his wars for a certain number of days at his own expense; and if not, a pecuniary ayd to be contributed, but who attended the K. were in pardons or par-

* Kuerden, or rather Spelman, speaks in allusion to the custom of Scotland, which is thus described by Buchanan: Malcolm, who reigned in 1057, is said to have procured, at the entreaty of his wife, that law of king Eugenius, by which nobles were entitled to sleep with the bride of his vassal on the wedding night, and obtained for the husband the privilege of redeeming it by paying half a mark of silver, a fine still called *Mercheta Mulierum*, payable to the lord on the marriage of a tenant's daughter.—*Hist. Rer. Scot.* lib. vii. cap. 21.

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II.

doned, and were to have a Scutagium from the tenants. They were *scutiferi*, and attended not on the Lord in the field.

“LIBERA SOCMANRIA.—The Oath of Fealty for Soccage Tenure, 17 Edw. II. was as follows:—

“Hear me, my Lord K., I, A. B. will bear faith and loyalty to you for the lands I hold of you, and I will justly performe the Customes which I ought to do to you at times appointed. So help me God, and his holy Angels.” And so shall kisse the Book.

“SOCMANRIA, COTERIA, CUSTOMARIJ.—*Curtillum est parva curtis prædictam signat rusticam cum adscriptitis prædijs*, (Curtillum is a small curtis (house) with lands attached to it.) *Curtis est mansio ad inhabitandum cum terris et possessionibus pertinentibus*, (is a small house to dwell in, with lands and possessions belonging to it.) And the inhabitants are calld *cottarij* or *nativi*, who have country habitations at the Lord's pleasure, and are calld customary tenants, and hold in *Bondagio per voluntatem curiæ seu manerij*, (in Bondage by the will of the Court or Manor,) or in villenage, which properly signify the service due from a villain, i.e. *conditioni colonario pro vel ride adscriptio glebæ*.*

“NATIVUS—Is taken from him that is born *Servus*.

“BONDI—Are those *qui pactionis vinculo se astrinxerunt in servitute*, (who have tied themselves to servitude by a bond of agreement,) for Bondi, in Latin, *vinculum* (a bond), *Bondi* are *quasi astricti nuncupantur*, (are so called as if bound.) Extent. terr. et tent Dom. D. Lanc. 26. Edw. 3. Altcar.

“VILLANI—are those *qui glebæ ascripti*, (who being ascribed, enrolled, or registered of the glebe,) till the Lord's domains; nor can depart from thence without the Lord's permission. They are called villani from their living in the country, and they for the most part are exercised in *operibus sordidis*.

“NATIVI.—Most of the *nativi* held a small quantity of land, thereupon calld *cotarij* (cottagers), for which yearly they paid a rent, as likewise *pro operibus falcatione pratorum Domini*, (for performing services in mowing the Lord's meadows,) and *pro focali ad domum seu aulam Di*, *pro casis ad maremium pro ædificiis domorum aut castri dni*, (for firing (fuel) to the house or hall [to bring] timber for the building of the Lord's house or castle); neither could they marry their daughter, or suffer their son to be shorn a monk—he shall be *prepositus* (perhaps overlooker, in this place) of his Lord's manor rustic, when he is elected thereunto, requiring nothing for his pay. They are to plow, harrow, reape the Lord's corn, and bring it to his barn, and pay marchet for their daughter's marriage.

Drenches.

“DRENCHES ad soccagium pertinent, (Drenches belong to soccage,) Domesday Book, Cestrescer, (between Ribble and Mersey.) *Rogerus Pictavensis tenuit*

* Not intelligibly quoted.

Newton. Hujus manerii aliam terram XV homines quos Drenches vocabunt. In villa de Walinton, and to that Manor, belong 34 berewicks. It is manifest, that these Drengs were *e grege vassallorum et servorum domesticorum*, (of the tribe of domestic vassals and serfs,) which at this day are called amongst the Danes in the singular number Dreng, and in the plural Drenges. According to Tacitus, Drenges were not inconsiderable persons. Each of them in Domesday Book possessed a Manor.* Edwin de Shirburne, and some others, who were ejected *e terris suis* (from their lands), went to the Conqueror, and told him that they, neither before the conquest, nor afterwards, did oppose the King by their counsel or aid, but kept themselves in peace, and this they were ready to prove. Whereupon the king caused an inquirendum to be made throughout all England, whether it was so; and indeed it was proved. Whereupon the king commanded that they should be restored to their lands, and *dom[ination]es adeo integre et in pace ut unquam habuerunt vel tenuerunt ante conquestum suum. Et quod ipsi in posterum vocarentur Drenges.* (Domains as completely and peaceably as ever they had or held them before the conquest. And that they (the owners) should for the future be called Drengs. But it is to be understood, that all they and their ancestors, who were of the class of Drengs, either held by Drengage tenure, or had dwelt upon their paternal estates previous to the coming in of the Normans. These Drenches held each a manor, called,

“BEREUUICA, or BEREWICK.—Bereuicha, Berewicka, Berewichus, Berewick, all signify the same, and most of them a Manor, or rather part of a Manor, *a corpore dissitum* (distinct from the body), *Villula vel Hamleta Manerij seu Dominiij* (the village or hamlet of a Manor or Domain), a lesser Manor belonging to a greater. Berewichi were not placed in the heart of a Manor, but either on the confines, or sometimes they were Manors disjoined. Sometimes they seemed to be Manors *suis partibus absoluta* (perfect in their own parts), and containing many carucates of land, various services, many *liberi homines, socmanni, Bordarij, villani*, according to Domesday Book. And to some capital Manors belonged many Berewicks, Domes. ‘Our King held Chideminster with 18 Berewicks.’ Domesday, Titulo Cestreshire (between Ribble and Mersey). *Rog. Pictarensis Newton; hujus Manerij aliam terram 15 homines quos Drenches vocabunt pro 15 manerij tenebant, sed hujus manerij Berewicks erant*, (Roger de Poitou held Newton. Fifteen men, whom they called Drenches, held other land of this manor, for fifteen manors, but they were Berewicks of this manor.) From which it appears, that splendid Manors *quæ a majori aliquo tenebantur*, (which were held from some ancestor,) were called Berewicks, and had sometimes within themselves *maneria minorum*, sc. *Dominicorum sedes et patrimonia*, (manors of the smaller domains, viz:—seats and patrimonies.)

* See Newton Hundred, Domesday.

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II.

“Those farmers of these Berewicks resembled those foster-fathers, or nurse-dads, as they are called in the country parts. The custom of Drengage tenure being to provide meat and drink or food for their Lords, nurse children, wash horses and dogs, and for this duty might well, according to the Saxon language, be styled Drenches, like nursing-fathers; and so might these Berewicks in some measure resemble releefs. These Drenches were a kind of Socmanni, having land set apart for them as husbandmen, who proportionally, according to their tenements, should render unto their Lord some fruits of their labours, sc. corn, vestments, and victuals, and other necessities for their Lord’s use; and in time of war, victuals and clothing for the soldiers, and were so freed from military services in their own person, which gave occasion to the Conqueror to restore their lands, having not any wise opposed him before or after the Conquest.”*

* For the CAPITANEI REGNI, and the offices and duties belonging to their fees, see Chapter III.; and for the Earls Palatine, the Counts Palatine, the Shyregerewe or Sheriffs, see Chapter IV.

Chap. III.

Conduct of the Conqueror.—Unsuccessful revolt in the North against his authority.—York superior to London (*Note*).—Proscriptions.—Early manners.—Renewed insurrection.—City and cathedral of York destroyed.—William marches again to the North.—Fate of Earls Morcar and Edwin.—Tremendous infliction.—Royal grant.—The Conqueror's dealings with the clergy.—Domesday survey.—How formed.—The name of Lancashire not in the Domesday Book.—Perpetual use of this memorable survey.—Latin and English versions of it.—Observations of the Domesday Book.—Thanes.—Ethlings.—Aldermen.—The honor of Lancaster.—The Norman barons of Lancashire.—Their stations.—Pedigree of Roger de Poitou, the first Norman baron of the honor.—The honor forfeited by Roger.—Conferred on Ranulf, the third earl of Chester.



O sooner was the Norman conqueror seated on the throne of England, than he began to exercise the power of conquest with all the rigour which the jealousy of his own mind, and the insubordinate disposition of his new subjects, dictated. The doctrines inculcated by Machiavel, in his instructions to conquering princes, were practised by William of Normandy in England, five centuries before they were promulgated by the Italian politician. He left no art untried, to root out the ancient nobility, to

CHAP.
III.

Conduct
of the Con-
queror.

curb the power of the established clergy, or to reduce the commonalty to the lowest state of penury and dependence.

Earls Morcar and Edwin, who had so successfully resisted the tyrannical power of earl Tosti, were among the first to revolt from the yoke of the tyrant. To give effect to their resistance, they raised forces in Lancashire and Cheshire, as well as in the other northern counties, and fixed upon the celebrated Northumbrian capital, the city of York, then amongst the first cities in the kingdom, superior even

Unsuc-
cessful re-
volt in the
North.

CHAP.
III.

to London,* as their strong hold. This alarming revolt the Conqueror hastened to subdue; and such was the violence of his rage, that, on his way to the north, he swore repeatedly, by the “splendour of God,” that he would not leave a soul of the insurgents alive. The strength of the Saxon barons was increased by the junction of a large force under Bethwin, king of North Wales. Preliminary to his arrival, William had suspended Morcar, and appointed Robert de Comyn, a Norman baron, to the earldom of Northumberland. The orders given to Robert were, to subdue the refractory spirit of the people, without regard to the shedding of blood;* and a guard of seven hundred men was placed around his person. The intrepid Northumbrians, roused by a sense of their own wrongs, and by the indignity offered to the earl Morcar, rose in open insurrection, and put to death the Norman, with every individual composing his guard. The first measure taken by William, on his arrival at York, was, to offer mercy to the insurgents, on their submission to his authority; and the chiefs, finding themselves unequal to contend with the power that was brought against them, accepted the proffered clemency. The earls Morcar and Edwin, accompanied by Gospatric, and Edgar Atheling, their lawful prince, fled into Scotland under the protection of king Malcolm.

* *script.*
1066.Early
manners.

Unmindful of that general amnesty which he had offered, the Conqueror directed the most severe proscription against the Saxon inhabitants of these regions, hundreds of whom fell under the cruel inflictions of the Normans. The Saxon Chronicle, in recording the intercourse which arose between the members of the fugitive English nobles and the Scotch court, exhibits a striking instance of the manners of the times. “Then,” say the chroniclers, “began king Malcolm to yearn after the child’s sister Margaret to wife, (that is, the sister of Edgar Atheling,) but Atheling and all his men long refused; and she also herself was averse, and said, that she would neither have him, nor any one else, if the supreme Power would grant, that she, in her maidenhood, might please the Almighty Lord, with a carnal heart in this short life, in pure continence. The king, however, earnestly urged her brother, till he answered, Yea. And indeed he durst do no otherways, for they were come into his kingdom * * * * The king, therefore, received her, though it was against her will, and was pleased with her manners, and thanked God, who in his might

* “Ye shaul understaund, that in those dayes the Cyte of London had much building from Ludgate towarde Westminster, and little or non wher these or part of the Cyte is now, except that in diverse places stode housing; but they stode out of ordere. So many Townes or Cytes as York, Canterbury, and diverse othere in Englande, passed London for buylding in those dayes, but after the conquest it increased, and shortly aftere passed all others.”—J. HARDYNGE, floruit temp. Hen. V.

* Wal. Hemingford, Canon of Gisburgh.

had given him such a match. He wisely bethought himself, as he was a prudent man, and turned himself to God, and renounced all impiety; accordingly, as the apostle Paul, the teacher of the Gentiles, saith, ‘*Salvabitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidelem; sic et mulier infidelis per virum fidelem,*’ &c. This queen aforesaid performed many useful deeds in this land to the glory of God, and also in her royal estate she well conducted herself, as her nature was. Of a faithful and noble king was she sprung. Her father was Edward Atheling, son of king Edmund; and her maternal kindred goeth to the emperor Henry, who had the sovereignty over Rome; and from this marriage a long race of Scottish kings of Great Britain, lineally descended.”

To guard against a surprise, the Conqueror caused numerous castles to be erected in the north of England; and in the city of York two castles sprung up under the direction of the Normans. These precautions were not confined to inland fortifications; they extended also to the coast, and the castles of Lancaster and of Liverpool, on the Lune and the Mersey, were both erected during the early part of the Conqueror’s reign, by Roger de Poitou, one of the most distinguished amongst the Norman barons. Notwithstanding the severity practised by William on the suppression of the first insurrection, he allowed the earls Morcar and Edwin to retain their estates in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, though he extended the rigours of confiscation over the lands of many of their followers. The forfeitures, attainders, and other acts of violence, soon produced another insurrection. The inhabitants of York, rising in arms, slew Robert Fitz-Richard, the governor,* and besieged in the castle William Mallet, on whom the command had devolved. At this juncture two of the sons of king Sweyne, with two hundred and forty ships, arrived from Denmark, under the command of duke Osborne, brother to the king. The troops disembarked on the bank of the Humber, where they were met by Edgar Atheling, and earls Waltheof and Gospatric, with large levies of Northumbrians from Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and Durham, “riding and marching,” says the Saxon Chronicle, “full merrily, towards York.”

A.D. 1076.

Lancaster and Liverpool castles erected.

Renewed insurrection.

The Norman governor, that he might the better provide for the security of the citadel, and prevent the insurgents from finding a lodgment under the walls, set fire to the suburbs. The consequences of this hazardous expedient were most terrific. The wind wafted the flames to the city, and the conflagration spread with such uncontrollable fury, that a great number of the houses were consumed. The ancient cathedral, amongst the most renowned in the kingdom, was burnt to the ground; and with it was consumed, to the irreparable loss of learning, the celebrated library, accumulated by the learned Alcuin, about the year 800, under the auspices of arch-

A.D. 1069.

The city of York destroyed.

* Order. Vital. p. 512.

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III.
—

William
marches
again to
the north.

bishop Egbert. On this fatal day, the ancient splendour of York was obscured, and the sun of that city's glory has never since shone forth with its former brightness. The enraged inhabitants, incited to desperation by this incendiary act, rose against the governor; and, being joined by the Danes, and the insurgents from the adjoining country, who were already at the gates, they carried the castle by assault, and put all the garrison, consisting of three thousand men, to the sword. The flame of insurrection, lighted up amongst the brave Northumbrians, spread into other parts of the kingdom; but the king, well aware that the most imminent danger existed in the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire, determined to march once more against them, and, placing himself at the head of a powerful army, he left London, to take his revenge upon the insurgents. By common consent, earl Waltheof was appointed governor of the city of York by the Saxon barons, while the Danish general took up his intrenchments between the Humber and the Trent, in order to keep the Normans in check.

On the arrival of William and his army before York, he sent his summons to the governor, offering him clemency, if he surrendered promptly; but threatening the most terrible vengeance, if he attempted to withstand his authority.

Finding himself placed between two armies, the Danes and the Anglo-Saxons, he had recourse to an expedient; and, by the force of bribes offered to Osborn, the Danish general, accompanied by a permission to plunder the people on the coast, whom he had come to protect, the perfidious Dane was induced to re-embark, and to return with his army to his own country. Deserted by his allies, Waltheof was left to rely solely upon the valour and constancy of his own men, and upon such supplies as they could obtain secretly from the surrounding country. William pushed on the siege with vigour, and was not less vigorously resisted. A breach having been made in the walls by the engines of the besiegers, the governor himself being a man of prodigious might and strength, stood single in the breach, and cut off the heads of several Normans who attempted to enter.* For six months the siege was sustained, and the struggle was sanguinary and exhausting; and it was not till William had reinforced the besieging army again and again, that he gained possession of the city. Famine at length effected what force could not achieve; and William not only promised forgiveness to the governor, but also the most reasonable terms to his troops, on the condition of surrender. Under the influence of that admiration which bravery inspires amongst the brave, the Conqueror gave to Waltheof his niece Judith, daughter of the countess Albemarle, in marriage, and created him also earl of Northumberland. The reconciliation was only temporary. William, impatient of opposition, brought the gallant earl to the block, on account of another conspiracy,

* William of Malmesbury.

and this was the first nobleman whose life was terminated in England by decapitation.

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III.

Earls Morcar and Edwin, no longer able to sustain their own dignity, or to preserve the public rights, quitted the seats of their earldoms in Northumbria and Mercia. Edwin, in attempting to make his escape into Scotland, was betrayed by some of his followers, and killed by a party of Normans, to the deep affliction of the men of Lancashire and Cheshire, where the ardour of his patriotism, and his personal accomplishments, had gained all hearts; while earl Morcar was thrown into prison, and consigned to future obscurity. Lucia, the sister of the earls Morcar and Edwin, was presented in marriage to Ivo Talbois, the first baron of Kendal, who came over with the Conqueror. This baron was distinguished by the favour of his prince, who granted to him that part of Lancashire which adjoins to Westmoreland, as well as the confiscated lands of his wife's brother in Lincolnshire.

Fate of
earls Mor-
car and
Edwin.

William viewed the inhabitants of this district as the most formidable enemies to his power; and in order to satiate his rage, and to prevent further resistance, he razed the city of York to the ground; and with it fell many of the principal nobility and gentry, as well as the humbler inhabitants. Nor did his implacable vengeance rest here; he laid waste the whole of the fertile country between the Humber and the Tees, a distance of sixty miles, so that, for nine years afterwards, neither spade nor plough was put into the ground.* If any of the wretched inhabitants escaped, they were reserved for a more lingering fate, being forced through famine to eat dogs and cats, horses, and even human flesh. So unsparing was the destruction, that the inhabitants could scarcely recognize their own lands; and when the Domesday Book was compiled, though the survey was not commenced till ten years afterwards, many townships remained uncultivated, which is the reason why *Wasta* so often occurs in the Domesday Survey of Yorkshire. In that part of this ancient document which concerns Lancashire, the returns are principally made, though not under the head of a distinct county; and a presumption naturally arises, that the Conqueror's severity was practised with less rigour between the Mersey and the Duddon, than between the Humber and the Tees. In the north of Lancashire, included within the ancient limits of Richmondshire, 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 Salfordshire to the devoted county of York.

Tremen-
dous in-
fection.

* Malms. p. 103. Knighton. Ingulf. p. 79. Sim. of Dur. p. 199.

CHAP.
III.Royal
grant.

An act of state, issued by the Conqueror while he was in this part of the kingdom, is alike curious for the freedom of style, and the comprehensive brevity of the conveyance. The grant is in these words:—

“Ego Gulielmus, cognomine Bastardus, do et concedo tibi Alano, nepoti meo, Britanie comiti, et heredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas et terras, que nuper fuerunt comitis Edwini in Eborasciria; cum fordis militum et ecclesiis, et aliis libertatibus et consuetudinibus, ita libere et honorifice sicut idem Edwinus ea tenuit.—Dat. in obsidione coram civitate Eboraci.”



In this way nearly two hundred manors and townships were transferred, by a dash of the pen, and an impression of the seals,* from the unfortunate Edwin earl of Mercia, to Alan earl of Britany, and afterwards of Richmond.

It is due to the fidelity of history to observe, that the epithet “Ego Gulielmus, cognomine Bastardus,” casts a suspicion on the authenticity of this grant, though adopted by Camden and Sir William Dugdale, as well as by all our early antiquaries, and the learned Roger Gale does not hesitate to pronounce it a monkish fabrication.† In confirmation of the internal evidence of forgery, it will be remarked,

* It was the practice of the Conqueror to use two seals, one of them indicating his sovereign power in England, and the other his ducal authority in Normandy.

† Et in laute Tanfeld devant le Conquest, avoit Torkil une manoir, le quel apres le temps du Conquest avoir et tenoit Alan Fergant, Conte de Bretagne et de Richmonde, par voie de Conquest. a soit quod onque, nulle chastelle estoit en lieu ou ore est Richmonde assise: mais le lieu estoit appeller les terres de Fountenay, avec tout le territoire par les boundes ou la ville est au present. Apres Alan son frere et heir founda et edifia une chastel et lappella Richemont.—GALE Hon. de Rich. App. p. 61.

that the alleged act of state grants the lands "*ita libere et honorifice*," as the former possessor had them, though, during the Saxon period, they had been geldable, and they were now exonerated from all burthens. The conduct of the Conqueror towards the English priesthood had probably stimulated the original inventor of the document to resent the severity practised towards his order, by attaching a term of opprobrium to his name; and the error has been perpetuated by the supposition, that the first earl was the same person as Alan Fergeaunt, duke of Bretagne. The frequent occurrence of the name of Alan, which appears thrice in the pedigree of this family, within two generations, has tended materially to increase the perplexity; but, according to Gale, Alan Fergeaunt had no interest in the earldom of Richmond. He had, however, a brother Eudo, who had six sons, all of whom, excepting Geoffrey, the eldest, appears either to have accompanied the Conqueror in his expedition to England, or, being then too young, subsequently partook of his bounty, or that of their elder brethren.

Whatever suspicion may attach to the grant made to the Earl of Richmond, it is clear that the Conqueror placed all the land of the kingdom under that system of feudal tenure, which had already been partially introduced under the Saxon dynasty. These possessions, with very few exceptions besides the royal demesnes, were divided into baronies, which were conferred, with the reservation of stated services and payments, on the most considerable of the Normans. The great barons, who held of the crown, shared out a large part of the lands to other foreigners, who bore the names of knights or vassals, and who paid their lord the same duty and submission in peace and in war, which he himself owed to his sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about seven hundred chief tenants, and 60,215 knights' fees;* and as none of the English were admitted into the first rank, the few who retained their landed possessions were glad to be received under the protection of some powerful Norman baron, though at the cost of an oppressive burden on those estates which they had received as a free inheritance from their ancestors.†

Having broken the spirit of the laity, the Conqueror now proceeded to appropriate a large share of the enormous property of the clergy to his own use. The first step he took for the attainment of this object, was to seize not only all the riches‡ and valuable effects which the English had lodged in the religious houses throughout the kingdom during the troubles; but even the charters, shrines, and treasures belonging to the monasteries themselves, resolving at the same time that none of the English

The Con-
queror's
dealings
with the
clergy.

* Order Vitalis, p. 523.

† The drenches mentioned in the Domesday Book, "Newton Hundred," were probably of this number.

‡ Sim. of Dur. Ann. of Waver. Chron. Spot. p. 114.

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III.

monks or clergy should ever be preferred to any of the vacant sees, and that those who already possessed them should be stripped of their dignities. In consequence of this resolution, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was removed from his episcopal office on various groundless pretences, but without the colour of justice. Adding cruelty to injustice, William imprisoned the deprived prelates, and kept them in confinement all the rest of their lives. In our province, the king, during the feast of Pentecost, named Thomas, a canon of Baieux, to the see of York. The principles he had adopted in Normandy he introduced into England, and seemed quite ready to act upon the determination he had made in the former country, namely, "that if any monk, who was his subject, should dispute his will, he would cause him to be hanged forthwith." In Saxon times, the clergy, not only in this province, but throughout the nation generally, held their lands and possessions by a different tenure from the laity, called *Frank-Almoigne*, subject to no secular service, to no rents or impositions, but such as they consented to lay upon themselves in their councils or synods, which privilege they had extorted, as we have already seen, from the superstition of Ethelwulf.* Their estates, derived from the bounty of the Saxon kings and their nobles, were so great, that they possessed more than a third part of the kingdom; the computation being that of the 60,215 knights' fees, the clergy held 28,015,† exclusive of their plate, jewels, and various other treasures. With such enormous riches at their disposal, they became unduly powerful; and William, jealous of that power, and suspicious of their fidelity, reduced all their lands to the common tenure of knight's service and barony. The new prelates were required to take an oath of fealty, and to do homage to the king, before they could be admitted to their temporalities; they were also subject to an attendance upon the king in his court baron, to follow him in his wars with their knights and quota of soldiers, to pay him their usual aids, and to perform all the other services incident to the feudal tenures. The clergy remonstrated most bitterly against this new revolution, equalled only by the revolution which took place in church property and ecclesiastical power, in this country, five centuries afterwards; but William, like Henry, was inexorable, and consigned to prison or to banishment all who opposed his will. While the power of the clergy was thus curtailed, that of the barons, who were now chiefly Norman, was increased. In their manors they had absolute jurisdiction; they gave laws and administered justice in their courts baron to their vassals; and suits between the tenants of different lords were tried in their hundred, or county courts, while the king's courts took cognizance only of those between the barons themselves.‡

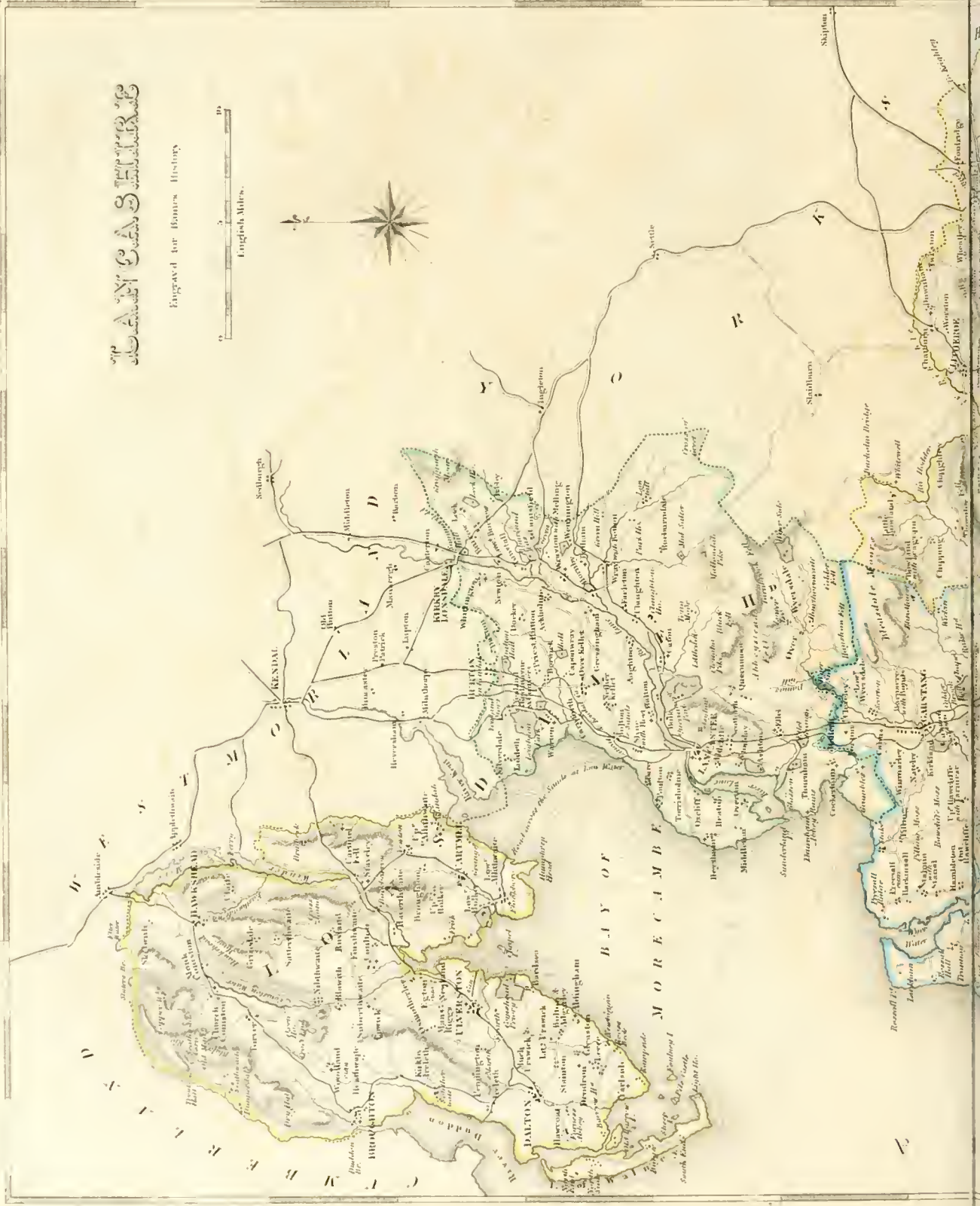
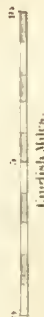
* See chap. ii. p. 44.

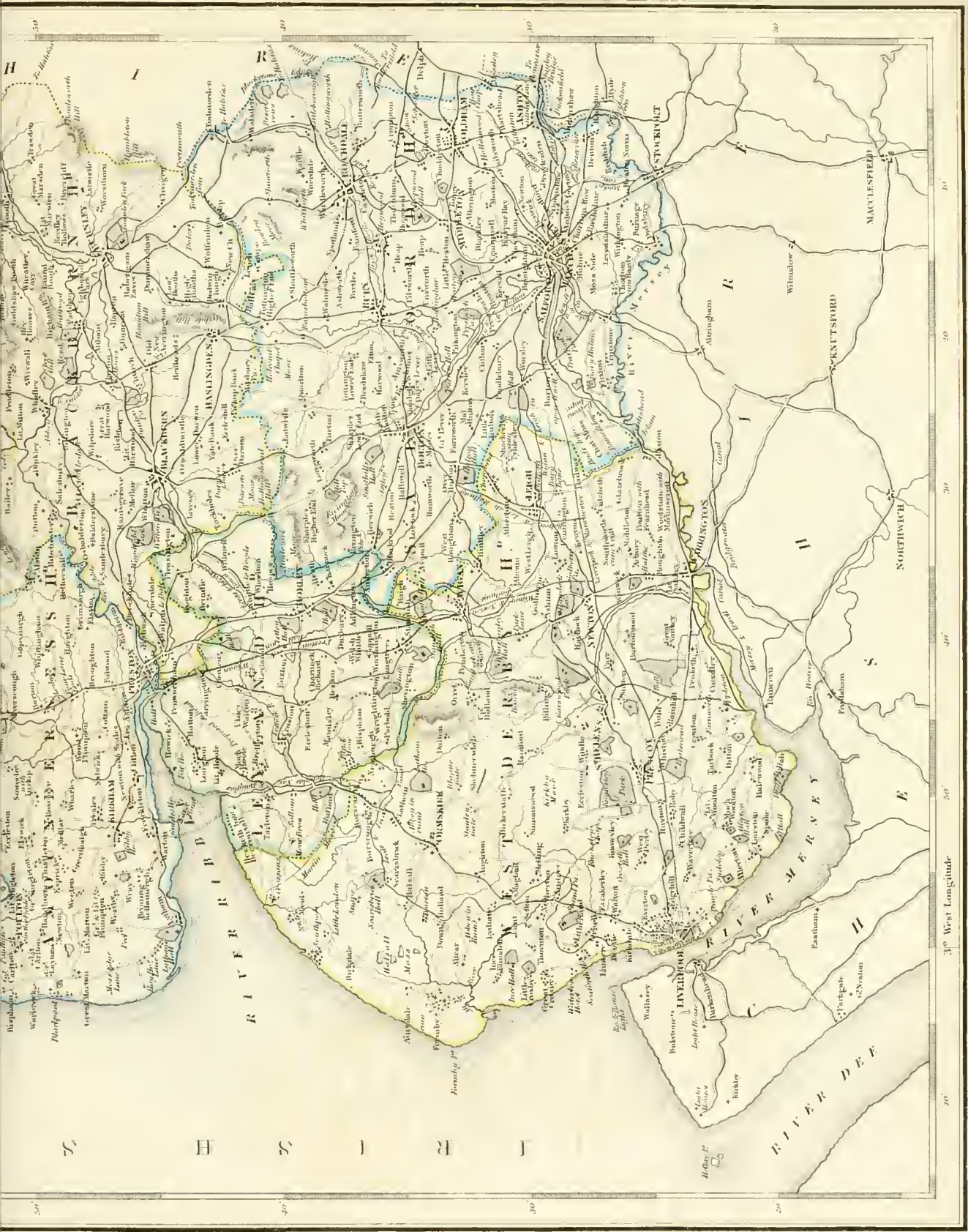
† T. Sprott. Chron. p. 114.

‡ Carte's Hist. vol. i. p. 421.

Map of Morecambe Bay

Engraved for Henry History





By a synod held in London, the precedence of the bishops was settled, according to the priority of their consecration, except with regard to such sees as had particular privileges annexed to them. Hitherto the bishops had resided in small towns or villages, for the purpose, as was alleged, of sacred retirement; but at this synod it was determined, that the see of Litchfield, in which diocese the county of Lancaster was at that time included, should be removed to Chester. It was now ordained for the first time, “that no bishop, abbot, or clergyman, should judge any person to the loss of life or limb, or give his vote or countenance to any other for that purpose;” and to comply with this canon, the prelates have ever since withdrawn from the House of Lords in such cases, satisfying themselves with entering a protest in favour of their right, without exercising it.*

CHAP.
III.

A.D. 1075.

The activity of William’s mind suggested to him a great national work, which will be held throughout all ages as a redeeming feature in his life, and will serve to transmit his memory with veneration to posterity. “After the synod,” says the Saxon Chronicle, “the king held a large meeting, and very deep consultation with the council, about this land; how it was occupied, and by what sort of men. Then sent he his men over all England into each shire, commissioning them to find out— ‘How many hundreds of hides were in the shire, what lands the king himself had, and what stock upon the land; or what dues he ought to have by the year from the shire.’ Also, he commissioned them to record in writing, ‘How much land his archbishops had, and his diocesan bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; what or how much each man had, who was an occupier of land in England, either in land or stock, and how much money it was worth.’ So very narrowly, indeed, did he commission them to trace it out, that there was not one single hide, nor a yard of land; nay, moreover, (it is shameful to tell, though he thought it no shame to do it,) not even an ox, nor a cow, nor a swine, was there left, that was not set down in his writ. And all the recorded particulars were afterwards brought to him.”

The
Domesday
Survey.

That nothing might be wanted to render this record complete, and its authority perpetual, the survey was executed by Norman commissioners, called “the king’s justiciaries,” consisting of nobles and bishops, acting under royal appointment, and associated, probably, with some of the principal men of each shire. The inquirers, upon the oaths of the sheriffs, the lord of each manor, the presbyters of every church, the reves of every hundred, the bailiffs and six villains of every village, were to inquire into the name of the place, who held it in the time of king Edward, who was the present possessor, how many hides in the manor, how many carucates in demesne, how many homagers, how many villains, how many cotarii, how many servi, what free-men, how many tenants in soccage; what quantity of wood, how much

How
formed.

* Brist. Monast. p. 33.

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III.

meadow and pasture, what mills and fish-ponds; how much added or taken away, what the gross value in king Edward's time, and how much each free-man or soc-man had or has. All this was to be triply estimated: first, as the estate was held in the time of the Confessor; then, as it was bestowed by king William; and, thirdly, as its value stood at the formation of the survey. The jurors were moreover to state, whether any advance could be made in the value.

The exact time occupied in taking the whole survey of the kingdom is differently stated by historians; but the probability is, that it was commenced A.D. 1080; and it is evident, from the insertion at the end of the second volume, that it was completed in 1086.* The following passage from the register of St. Mary, Worcester, preserved amongst the Cotton MSS. exhibits the manner in which the returns were collected and made:—

“ In vicecomitatu *Wiraceastre* habet S. Maria de *Wiraceastre* unum hundredum, quod vocatur *Oswaldeslau*, in quo jacent 300 hidæ, &c. Hoc testimonium totus vicecomitatus *Wiraceastre*, dato sacramento jusjurandi firmavit, exhortante et adlaborante piissimo et prudentissimo patre D. Wolstano episcopo tempore regis Willielmi senioris, coram principibus ejusdem regis, Remigio scilicet Lincolniensi episcopo, et comite Walters Giffardo, et Henrico de Feriers, et Adâ fratre Eudonis dapiferi regis, qui ad inquirendas et describendas professiones, et consuetudines tam regis quam principum suorum, in hac provinciâ, et in plurimis aliis, ab ipso rege destinati sunt eo tempore quo totam Angliam rex describi fecit, &c.”

The name
of Lancashire
not in Domesday.

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 in Cheshire, while the northern part of the county, including Amounderness and the Hundred of Lonsdale, north and south of the Sands, is comprehended in Yorkshire. It has already been stated, that Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, are not described in the Domesday Book; but the south of Westmoreland, and part of Cumberland, are included in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The devastation made by the Conqueror in the three most northern counties of England, rendered it impossible to take an exact survey of that district; and the return in Amounderness, that “ sixteen of the villages in this hundred have few inhabitants, (how many is not known,) and the rest are waste,” sufficiently indicates that the hand of the spoiler had lain heavy upon this Hundred. The absence of a return for

* Anno Millesimo Octogesimo Sexto. Ab
Incarnatione Dñi. Vigesimo Vº Regni
Willi Facta Est Ista Descriptio. Non
Solum P Hos Tres Comitatus. Sed &iã
P Alios

the county of Durham has been accounted for, from the lands between the Tees and the Tyne having been conferred by Alfred on the bishop of the see, and from this county being, at the coming in of the Conqueror, a reputed county palatine. These do not appear to afford sufficient reasons for the omission. The property of the bishops, as tenants *in capite*, in other counties, is specified, and Cheshire is included in the survey, though that county, as well as Durham, was at the time a county palatine. Lancashire had not at the Conquest attained to this distinction, though Roger de Poitou is stated to have exercised palatinate privileges.

By the Domesday return, the king acquired an exact knowledge of all the possessions of the crown. It furnished him with the means of ascertaining the strength of the country, pointed out the possibility of increasing the revenue in certain districts, and formed a perpetual register of appeal for those whose titles to their estates might in future be disputed. This purpose it has served ever since its completion; and even now, at the end of nearly eight hundred years, such is the credit of this document, that if a question arises whether a manor, parish, or lands, be ancient demesne, the issue must be tried by this book, whence there is no appeal. The two volumes which contain the survey are now, by common consent, called Domesday Book, from Dome (census), and Boc (book). It has, however, borne other designations, and has been known as *Rotulus Wintoniæ*, *Scriptura Thesauri Regis*, *Liber de Wintonia*, and *Liber Regis*. Sir Henry Spelman adds, *Liber Judiciarius*, *Censualis Angliæ*, *Angliæ Notitia et Lustratio*, and *Rotula Regis*.

Use of
Domesday
Book.

The name.

A document so important cannot be presented with too much particularity in a County History, and the following literal transcript from this "Book of Judicial Verdict," so far as it regards the county of Lancaster, is therefore accompanied by a translation.*

* The Latin version is a copy from the Domesday Book, published under the direction of his Majesty's Commissioners of Public Records; and the English translation is from the pen of the Rev. William Bawdwen, with a few verbal corrections.

INT⁴ RIPA 7 MERSHAM.*TERRĀ INFRA SCRIPTĀ TENVIT ROGERI^o PICTAVENSIS.*INTER RIPĀ 7 MERSHAM.**IN DERBEI HVNDRET.**I*BI Habuit Rex EDWARD^o uñ *DERBEI* nominatū.cū .vi. Bereunich. Ibi .iiii. hida⁴. Tra .ē. xv. car⁴. Foresta.ii. leuū lǣ. 7 una lat⁴. 7 aira Accipitris.Vctred^o tenb. vi. Maner. Rabil Chenulueslei. CherchebiCrosebi. Magele. Achetun. Ibi .ii. hida⁴Siluæ. ii. leuū lǣ. 7 lat⁴. 7 ii. airæ accipitr⁴.Dot teneb Hitune 7 Torboc. Ibi .i. hida q'eta ab oñi c̅suetud⁴ præ⁴
geld. Tra .ē. iii. cañ. Valb. xx. soł. *Redde⁴b. iii. solid.*Bernulf teneb Stochestede. Ibi .i. uirg⁴ træ 7 dimid⁴ caruc⁴ træ.Stainulf tenb Stochestede. Ibi .i. virg⁴ tre. 7 dimid⁴ car⁴ tre. VlbQuinq⁴ taini tenb Sextone. Ibi .i. hida. Valb. xvi. soł. [iii. soł.Vctred^o tenb Chirchedele. Ibi dimid⁴ hida q'eta ab oñi c̅suetud⁴
p̅t⁴ geld. Valb. x. solid. [viii. soł.Winestan teneb Waletone. Ibi .ii. car⁴ tre 7 iii. bouata⁴. ValbElmæ⁴r tenb Liderlant. Ibi dimid⁴ hida. Valb. viii. soł.Tres taini teneb Hinne p. iii. *DERBEI*. Ibi dimid⁴ hida. Valb. viii. soł.Ascha tenb Torentun. Ibi dimid⁴ hida. Valb. viii. soł.Tres taini tenb *MELE*. p. iii. maner. ^{Ibi dimid⁴ hida.} Valb. viii. soł.Vctred tenb Vluentune. Ibi .ii. car⁴ træ. 7 dimid⁴ leuū siluæ.Edelmund^o teneb *ESMEDVNE*. Ibi una [Valb. lxii. den⁴.car⁴ træ. Valb. xxxii. denar⁴. [viii. soł.Tres taini teneb Alretune. p. iii. *DERBEI*. Ibi dimid⁴ hida. ValbVctred tenb Spec. Ibi .ii. caruc⁴ træ. Valb. lxxiii. denar⁴.Quattuor radmans tenb Cildeuuelle p. iii. *DERBEI*. Ibi dimid⁴hida. Valb. viii. soł. Ibi p̅tr erat hñs dimid⁴ car⁴ træ in elemos⁴.Vlb̅t tenb Wibaldeslei. Ibi .ii. caruc⁴ træ. Valb. lxxiii. den⁴.Duo taini teneb Vuetone p. ii. *DERBEI*. Ibi .i. car⁴ træ. Vlb. xxx. den⁴.

* This Survey is inserted under the head CESTRESCIRE, fo. 269 b.

ROGER DE POICTOU

CHAP.
III.

HELD THE FOLLOWING LANDS BETWEEN THE RIBBLE AND THE MERSEY.

In Derby Hundred.

King Edward (the Confessor) had there one manor called *Derbei*, with six *Bere-nicks*. There are four hides, land to (or sufficient to employ) fifteen ploughs; a forest two miles long and one broad; and an aerie of Hawks.

Uetred held six manors, *Rabil* (ROBY), *Chenuleslei* (KNOWSLEY), *Cherchebi* (KIRKBY), *Crosebi* (CROSBY), *Magele* (MAGHULL), and *Achetun* (AUGHTON). There were two hides of land: a wood two miles, &c. and two aeries of hawks.

Dot held *Hitune* (HUYTON) and *Torboc* (TORBOCK): there was one hide discharged from the payment of all customary duties except geldam, or (danegeld.) There is land to four ploughs, and it was worth twenty shillings.

Bernulf held *Stochestede* (TOXTETH). There was one virgate of land and half a plough: it paid four shillings.

Stainulf held *Stochestede* (TOXTETH). There is one virgate of land and half a carucate or plough land: it was worth four shillings.

Five Thanes held *Sextone* (SEFTON). There is one hide: it was worth sixteen shillings.

Uctred held *Chirchedele* (KIRKDALE). There is half a hide quit from all custom except the tax: it was worth ten shillings.

Winestan held *Waletone* (WALTON). There are two carucates of land and three borates: it was worth eight shillings.

Elmær held *Liderlant* (LITHERLAND). There was half a hide: it was worth eight shillings.

Three Thanes held *Hinne* (INCE BLUNDELL) for three manors. There is half a hide: it was worth eight shillings.

Ascha held *Torentun* (THORNTON). There is half a hide: it was worth eight shillings.

Three Thanes held *Mele* (MEOLS) for three manors. There is half a hide: it was worth eight shillings.

Uetred held *Uluentune* (WOOLTON). There are two carucates of land, and half a mile of wood: it was worth sixty-four pence.

Edelmund held *Esmedune* (SMEDONE, now LIVERPOOL, or LITHERPOLE). There is one carucate of land: it was worth thirty-two pence.

Three Thanes held *Alretune* (ALLERTON) for three manors. There is half a hide: it was worth eight shillings.

Uctred held *Spee* (SPEKE). There are two carucates of land: it was worth sixty-four pence.

Four Radmans, or Knight Riders, held *Cildenuelle* (CHILDWALL) for four manors. There is half a hide: it was worth eight shillings.—There was a priest there having half a carucate of land, held in alms.

Ulbert held *Wibaldelei* (WINSTANLEY). There are two carucates of land: it was worth sixty-four pence.

Two Thanes held *Uetone* (WOOLTON) for two manors. There is one carucate of land: it was worth thirty pence.

Leuing⁹ tenb Wauretreu . Ibi . ii . caruc⁴ træ . Valb . LXIII . den⁴.

Quattuor taini tenb Boltelai p . iii . $\overline{M}$. Ibi . ii . car⁴ træ .

Valb . LXIII . den⁴ . Pbr habb . i . car⁴ træ ad æcciam Waletone .

Vctred teneb Achetun . Ibi . i . car⁴ træ . Valb . xxxii . denaif .

Tres taini tenb Fornebei . p . iii . $\overline{M}$. Ibi . iii . car⁴ træ . Valb

Tres taini teneb Emuluesdel . Ibi . ii . car⁴ træ . [x . sol⁴ .

Valb . LXIII . denar⁴ .

Stemulf tenb Hoiland . Ibi . ii . car⁴ træ . Valb . LXIII . den⁴ .

Vctred teneb Daltone . Ibi . i . caruc⁴ tre . Valb . xxxii . denar⁴ .

Isd Vctred *SCHELMERESDELE* . Ibi . i . car⁴ træ . Valb . xxxii . den⁴ .

Isd Vctred tenb Literland . Ibi . i . caruc⁴ træ . Valb . xxxii . den⁴ .

Wibt⁹ tenb *ERENGERMELES* . Ibi . ii . car⁴ træ . Valb . viii . sol⁴ .

H̄ tra q'eta fuit p̄t geld.

Quinq⁹ taini tenb Otegrimele . Ibi dim⁴ hida . Valb . x . sol⁴ .

Vctred⁹ tenb *LATVNE* . cū . i . bereuuich . Ibi dimid⁴ hida .

Silua . i . leuū lǵ . 7 dimid⁴ lat . Valb . x . sol⁴ 7 viii . denar⁴ .

Vctred tenb Hirletun 7 dimid⁴ Merretun . Ibi dim⁴ hida .

Valb . x . sol⁴ . 7 viii . denar⁴ . ∇ 7 dimid⁴ leuū lať . Valb . x . sol⁴ .

Godeue tenb Melinge . Ibi . ii . car⁴ træ . Silua . i . leuū lǵ .

Vctred tenb Leiate . Ibi . vi . bouat⁴ træ . Silua . i . leuū lǵ .

7 ii . q̄z^a lat⁴ . Valb . LXIII . denaif . ∇ . ii . solid⁴ .

Duo taini tenb . vi . bouat⁴ træ p . ii . $\overline{M}$ in Holand . Valb

Vctred teneb Acrer . Ibi dimid⁴ car⁴ træ . Wasta fuit .

Teos teneb Bartune . Ibi . i . caruc⁴ træ . Valb . xxxii . den⁴ .

Chetel teneb Heleshale . Ibi . ii . caruc⁴ træ . Valb . viii . sol⁴ .

∇ Om̄s h̄ tra geldať . 7 xv . Maner^a . nil reddeť nisi geld R.E.

Hoc $\overline{M}$ Derbei cū his supdictis hid reddeť regi . E.

de firma . xxvi . liť 7 ii . solid⁴ . Ex his . iii . hida erat

libere . quař censū pdonauit teinis qui eas teneť .

Istæ reddeť . iii . liť . 7 xiiii . solid⁴ . 7 viii . denaif .

Om̄s isti taini habueť ċsuetud^a redde . ii . oras denarioz

de unaq⁹ caruc⁴ træ . 7 facieť p ċsuetud^a domos regis

Leningus held *Wauoretren* (WAVERTREE). There are two carucates of land : it was worth sixty-four pence.

Four Thanes held *Bottelai* (BOOTLE) as four manors. There are two carucates of land : it was worth sixty-four pence.—A priest had a carucate of land belonging to the church of *Waletone* (WALTON).

Uctred held *Achetun* (ASHTON or AUGHTON). There is a carucate of land : it was worth thirty-two pence.

Three Thanes held *Fornebei* (FORMBY) as three manors. There are four carucates of land : it was worth ten shillings.

Three Thanes held *Emuluesdel* (AINSDALE). There are two carucates of land : it was worth sixty-four pence.

Stemulf held *Hoiland* (HOLLAND). There are two carucates of land : it was worth sixty-four pence.

Uctred held *Daltone* (DALTON). There is one carucate of land : it was worth thirty-two pence.

The same *Uctred* held *Schelmeresdele* (SKELMERSDALE). There is one carucate of land : it was worth thirty-two pence.

The same *Uctred* held *Literland* (LITHERLAND). There is one carucate of land : it was worth thirty-two pence.

Wibert held *Erengermeles* (RAVENS MEOLS). There are two carucates of land : it was worth eight shillings. This land was exempt from all duties except danegeld.

Five Thanes held *Otegrimele* (ORRELL). There is half a hide : it was worth ten shillings.

Uctred held *Latune* (LYTHAM) with one berewick. There is half a hide of land : wood one mile long and half a mile broad : it was worth ten shillings and eight pence.

Uctred held *Hirletun* (TARLETON) and half of *Merretun* (MARTIN). There is half a hide : it was worth ten shillings and eight pence.

Godeue held *Melinge* (MELLING). There are two carucates of land ; wood one mile long, and half a mile broad : it was worth ten shillings.

Uctred held *Leiate* (LIDIATE). There are six bovates of land ; wood one mile long, and two quarentens broad : it was worth sixty-four pence.

Two Thanes held six bovates of land for two manors in *Holand* (HOLLAND). The value was two shillings.

Uctred held *Acrer* (ALTCAR). There is half a carucate of land : it was waste.

Teos held *Bartune* (BARTON). There is one carucate of land : it was worth thirty-two pence.

Chetel held *Heleshale* (HALSALL). There are two carucates of land : it was worth eight shillings.

All this land was liable to pay danegeld ; and fifteen manors paid *King Edward* nothing but danegeld.

This manor of *Derbei* (WEST DERBY), with the hides above-mentioned, paid *King Edward* for rent twenty-six pounds two shillings ; of these, three hides were exempt, the rent of which was granted to the thanes that held them ; these paid four pounds fourteen shillings and eight-pence.

All these thanes were accustomed to pay two ores of pennies for each carucate of land : and by custom they built the king's houses with their appurtenances, as the

CHAP.
III.

7 quæ ibi p̃tineb̃ siċ uiffi . 7 piscarias . 7 in silua haias
7 stabilituras . 7 qui ad hæc n̄ ibat q̃do debet̃ . ii . sol̃ eĩdab̃.
7 postea ad op̃^o uenieb̃ 7 opabat̃ donec p̃fēc̃ erat.
Vñ^o quisq; eoꝝ uno die in Augusto mitteb̃ messorēs
suos secare segetes regis . Si non :^o p . ii . sol̃ eĩdabat.
¶ Siq̃s lib̃ hō faceret furtū . Aut forestel aut heinfara.
aut pacē regis infringeb̃ :^o xl . sol̃ eĩdabat.

¶ Siq̃s facieb̃ sanguinē aut raptū de femina . uel^{qui} ire
maneb̃ de siremot sine rationabili excusatione :^o
p . x . solid̃ eĩdab̃. ¶ Si de Hund remaneb̃ . aut n̄ ibat
ad placit̃ ubi p̃posit^o iubeb̃ :^o p . v . sol̃ eĩdab̃.
¶ Si cui iubeb̃ in suū seruitiū ire 7 n̄ ibat :^o iii . sol̃ eĩdab̃.
¶ Siq̃s de tra regis recede uoleb̃ . dab̃ . xl . sol̃ 7 ibat quo uoleb̃.
¶ Siq̃s tra patris sui mortui habē uoleb̃ :^o xl . solid̃ releuabat.
¶ Qui uoleb̃ : 7 tra 7 om̃em pecuniā patris mortui rex habeb̃.
¶ Vetred^o tenuit Crosebi 7 Chirchedele p . i . hida . 7 erat q̃eta
ab om̃i c̃suetud̃ p̃t̃ has . vi . pace infracta . Forestel . Heinfara .
7 pugna quā^{post} sacram̃tū factū remaneb̃ . 7 si constrict^o iusticia
p̃positi alicui debīt solueb̃ . 7^{si} t̃minū a p̃posito dat̃ n̄ attendeb̃.
¶ H̃ p . xl . sol̃ eĩdab̃ . Geldū ū regis siċ hōēs patriæ solueb̃.
¶ In Otringemele 7 Herleshala . 7 Hiretun . erant . iii . hidaē q̃eta
a geldo carucatai^o tra . 7 a forisfactura sanguinis . 7 femine
uolentia . Alias ū c̃suetud̃ reddeb̃ om̃s.

De isto ^o DERBEI teñ modo dono Rog̃ pictaū hi hōēs tra .
Goisfrid^o . ii . hid̃ 7 dimid̃ car̃ . Roger^o . i . hid̃ 7 dimid̃ . Wills unā
hid̃ 7 dimid̃ . Warin^o dimid̃ hid̃ . Goisfrid^o . i . hid̃ . Tetbald^o hidā
7 dimid̃ . Robert^o . ii . car̃ tra . Gislebt^o . i . caruc̃ tra .
Hi h̃nt in dñio . iii . car̃ . 7 xlvi . uiffi . 7 i . radmian 7 lxii . bord̃ .
7 ii . seruos 7 iii . anciffi . Int̃ om̃s h̃nt . xxiiii . car̃ .
Silua eoꝝ . iii . leuū 7 dim̃ long̃ . 7 i . leuū 7 dim̃ 7 xl . ptic̃ latit̃ .
7 ibi . iii . airæ accipitr̃ .

villains did ; and at the fisheries, and at the hays and stands (the fences and stalls) in the wood ; and whosoever did not attend this service when he ought was fined two shillings, and afterwards was obliged to attend and to work till the business was completed : every one of them moreover sent their reapers for one day in August to cut the king's corn, and if he failed he was amerced in two shillings.

If any freeman committed a theft, obstructed the way, enticed a servant away, or broke the king's peace, he was fined forty shillings.

If any one wounded a person, or ravished a woman, or absented himself from the shire mote without a reasonable excuse, he was fined ten shillings.

If he absented himself from the hundred court, or went not to the place of pleading directed by the proper officer, he forfeited five shillings.

If he ordered a person to go upon a service, and he did not, he was fined four shillings.

If any one had a mind to withdraw himself from the king's land, he gave 40s. and then he was at liberty to go where he would.

If any one had a mind, on the death of his father, to succeed to his land, he paid a relief of forty shillings.

If he was not inclined, then the king had the land and all the money of the father deceased.

Uctred held *Crosemi* (CROSBY) and *Chirchedele* (KIRKDALE) for one hide, and it was exempt from all forfeitures but these six—breach of peace, obstructing the way, inveigling of servants, desertion after enlisting, and if the sheriff had adjudged a debt to be paid at a certain day, and the defendant did not keep the time given him, he was to be amerced forty shillings. As for danegeld, this they paid like other men of the country.

In *Otringemele* (ORRELL) and *Herleshala* (HALSALL) and *Hiretun* (EVERTON), there were three hides exempt from paying danegeld, fine for wounding and for rape ; but they were liable to other customs.

By the grant of *Roger de Poicton*, the following men now hold the land of this manor of *Derbei* :—*Goisfrid* held two hides and half a carucate, *Roger* one hide and a half, *William* one hide and a half, *Warin* half a hide, *Goisfrid* one hide, *Tetbald* one hide and a half, *Robert* two carucates of land, *Gislebert* one carucate of land. These have four carucates in demesne, and forty-six villains, and one radman, and sixty-two bordars, and two bondmen and three bondwomen ; they have twenty-four carucates amongst them : their wood is three miles and a half long, and one mile and a half and forty perches broad ; and there are three acres of hawks. The

Toť ualet. viii. liþ 7 xii. soť. *✓* In unaq̃q̃ hida. sun. vi. caruc̃ træ.
Dñium ũ huj̃^o *Ṿ* qđ teneþ Rogeri^o. uat. viii. liþ. Sun ibi m̃ in
dñio. iii. cař 7 vi. bouar. 7 un^o radman 7 vii. uilli.

In *NEWETON*. T.R.E. fueř. v. hidæ. *IN NEWETON HD.*

Ex his una erat in dñio. *Æcc̃la* ipsi^o *Ṿ* habeþ. i. caruc̃ træ.
7 S̃cs Osuuold^o de ipsa uilla. ii. caruc̃ tre habeþ q̃etas p̃ oĩa.
Huj̃^o *Ṿ* aliā tram. xv. hōēs quos drenchs uocabant p̃. xv. *Ṿ*.
teneþ. sed huj̃^o *Ṿ* bereuic̃h erant. 7 int̃ oīs xxx. solid̃ redd̃b.
Silua ibi. x. leuū l̃g̃. 7 vi. leuū 7 ii. q̃rent̃ lat̃. 7 ibi airæ accipit̃.
Huj̃^o *HVND* hōēs liþi p̃t̃. ii. era^{os} in ead̃ c̃suetud̃ qua hōēs derberiaē.
7 plus illis. ii. dieb̃ in Augusto meteba^{os} in culturis regis.
Illi duo habeþ. v. carucat̃ træ. 7 forisfacturā sanguinis 7 feminaē
uiolentiā passæ. 7 pasnagiū suoꝝ hominū. Alias habeþ rex.
Toť hoc *Ṿ* reddet̃ de firma regi. x. liþ. 7 x. solid̃.

Modo sunt ibi. vi. drenghs. 7 xii. uilli 7 iii. bord̃. Int̃ oīs. ix. cař
h̃nt. Valet. iii. liþ. hoc dñium. *IN WALINTVNE HVND.*

Rex. E. tenuit *WALINTVNE*. cū. iii. Bereuic̃h. Ibi. i. hida.

Ad ipsū *Ṿ* ptineþ. xxxiiii. drengh. 7 totid̃ *Ṿ* habeþ.

In quib̃ erant xl. ii. carucataē træ. 7 una hida 7 dimidia.

S̃cs Elfin teneþ. i. caruc̃ træ q̃etā ab oī c̃suetud̃ p̃t̃ geldū.

Toť *Ṿ* cū *HVND* reddet̃ regi de firma. xv. liþ. ii. soť min^o.

Modo sunt in dñio. ii. cař. 7 viii. hōēs cū. i. cař.

Hōēs isti teñ ibi trā. Roger^o. i. caruc̃ træ. Tetbald^o. carucat̃
7 dimid̃. Warin^o. i. cař. Radulf^o. v. cař. Wilts. ii. hid̃ 7 iii. cař træ.
Adelard^o. i. hid̃ 7 dimid̃ caruc̃. Osmund^o. i. cař træ.

Vat hoc toť. iii. liþ 7 x. soť. Dñium uat. iii. liþ 7 x. soť.

Rex. E. tenuit *BLACHEBVRNE*. Ibi. ii. hidæ *IN BLACHEBVRN*^[HVND.]
7 ii. caruc̃ træ. *Æcc̃la* habeþ habeþ. ii. bouatas de hac tra. *✓* c̃suetud̃.
7 æcc̃la S' MARIE habeþ in Wallei. ii. caruc̃ træ. q̃etas ab oī
In eod̃ *Ṿ* Silua. i. leuū l̃g̃. 7 tntd̃ lat̃. 7 ibi erat aira accipitris.

Ad hoc *Ṿ* uel *HVND*. adjaceþ. xxviii. liþi hōēs. tenentes
v. hid̃ 7 dimid̃ 7 xl. carucat̃ træ p̃. xxviii. Manerijs.

whole is worth eight pounds twelve shillings : in each hide there are six carucates of land.

The demesne of this manor, held by *Roger*, is worth eight pounds. There are now in demesne three ploughs, six neatherds, one radman, and seven villains.

In Newton Hundred.

In the time of *King Edward* (the *Confessor*) there were five hides in *Newton* (NEWTON): one of these was held in demesne. The church of this manor had one carucate of land : and *Saint Oswald* of this village had two carucates exempt from all taxation.

Fifteen men called *Drenchs* held the other land of this manor for fifteen manors ; but they were berewicks of this manor, and they paid altogether thirty shillings. There is wood ten miles long, and six miles and two quarentens broad ; and there are aeries of hawks.

The freemen of this hundred, except two, had the same customs as the men of *Derbei*: they reaped the king's fields two days more in August. Those two had five carucates of land, and the forfeiture for bloodshed and ravishment, and the homage of their tenants or vassals—the king had the others.—The whole manor of *Newton* paid to the king ten pounds ten shillings. There are six drenghs, twelve villains, and four bordars: amongst them they had nine carucates or ploughs. This demesne is valued at four pounds.

In Warrington Hundred.

King Edward held *Walintune* (WARRINGTON) with three berewicks, and there is one hide. To this manor belonged thirty-four drenghs, and they had as many manors : in these there were forty-two carucates of land, and one hide and a half. *Saint Elfin* held one carucate of land, free from all custom but danegeld. The whole manor and hundred paid to the king for rent fifteen pounds save two shillings. There are now two ploughs in the demesne, and eight vassals with one plough.

The following held land there, viz. *Roger* one carucate of land, *Tetbald* one carucate and a half, *Warin* one carucate, *Radulf* five carucates, *William* two hides and four carucates, *Adelard* one hide and half a carucate, *Osmund* one carucate of land. The whole of this is valued at four pounds ten shillings ; the demesne at three pounds ten shillings.

In Blackburn Hundred.

King Edward held *Blacheburne* (BLACKBURN). There are two hides and two carucates of land : the church had two bovates of this land ; and the church of St. Mary's had in *Whalley* two carucates of land, free from all custom. In the same manor there is a wood one mile in length and the same in breadth, and there was an aerie of hawks.—To this manor or hundred belonged twenty-eight freemen, holding five hides and a half and forty carucates of land for twenty-eight manors adjoining.

Silua ibi .vi. leuū lǵ. 7 iii. leuū lat. 7 erax in supdictis
c̃suetudinibꝫ.

In cod̃ HVND habebꝫ rex . E . Hunnicot de . ii . car̃ tre . 7 Wale
tune de . ii . car̃ . traē . 7 Peniltune de dimid hida.

Tot̃ M̃ cū HVND reddebꝫ regi de firma . xxxii . lib 7 ii . solid.

Hanc trā totā ded Rogerius pictaensis Rogerio de Busli.

7 Albto Greslet . 7 ibi sunt tot hōēs qui hnt . xi . car̃ 7 dimid.
quos ipsi c̃cesser̃ . c̃c̃ . q̃etos usqꝫ ad . iii . annos . 7 idō n̄ app̃ciat̃ m̃.

Rex . E . tenuit *SALFORD* . Ibi . iii . hidæ . *IN SALFORD HVND* .

7 xii . caruc̃ traē Wastæ . 7 Foresta . iii . leuū lǵ . 7 tntd lat.

7 ibi plures haiaē 7 aira accipitris. [ad Salford.

Radecline tenebꝫ rex . E . p̃ M̃ . Ibi . i . hida . 7 alia hid̃ ptineñ

Æcc̃la S' MARIE . 7 æcc̃la S' Michael̃ tenebꝫ in Mamecestre.

unā caruc̃ traē . q̃etā ab omī c̃suetud̃ p̃t geld.

Ad hoc M̃ uel HVND ptinebꝫ . xxi . bereuic̃h . tenebꝫ

totid̃ taini p̃ totid̃ Maner̃ . In quibꝫ erax . xi . hidæ 7 dimid.

7 x . caruc̃ traē 7 dimid.

Siluaē ibi . ix . leuū 7 dim̃ lǵ . 7 v . leuū 7 una q̃rent̃ lat.

Vn^o eoꝝ Gamel tenen' . ii . hid̃ in Recedhā . habebꝫ suas c̃sue

tudines q̃etas . p̃ter . vi . has . Furtū . Heinfare . Forestel.

Pacē^{regis} infractā . t̃minū fractū aṗposito stabilitū . pugnā

post sacraṁtū factū remanentē . H̃ em̃dat̃ . xl . solid.

Aliquæ harū trarū erax q̃etæ ab omī c̃suetud̃ p̃t geld.

7 aliq̃tæ a geldo sux q̃etæ.

Tot̃ M̃ Salford cū HVND reddebꝫ . xxx.vii . lib 7 iii . sol.

Modo sunt in M̃ in dñio . ii . car̃ . 7 viii . serui . 7 ii . uifl̃ cū . i . car̃ .

Valet . c . solid hoc dñium.

De hac tra huj^o M̃ teñ milites dono Rogerij pictaū.

Nigellus . iii . hid̃ . 7 dimid caruc̃ traē . Warin^o . ii . car̃ traē .

7 alt̃ Warin^o . i . caruc̃ 7 dimid . Goisfrid^o . i . caruc̃ traē . Gamel

. ii . car̃ traē . In his sunt . iii . taini . 7 xxx . uifl̃^{7 ix . bord'} 7 p̃br 7 x .

serui . Int̃ om̃s hnt̃ . xxii . car̃ . Valet . vii . lib̃ .

There is wood six miles long and four broad, and there were the above-said customs.

In the same hundred *King Edward* had *Hunnicot* (HUNCOTE) with two carucates of land, *Waletone* (WALTON) with two carucates of land, *Peniltune* (PENDLETON) half a hide. The whole manor, with the hundred, paid to the king for rent thirty-two pounds two shillings.

Roger de Poitou gave all this land to *Roger de Busli* and *Albert Greslet*, and there are as many men who have eleven carucates and a half; they allowed these to be exempt for three years, and therefore they are not rated.

En Salford Hundred.

King Edward held *Salford*. There were three hides and twelve carucates of waste land; forest three miles long and the same broad; and there are many hedges, and an aerie of hawks.

Edward held *Radecline* (RADCLIFFE) for a manor. There is one hide, and another belonging to *Salford*. The church of St. Mary's and the church of St. Michael's held in *Manecestre* (MANCHESTER) one carucate of land, free from all duties or rents except danegeld.

To this manor or hundred there belonged twenty-one berewicks, which were held by as many thanes for as many manors; in which there were eleven hides and a half and ten carucates and a half of land, with wood nine miles and a half long, and five and a quarenten broad.

One of these thanes, called *Gamel*, holding two hides of land in *Recedham*, (ROCHDALE), had them free from all duties but the following six, viz. theft, inveigling of servants, obstructing the king's road, breach of peace, removal of boundary, and desertion after enlisting; the fines for these offences were forty shillings. The rest of these lands were free from all customs except danegeld, and they are partly free from danegeld.

The whole manor with the hundred of *Salford*, paid thirty-seven pounds four shillings. There are now in the manor, in the demesne, two carucates and eight bondmen, and two villains with one carucate. This demesne is valued at a hundred shillings.

The knights hold the land of this manor by the gift of *Roger de Poitou*: *Nigel* three hides and half a carucate of land, *Warin* two carucates, and another *Warin* one carucate and a half, *Goisfrid* one carucate, *Gamel* two carucates. In these lands there are three thanes and thirty villains, nine bordars, one priest, and ten bondmen: amongst them they had twenty-two carucates. It is valued at seven pounds.

Rex . E . tenuit *LAILAND* . Ibi . i . hida *IN LAILAND HVND* .
 7 ii . caruc⁴ træ . Silua . ii . leuu⁴ lǣ . 7 una lat⁴ . 7 aira Accipitr⁴ .
 Ad hoc $\overline{\text{M}}$ ptineb^{car⁴} . xii . træ quas teneb⁴ . xii . hōēs libi pro
 totið Maner⁷ . In his . vi . hidæ . 7 viii . caruc⁴ træ .
 Siluæ ibi . vi . leuu⁴ lǣ . 7 iii . leuu⁴ 7 una qrent^a lat⁴ .
 Hōēs huj⁹ $\overline{\text{M}}$ 7 de Salford ñ opabant^o p c̄suetud ad aulā regis .
 neq³ meteban^o in Augusto . Tantū . i . haiā in silua facieb⁴ .
 7 habeb⁴ sanguinis forisfacturā . 7 feminæ passæ uiolent⁴ .
 De alijs c̄suetudinib³ alioz supioz Manerioz era^N c̄sortes .
 Toť $\overline{\text{M}}$ Lailand cū *HVND* reddeb⁴ de firma regi . xix . lib⁴ .
 7 xviii . solid⁴ 7 ii . denar⁴ .
De hac tra huj⁹ $\overline{\text{M}}$ ten⁴ Girard⁹ hid⁴ 7 dimid⁴ . Robt⁹ . iii . car⁴ træ .
 Radulf⁹ . ii . car træ . Roger⁹ . ii . car træ . Walter⁹ . i . car træ .
 Ibi sunt . iii . radmans . p̄br 7 xiiii . uifli 7 vi . bord⁴ . 7 ii . bouar⁴ .
 Int⁴ oīs hūt . viii . cař . Silua . iii . leuu⁴ lǣ . 7 ii . leuu⁴ lat⁴ .
 7 ibi . iii . airæ Accipitrū . Valet toť . l . solid⁴ . Ex parte . c̄ wasta .
Rex . E . tenuit *PENEVERDANT* . Ibi . ii . car⁴ træ . 7 reddb⁴ . x . den⁴ .
 Modo . c̄ ibi castellū . 7 ii . cař sunt in dñio . 7 vi . burg̃ses . 7 iii .
 radmans . 7 viii . uifli 7 iii . bouar⁴ . Int⁴ oīs hūt . iii . cař . Ibi
 dimid piscaria . Silua 7 airæ accipitrū . siċ T.R.E . Val . iii . lib⁴ .
In his . vi . *HVND* Derby Neutone Walintune . Blacheburne
 Salford 7 Lailand sunt . c . qt . xx^{a⁴ ti⁷ octo} Manerij . In qib³ sunt
 qt^{a⁷ ti} xx . hidæ geld una min⁹ .
 T.R.E . ualb⁴ . cxlv . lib⁴ 7 ii . solid⁴ 7 ii . denar⁴ .
 Q'do Rogeri⁹ pictauensis de rege recep̄⁹ ualb⁴ . cxx . lib⁴ .
 Modo tenet Rex . 7 hť in dñio . xii . cař . 7 ix . milites
 feudū tenentes . Int⁴ eos 7 eoř hōēs . sunt . cxv . car⁴ 7 iii . boues .
 Dñium qđ tenuit Rogerius⁹ app̄ciat⁹ . xxiii . lib⁴ 7 x . solid⁴ .
 Qđ dedit militib³ . xx lib⁴ 7 xi . solid⁴ app̄ciatur .

En Leyland Hundred.

King Edward held *Leyland*, where he had one hide and two carucates of land, a wood two miles long and one broad, and an aerie of hawks. To this manor belonged twelve carucates of land, which twelve freemen held as twelve manors : in these are six hides and eight carucates: there are woods six miles long, and three and a quarenten broad. The men of this manor and of *Salford* did not work as customary for the king at the hall, nor did they reap in August ; they only made one hedge in the wood : they were subject to fines for wounding and rape, and had all the other customs of the other superior manors. The whole of the manor of *Leyland*, with the hundred, rendered to the king nineteen pounds eighteen shillings and two pence. Of the land in this manor *Girard* holds one hide and a half, *Robert* three carucates, *Radulph* two carucates, *Roger* two carucates, *Walter* one carucate. There are four radmans, a priest, and fourteen villains, and six bordars, and two neatherds : between them they have eight carucates, wood three miles long and two miles broad, and four aeries of hawks. The whole is worth fifty shillings—part is waste land.

King Edward held *Peneverdant* (PENWORTHAM), where there are two carucates of land, which rendered ten pence. There is now a castle there ; and there are two carucates in the demesne, six burgesses, three radmans, eight villains, and four neatherds ; between all they have four carucates ; there is half a fishery, a wood, and aeries of hawks. As in the time of *King Edward* it is valued at three pounds.

In these six hundreds, *Derby*, *Newton*, *Warrington*, *Blackburn*, *Salford*, and *Leyland*, there are one hundred fourscore and eight manors, in which there are fourscore hides, save one, to be taxed. In the time of *King Edward* they were valued at one hundred and forty-five pounds two shillings and two pence. When *Roger de Poictou* received them from the king, they were valued at one hundred and twenty pounds. The king now holds them, and has in the demesne twelve carucates, and nine knights holding a fee : between them and their vassals there are one hundred and fifteen carucates and three oxen. The demesne which *Roger* held is valued at twenty-three pounds ten shillings, and what he gave to the knights at twenty pounds eleven shillings.

*AGEMVNDRENESSE.**

In *PRESTVNE*. comes Tosti. vi. car ad gld. Ibi ptin⁴ he træ.
 Estun. Lea. Saleuic. Clistun. Neutune. Frecheltun. Rigbi.
 Chicheham. Treueles. Westbi. Pluntun. Widetun. Pres. Wartun.
 Lidun. Meretun. Latun. Staininghe. Carlentun. Biscopham.
 Rushale. Brune. Torentun. Poltun. Singletun. Grencholf.
 Eglestun. alia Eglestun. Edelesuic. Inscip. Sorbi. Aschebi.
 Michelescherche. Catrehala. Clactune. Neuhuse. Pluntun.
 Broctun. Witingheham. Bartun. Gusansarghe. Halctun.
 Trelefelt. Watelei. Chipinden. Actun. Fiscuic. Grimesarge.
 Ribelcastre. Bilenurde. Suenesat. Fortune. Crimeles. Che
 restanc. Rodeclif. alia Rodeclif. tcia Rodeclif. Hameltune.
 Stalmine. Pressouede. Midehope.

Oms hæ uille iacent ad Prestune. 7 III. ecclæ. Ex his. xvi.
 a paucis incolunt. s; quot sint habitantes ignoratur.
 Reliqua sunt wasta. Rog pict⁴ habuit.

IIn *HALTVN*. habuit — comes Tosti. vi. car⁴ træ ad gld.
 In Aldeclif. Tiernun. Hillun. Loncastre. Chercaloncastre.
 Hotun. Neutun. Ouretun. Middeltun. Hietune. Hessam.
 Oxeneclif. Poltune. Toredholme. Schertune. Bare. Sline.
 Bodeltone. Chellet. Stopeltierne. Neuhuse. Chrenecforde.
 Oms hæ uillæ ptin⁴ ad Haltune.

IIIn *WITETVNE*. hñb comes Tosti. vi. car⁴ tre ad gld.
 In Neutune. Ergune. Ghersinctune. Hotun. Cantesfelt.
 Irebi. Borch. Lech. Boretune. Bernulfesuic. Inglestune.
 Castretune. Berebrune. Sedberge. Tiernebi.
 Oms hæ millæ ptin⁴ ad Witetune.

* This Survey is inserted under the head EVRVICSCIRE, fo. 301 b. and 302 a.

Amounderness, under Ewric-scire.CHAP.
III.

In *Prestvne* (PRESTON) *Earl Tosti* had six carucates to be taxed. These lands belong thereto:—

Estun (ASHTON) two carucates; *Lea* (LEA) one carucate; *Salewuc* (SALWICK) one carucate; *Cliston* (CLIFTON) two carucates; *Neutune* (NEWTON) two carucates; *Frecheltun* (FRECKELTON) four carucates; *Rigbi* (RIBBY) six carucates.

Chicheham (KIRKHAM) four carucates; *Treueles* (TREALES) two carucates; *Westbi* (WESTBY) two carucates; *Pluntun* (PLUMPTON) two carucates; *Widetun* (WEETON) three carucates; *Pres* (PREESE) two carucates; *Wartun* (WARTON) four carucates.

Lidun (LYTHAM) two carucates; *Meretun* (MARTON) six carucates; *Latun* (LAYTON) six carucates; *Staininghe* (STAINING) six carucates; *Carlentun* (CARLTON) four carucates; *Biscopham* (BISPHAM) eight carucates.

Rushule (ROSSALL) two carucates; *Brune* (BRINING) two carucates; *Torentun* (THORNTON) six carucates; *Poltun* (POULTON) two carucates; *Singleton* (SINGLETON) six carucates; *Grencholf* (GREENHALGH) three carucates.

Eglestun (ECCLESTON) four carucates; another *Eglestun* (ECCLESTON) two carucates; *Edelesuic* (ELSWICK) three carucates; *Inscip* (INKSIP) two carucates; *Sorbi* (SOWERBY) one carucate; *Aschebi* (NATEBY) one carucate.

Michelescherche or *Michael's Church*, one carucate; *Catrehala* (CATTERALL) two carucates; *Clactune* (CLAUGHTON) two carucates; *Neuhuse* (NEWSHAM) one carucate; *Pluntun* (PLUMPTON) five carucates.

Brocton (BROUGHTON) one carucate; *Witingheham* (WHITTINGHAM) two carucates; *Bartun* (BARTON) three carucates; *Gusansarghe* (GOOSNARCH) one carucate; *Halctun* (HAIGHTON) one carucate.

Trelefelt (THRELFIELD) one carucate; *Watelei* (WHALLEY) one carucate; *Chipinden* (CHIPPING) three carucates; *Aetun* (ALSTON) one carucate; *Fiscuic* (FISHWICK) one carucate; *Grimesarge* (GRIMSAY) two carucates.

Ribelcastre (RIBCHESTER) two carucates; *Bileurde* (BILLSBOROUGH) two carucates; *Suenesat* (SWAINSET) one carucate; *Fortune* (FORTON) one carucate; *Crimeles* (CRIMBLES) one carucate; *Cherestanc* (GARSTANG) six carucates; *Rodecliff* (RAWCLIFFE) two carucates; another *Rodeclif* (RAWCLIFFE) two carucates; a third *ditto*, three carucates; *Hameltune* (HAMBLETON) two carucates.

Stalmine (STALMIN) four carucates; *Pressouede* (PREESALL) six carucates; *Midehope* (MITHOPE or MIDHOPE) one carucate.

All these villages and three churches belong to *Prestune* (PRESTON); of these sixteen have few inhabitants—but how many inhabitants there may be is not known.

The rest are waste. *Roger de Poictou* had it.

En Lonsdale Vale.

Manor. In *Haltun* (HALTON) *Earl Tosti* had six carucates of land to be taxed.

In *Aldeclif* (ALDCLIFF) two carucates; *Tiernun* (THURNHAM) two carucates; *Hillun* (HILLHAM) one carucate; *Loncastre* (LANCASTER) six carucates; *Chercaloncastre* (KIRBY-LANCASTER) two carucates.

Hotun (HUTTON) two carucates; *Neutun* (NEWTON) two carucates; *Oureton* (OVERTON) four carucates; *Middeltun* (MIDDLETON) four carucates; *Hietune* (HEATON) four carucates; *Hessam* (HEYSHAM) four carucates.

Oxeneclif (OXCLIFF) two carucates; *Poltune* (POULTON) two carucates; *Toredholme* (TORRISHOLME) two carucates; *Schertune* (SKERTON) six carucates; *Bare* (BARE) two carucates; *Sline* (SLYNE) six carucates.

Bodeltone (BOLTON) four carucates; *Chellet* (KELLET) six carucates; *Stopeltierne* (STAPLETON-THERNE) two carucates; *Neuhuse* (NEWSOME) two carucates; *Chreneforde* (CARNFORTH) two carucates.

All these villages belong to *Haltune* (HALTON.)

Manor. In *Witetvne* (WHITTINGTON) *Earl Tosti* had six carucates of land to be taxed.

In *Neutune* (NEWTON) two carucates; *Ergune* (ARUM or ARKHOLME) six carucates; *Ghersinetune* (GRESSINGHAM) two carucates; *Hotun* (HUTTON) three carucates; *Cantesfelt* (CANSFIELD) three carucates.

Irebi (IREBY) three carucates; *Borch* (BURROW) three carucates; *Lech* (LECK) three carucates; (all in LANCASHIRE.) *Borctune* (BURTON IN LONSDALE) four carucates; *Bernulfesuwic* (BARNOLDSWICK) one carucate; *Inglestune* (INGLETON) six carucates.

Castretune (CASTERTON) three carucates; *Berebrune* (BAREON) three carucates; *Sedberge* (SEDBERG) three carucates; *Tiernebi* (THIRBY or THORNEY) six carucates.

All these villages belong to *Whitune* (WHITTINGTON.)

CHAP.
III.

^{.XII.}
^{III.} In *ORSTERTIC*. 7 Heldetune . Clapeham . Middeltun . Manz
 serge . Cherchebi . Lupetun . Prestun . Holme . Bortun . Hotune .
 Wartun . Clactun . Catun . Hæc habuit Torfin . p XII . Maner.
 In his sunt XL.III . carucate ad gld.

^{.III.}
^{III.} In *BENETAIN* . Wininctune . Tathaim . Farelton . Tunestalle .
 Chetel h̄b . III . ^{III.} 7 sunt in eis . xviii . car ad gld . 7 iii . æcc̄læ .

^{III.}
 In *HOFGVN* . h̄b comes Tosti . III . car tre ad gld .
 In Chilnestrenic . Sourebi . Hietun . Daltune . Warte . Neutun .
 Walletun . Suntun . Fordebodele . Rosse . Hert . Lies . alia Lies .
 Glassertun . Steintun . Cliuertun . Ouregraue . Meretun . Penni
 getun . Gerleuorde . Borch . Berretseige . Witinghā . Bodele .
 Santacherche . Hougenai . Oms hæ uillæ iacent ad Hougum .

^{.IX.}
^{III.} In *STERCALAND* . Mimet . Cherchebi . Helsingetune .
 Steintun . Bodelforde . Hotun . Bortun . Daltun . Patun .
 H̄ habuit Gilemichel . In his sun . xx . car træ ad gld .

^{III.}
 In Cherchebi . Duuan . vi . car ad gld .

^{III.}
 In Aldinghā . Ernulf . vi . car ad gld .

^{III.}
 In Vlurestun . Turulf . vi . car ad gld .

In Bodeltun . vi . car . In Dene . i . car .

*INCRAVE**

^{III.}
^{III.} In Mellinge 7 Hornebi 7 Wennigetun . Vlf . ix . car ad gld .
 B̄lbide h̄b Orme . i . car 7 dim ad gld .

^{.II.}
^{III.} In *LANESDALE* . 7 *COCREHĀ* . h̄br Vlf 7 Machel
 ii . car ad gld .

^{.III.}
^{III.} In *ESTVN* . Cliber . Machern 7 Ghilemichel h̄br . vi . car
 ad gld . In Ellhale . ii . car . In Scozforde . ii . car .

^{III.}
^{III.} In *BIEDVN* . h̄b comes Tosti . vi . car ad gld . Nē h̄t Roḡ
 pictan . 7 Ernuin sub eo . In jalant . Farelton . prestun .
 Bereuic . Hennecastrē . Eureshaim . Lefuenes .

* This Survey is also inserted under the head EVRVICSIRE (WEST REDING), fo. 301 b. and fo. 332 a.

Twelve manors. In *Ovstevvic* and *Heldetune* (AUSTWICK and), *Clapeham* (CLAPHAM), *Middeltun* (MIDDLETON), *Manzserge* (MANSENGH), *Cherchebi* (KIRKBY-LONSDALE), *Lupetun* (LUPTON), *Prestun* (PRESTON), *Holne* (HOLM), *Bortun* (BURTON), *Hotune* (HUTTON ROOF.)

Wartun (WHARTON), *Clactun* (CLAUGHTON), *Catun* (CATON). These *Torfin* had for twelve manors.

In these are forty-three carucates to be taxed.

Four manors. In *Benetain* (BENTHAM), *Wininctune* (WINNINGTON), *Tathaim* (TATHAM), *Fareltun* (FARLTON), *Tunestalle* (TUNSTALL).

Chetel had four manors, and there are in them eighteen carucates to be taxed, and three churches.

Manor. In *Hougyn* (FURNESS, Low) *Earl Tosti* had four carucates of land to be taxed.

In *Chiluestreuc* (qu. WOODLANDS) three carucates; *Sourebi* (SOWERBY) three carucates; *Hietun* (HEATON) four carucates; *Daltune* (DALTON) two carucates; *Warte* (SWARTH) two carucates; *Neutun* (NEWTON) six carucates.

Walletun (WALTON) six carucates; *Suntun* (SANTON) two carucates; *Fordebodele* () two carucates; *Rosse* () six carucates; *Hert* (HEST) two carucates; *Lies* () six carucates; another *Lies* () two carucates.

Glassertun (GLEASTON) two carucates; *Steintun* (STENTON) two carucates; *Cluvertun* (CRINLETON) four carucates; *Ouregrave* (ORGRAVE) now called TITEUP, three carucates; *Meretun* (MARTON, alias MARTIN) four carucates; *Pennigetun* (PENNINGTON) two carucates; *Gerleumorde* (IRELITH KIRKBY) two carucates; *Borch* (BURROW) six carucates; *Berretseige* (BARDSEY) four carucates; *Witingham* (WHITTINGHAM) four carucates; *Bodele* (BOTHIL, alias BOOTLE) four carucates.

Santacherche (SANTONKIRK) one carucate; *Hougenai* (FURNESS, HIGH) six carucates. All these villages lie to *Hougyn* (FURNESS, HIGH).

Manor in *Stercaland* (STRICKLAND), *Mimet* (MINT), *Cherchebi* (KIRKBY KENDAL), *Helsingetune* (HELSINGTON).

Steintun (STANTON), *Bodelforde* (), *Hotun* (OLD HUTTON), *Bortun* (BURTON IN KENDAL), *Daltun* (DALTON), *Patun* (PATTON).

Gilemichel had these. In these are twenty carucates of land to be taxed.

Manor. In *Cherchebi* (KIRKBY KENDAL) *Duan* had six carucates to be taxed.

Manor. In *Aldingham* (ALDINGHAM) *Ernulf* had six carucates to be taxed.

Manor. In *Flurestun* (ULVERSTON) *Turulf* had six carucates to be taxed.

In *Bodeltun* (BOLTON) six carucates to be taxed; in *Dene* (DEAN, alias DEYN) one carucate.

In Craven, West Riding, Yorkshire.

Manor. In *Mellinge* (MELLING), *Hornebi* (HORNBY), and *Wenningetun* (WENNINGTON), *Ulf* had nine carucates to be taxed.

Berwick. In the same place *Orme* had one carucate and a half to be taxed.

Two Manors. In *Lanesdale* and *Cocreham* (LONSDALE and COCKERHAM) *Ulf* and *Machel* had two carucates to be taxed.

Three Manors. In *Estun* (ASHTON), *Cliber*, *Machern*, and *Ghilemichel*, had six carucates to be taxed; in *Ellhale* (ELLILL) two carucates; in *Scozforde* (SCOTFORTH) two carucates.

Manor. In *Biedun* (BEETHAM) *Earl Tosti* had six carucates to be taxed; *Roger of Poitou* now has it, and *Ermin* the priest under him; in *Jalant* (YEALAND) four carucates; in *Fareltun* (FARLTON) four carucates; in *Prestun* (PRESTON) three carucates.

In *Berewic* (BORWICK) two carucates; in *Hennecastre* (HINCASTER) two carucates; in *Eureshaim* (HAVERSHAM) two carucates; in *Lefuenes* (LEVENS) two carucates.

Yealand and *Borwick* only in *Lancaster*, the rest in *Westmoreland*.

CHAP.
III.

Thanes.

The great baronial proprietors, both Saxon and Norman, of the "Honor of Lancaster," were amongst the most unfortunate of their order. The earls Morcar and Tosti had suffered the fate so common to men in exalted stations in those turbulent times; and Roger de Poitou, the third son of Roger de Montgomery, though endowed with three hundred and ninety-eight manors, as the reward of the services rendered by his family to the Conqueror, was doomed to surrender them all as the price of his rebellion. The proprietors, at the time of taking the survey, had greatly increased in number, and the manners and customs of the people, as developed in the survey of the six hundreds between the Mersey and the Ribble, form the most valuable feature of this ancient record.* The tenure by which the thanes held the land in the hundred of Derby was—two ores of pennies for a carucate: this must have been most indulgent as far as the rent was concerned, but the obligation to build the king's houses, to attend his fisheries, to repair his fences, and to reap his harvest, would add not a little to the pressure upon the thanes. There were two classes of thanes,—the ecclesiastic, called in Saxon, Mass-Thanes, and the temporal or secular thanes. Both of these were again divided into two classes; the greater thanes were next in rank to earls, being the king's thanes, and called *Barones Regis*. The inferior the Saxons called the less thanes, without any addition, as the smaller barons, such as lords of manors, the less *valvasores*, and freeholders. After the invasion of the Normans, many military men of that rank and appellation, endowed with the title of knight, were called by the name of thanes, and afterwards of *milites* or *equites*—knights. Such was the inequality of the laws in these times, that in some districts—Orrel, Halsall, and Everton, for instance—the occupiers were exempt not only from the principal tax (*dane-geld*), but they were exonerated from the punishment justly due to some crimes of the greatest enormity; while in other places, the offence of ravishing a woman, and of the tenant absenting himself from the shire-mote or hundred court, were to be punished with the same severity, viz., a fine of ten shillings! It appears also that there were in these six hundreds one hundred and eighty-eight manors, and that their annual value, when Roger de Poitou received them from the king, was scarcely equal to that of a small estate in our times. The contrast between the nature of landed possessions in this district, in the time when the *dane-geld* tax was enforced in 1086, and the time when the

* The appellation *Christis Crofte* was anciently given to this tract, and it is celebrated as a place of security in troublesome times, in the following metrical prophecy:—

“ When all England is alofte,
Safe are they that are in *Christis Crofte*;
And where should *Christis Crofte* be
But between Ribble and Mersey.”

property tax existed in 1814, is most striking; in the former all the lands between Mersey and Ribble were valued at £120,—in the latter at £2,569,761. Allowing for the difference in the value of money at the two periods, the statement will stand thus:—

Annual value in 1086	£120, × 110	=	£13,200
In 1814			2,569,761
Increased value	. .		£2,556,561

Of the different ranks of men mentioned in the Domesday Survey, the Barons, the Thanes, the Free-men, the Radmen, the Drenches,* the Bordars, the Bondmen, and the Villains, the dissertation on Feudal Tenures, already inserted, will afford general information, while the measure of land, and the value of money, in those times, will be collected from the same source.

The Saxon titles consisted of Ethling, Duke, Earl, and Comes, but they all merged at the Conquest into the more general and comprehensive title of Norman Baron. At the head of the *Capitanei Regni*, or chiefs of the realm, in the earlier of these periods, stood the Ethlings. These were noble persons of the first rank, as princes sprung from the blood royal, and were endowed accordingly with great fees and offices in the kingdom. Of this description was Edgar Ethling, but the Conquest deprived him of his inheritance.

Amongst the Saxons were certain magistrates called Aldermen. These were princes and governors of provinces, Earls, Presidents, Senators, Tribunes, and the like. They were of different ranks, as *Aldermannus totius Angliæ*, (the Alderman of all England), in later times imagined to be *capitalis Angliæ Justiciarius*, (chief justice of England); *Aldermannus Regis* (king's alderman), so called because he was constituted by the king, or that he exercised regal authority in the province committed to his charge; *Aldermannus Comitatus* (of a county), sometimes taken *pro Schyreman et ipso Comite*, (for the shireman and the comes himself).

The office of Alderman was to inspect the county's arms, and to raise forces within his jurisdiction; to repress the refractory, and to promote public justice. The Bishops were nobles inferior in rank to Earls. By the laws of Alfred and Athelstan, the lives of the dignitaries, both in the church and state, were valued, and the rate at which their heads were estimated serves to show their relative dignity. The head of the Archbishop, the Earl, or Satrap, was valued at 15,000 thrymses; the bishop and alderman, at 8,000; the *Belli Imperator et summus præpositus*, (the commander and chief officer of war,) or vice-comes (sheriff), at 4,000 thrymses. From which it appears that the alderman held the middle station between the earl

* See Chap. iii. p. 82.

and the sheriff. After the Conquest, the alderman's office grew out of use, and was superseded almost entirely by the sheriff.

Honors were hereditary before the Conquest by earls and barons, and for the most part to such as were of the blood-royal; hence the honor of Lancaster had been possessed successively by earls Tosti and Morecar. By the Norman law, honors became a feudal patrimony of any of the high barons, generally adjoined to the principal seat of the baron. The great baron of Lancashire, Roger de Poitou, so called from having married Ahmodis of Poitou, ranked amongst the *Capitales Barones*, holding immediately from the crown. The barons who held of him were called *Barones Comitatus* (barons of the county), and held free courts for all pleas and complaints, except those belonging to the earl's sword. The ancient barons in their lordships or baronies took cognizance of litigation and robberies, and employed the privileges which are called *sac*, *soc*, *tol*, *theam*, *infangthef*, *outfangthef*, *ferias*, et *marketas*.* The distinction between an honor and a manor consists principally in the much greater extent of the former, and in the courts held in each. We have already seen that a manor is composed of demesne and services, to which belong a three weeks' Court or Berry, where the freeholders, being tenants of the manor, sit covered, and give judgment in all suits that are there pleading. But an honor has either a castle, as at Lancaster, or at least the site of a castle, or some principal house of state, consisting of demesnes and services, to which a number of manors and lordships, with all their appurtenances and other regalities, are annexed. To every manor a Court Baron is attached. In an honor, an honourable Berry or Court is kept, once every year at least, and oftener if required; at which court all the freeholders of all the manors which stand united to the honor, make their appearance, and in which suitors do not sit, but stand bareheaded. Over that court should be hung a cloth of state, with a chair of state, upon which chair should be laid a cushion made of cloth of gold, or what is becoming and decent for a place of honour, and upon which there ought to be embroidered the arms belonging to the honor.

The barons of the Honor of Lancaster, in the time of the Conqueror, are thus exhibited in Kenion's MSS.

* *Soc* was the power of administering justice; *Sac*, of hearing and determining causes and disputes, with the power of levying forfeitures or fines; *Tol*, an acquittance from payment of duties or tolls in every part of the kingdom; *Theam*, a royalty granted over their villain tenants, as well as over their wives, and children, and goods, to dispose of them at pleasure. Spelman calls it, a right of trying their bondmen and serfs. *Infangthef* was the privilege of trying thieves taken within their lordship; *Outfangthef*, a royalty granted by the king, with power to try and punish a thief dwelling out of the baron's liberty or fee, for a theft committed out of his jurisdiction, if he be taken within it.

"LIST OF BARONS COM. LANC. under Roger de Poitou.

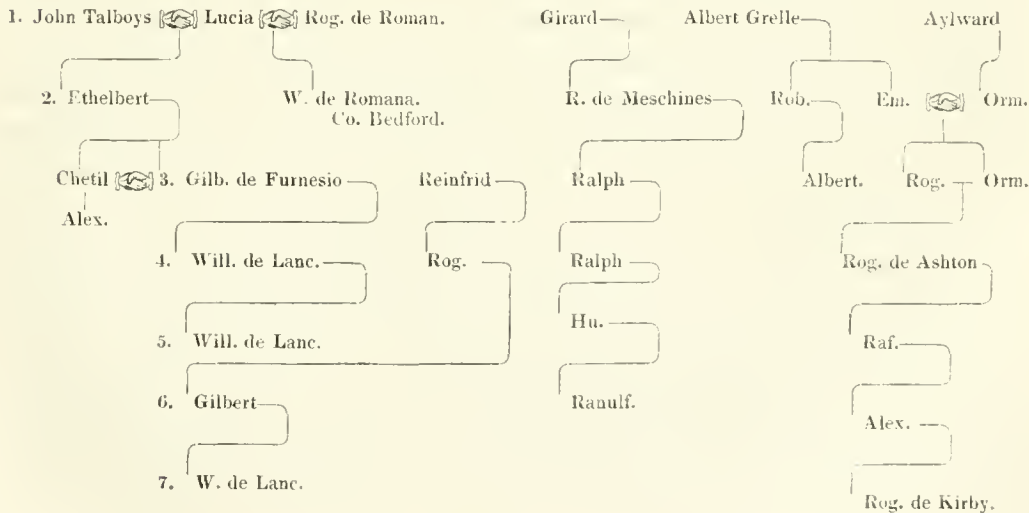
CHAP.
III.

"Godefridus, Vicecomes eius de Derby—Yardfridus, Baro de Widnes—Paganus Villers, Baro de Warrinton—Albertus Grelle, Baro de Manchester—Burin, Baro de Ratchale and Totingten—Ilbert Lacy, Baro de Clithero—Warrinus Banistre, Baro de Newton—Warrinus Busbel, Baro de Penwortham—Roger de Montbegon, Baro de Hornby—William Marshall, Baro de Cartmel—Michael Flemingus, Baro de Glaston—William de Lancaster and Robert de Furnes, Barones de Ulverston—Wil de Lancaster, Baro de Netherwiresdal—Theobaldus *Walter*, Baro de Weeton."—N.B. Another copy says, "Theob. *Pincerna*."

Baron of
the honor
of Lancas-
ter.

In tracing the barony of Lancaster, we find the founder of this illustrious house to have been Ivo de Talebois, otherwise Taillebois, otherwise Talboys, of the house of Anjou, who came over with the Conqueror, and who, in virtue of his marriage with Lucy, the sister of the Saxon earls Edwin and Morcar, seconded by the favour of his prince, obtained a large portion of the north of Lancashire, and so much of Westmoreland as comes under the designation of the barony of Kendal. The Richmond Fee, the Marquis Fee, and the Lumley Fee, formed portions of this barony, and William, the great grandson of Ivo de Talebois, first caused himself, by royal license, to be called William de Lancaster and baron of Kendal, before the king in parliament. The descents of this family are thus given in Kuerden's MSS. under the head

"BARONY OF WILLIAM DE LANCASTER."



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III.

“SUCCESSION OF THE BARONS OF LANCASHIRE.*—1. Vicecomes de Derby, Godfrid, Peverel, Ferrers. 2. Castellanus de Liverpool, Molineux. 3. Baro de Widness, divided between Lacy and Grelly. 4. Baro de Warrington, Paganus, afterwards Butler. 5. Baro de Newton, Langton. 6. Baro de Manchester, Grelly, West, Moseley. 7. Baro de Rochdale, afterwards Byron. 8. Baro de Cliderow, Lacy, the Crown, Monk, Montague. 9. Baro de Penwortham, Bussel, Lacy, the Priory, Fleetwood. 10. Baro de Hornby, Roger de Montbegon. 11. Baro de Furnes, Michael Flemings. 12. Baro de Wiresdale, W. de Lancaster. 13. Baro de Weeton and Amonnderness, Theobald Walter.”

Their sta-
tions.

“STATIONS OF THE ANCIENT BARONS.†—Roger de Poitou, Earl of Lancaster, prudently stationed his barons in the most vulnerable places, to preserve his earldom in quiet:—1. He built a castle at Liverpool against the passage over the water from Cheshire, and there placed his trusty friend, Vivian Molineux, to be governor and castellan in the utmost limits of his earldom;‡ and for his greater assistance he placed near him at Derby his vicecomes, Godefridus; and not far above, at or opposite Runcorn, being another passage out of Cheshire, he fixed Yardfrid, another baron, at Widnes; and a little above that, at Warrington another passage, and near unto the church was the seat of another barony, given to Paganus Villers, to defend the ford at Latchford, before a bridge was made at Warrington; and a little distance, at Newton, was the seat of the Banisters, a barony in king John's time, to strengthen the former, and opposite a high ford or boat called Holyn Fare Passage, out of Cheshire, at Straitford; as well as to keep guard against another Cheshire barony, called Stockport, he placed Albertus Grelle, an eminent baron; then approaching the hilly mountain from Yorkshire, at a different passage from Rotchdale, an ancient barony, afterwards succeeded by Lord Buryn, the present baron thereof; then ascending easterly among those hills at Clidero, he placed Ilbert Lacy, a baron, near the adjacent passage into Yorkshire; and more northward, not far from his own castle at Lancaster, at Hornby, he placed Roger de Montbegon.

* From Percival's MSS.

† From Kenion's MSS.

‡ A castellan is the prefect or governor of a castle, acting there in place of the lord, and sometimes called castaldus, gastaldus; his office is called castaldia, castallanea being first the name of an office, and afterwards of a dignity. These castellans were appointed by dukes and earls, who enjoyed vast territories, and in some fortified places stationed military guards or garrisons, to repel enemies. They were also civil judges, to determine the disputes of the people. Having become powerful, and the sons often succeeding to their father's office, they at last obtained from the lords the right of holding office in fee; and by little and little passing the bounds of their jurisdiction, they transformed the wand of an inferior justice into the sword of the superior, making the force of the dignity to consist more in the fulness of baronial power, than in the mere name of baron.*

* Spelman, p. 128, voce Castellanus.

Then upon the northern boundary, from the Scots in Cumberland, was placed, at Gleston, Michael Flandrensis; and shortly after, the abbot of Furnes, 4th W. Rufus, placed upon the west part, possessing the Foldra and Wahey, who convened with William de Lancaster; and long afterwards the king bestowed the same upon Ingelanus de Guyas in marriage with his sister; afterwards it was alienated, and came to the possession of the families of Kirkby and Tells. From thence returning southward to Kartmel, which in king John's time came to William de Marshall, governor to king Henry III. and proceeding southward on the river Wyre, one side guarded by William de Lancaster, lord of that part of the barony of Netherwyrstal, belonging likewise to the lords of Furness, and the other side environed with the barony of Weeton, which temp. W. Rufus was an appendant to the barony of Penwortham, and bestowed upon Abardus Bussell, brother of Warinus Bussell, and continued in the renowned noble family of Theobaldus Pincerna, from whom proceeded the duke of Ormond. And lastly, on that famous estuary of Ribble, at Penwortham, where remained an ancient castle from the time of the Saxons, here was placed the barony given to Warinus Bussell, who had this place bestowed upon him temp. William the Conqueror, though it had then no baron. Leyland and great part of Amonnderness did anciently belong to the Bussells, for in the survey temp. Will. I. I find one Prog. de Bnsby and Albert Gresley, who had Blackburn hundred, and afterwards, upon division between them, Grelley had part of Leyland hundred, as Brindle, Worthington, &c. and a knight's fee in Dalton, Wrightington, and P. . . . * which he gave in marriage with a daughter to one Orme, the son of Edward, and Ashton-under-Line. Montbegon had another part of Leyland hundred, which he held as annexed to Hornby as most part of Croston parish, viz. :—Croston, Madeley, Chorley, Haskenmore, Tarlton, and Hole, formerly part of Warinus's Barony. belonged to the Villers, and afterwards to Montbegon, as likewise Sherington, Welchwallet, and Chernoe, Gogard Adlington, and Duxby, belonged to Grelley. N.B. The baron of Warrington had divers territories in Derby hundred to be assistant to the baron of Derby, and a fee or two in the hundred of Amonnderness, as the baron of Manchester held divers fees in the hundred of Leyland; the baron of Newton a knight's fee in Blackburn hundred," &c.

The more particular succession of the barons of Lancashire will be most advantageously treated in the hundreds to which the baronies belong, but the rise of the honor into a duchy, and the achievements of the noble and royal house of Lancaster, from the Conquest to the period when they attained the consummation of their dignity, by giving a sovereign to the throne of England, belong to this portion of our history.

* Probably Parbold.

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The castle of Lancaster, built by Roger de Poictou, not only served as a military fortress to preserve the power of his royal benefactor, but it was used also as the baronial residence. It appears from the "Baronia de Manchester," that Robert Busli held Blackburn hundred on a temporary tenure only, *per tres annos, ideo non appropriatur*, before Lacy was its lord; and the probability is, that he held under de Poictou. In the reign of Rufus, Roger de Poictou granted a charter to our lady of Lancaster, to which Albert Grelley, the first baron of Manchester, was a witness.*

The
honour
forfeited
by de
Poictou.

A.D. 1102.

Conferred
on Ranulf
third earl
of Chester.

In the interval between the first division of property, under the Norman dynasty and the Domesday survey, the possessions of Roger were forfeited to the crown, by his defection from the royal cause. The honour of Lancaster was, however, restored to him in the time of William Rufus, but it was finally alienated on the banishment of Roger, in the 2d Henry I. From that time it remained in the crown, till it was bestowed on Ranulf de Bricasard, the third earl of Chester. The precise time when this grant was made, and the circumstances which called for so strong a manifestation of the royal bounty, are not ascertained, but the following translation of an almost illegible charter in the British Museum sufficiently authenticates the fact.†

"RANULF, Earl of Chester, to his constable, dapifer, justiciaries, sheriffs, and bailiff, that are betwixt Ribble and Mersey, and to all his men, French and English, health.

"Know me to have granted and confirmed to the Abbot of Evesham, and Monks serving God, all possessions, lands, and tenements, and all liberties given and granted by Warin and Albert Buissel in all things; and also that they may have their courts in Hocwice of all their tenants, as truly as I have mine at Penwortham, for him and all his tenants, household and hayhold, for building or burning, and useful for all other his necessities, without disturbance, or my being, or of any other whatsoever. I also will and firmly command, that no man against the same monks concerning my grant and confirmation shall interfere upon any occasion, exaction, or confirmation. I will warrant the aforesaid Abbot, Convent, and their successors, without fine or demand, for fear and my forfeiture, but they shall hold the same freely and honourably in all places; and I, Ranulf, and my heirs, the aforesaid concession and confirmation to the aforesaid Abbot and their successors, with warrant and without fine.—*Teste meipso.*"

* Kuerden's MSS. folio 271.

† Harl. MSS. cod. 7386.

Chap. IV.

Lands between Ribble and Mersey—Possessed by the earls of Chester—Descend to the Ferrers, earls of Derby.—Earldom of Lancaster.—Thomas, earl of Lancaster—His opposition to the royal favourite, Piers Gaviston—To the Despensers—Heads the barons against the king—His fate—His reputed miracles after death.—The king's mandate—Marriage of his widow—Forfeits part of her dowry.—Early manners.—Henry, earl of Lancaster—Henry, his son—His military renown—Created duke of Lancaster—Chancery court of Lancaster instituted—County made palatine.—“The good duke of Lancaster's” deeds of arms—Holy relic—His charities to the “black liverys”—To Whalley abbey—To Leicester college.—His death—His issue.—John of Gaunt—His marriage—His possessions—Created duke of Lancaster—His achievements in arms—Obtains the grant of chancery in the duchy and palatine privileges in the county of Lancaster—Advocates the cause of Wickliffe, “the morning star of the Reformation”—Privileges conceded to him at court—Obtains a grant of treasury in the duchy of Lancaster—Demolition of his house by the followers of Wat Tyler—Magnanimity shewn towards and by the duke in Scotland—Charged with a design to usurp the throne—His foreign wars—Extension of the duchy privileges—Espouses Catherine Swinford, his concubine—Legitimizes her children.—The duke's death and character.



URING the disturbed reign of Stephen, Ranulf, the fourth earl of Chester, possessed himself of a third part of the whole realm of England,* and amongst his possessions were the lands ceded to his father between the Ribble and the Mersey. From Ranulf, the son, they descended to Hugh de Kevelioc, and Ranulf, surnamed de Blundeville, son and grandson of the former. Ranulf de Blundeville, in 13 Henry III. had a confirmation from the king of all his lands between the Ribble and the Mersey, and was made chief lord, under the king, of the whole county of Lancaster, with all its forests, hays, homages, and other appurtenances. At the same time he exe-

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IV.Lands
between
Ribble
and
Mersey.

A.D. 1228.

Possessed
by the
earls of
Chester.

* Nichols's Leicestershire, to which we have been much indebted for the historical materials relating to the illustrious house of Lancaster.

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cuted the office of sheriff by his deputies in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and ninth of that king. Ranulf paid down forty marks of silver for these lands to Roger de Maresey, and afterwards two hundred marks more; and agreed further to render annually, at Easter, a pair of white gloves, or one penny, for all services whatsoever. This earl, after enjoying his possessions fifty-one years, died in 1252; and, leaving no issue, his whole inheritance was shared by his four sisters and coheiresses. Maud, the eldest, married David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to William, king of Scots; Mabil, the next, married William de Albini, earl of Arundel; Agnes, the third sister, married William, earl of Ferrers, the sixth in lineal descent from Robert de Ferrers, raised by king Stephen to the earldom of Derby, for his prowess at the battle of the Standard, in the third year of the king. The heirs of the first earl of Derby were usually called earls of Ferrers, though they were likewise earls of Derby. This Agnes had the castle of Chartley, in Staffordshire, and the lands in that part of Wales called Powis; and also the manor of West Derby, and all earl Ranulf's lands between the Ribble and Mersey; with Buckbrock, in Northamptonshire, and Navenby, in Lincolnshire. In the eighth year of Henry III., William, earl of Ferrers, was constituted governor of the castle and honor of Lancaster;* and the next year he executed the sheriff's office for this county for three parts of the year, as he did likewise for the whole of the tenth and the eleventh years of the king's reign. In addition to £50 for the relief of the lands of his wife's inheritance, he and she were bound to pay yearly a goshawk, or fifty shillings, into the king's exchequer, as had been usual for lands lying between the rivers Ribble and Mersey. In 26 Henry III. he gave a fine of £100 to the king for the livery of the three hundreds of West Derby, Leyland, and Salford, which had been seized into the king's hands for certain misdemeanors of his bailiffs. This earl died on the 20th of September, 1247, and his countess survived him only one month—they having lived together as man and wife seventy-seven years!

Descend
to the
Ferrers,
earls of
Derby.

A.D. 1241.

William, earl of Ferrers, son and heir of the above earl and countess, had livery of his lands and castle in the year 1247; and the next year he obtained a mandate to the sheriff of Lancashire for the enjoyment of such lands between Ribble and Mersey as his uncle Ranulf, earl of Chester, formerly possessed. He also obtained a charter for free warren, for himself and his heirs, in all his demesne, throughout his lordships in Lancashire and elsewhere.† Three years afterwards he procured a

* Dugdale's Baron. ex Pat. 8 Hen. III. m. 12.

† Ranulfus, consul Cestrie, constabulario, dapifero, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ministris, & ballivis, quicumque fuerint, inter Ribbam et Mersam, & omnibus hominibus suis, Francis & Anglis, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse Deo & Sancte Marie, & monachis de Evesham, elemosinam suam de Hocwicce, ita benè & liberè, & quietè, & honorificè, sicut meliùs tenuerunt tempore comitis

special grant from the king of such officers, for conservation of the peace between Ribble and Mersey, as Ranulf, earl of Chester, formerly had; which officers were maintained at the expense of the inhabitants. By Margaret, his second wife, one of the daughters and coheiresses of Roger de Quencey, earl of Winchester, he had two sons; Robert succeeded him in the earldom of Derby, and settled at Groley, in Leicestershire. This unfortunate earl took part with Simon de Montfort, and was deprived of his earldom and all his estates in 1265; among which were all his lands between Ribble and Mersey. These possessions Henry III. united with the honor of Lancaster, and gave to Edmund Crouchback, his youngest son, who, by that king's creation, was the first Earl of Lancaster.

Earls of Lancaster.

Edmund Crouchback was the distinguished favourite of his father; and on St. Luke's day, in the year 1253, the king convened many of his nobles, along with the bishop of Romania, who came to him from pope Innocent IV., and, having brought a ring from his Holiness, used it as a symbol to invest Edmund with the dominion of Sicily and Apulia, whereupon he had the title of king of Sicily. This grant produced some of the most important events in our history; amongst others, the association of the barons against Henry III.; the appointing of conservators of the peace in this and the other counties of England; and the settling of the democratical part of our constitution on a permanent basis by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, while the king was his prisoner. Prince Edmund, about the same time that he took the title of king of Sicily, was made earl of Chester. Upon Innocent's death, Alexander IV. confirmed prince Edmund in the grant of the kingdom of Sicily in due form; but pope Urban IV. by a bull in 1263, revoked the deed, and Edmund renounced the claim to the crown of that kingdom. The prince was amply compensated for the

Rogeri Pictavensis, & tempore Ranulfi patris mei, & sicut decet eleemosinam habere sancta ecclesia. Ita quòd nullus super monachos predictos se intromittat de predictâ eleemosinâ, nec de operationibus, nec de aliis exactionibus, nec de occasione aliquâ, aliquis eos vel eorum eleemosinam, super timorem meum & super forisfactum meum, inquietet; sed honorificè teneant in terris, & decimis, & pasturis, & in bosco, & in plano, & in aquis, & in molendinis, & piscariis, & in omnibus aliis locis. Testibus, Eustachio constabulario Cestrie, & Hugone Ostvero, & Serlone venatore, & Richardo Buissel, Richardo Pine', apud Molas warini.—*Dugdale, Mon. Ang.* 1. p. 361.

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IV.Earldom
of Lan-
caster.

loss of that imaginary power; for on the 4th of August, 1265, his brother Edward having defeated the Earl of Leicester and his adherents in the battle of Evesham, the king, by his letters patent, bearing date the 25th of October, created him earl of Leicester; giving him therewith the honor of Hinckley, and the stewardship of England. The next year he received from his noble benefactor the honor, town, and castle of Derby, with all the effects belonging to Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby. In addition to other grants, he received also the honor, earldom, castle, and town of Lancaster, with the forests of Wiresdale and Lonesdale.*

* ROYAL GRANT TO EDMUND CROUCHBACK,

51 HENRY III.

“Rex concessit Edmundo filio suo castrum de Kenilleworth. Habend' sibi & heredibus de corpore. Et quod liberam chaceam & liberam warrennam in omnibus dñicis terris & boscis pertin' ad castrum.

“Rex concessit prefato Edmundo honorem, castrum, & manerium de Monemouth, cum pertin'. Habend' sibi & hered' de corpor'.

“Rex concessit prefato Edmundo castra de Grossemunde, Skenefrithe, & Blaunchastel. Habend' ut supra.

“Henricus, Dei gratia, rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, & dux Aquitanie, archiepiscopis, &c. salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse, concessisse, & hac carta nostra confirmasse Edmundo filio nostro carissimo, honorem, com', castrum, & villam de Lancast', cum vaccariis & forestis de Wiresdel & Lonnedsdall, & Novum castrum subtus Lynam. Et manerium, castrum, & forestam de Pykering. Et villam nostram de Gounemecestr'. Et redditum nostrum villate de Huntindon, cum omnibus pertin' suis. Habenda & tenenda eidem Edmundo, & heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreat', de nobis & heredibus nostris, cum feodis militum, advocationibus ecclesiarum, chartis, libertatibus, consuetudinibus, & aliis omnibus ad honorem, com', castra, villas, dominica, vaccaria, forestas, & redditum predictum pertinentibus. Faciendo nobis & hered' nostris servicia inde debita & consueta. Ita quod prefatum Edmundum vel heredes suos predictos inde non disseisimus, nec disseisiri permittemus; donec sibi excambium rationabile fecerimus in aliis terris nostris ad valorem honoris, comitat', castrorum, villarum, dominicorum, vaccar', forestarum, & reddituum predictorum. Ita etiam quod si prefatus Edmundus sine heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreat' decesserit, honor', com', castra, ville, dominica, vaccarie, foreste, & redditus predict' cum pertin', ad nos vel heredes nostros integrè reſtantur. Quare volumus & firmiter precepimus, pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod dictus Edmundus & heredes sui predicti imperpetuum habeant & teneant honorem, com', castra, maner', villas, dominica, vaccar', forestas, & redditus predict', cum feodis militum, advocationibus ecclesiarum, chartis, libertatibus, consuetudinibus, & omnibus aliis ad eadem pertin', faciendo nobis & heredibus nostris servitia inde debita & consueta. Ita quod prefatum Edmundum vel heredes suos predictos inde non disseisimus, nec disseisiri permittemus, donec escambium rationabile sibi fecerimus in aliis terris nostris ad valenciam honoris, comitatus, castr', maneriorum, villarum, dominicorum, vaccar', forestar', & reddituum predictorum. Ita etiam, quod si prefatus Edmundus sine heredibus de corpore

The following year the king announced to his knights, vassals, and other tenants of the Honor of Lancaster, that he had given to his son Edmund that honor, with the wards, reliefs, and escheats, attached to it.* In the same year, during the king's residence at York, he issued a royal mandate, from which it appears, that, although he granted the possessions in the county of Lancaster to his son Edmund for his sustentation, that grant was not to operate to the injury of Roger de Lancaster.† The royal bounty was still further extended in the following year, by a grant from the king, of possessions forfeited by the treason of Simon de Montfort.‡ In the year 1284, Edward I. in an *inspeximus*, dated at Lincoln, on the 15th of

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A.D. 1292.

suo legitimè procreatis decesserit, honor', comitat', castra, maneria, ville, dominica, vaccarie, foreste, & redditus predict', cum pertinen', ad nos & heredes nostros integrè revertantur, sicut predictum est.

“ Hiis testibus,

“ JOHANNE DE WARENNA comite Surr',

“ HUMFR' DE BOHUN comite Hereford & Essex,

“ PHILLIPPO BASSET,

“ ROGERO DE SOMERY,

“ ALANO LA RUSCHE,

“ STEPHANO DE EDEWORTHE,

“ BARTHOLOMEW LE BIGOD & aliis.

“ Dat' per manum nostram apud Sanctum Paulum, London', tricesimo die Junii, anno regni nostri quinquagesimo primo.”

* ROYAL MANDATE,

52 HENRY III.

“ Rex militibus, liberis hominibus, et omnibus aliis ten' de honore Lancast', salutem. Cum dudum dederimus Edmundo filio nostro honorem predictum, cum wardis, releviis, escaetis, et omnibus aliis rebus pertinent', ad ipsum honorem spectantibus; habend sibi et heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreand'imperpetuum. Vobis mandamus quod eidem Edmundo et heredibus suis, sicut predictum est, in omnibus que ad dictum honorem pertinent de cetero sitis intendentes et respondentes.

“ Teste rege apud Westm', octavo die Februarii, anno regni sui quinquagesimo secundo.”

† GUARANTEE TO ROGER DE LANCASTER,

52 HENRY III.

“ Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Cum nuper commisserimus dilecto et fideli nostro Rogero de Lancast' comitat' nrm Lancast' cum pertinentiis, custod' quod vixerit; ita quod reddet nobis inde per ann. centum marcas ad Sçm nostrum. Et postmodum com' illum cum pertin' Edmundo filio nostro cñno ad sustentacionem suam concesserimus. Nos volentes eidem Rogero in hâc parte nostram facere specialem promittiñus ei bonâ fide, quod ipsum in premissis conservabimus indemnis temporibus oportunis. In cujus, &c.

“ Teste rege apud Ebor', decimo quinto die Septembris, anno regni sui lijdō.”

‡ FURTHER GRANT TO PRINCE EDMUND,

53 HENRY III.

“ Rex omnibus ballivis, &c. salutem. Cum per cartam nostram dederimus et concesserimus Edmundo filio nostro honorem, villam, castrum Leyc', et omnes terras et ten' ejusdem honoris, cum

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August, confirmed the grant of the Honor of Lancaster made by Henry III. to his brother Edmund, and forbids the sheriffs of Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincoln, Northampton, Leicester, Derby, York, Rutland, and Stafford, or their officers, from entering the Honor of Lancaster.*

These vast possessions laid the foundation of the future greatness of the house of Lancaster; the power and influence of which increased to such a magnitude as ultimately to seat the family on the throne of these realms. In 21 Edward I. prince Edmund procured license to make a castle of his house, in the parish of St. Clement Danes, in the county of Middlesex, called the Savoy; and he founded that house of

feodis militum et aliis pertinentibus suis, quecumque nomine censi possint, que fuerunt quondam Simonis de Monteforti comitis Leyc', inimici nostri, et que secundum legem et consuetudinem regni nostri, per guerram quam contra nos, ad coheredacōem ūram, in regno ūro excitavit, et bellaque contra nos, in quorum altero, apud Evesham tanquam inimicus noster interfectus fuerat, commisit, ad nos tanquam escaeta ūra per p̄dcm forisfactum devenerunt; habend' et tenend' eidem Edmundo et heredibus suis de corpore legitimè procreatis imperpetuum. Nos, eidem filio gratiam facere volentes uberiores concessimus ei senescalciam Anglie, quam idem Simon quondam habuit, habend' et tenend' ad totam vitam ipsius Edmundi, cum omnibus ad senescalciam illam pertinentibus, de gratiâ ūrâ speciali. In cujus, &c.

“ Teste rege, apud Winds', nono die Maii, anno regni sui 53°.”

* CONFIRMATION OF GRANT OF HENRY III.,

13 EDWARD I.

“ Rex omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Inspeximus literas quas celebris memorie dominus Henricus pater ūr fecit carissimo fratri ūro Edmundo comiti Lanc', in hec verba: ‘ Henricus, dei gratia, Rex Anglie, dñus Hibernie, & dux Aquitan', vicecomitibus Norff', Suff', Lincoln', Notting', Leyc', Derb', Eborū, Rotel', & Staff', & omnibus aliis vicecom', & senescall' in quorum ballivis honor Lancast' consistit, salutem. Sciatis quod per cartam ūram concessimus & dedimus Edmundo filio nostro carissimo honorem predictum, cum omnibus homagiis, wardis, releviis, escaetiis, redditibus, & omnibus aliis ad honorem illum pertin', habend' sibi & heredibus suis de corpore suo legitimè procreand' imperpetuum. Et ideo vobis precipimus, firmiter injungentes, quod de honore illo, aut hominibus illius honoris, seu aliquibus aliis ad illum honorem spectantibus, in nullo vos intromittatis aut ballivos vr̄os intromittere permittatis, sicut vultis vos ipsos indemnes conservare, nisi de ballivis prefati filii ūri fueritis requisiti. Et si aliqui ūrm vel ballivorum ūrorum aliquid de hiis que ad ipsum honorem spectant reperitis, id sine dilatione predicto filio ūro vel ballivis reddi faciatis. Distringatis etiam tenentes de predicto honore, quotiens, a ballivis predictis fueritis requisiti, quod eisdem ballivis de cetero sint intendentes & respondentes in omnibus predictum honorem tangentibus in formâ predictâ. Ita quod non oporteat nos pro defectu vestri super negotio predicto sollicitari. In cujus rei testimonium has literas ūras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Lincoln' decimo, octavo die Augusti, anno regni ūri quinquagesimo secundo.’ Nos autem ūras illas acceptamus pro nobis & heredibus ūris in formâ predictâ. In cujus, &c.

“ Teste, ut supra.”

nuns of the order of St. Clara, called the Minoresses, without Aldgate, in London. He also was the chief builder of the Grey-friars house in Preston, in this county. This great earl, by Blanch, his second wife, daughter of Robert, earl of Artois, (third son of Lewis VIII. king of France) and widow of Henry of Navarre, had three sons—Thomas, Henry, and John, and a daughter. In 24 Edward I. being sent with the earl of Lincoln and twenty-six bannerets into Gascony, they sat down before Bourdeaux; but, seeing no likelihood of its surrender, they marched to Bayonne. Here their army began to dissolve, on account of their treasure being exhausted, and prince Edmund became so much affected by the embarrassments of their situation, that he fell sick and died, about the feast of Pentecost, 1296. By his will he directed that his body should not be buried till his debts were paid; and it was not till after the truce of that year that his corpse was carried into England, and buried in the abbey church of Westminster, where a splendid monument is erected to his memory.*

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Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the eldest son and immediate successor of prince Edmund, did homage in 26 Edward I. and had livery of his lands, except the dowry of Blanch, his mother. After this ceremony, he marched into Scotland through Lancashire, the king himself being in the expedition. Being sheriff of Lancashire by inheritance, he appointed Richard de Hoghton his deputy in that office; and in the next year he was summoned to parliament by the king. In 4 Edward II. he married Alice, the sole daughter of Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, and, in virtue of that marriage, became possessed of the castles and lands belonging to that distinguished house. With this accession of property, the earl of Lancaster became the most opulent, as well as the most powerful subject in England, and possessed 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, and under the feudal system, were annexed to landed possessions. In the following year he was the chief of those nobles who entered into a combination against Piers de Gaviston, the king's Gascon favourite, with the avowed intention of defending the religion of the state, and restoring the people's liberties. Being made choice of by the barons for their general, the earl of Lancaster sent messengers to the king, requiring the delivery of Piers into their hands, or that he should be banished the realm. Such was the inveteracy of the nobles against the royal favourite, that it is said that Henry de Lacy charged the earl of Lancaster upon his death-bed, that he should maintain his quarrel against Gaviston. This injunction the earl faithfully obeyed, and, after a protracted struggle with the king, the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel,

A.D. 1297.

Thomas,
earl of
Lancaster.

A.D. 1310.

His oppo-
sition to
the royal
favourite,
Piers
Gaviston.

* See Gough's "Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain," and Nichols's History of Leicestershire, vol. i. p. 222.

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having seized Gaviston in the castle of Warwick, struck off his head without the formality of a trial.

This act of disloyalty, both to the king and to the laws, awakened in the mind of Edward a determination to execute vengeance upon the offenders; but, being less constant in his enmities than in his friendships, he soon after hearkened to terms of accommodation, and granted to the earl of Lancaster, and to the other delinquent barons, pardon of their offence, stipulating only that they should, on their knees, ask his forgiveness in public.* With these mild conditions they very cheerfully complied, and, having made their submission, they were again received into the royal favour. It was the misfortune of the reign of Edward to be disturbed by favouritism on the part of the king, and discontent on the part of the people, or rather of the barons. Gaviston was succeeded in the royal confidence by Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, and by his father, a venerable nobleman, whose wisdom and moderation were not sufficient to check the opposite qualities in his son. No sooner was Edward's attachment declared for the Spensers, than the turbulent barons, headed again by the earl of Lancaster, concerted plans for their ruin, and manifested their discontent by withdrawing from parliament. The Spensers were accused of having committed injustice on the barons of Audley and Ammori, who possessed considerable estates in the marshes of Wales, and also on the heir of William de Braose, lord of Gower, who had made a settlement of his estate on John de Mowbray, his son-in-law; and, in case of failure of that nobleman and his issue, had substituted the earl of Hereford in the succession to the barony of Gower. Mowbray, on the decease of his father-in-law, entered immediately into possession of the estate, without the formality of taking "livery and seisin from the crown." From this informality the younger Spenser, who coveted that barony, persuaded the king to put in execution the rigour of the feudal law, to seize Gower as escheated to the crown, and to confer it upon him. This gross act of injustice so alarmed the earl of Hereford, that he complained to Thomas earl of Lancaster, who thereupon mustered a number of the barons, with their adherents, at Shireburne; and from thence marched armed, and with banners, to St. Alban's, with the determination to reform the administration of the government. After remaining in this place for three days, the earl of Lancaster sent the bishops of Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, to the king, then in London, requiring that he should banish the Spensers, as persons highly obnoxious to the people for various acts of imposition and oppression. Scarcely affording time to ascertain the success of this negociation, the earl and his adherents fell upon the lands of the younger Spenser, which they pillaged and laid waste; murdered his servants, drove off his cattle, and burnt his houses. They

To the
Despen-
sers.

Heads the
barons
against
the king.

* Ryley, p. 538.

then proceeded to commit similar devastations on the estates of his father, and, having formed an association among themselves, they marched to London with all their forces, stationed themselves in the neighbourhood of that city, and exhibited before the parliament, which was then sitting, charges against the Spensers, who were both of them at that time absent from the country. These charges the lay-barons declared to be proved, and passed a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against the ministers. The commons, though now an estate in parliament, were yet so little considered, that their assent was not required; and even the votes of the prelates were dispensed with on the present occasion. To secure themselves against consequences, the barons obtained from the king an indemnity for their illegal proceedings.* The following year the king raised a powerful army, with which he marched into Wales, and so far recovered confidence in his own strength, as to recall the Spensers. Many of the barons, considering their cause hopeless, sent in their submission; but the earl of Lancaster, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers, and, having received the promise of reinforcements, advanced with his forces against the king, who had collected an army of thirty thousand men. The earl, being aware of the inferiority of his own force, despatched into Lancashire Sir Robert de Holland, whom he had advanced from the humble office of his butler to the dignity of knighthood, with a stipend of two thousand marks per annum, to bring up five hundred men out of that county. The required force was raised without difficulty, but the perfidious knight, instead of bringing them to the earl, conducted them to the king. Finding himself disappointed of his levies, the earl marched to his castle at Pontefract, the ancient seat of the Lacies. Having called a council of the barons by whom he was surrounded, which sat in the Black-friars in Pontefract, they advised him to march to Dunstanburgh, in Northumberland; but this advice he declined, and resolved to remain at Pontefract; whereupon Sir Roger de Clifford, one of his knights, drawing out his dagger, swore that he would plunge it into the breast of the earl, if he would not submit to the counsel that had been given to him. Under the influence of these cogent arguments, the earl quitted Pontefract, and marched to Boroughbridge, where, finding the country-people in arms, and William, lord Latimer, then governor of the city of York, and Sir Andrew de Harcla, warden of Carlisle and the Marches, ready to encounter him, the battle commenced without delay. The first discharge of arrows

His Fate.

* Tottle's Collect. part ii. p. 54.

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mercy." His prayers were unavailing; the royal forces entered the chapel, and the earl was made prisoner. To add indignity to his misfortune, his enemies took off his coat of armour, and, putting upon him one of his men's liveries, they carried him first to York, and afterwards to Pontefract, where he was pelted by the mob, and confined in the tower of the castle. "Being brought into the hall, in the presence of the king, he had sentence of death by these justices, viz., Aymer, earl of Pembroke, Edmund earl of Kent, John de Bretagne, and Sir Robert Malmethorpe. His defence was not listened to by his judges, and the earl, in the bitterness of his complaint, exclaimed—"Shall I die without answer?" After quitting the court, he was exposed to fresh insults, and being set upon a wretched horse, without bridle, he was paraded through the streets with a friar's hood upon his head. On his way to the place of execution, he cried—"King of heaven, have mercy on me! for the king of the earth *nous ad guerthi*." Having arrived at a hill without the town, he knelt down towards the east, until Hugin de Muston caused him to turn his face toward Scotland, when an executioner from London cut off his head."

A number of the earl's followers were afterwards condemned and executed; others fled beyond the seas, and, for a time, the public tranquillity was restored. His character is differently estimated. His partisans represented him as a saint; his enemies, as a sinner, and that of no ordinary magnitude: by the former he is said to have wrought miracles after his death; by the latter he is described as a turbulent subject, an arbitrary master, and a faithless husband. The just way to estimate his character is to make due allowance for the prejudices both of his friends and his enemies; and the conclusion will then be, that he was a munificent benefactor to the poor, a devoted adherent to his own order, and a man of more than ordinary mental powers; while, at the same time, he was ambitious, incontinent, and disloyal.

His re-
puted mi-
racles af-
ter death.

Many miracles were reported to have been wrought at the tomb of this earl of Lancaster; and the people flocked in great numbers to the place of his execution, till the king, at the instance of the Spensers, set guards to restrain them. So great indeed was the veneration paid to him, that they worshipped his picture, which, with other things, was painted on a tablet in St. Paul's cathedral, London, till the king, by his special letters to the bishop, dated from York, inhibited them from so doing. The royal mandate, which is highly characteristic of the age, and forms a striking proof of the estimation in which this earl of Lancaster was held, is subjoined in a translation:—

The king's
mandate.

"The king to the venerable father in Christ, Stephen, by the same grace bishop of London, greeting. It hath been thundered in our ears, to our severe affliction, that many of the people of God, committed to your direction, being imposed upon by

a diabolical fraud, foolishly approaching a certain picture in your church of St. Paul's, London, on which are depicted certain statues, sculptures, or images of divers persons, and, among the rest, the effigies of Thomas, formerly earl of Lancaster, an enemy and rebel to us, worship and adore it, without the authority of the church of Rome, as if it were a holy thing, asserting that miracles are worked there, to the shame of the whole church, to our and your dishonour, the manifest danger of the souls of the people aforesaid, and a pernicious example to others; and which you, knowing that these abuses prevail among the people entrusted to you, have permitted to be done, or rather pretended to be done, for the sake of gain or filthy lucre, by which we are not a little disturbed: We, therefore, command and strongly enjoin you, that you consider well the above premises, and observe that the above church is of our patrimony, and that as, by reason of fidelity you owe to us, you wish to keep our honour safe, and to prevent our dishonour, you by all means prohibit the said people to approach the picture aforesaid, nor let them, without authority from the church of Rome, presume to make prayers, offerings, or any thing else tending to divine worship, as you know to be your duty, according to canonical sanctions, in such wise conducting yourself on this behalf, that you may avoid our indignation and the wrath of God; and the people aforesaid, being profitably instructed by the prudence of your doctrines, may wholly desist from the aforesaid abuses, that the renown of your praise may be spread among the same people, and that we may justly continue the benevolence conceived towards you and the aforesaid church. And what you shall resolve to do in this matter, describe in your letters to us without loss of time.

“ Witness the king, at York, 28th June, 16th year of his reign.”

Notwithstanding this inhibition, the memory of the deceased earl was cherished with the deepest veneration; and it was generally believed, in that age of superstition, that, in addition to other miracles, blood issued from his tomb. In the reign of Edward I. the king, in compliance with the wishes of his subjects, presented a petition to the pope, beseeching him to grant canonization to the departed earl Thomas;* but it does not appear that this saint was ever added to the calendar.

Ancient slander asserts that Alice, the wife of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was repudiated by her husband on account of her familiarity with Ebulo Le Strange, a younger son of lord Strange, of Knockin. However this may be, after the death of her husband, she was married by Ebulo without the king's license; and all the lands of her inheritance, which were held of the king *in capite*, were seized and detained. This confiscation was not relaxed till she delivered up those lands which lay in the counties of Lancaster, Cheshire, and Yorkshire, and gave

Marriage
of his
widow.

Forfeits
part of her
dowry.

* Rot. Rom. et Franc. 1 Edw. III. n. 4. in Turr. Lond.

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the castle and lordship of Denbigh, in Wales, and also the castle of Bullingbrook, in the county of Lincoln, and other parts of the kingdom, unto Hugh le Despenser, the royal favourite. After being divested of these immense possessions, the lands which she still held amounted to no less a sum in annual value than 3000 marks. At the death of this lady, which occurred in the year 1348, all the lands of that great inheritance, which descended to her from Henry de Lacy, late earl of Lincoln, by virtue of the grant made by her father, and by the grant of king Edward I. came to Henry, earl of Lancaster, afterwards the duke of Lancaster; which lands lay in Blackburnshire, Rochdale, Tottington, and Penwortham, in the county of Lancaster; Halton, in the county of Chester; Bowland and Snaith, in the county of York; and divers other parts of the kingdom.

Early
manners.

A household book of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, preserved in the record of Pontefract, and quoted by Stow, exhibits a curious illustration of the manners and customs of the early part of the fourteenth century. This book, kept by Henry Leicester, his cofferer, shows the amount of the disbursements of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in his domestic expenses, for the year 1313, which were no less than £7359. 13s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. At that time silver was of the value of one shilling and eightpence the ounce, or 20s. the lb. troy: his total expense, therefore, in one year, amounted in our money to about twenty-two thousand pounds—an immense amount, when the great disparity in the price of provisions between that time and this is considered.

Household Book of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, in the Year 1313.

	£.	s.	d.
Charge of the pantry, buttery, and kitchen	3405	0	0
To 184 tuns, 1 pipe, of red or claret wine, and 2 tuns of white wine	104	17	6
To grocery	180	17	0
To 6 barrels of sturgeon	19	0	0
To 6800 stock-fishes, so called, and for dried fishes of all sorts, as lings, haberdines, &c.	41	6	7
To 1714 pounds of wax, vermilion, and turpentine	314	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
To 2319 pounds of tallow-candles for the household, and 1870 of lights for Paris candles called perchers	31	14	3
*To charge of the earl's great horses and servants' wages .	486	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
To linen for the earl and his chaplains, and for the pantry .	43	17	0
To 129 dozen of parchment, and ink	4	8	3 $\frac{1}{2}$

* The number of the earl's horses was generally about 1,500.

To 2 cloths of scarlet for the earl's use; one of russet for the bishop of Anjou; 70 of blue for the knights; 28 for the esquires; 15 of medley for the clerks; 15 for the officers; 19 for the grooms; 5 for the archers; 4 for the minstrels and carpenters, with the sharing and carriage for the earl's liveries at Christmas	£.	s.	d.
	460	15	0
To 7 furs of variable miniver, or powdered ermine, 7 hoods of purple, 395 furs of budge for the liveries of barons, knights, and clerks; 123 furs of lamb, bought at Christmas for the esquires	147	17	8
To 65 saffron-coloured cloths for the barons and knights in summer; 12 red cloths for the clerks; 26 ray cloths for the esquires, 1 for the officers; and 4 ray cloths for carpets in the hall	345	13	8
To 100 pieces of green silk for the knights; 14 budge furs for surcoats; 13 hoods of budge for clerks; 75 furs of lambs for liveries in summer, with canvass and cords to truss them	72	19	0
To saddles for the lord's summer liveries	51	6	8
To 1 saddle for the earl, of the prince's arms	2	0	0
To several items [the particulars in the account defaced]	241	14	1½
To horses lost in the service of the earl	8	6	8
To fees paid to earls, barons, knights, and esquires	623	15	5
To gifts to knights of France, the queen of England's nurses, to the Countess of Warren, esquires, minstrels, messengers, and riders	92	14	0
To 168 yards of russet cloth, and 24 coats for poor men, with money given the poor on Maundy Thursday	8	16	7
To 24 silver dishes; 24 saucers; 24 cups; 1 pair of pater-nosters; 1 silver coffer; all bought this year	103	5	6
To diverse messengers about the earl's business	34	19	8
To sundry things in the earl's chamber	5	0	0
To several old debts paid this year	88	16	0¾
The expenses of the countess at Pickering, in the pantry, buttery, kitchen, &c.	285	13	4½
In wine, wax, spices, cloths, furs, &c. for the countess's wardrobe	154	7	4½
Total	£7359	13	0¾

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IV.

A MAXIMUM on the price of provisions was established by a royal proclamation in 1314, by which the following rates were fixed :—

	£.	s.	d.
The best grass-fed ox alive	0	16	0
The best grain-fed ox	1	4	0
The best cow alive and fat	0	12	0
The best hog of two-years old	0	3	4
The best shorn mutton	0	1	2
The best goose	0	0	3
The best capon	0	0	2½
The best hen	0	0	1½
The best chickens, 2 for	0	0	1½
The best young pigeons, 3 for	0	0	1
20 eggs	0	0	1

This maximum, after existing for twelve years, was repealed in the year 1326.

Henry,
earl of
Lancas-
ter.

A.D.1326.

Henry, brother and heir of Thomas earl of Lancaster, obtained a grant of the custody of the castles and honor of Lancaster, Tutbury, and Pickering, 20 Edw. II., and in the following year an act was passed for reversing the attainder of his unfortunate brother; whereupon he became possessed of all the lands and lordships which had been seized on the death of his brother, namely, the earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester, and all the other lands of which Edmund his father, and Thomas his brother, were formerly possessed. This document, which is preserved in the national archives in the Tower of London, serves to shed much light upon the local history of the age.* The life of this earl was not remarkable for any

* ACT OF RESTITUTION.

A. D. 1327,
An. 1 Edw. III.
Claus. 1 Edw. III.
p. 1. m. 3. in Turr. Lond.

“ Rex dilecto sibi, Adæ de Boghier, nuper firmario manerii de Berleye, in comitatu Eborum, salutem. Cum ceperimus homagium dilecti consanguinei & fidelis nostri, Henrici comitis Lancast’ & Leyc’, fratris & hæredis Thomæ, nuper comitis Lancast’, defuncti, de omnibus terris & tenementis, que idem Thomas, frater suus, tenuit de domino E., nuper rege Angliæ, patre nostro, in capite, die quo obiit, & ei terras illas & tenementa reddiderimus, eaque sibi mandaverimus liberari.

“ Nos, volentes eidem comiti gratiam in hac parte facere specialem, concessimus ei omnes exitus & arreragia firmarum, de terris & tenementis, quæ fuerent prædicti Thomæ die quo obiit, provenientes, de quibus prædicto patri nostro, aut nobis, nondum est responsum, habend’ de nono nostro.

“ Et ideò vobis mandamus, quod eidem comiti exitus, & arreragia hujusmodi de tempore quo firmarius dicti manerii, quod fuit prædicti Thomæ die quo obiit, fuistis (si quæ in custodiâ vestrâ existant) liberetis, habendos in formâ prædictâ; volumus enim vos, de eisdem firmis & arreragiis, erga nos exonerari.

“ Teste rege, apud Staunford, xxiii die Aprilis.

“ Per ipsam REGEM.

great political event connected with the house of Lancaster. He left issue, by Maud, his wife, Henry, his son and heir, and six daughters: Maud, married to William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and afterwards to Ralph, son and heir of the earl of Suffolk; Blanch, to the lord Wake; Eleanor, to Richard, earl of Arundel, having the pope's dispensation for the same, on account of their affinity, and likewise because in his tender years he had contracted matrimony with Isabel, the daughter of Hugh le Despenser, his kinswoman in the second degree of consanguinity; Isabel, prioress of Ambressbury; Jane, married to lord Mowbray; and Mary, to lord Percy.

CHAP.
IV.

Henry,
his son.

“ Eodem modo mandatum est subscriptis; videlicet,

“ JOHANNI DE LANCASTRIA, custodi honoris Lancastriæ.

“ GALFRIDO DE WERBURTON, vicecomiti Lancastriæ.

“ JOHANNI DE KYLVYNTON, custodi honoris de Pykeryng.

“ ROBERTO FONCHER, custodi de Melebourne & firmariis honoris de Tutlebury.

“ WILLIELMO DAVID SENIORI, ROBERTO DE HILTON, & sociis suis, firmariis vill de Tutlebury.

“ THOMÆ DE ROLLESTON, firmario vill de Rolleston.

“ PHILIPPO DE SOMERVILL, firmario manerii de Barton.

“ RICHARDO DE WYTHENHULL, NICHOLAO DE SALOPIA, & sociis suis, firmariis manerii de Adgersleye.

“ ROBERTO LE HUNTE, JOHANNI DE VERNEY, & sociis suis, firmariis manerii de Utoxhather.

“ WILLIELMO DAVID, firmario manerii de Yoxhale.

“ JOHANNI DE KYNARDESEYE, firmario manerii de Marchinton.

“ PRIOR. DE TUTLEBURY, firmario manerii de Scropton.

“ HUGONI DE MEINELL SENIORI, ROBERTO FOUCH, & sociis suis, firmariis hundredi de Appeltre.

“ ROBERTO FOUCH, JOHANNI DE DENUM, & sociis suis, firmariis maneriorum de Beaurepeir, Doffeld', Heigheg', Holebrok, Suthewode, Wyneleye, Holond, Wewebiggyng, Edricheshay, Alrewasseleic, & Coldebrok, cum membris.

“ JOHANNI DE KYNARDESEYE, WALTERO WALTESHEF, & sociis suis, firmariis wapentachii de Wirksworth & Assebourne, cum membris.

“ LAURENTIO COTERELL & sociis suis, firmariis mineræ Plumbi ejusdem wapentachii.

“ NICHOLAO DE HUNGERFORD, firmario quareræ de Rowclif.

“ THOMÆ DE RADECLIVE, HENRICO DE BEK, firmariis manerii de Spoudon.

“ WILLIELMO COKENY, firmario burgi de Asshebourne.

“ GILBERTO HENRY DE YOXHALE, firmario hundredi de Grescleie.

“ EDMUNDO DE ASSHEBY, custodi feodorum honoris Lancastriæ, in comitatu Lin', Notyng-ham, Stafford', & Eborum, & maneriorum de Wadinton & Alkeberugh.

“ JOHANNI DE WYVILL, firmario manerii de Ridelinton.

“ RICHARDO DE WHATTON, nuper firmario curiarum de Bothemeshull & Crophull, in comitatu Notingham.

“ MARIE COMITISSÆ PEMBROCHIE, pro manerio de Hegham.

“ WILLIELMO TRUSSEL, escactori citra Trentam.

“ SIMONI DE GRYMESBY, escactori ultra Trentam.

“ ODoni DE STOK, nuper custodi castri de Kenilworth.”

CHAP.
IV.

A.D. 1333.

Henry, son and heir of Henry, surnamed Grismond, from the place of his birth, obtained, in 7 Edward III. a grant from his father, dated at Kenilworth, 28th December, of the castle and town of Kidwelly, with the whole territory of Carnwarthland, &c. and in the 9 Edward III. he was in the expedition to Scotland, at which time he gave such proof of his valour and military skill, that he obtained from the king a grant of certain lands at Berwick-upon-Tweed, which had belonged to Peter de Kymeringham. On the 7th of April, in the year ensuing, he was made captain-general of the king's army in that realm; and in May following he received the title of banneret. Two years afterwards he was advanced to the title and dignity of the earl of Derby; having, besides the annual fee of £20 per annum, (usually given in lieu of the *tertium denarium de placitis comitatus*, which the earls anciently had,) a pension of 1000 marks, to be received yearly during his father's life, out of the customs of London, Boston, and Kingston-upon-Hull, until the king should otherwise provide for him in lands, or rents, of that value. Shortly after this, king Edward, designing to clear the Isle of Cagant of the garrison which the French had placed there, sent over this earl with considerable forces; where, upon the first encounter, the gallant earl of Derby advanced so far, that he was struck down, when, by the valour of the famous Sir Walter Manney, he was raised up, and placed out of danger; the gallant knight crying, "Lancaster for the earl of Derby."*

His military renown.

In 16 Edward III. the earl was in another expedition into France, having with him of his retinue 5 bannerets, 50 knights, 144 esquires, and 200 archers on horseback; and had for his wages in that service, an assignation of a hundred and eighty sacks of wool; taking for himself eight shillings *per diem*; for every banneret, four shillings; every knight, two shillings; every esquire, one shilling; and every archer, sixpence. He had also the same year an assignation of 1000 marks for guarding the marches of Scotland. In 18 Edward III. the earl of Lancaster was engaged in another expedition to the south of France, and, according to Walsingham, after taking the strong town of Brigerac, he subjected no less than fifty-six cities and places of note to the dominion of king Edward; and such was the terror of his name, that the cry of "A Derby!" "A Derby!" carried dismay into the enemy's camp. In this year of his great exploits, his father died, as already mentioned, on which the earl of Derby succeeded to the honor, castle, and earldom of Lancaster. The famous order of the Garter was first instituted in 1349; of which, next to the king, prince Edward was the first knight-companion, and the earl of Lancaster the second.†

* Sir John Froissart's Chronicles, liv. i. chap. 30.

† The number received into this order consists of twenty-five persons, besides the sovereign; and as it has never been enlarged, the value of this badge of honourable distinction continues unimpaired. The particular cause of its origin is unknown; but a story prevails, that the mistress of king Edward, at



After the siege of Poitiers, of which the earl of Lancaster, Derby, and Leicester was the hero, he was appointed by the king, together with William de Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, Renaud de Cobham, sir Walter Manney, William Lovell, and Stephen de Consintone, to hear and determine all disputes relating to arms. At this time he had of his own retinue 800 men at arms, and 2,000 archers, with 30 banners, and kept such hospitality, that he spent a hundred pounds a day. After the truce, it was found also that he had expended, in those wars of France in which the battles of Crecy and of Poitiers were fought, about seventeen thousand pounds sterling, besides the pay which he had from the king. In consideration whereof he obtained a grant, bearing date from the camp before Calais, 21 Edward III. to himself and his heirs male, of the castle and town of Brigerac, which was one of the places he had taken by strong assault; likewise of all the lands and goods which he had taken at St. John d'Angelyn, until their ransom were satisfied; and soon after he procured another grant to himself and his heirs male, of Horeston castle, in the county of Derby, and the annual rent of forty pounds, issuing out of the town of Derby. Soon after this he was constituted the king's lieutenant and captain-general in the parts of Poitou; and, to crown his dignities, and to reward his merit, the title of DUKE OF LANCASTER was conferred upon him by the king.

CHAP.
IV.

A.D. 1345.

Created
duke of
Lancaster.

Dukes of Lancaster.

Henry, the first duke of Lancaster, having received his title to the dukedom by the general consent of all the prelates and peers then sitting in parliament at Westminster, for his life, he was invested therewith by cincture of a sword; with power to have a chancery in the county of Lancaster, and to issue out writs there, under his own seal, as well touching pleas of the crown as any other relating to the common laws of this realm; as also to enjoy all other liberties and regalities belonging to a county palatine, in as ample a manner as the earl of Chester was known to have

Chancery
court of
Lancaster
instituted.County
made
palatine.

a court ball, dropped her garter, and the king, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile significantly, as if they thought he had not obtained the favour by accident: upon which he exclaimed, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, (Evil to him that evil thinks); which was adopted as the motto of the order.

CHAP.
IV.

within that countv.* About this time likewise he was constituted admiral of the king's whole fleet, from the Thames westward.

In the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum,† a document is preserved, containing the names of some of the principal and subordinate officers of the Duchy of Lancaster, on the first institution of the duchy, with a list of the salaries paid for their services, of which the following is a translation :—

Fees and Wages of the Officers within the King's Duchy of Lancaster, made in the 22d of the Reign of Edward III. IV

LANCASTER, with its Members.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, head steward there, per ann.	6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Molineux, constable of the castle of Liverpool	6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
The same, head-forester of Simon's wood, and king's parker of Croxteth	70 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
The same, high-steward of West Derbyshire and Salfordshire	100 <i>s.</i>
Thomas lord Stanley, receiver of the county Lanc. per ann.	6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Hugh Worthington, forester of Quernmore	4 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Two foresters of Wiresdale, each of them per ann. 30 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	60 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Richard Pilkington, keeper of the park of Hyde and Ful- wood, per ann.	30 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Thomas, lord Stanley, parker of the park of Toxteth . . .	60 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Thomas Richardson, 1 forester of the wood of Mirescough .	60 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
John Adamson, another forester of the same wood, per ann.	60 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Two foresters in Blesedale, per ann.	30 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Sir James Harrington, knt., senescal of Lonsdale and Amonderness	4 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>

* CREATION OF THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

25 EDWARD III.

“ Rex, de assensu parlamenti, creavit Henricum com' Lanc' ducem Lancast' ; & concessit prefato duci, ad totam vitam suam, quod habeat infra eundem com' cancellariam suam, & br'ia sua sub sigillo suo pro officio cancellar' deputand', consignand' justiciar' suos tam ad placita corone quam alia cõem legem tangent', ac cognitiones corundem quascunque executiones per br'ia sua & ministros suos ibidem fac', & quascunque alia libtates & jura regalia ad comitem palatinum pertin', adeo integrè, &c. sicut comes Cestri' infra com' Cestr' dinoscitur optinere ; decimis & aliis quotis concessis per clerum, pardonationibus vite & membrorum, potestate corrigendi ea que in cur' suis ibidem erroneicè facta sunt, &c. semper salvis. Et quod ad mandatum regis mittat ad parliamentum duos milites & burgenses, &c.

† Cod. 433. fo. 317 a.

The same, Sir James, keeper of the park of Quernmore, p. an.	45s. 6d.
Ths. Thwayte, chancellor of the county palatine of Lanc. .	40l. 0s. 0d.
Sir H. Fairfax, knt., ch. justice of the king at Lanc. p. ann.	26l. 13s. 4d.
Richard Pigot, another king's justice at Lanc. per ann. .	23l. 6s. 8d.
John Hawardyn, king's attorney-gen. at law there, p. ann.	6l. 13s. 4d.
John Lake, clerk of crown pleas	40s. 0d.
John Bradford, clerk of common pleas	40s. 0d.
John Lake, William Bradford, and John Bradford, clerks of the crown in the county of Lanc. in the time of sessions, for their wages for 40 days, each of them 2s. per day .	6l. 0s. 0d.
Ranulphus Holcrofte, baron of the King's Bench at Lan- caster, per ann.	4l. 0s. 0d.
Thomas Bolron, crier of all sessions and courts of the king, within the county of Lanc. per ann.	40s. 0d.
Thomas Ratchiff, Esq., constable of the king's castle of Lan- caster, per ann.	13l. 6s. 8d.
Thomas Barowe, master-mason of the king's castles, within the counties of Lancaster and Chester	12l. 3s. 4d.
Peter Wraton, king's carpenter at Lancaster, and clerk of the king's works there	7l. 3s. 8d.
Total	£200 18s. 2d.

CLYDEROWE, with its Members.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, steward of the lordship of Pen- wortham	20s. 0d.
Thomas, lord Stanley, receiver of the lordship of Clyderowe	6l. 13s. 4d.
Brian Talbot, constable of the castle of Clyderowe . . .	10l. 0s. 0d.
Roger Banaster, porter of the castle there, per ann. .	40s. 8d.
John Cays, parker of the park of Musbury, per ann. .	30s. 4d.
John Talbot, parker of the park of Igletunhull, per ann. .	40s. 8d.
Robert Harington, parker of the park of Radam, per ann. .	30s. 4d.
John Hunter, keeper of the chace of Trowdon, per ann. .	40s. 8d.
Richard Shrobury, keeper of the park of Lathegryne, and paler of the same	45s. 6d.
Total	£22. 1s. 6d.

CHAP.
IV.The duke
of Lancas-
ter's deeds
of arms.

The duke of Lancaster, deeply imbued with the chivalrous spirit of the age in which he lived, obtained a license from the king to proceed to Syracuse, to fight against the infidels. To guard against the possible consequences of this crusade, he obtained a royal grant, providing, that in case he should depart this life before his return, his executors should retain all his estates, castles, manors, and lands in their possession, until his debts were discharged. On his journey he was taken prisoner in Germany, and constrained to give three thousand scutes of gold for his liberty. This surprisal was made at the instance of the duke of Brunswick; and learning, before he came to his destination, that the Christians and the pagans had made a truce, he returned to Cologne, where he observed, "that it did not belong to a person of the duke of Brunswick's rank to deal with a stranger in the manner that the duke had dealt with him; that he had never offended him; and that if the duke thought proper to interfere with his concerns, he would find him ready to play a soldier's part." This conversation having been communicated to the duke of Brunswick, he sent the duke of Lancaster a letter of challenge to meet him at Calais in single combat. The duke of Lancaster accepted this challenge with alacrity, and, taking with him fifty knights and a large retinue, he proceeded towards the scene of action. A rencounter between two personages of so much distinction excited the deepest interest both in France and England; and great efforts were made, but without success, to reconcile the combatants without an appeal to arms. On the appointed day they entered the lists, and, having taken the usual oaths, mounted their horses for the combat. In the moment of trial, the courage of the duke of Brunswick failed him, and he quitted the quarrel, and submitted himself to the award of the king of France. The king and his court, who were to have witnessed the combat, now became the mediators, and at a great feast reconciled the dukes to each other. Having effected this object, the king exhibited to the duke of Lancaster a great variety of rare and costly ornaments, which he presented for his acceptance; but the duke selected only one of the many curiosities which were laid before him, and that was a relic, in those days highly venerated, namely, a thorn out of the crown of our Saviour, which he brought to England, and deposited in the collegiate church of our lady at Leicester.*

Holy
relic.

This heroic duke, who, for his deeds of piety, was styled the "Good Duke of Lancaster," out of his devout respect to the canons of the collegiate church at Leicester, permitted the priests to enclose their woods, and stored them with deer out of his own parks. After this time he received special command from the king to keep a strict guard upon the sea-coasts of Lancashire, and to arm all the lanciers

* This sketch of the holy relic is from Nichols's History of Leicestershire.

who were raised in his territories for the public service. In 31 Edward III. John king of France, having been taken prisoner by Edward the Black Prince, was brought into this country. The captive monarch became the guest of Henry duke of Lancaster, in his stately palace in the Savoy, which he had completed at the expense of fifty-two thousand marks, obtained at the taking of Brigerac.

CHAP.
IV.

A.D.1357.

The duke of Lancaster, having terminated his career of military renown, devoted himself to works of piety; and amongst his other acts of munificence, was the gift of a certain livery to the two recluses in the house of St. Helen, at Pontefract, called the "black liverys," which appertained to his donation as Lord of the Honor of Pontefract, to be paid every day out of the hospital of St. Nicholas there, for the finding of a priest to celebrate divine service in the chapel of St. Helen for ever.

His charities.

To the
"black li-
verys."

By a deed, bearing date the 2nd of January, in the 35th of Edward III., he gave to the monks at Whalley, in this county, and to their successors, two cottages, seven acres of land, one hundred and eighty-three acres of pasture, two hundred acres of wood, called Ramsgrave, all lying in the chase of Blackburn; likewise two messuages, a hundred and twenty-six acres of land, twenty-six acres of meadow, and a hundred and thirty acres of pasture called Standen, Holcroft, and Grenelache, lying within the townships of Penhulton and Clitheroe, with the fold and foldage of Standen, to support and maintain two recluses in a certain place within the churchyard of the parochial church of Whalley, and their successors recluses there; as also two women-servants to attend them there, to pray for the soul of him the said duke, his ancestors and heirs; that is to say, to find them every week throughout the year seventeen loaves of bread, such as usually were made in their convent, each of them weighing fifty shillings sterling; and seven loaves of the second sort, of the same weight; and also eight gallons of their better sort of beer; and threepence for their food. Moreover, every year, at the feast of All Saints, to provide for them ten large fishes, called stock-fish; and one bushel of oatmeal for pottage; one bushel of rye; two gallons of oil for their lamps; one pound of tallow for candles; six loads of turf, and one load of faggots, for their food; likewise to repair their habitations; and to find a chaplain, with a clerk, to sing mass, in the chapel belonging to these recluses, every day; and also all vestments, and other utensils and ornaments, for the same chapel; the nomination of successors, upon deaths, to be in the duke and his heirs.

A.D.1361.

To Whal-
ley abbey.

This "good duke of Lancaster" completed the hospital begun by his father, at Leicester, wherein were maintained a hundred infirm poor persons. Within the precincts also of the Newark, he founded a most magnificent and goodly college, and set over it a dean, twelve canons, thirteen vicars choral, three clerks, six choristers, and one verger; all of whom were sufficiently provided with revenues.

To Leices-
ter col-
lege.

CHAP.
IV.

A.D. 1361.

His death.

His issue.

John of
Gaunt.His pos-
sessions.

Both the hospital and college continued the greatest ornaments of the town of Leicester till the general dissolution of religious houses at the Reformation. By his will, bearing date at the castle of Leicester, the 15th of March, 35 Edward III., wherein he styles himself Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicesters, steward of England, and Lord of Brigerac and Beauford, he bequeathed his body to be buried in the collegiate church of our lady of Leicester. He only survived the making of this testament nine days. At that time a plague raged in England, which, in allusion to the great plague in 1349, Barnes calls the "second plague, nothing near," says he, "so dismal and universal as the former, but much more destructive to the nobility and prelacy." Thus died a man most worthy to live for ever, even the great, valiant, and liberal prince Henry Plantagenet, March twenty-four, 1361.

He left issue by Isabel, his wife, daughter of Henry lord Beaumont, two daughters, his heirs: Maud, twenty-two years old, first married to Ralph, son and heir of Ralph lord Stafford; and after to William of Bavaria, son of Lewis the emperor; and Blanch, nineteen years old, married to John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, fourth son of king Edward III. Maud, the elder, had for her purparty an assignment of the manors in the counties of Berks, Leicester, Northampton, Rutland, and Huntingdon, and also the lordship of Beauford and Nogent in France. And to John earl of Richmond, and Blanch his wife, "whose homage was then taken by reason of issue between them, the castle and town of Pontefract; the manors of Bradeform, Almanbury, Altofts, Warnfeld, Rothewell, Ledes, Roundhay, Scoles, Berewyck, Kepax, Aberford, Knottingley, with the mills there; Beghale, Kamsale, Ouston, Elmesdale, Akworth, and Staincross; the bailiwick and honor of Pontefract; a certain rent, called castleferme, with the pleas and perquisites, also the manors of Kriteling and Barlay; except such lands therein as were held for life, (the reversion to the said duke,) the castle of Pickering, with the soke and all its members; the manors of Esyngwold and Scalby, with the members, all in the county of York; the wapentakes (or rather hundreds) of Leyland, Amunderness, and Lonsdale; the manors of Oves-walton, Preston, Shingleton, Riggeby and Wra, Overton, Skirton; the towns of Lancaster and Slyne; the royal bailiwick of Blackburnshire, the office of master-forester beyond Ribbel; the vicary of Wyresdale, likewise the manors of Penwortham, Totyngton, and Rachedale; the wapentake of Clyderhowe, with the demesne lands there; the lordship of Bowland, the vicary of Bowland and Blackburnshire; the forest of Blackburnshire and the park of Ightenhull, with the appurtenances in Blackburnshire; all in the county of Lancaster. The castle and manor of Dunstamburgh, with the manors of Shoplaye, Stamford, Burton, and Emeldon; also the fishing of Tweed, in the county of Northumberland. The manor of Hinckley, with the bailiwick there, in the county of Leicester; the castle and manor of Kenilworth,

with the pool and mill there ; the manors of Wotton, Shrewle, Radesle, and Ashtul, with their appurtenances, in the county of Warwick ; the manors of Halton, Ronkore, More, Whitelawe, Congleton, Keleshole, and Bedestan ; the bailiwick of Halton ; the town of Wyndenes, serjeantry of Wyndes, in the county of Chester. In addition to these great lordships and lands, there was a farther assignment made unto the earl of Richmond, and Blanch his wife, of the manors of Coggleshul, Cridelg, Bailey, Kilbourne, Toresholme, Marthesdon, Swanynghon, Passenham: likewise certain lands in Daventre and Hinklele, with the mills of Lilleborn ; also the manor of Uggele, in the county of Essex.”*

John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was born at Gaunt (Ghent) in Flanders, between the 25th and 31st of March, 1340, from whence he derived his surname ; and on the 20th of September, 1343, he was created earl of Richmond, having therewith a grant in tail general of all the castles, manors, and lands belonging to that earldom, and all the prerogatives and royalties which John, late duke of Britany and Richmond, enjoyed.† In 1355 he attended the king, his father, on an expedition into Flanders, and in 1357 had a grant in special tail of the castle and lordship of Lydell, in the county of Northumberland.

His history.

Having obtained a special dispensation from Rome, he was married at Reading, in Berkshire, to his cousin, the lady Blanch, second daughter and co-heir of Henry Plantagenet, duke of Lancaster. In 1361 he obtained a special charter for divers privileges to himself, and his heirs by Blanch his wife, namely, return of writs, pleas of *Withernam*,‡ felon’s goods, &c. in all the lordships and lands whereof he was then possessed, with freedom for himself and his heirs, and all the tenants and residents upon the lands, and fees which belonged to Henry, earl of Lancaster, from all manner of tolls of what kind soever, throughout the whole kingdom. The same year, having issue by his wife, and doing his homage, he had an assignation of her property in all the lands whereof her father died possessed. And by virtue of the king’s license, he obtained a further grant from John bishop of Lincoln, Richard earl of Arundel, and others, to himself, his wife, and their issue, of the castle of Bolingbroke, with the park, knights’ fees, and advowsons of the churches thereto belonging, together with other manors in the counties of Stafford, Northumberland, and Derby.

His marriage.

In 1362, upon the death of Maud, the widow of William, duke of Bavaria, without issue, he had, in right of the said Blanch, the sister and heir of Maud, all the possessions appertaining to her moiety of the estate of Henry, duke of Lancaster,

Vast accession of wealth

* In the enumeration of these splendid possessions, the ancient orthography is preserved.

† Cart. in officinâ ducatus Lancastriæ.

‡ When a distress is removed out of the county, and the sheriff, upon a replevin, cannot make deliverance to the party distressed.

CHAP.
IV.

Created
duke of
Lancas-
ter, with
palatine
privileges.

deceased. Whereupon he was in parliament declared duke of Lancaster,* in right of his wife Blanch; and the king girt him with a sword, and set on his head a cap of fur, and a circlet of gold, with pearls therein; and created him duke of Lancaster, with all the liberties and regalities of an earl palatine; as also earl of Leicester, Lincoln, and Derby, with the office of high steward of England.

In 1366, after having been empowered to vest several of his estates in feoffees, in order to make a settlement on his lady, and to discharge some pecuniary incumbrances, the duke of Lancaster joined his brother, prince Edward, at Bourdeaux, on behalf of Don Pedro, king of Castile, who, owing to an insurrection of his subjects, fled into Gascony for aid. On breach of the truce in 1369, he was sent with a considerable force to give battle to the French; being retained to serve the king for half a year with 300 men at arms, 500 archers, 3 bannerets, 80 knights, and 216 esquires; but owing to sickness amongst his soldiers, he did not venture to make the attack. On his return from Calais to England, he found that his wife, the lady Blanch, had

* CREATION OF JOHN OF GAUNT DUKE OF LANCASTER,
36 EDW. III.

“ Edwardus, Dei gratiâ, rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie et Aquit,’ archiepiscopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, justic,’ vic ecomitibus prepositis, ministris, & omnibus ballivis & fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos, considerant strenuitatem exercecentem & gestum laudabilem, quos in cariss’imo filio ñro Johanne comite Lancastrie vigere conspiciamus, ac volentes providè personam suam juxta claritatem generis sui ac morum suorum, merita, ut per ipsius potentiam & prudentiam regale sceptrum fulceatur, ad exaltationem & detentiam status sui honorare; eidem comiti nomen & honorem ducis dedimus, et ipsum in ducem Lancast’ prefecimus, ac de eisdem nomine & honore per cincturam gladii & appositionem cappe suo capiti investimus; habend’ & tenend eadem nomen & honorem ducis Lancastrie sibi & heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitimè procreatis imperpetuum: Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus, pro nobis & heredibus ñris, quod predictus filius ñr nomen & honorem ducis Lancastrie habeat & teneat sibi & heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitimè procreatis imperpetuum, sicut predictum est. Hiis testibus venerabilibus prioribus:

SIMONE archiepiscopo Cantuar’, totius Anglie primate;

W. WYNTON’ cancellar’,

S. ELIEN’ thes’ ñris, episcopis;

RICARDO comite Arundell,

ROBERTO Suff’,

THOMA de Veer Oxon’ camerario ñro comitibus;

EDUARDO le Despenser

RADULFO de Nevill

JOHANNE de Nevill

JOHANNE atte Lee, senescallo hospitii ñri; & aliis.

Dat’ per manum ñram, in pleno parlamento, apud Westm’, decimo tertio die Novembris,
anno regni ñri tricesimo sexto.

been taken off by the great pestilence, and that she had been interred with great funeral pomp in St. Paul's cathedral.

CHAP.
IV.

In 1370, the duke of Lancaster was again engaged in an expedition into Gascony; and Peter the cruel, king of Castile and Leon, whom Edward, prince of Wales, had invested in his kingdom, having left at his death two daughters, who, to avoid the usurper, their uncle, had taken refuge in Gascony, he married Constance, the elder of the sisters. Soon afterwards he assumed the title of king of Castile and Leon, and supported his claim by force of arms, but without success. He impaled also the arms of Castile and Leon with his ducal coat. On his return to England, in 1372, the duke was empowered to surrender to the king his father his earldom of Richmond, with all the castles, manors, &c. to the same belonging, in exchange for numerous other manors in the counties of York, Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Sussex. Soon afterwards he headed two formidable expeditions against France, both of which failed. In 1377, he obtained the manors of Grenested, Seford, and Leighton, with several privileges in the same, and the castle and honor of Tikhill. He had license also to give his lordships of Gryngeleye and Wheteley to Catharine Swinford, his concubine (widow of Sir Hugh Swinford, knight, and daughter of Sir Paen Roet, knight, guyen king of arms) for life.

During this year he procured the grant of a chancery in his dukedom of Lancaster, with all other royalties pertaining to a county palatine, to hold in as ample a manner as the earl of Chester ever enjoyed the same; with an obligation of sending two knights to parliament as representatives of the commonalty of the county of Lancaster, with two burgesses for every borough within the said county.* He had

Grant of
chancery
in the
duchy of
Lancas-
ter, and of
palatine
privileges
for the
county.

* CHARTER OF DUCHY AND COUNTY PALATINE:

51 EDWARD III.

“ Rex omnibus, ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod si nos, debitâ consideratione pensantes gestus magnificos cunctorum, qui nobis in guerris nostris laudabiliter et strenuè servierunt, ipsos desideramus honoribus attollere, et pro viribus, juxta merita, præmiare; quanto magis filios nostros, quos, tam in sapientiâ quam in gestu nobili, alios præcellare conspiciamus, et qui nobis locum tenerunt et tenere poterunt potiolem, nos convenit majoribus honoribus et gratiis prorogare?

“ Considerantes itaque probitatem strenuam et sapientiam præcellentem, carissimi filii nostri Johannis Regis Castellæ et Legionis, ducis Lancastriæ, qui laboribus et expensis semper se nobis obsequiosum exhibuit, pro nobis pluriès, in necessitatibus, intrepidè se guerrarum discriminibus exponendo;

“ Et volentes, eo prætextu, ac desiderantes eundem filium nostrum aliquali comodo et honore ad præsens, licet non ad plenum, prout digna merita exposcunt, remunerare, ex certâ scientiâ nostrâ et læto corde, de assensu prælatorum et procerum, in instanti parlamento nostro, apud Westmonasterium convocato, existentium, concessimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, præfato filio nostro quod ipse, ad totam vitam suam, habeat, infra comitatum Lancastriæ, cancellariam suam, ac breviam suam sub sigillo suo pro officio cancellariæ deputando consignanda, justiciarios suos, tam ad placita

CHAP.
IV.

Advocates
the cause
of Wick-
liffe, the
reformer.

license also to coin money for the space of two years, from the 12th of June, in the city of Bayonne, or the castle of Guysseu, or any other place within the seneschaley of Landere, of gold, silver, or any other metal whatsoever.

In this year John Wickliffe, the most eminent of all the Lollards of that time—the “morning star of the Reformation,” as he has been beautifully called—being convened before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, John duke of Lancaster, and lord Percy, at the Black Friars, in London, the duke had the magnanimity to speak in favour of Wickliffe, and to make some strong observations upon the bishops. So unusual a departure from the orthodoxy of the day gave great offence to the episcopal bench, and produced so much discontent among the citizens, that they rose in tumult, and determined to murder the duke, and to set fire to his house in the Savoy. This tumult, the bishop of London, much to his honour, succeeded in quelling; but the duke of Lancaster was obliged to seek his safety in flight, and it was not till after the death of his father that a reconciliation was effected between him and the citizens of London, under the mediation of Richard II.

After the death of Edward III. consultation being had about the solemnity of the coronation of king Richard II. John, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancas-

coronæ quam ad quæcumque alia placita communem legem tangentia tenendum, ac cognitiones eorundem, et quascumque executiones, per brevia sua et ministros suos ibidem, faciendum, et quæcumque alia libertates et jura regalia, ad comitem palatinum pertinentia, adeo integrè et liberè sicut comes Cestriæ, infra eundem comitatum Cestriæ, dignoscitur obtinere :

“Decimis, quintisdecimis, et aliis quotis et subsidiis, nobis et hæredibus nostris, per communitatem regni nostri, et decimis et aliis quotis, per clerum ejusdem regni, nobis concessis, et impostarum concedendis, aut eidem clero per sedem apostolicam impositis et imponendis; ac pardonationibus vitæ et membrorum, in casu quo aliquis, ejusdem comitatûs, aut alius, in eodem comitatu, pro aliquo delicto, vitam vel membrum amittere debeat; ac etiam superioritate et potestate corrigendi ea, quæ in curiis ejusdem filii nostri ibidem erroneè facta fuerint; vel si idem filius noster, aut ministri sui, in justitiâ, in curiis ejusdem filii nostri, inibi faciendâ defecerint, semper salvis :

“Et est intentionis nostræ quod idem filius noster, ad mandata nostra et hæredum nostrorum, ad parlamenta et concilia nostra duos milites, pro communitate comitatûs prædicti, et duos burgenses de quolibet burgo ejusdem comitatûs, ad tractandum, cum aliis de communitate dicti regni nostri, ad eadem parlamenta et concilia venientibus, de negotiis dicti regni nostri, in eisdem parliamentis et conciliis exponendis, mittere teneatur.

“Et quod idem filius noster certos homines, fideles et sufficientes, ad hujusmodi decimas et quintasdecimas, subsidia, et alia quota, quotiens ea nobis seu hæredibus nostris in parliamentis seu conciliis concedi contigerit, colligenda assignet; ita quod nobis et hæredibus nostris de sic concessis respondeatur per eosdem. In eujus, &c.

“Teste Rege, apud Westm', xxviii. die Februarii.

“Per ipsum Regem de assensu totius parliamenti.”

RYMER, tom. iii. p. iii. p. 1073. *Ed. recent.*

ter, appeared before the king in council, and claimed, as earl of Leicester, the office of seneschal of England; as duke of Lancaster, the right of bearing the principal sword, called the *curtana*, on the day of the coronation; and as earl of Lincoln, to carve for the king sitting at table on the day of his coronation. Diligent examination being made before certain of the king's council, concerning these demands, it sufficiently appeared that the duke, as holding by the law of England, after the death of Blanch his wife, had established his claim; and it was agreed, that he should exercise the offices by himself, or proper deputies, and receive the fees thereunto belonging. Accordingly, on the Thursday before the coronation, which was on the Thursday following, by order of the king, he sat judicially, and kept his court in the Whitehall of the king's palace at Westminster, and there received the bills and petitions of all such of the nobility and others as, by reason of their tenure, or otherwise, claimed to do service at the new king's coronation, and to receive the accustomed fees and allowances.* He was also, with Edmund earl of Cambridge, and certain bishops, appointed one of the protectors of the king during his minority.

In 2d Richard II. the duke obtained authority to establish a treasury, with barons and other proper officers, within his duchy of Lancaster.†

CHAP.
IV.

Privileges
of the
duke of
Lancaster
at the co-
ronation.

Grant of a
treasury
in the du-
chy of
Lancaster.

* A portrait of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in this capacity, is preserved in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, a copy of which is exhibited in the initial letter to this chapter of our history.

† CONFIRMATION AND AMPLIFICATION OF CHARTER,

2 Ric. II.

R. II. Inspeximus cartam & E. III. p quem dedisset & concessisset carissimo Avunculo nostro Johi nomen & honorem ducis Lanc' & ipsum in ducē Lanc' p̄fecisset & de eisdem nomine & honore p cincturā gladii & appositione cappe suo capiti investivisset fiend' ead' nomen & honor' Ducis Lanc' sibi & heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis nup ips'.

R. II. concessit pro se & heredibus suis p̄fato Avunculo quod ipse ad totam vitam suam haberet infra comit' Lanc' cancellarium suū ad brevia sua sub sigillo suo pro offic' cancell' deputand' consignand' justiciar' tam ad placita corone quam ad quecunque alia placita cōmūnem legem tangentia tenendum ac cognitiones eorum & quascunq alias libertates & jura regalia ad comit' palatin' p̄tinent' adeo libere & integre sicut comes Cestriæ infra eundem comit' Cestrie dignoscitur p̄tinere.

Decimis quintisdecimis & aliis quotis subsidiis eidem Avo nostro & heredibus suis per cōitatem regni sui & decimis & aliis quoties p clerum ejusdem regni tunc concessis & extunc concedend' aut eidem clero p sede Apostolica imposit' & imponend' ac pardonationibus vite & membrorū in casu quo aliquis ejusdem comit' aut aliquis in eodm comit' pro aliquo delicto vitam vel membrū amittere deberet ac etiam superioritatem & potestatem corrigendi ea que in curiis ejusdem Avunculi nri iſm erronece facta fuerint vel idem Avunculus noster aut ministri sui in justicia in curia sua faciend' defecerint semper salvis.

Et quod Avunculus habet duos milites pro comitatu & duos burgenses de quolibet burgo in parlamento nostro.

CHAP.
IV.

In this early period of our history, personal slavery prevailed to a greater extent in England than in any other country of Europe.* The barons had struggled for liberty, and had, to a certain extent, secured its possession from the crown by the deed of Magna Charta, extorted from king John, and confirmed by Henry III. and Edward I. But this liberty was almost exclusively enjoyed by the privileged classes, who themselves exercised despotic power over their vassals. The rights of those who tilled the ground, and performed the other duties of humble citizens, were imperfectly understood, and subject to daily violation; and so unequal was the pressure of taxation, that the rich and the poor were confounded together in one indiscriminate mass, and called upon to pay a poll-tax, amounting to three groats on every individual throughout the land, male and female, above the age of fifteen years. The collection of this unequal and odious impost produced a rebellion, excited by John Ball, a popular preacher, and led by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and others. The duke of Lancaster, one of the king's ministers, and who was supposed to be his principal adviser, became extremely unpopular; and the insurgents, having broken into the city of London, burnt down the duke of Lancaster's palace of the

Slavery of
the Eng-
lish.

Poll-tax.

Wat Ty-
ler's in-
surrec-
tion.
Duke of
Lancas-
ter's house
destroyed.

“ Et quod idem Avunculus noster certos homines fideles & sufficientes ad hujusmodi decimas & quintasdecimas subsidia & alia quota quotiens ea eidem Avo nostro seu heredibus nostris in parliament' & consiliis concedi contigerit assignaret. Ita quod Avo nro de sic concessis concederetur p eosdem. Et quod habeat justiciarios itinerantes & ad placita foresta infra comit' p'd'. Et ulterius de gratia nostra speciali cōcesserimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quod ipse scaccarium suum in dicto comitat' & barones & alios ministros in eodem scaccario necessarios necnon jurisdicōes executiones & consuetudines quascunque in scaccario Anglie rationabiliter usitatis habeat in eodem scaccario sū & eis ibidem gaudeat & rationabiliter utatur. Et voluerimus quod omnia verba generalia in concessione Avunculi nostri p'dicta contenta in suo robore pmaneat durante vita Avunculi nostri supradict' declarat' concessiones p'dict' non obstantibus prout in cartis & literis p'dictis plenius continentur. Quare volumus & firmiter pcepimus quod idem Avunculus noster & heredes sui p'dict' habeant & teneant omnia & singula libertates & de constituend' justic' ad placit' forest' exceptis placitis ubi rex pars est ac decimis & quintisdecimis & aliis quot & quoties subsidiis nobis & heredibus nostris & aliis quotis p elerum ejusdem regni concessi ac pardonacionibus vit' & membr' in casu quo aliquis ejusdem comitat' aut alius in eodem comitat' p delicto aliquo vitam vel membrum amittere debeat & privilegia scaccarii sui & jura regalia & alia supradicta una cum dictis nomine & honore ducis Lancastrie exceptis preexceptis eidem modo ac adeo libere & integre sicut idem Avunculus noster ea ad ipsum habet & tenet in perpetuum sicut p'dictum est. His testibus.

“ Abps. CANT' & YORK,

“ Bps. London & Winton' (the Chancellor,) EDW. EBOR', THOMAS GLOUCESTER,

“ Ducibus Avunculis nostris, COMSSIS, RIC' ARUNDELL, WILLM SARUM, HEN' NORTHUMP',
comitibus, RIC' LE SCROPE, JOHANNIS DEVEREUX, senescall' hospitii nostri & aliis.

Dat' Westmonast' p manus nostros xvjt' Feb' año regni xiiij.”

* Froissart, liv. ii. chap. 74.

Savoy, and cut off the heads of a number of gentlemen who attempted to resist their lawless outrages ; amongst whom was Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor of England, and Sir Robert Hales, the high-treasurer. This insurrection was suppressed by the determined conduct of Walworth, the lord mayor of London, who resented the insolence shown towards the king on the part of Wat Tyler, by a violent blow with his sword, which brought him to the ground, where he was soon despatched by others of the king's attendants. Richard, taking advantage of the temporary panic, contrived to conciliate the people, and, by his wisdom and moderation, prevailed upon them to disperse. During this insurrection, the duke of Lancaster was in Scotland, negotiating a peace, in which he happily succeeded. On this occasion, William earl of Douglas, with a degree of generous forbearance which seldom fails to obtain its reward, told the duke that he had been acquainted from the first with the distracted state of England, but was so far from wishing to take advantage of the critical situation in which the duke and his country were placed, either for carrying on the war, or extorting more favourable terms of peace, that he might remain in Scotland as their guest, until the insurrection should cease ; or, if he chose to return, he might have an escort of five hundred horsemen. The duke expressed his acknowledgments, but declined the offer. On his return to England, being excluded from Berwick by the governor, he accepted the earl's pledge of honour, and returned into Scotland, where he remained until the popular tumult had subsided.

CHAP.
IV.

Treatment
of the
duke in
Scotland.

In 1384 the duke of Lancaster was despatched, with a powerful military and naval force, to Scotland, to avenge the injuries which the English had received, and to prevent a repetition of them, by some memorable act of chastisement. The duke advanced to Edinburgh, and at the same time the fleet was despatched to ravage the coast of Fife. His soldiers strongly urged him to burn the capital, but the duke, cherishing a grateful remembrance of the hospitality which he had experienced three years before, preserved the city from destruction.* So extensive was the popular indignation against the measures of the king and his ministers during the rebellion of Tyler and Straw, that the lady Constance, wife of the duke of Lancaster, hastened from Leicester to the castle at Pontefract, for refuge, expecting security there ; but when she arrived at Pontefract, her own servants durst not permit her to enter the place, and she was constrained to go seven miles by torch-light to Knaresborough castle, where she continued till the violence of the storm subsided, and till the duke returned from Scotland.

His re-
turn.

A little before Easter in 1384, John Latimer, an Irish Carmelite friar, charged the duke of Lancaster with an intention to destroy the king, and to usurp the

The duke
charged
with high
treason.

* Buchanan : *Rerum Scotiarum Historia*, lib. ix. cap. 45.

CHAP.
IV.The foreign
wars.

crown; but on being summoned to meet this accusation, the duke completely established his loyalty. The king, being under the guidance of evil counsellors, conspired the death of the duke of Lancaster; but private information having reached him from one of those that were in the plot, he retired to his castle at Pontefract, and through the mediation of the princess Joan, mother of the king, a perfect reconciliation took place. The next year he desired leave of the king, and also of the lords and commons in parliament, to go into Spain for the recovery of his wife's inheritance; and ordained his son, Henry earl of Derby, his lieutenant of all he had in England, placing around him a safe and judicious council. When he took his leave, the king presented him with a coronet of gold, and the queen gave another to his wife; orders were also given that he should be addressed by the title of "King of Spain." His train consisted of no less than a thousand spears of knights and esquires, two thousand archers, and a thousand tall yeomen. Having landed in Britany, near the castle of Brest, he was resisted by two of the forts, in the assault of which he lost many of his men; but he ultimately triumphed, and, having sailed with his fleet to the Garonne, he marched to the Spanish frontier, and carried the town of Bayonne. After this, the king of Castile sent to him to treat of a marriage between his daughter and the duke's son; and through the mediation of the duke of Berry, a truce was concluded. In 1388 the duke was appointed lieutenant of Aquitaine.

Claims to
the throne
of Spain.

The disputes which had so long existed in Spain, concerning the right to the kingdom of Castile and Leon, were at length amicably settled by an agreement that Henry, eldest son of John, king of Castile and Leon, and of Portugal, should marry Catherine, the duke's only daughter, by his wife Constance; and that the duke should quit his claim to Spain, on condition of receiving, for his own and daughter's life, a yearly payment of 16,000 marks, and, in case his wife should survive him, that she should have annually 12,000 marks. The duke returned to England in November, 1389, with much treasure; for, it is said, that he had forty-seven mules laden with chests of gold for his second payment; and several great men of Spain, as guarantees for his future annuity. On his return he relieved Brest, in Britany, then besieged by the French. In the following year he was created duke of Aquitaine by the consent of the lords and commons of England, on which occasion a splendid cap was put upon his head, and a rod of gold was given to him, to hold his new dignity of the king of England, as king of the realm of France.

A.D. 1390.

In 13 Richard II. he obtained a further confirmation of the privileges of his duchy of Lancaster, in the appointment of a chancery court there, with the power to issue writs under his own seal; likewise an exchequer, with barons and other

necessary officers, and power to make justices itinerant for the pleas of the forest, &c.*

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IV.

His attachment to his favourite Catharine Swinford remained unaltered, notwithstanding the disparity of their stations; and, after the death of his second wife, Constance, he married her at Lincoln, on the octaves of the Epiphany, at which, say the Chroniclers, there was no little admiration in regard of her low birth. "This woman was born in Henault, daughter of a knight of that country. She was brought up in her youth in the duke of Lancaster's house, and attended on his first wife, the duchess Blanche of Lancaster; and in the days of his second wife, the duchess Constance, he kept the aforesaid Catharine as his concubine, who afterwards was married to a knight of England, named Swinford, that was now deceased. Before she was married, the duke had by her three children, two sons and a daughter. One of the sons was named Thomas de Beaufort; and the other, Henrie, who was brought up at Aken, in Almaine, proved a good lawyer, and was afterwards bishop of Winchester. For the love that the duke had to these his children, he married their mother, the said Catharine Swinford, being now a widow, whereof men marvelled much, considering her mean estate was far unmeet to match with his highness, and nothing comparable in honour to his other two former wives. And indeed, the great ladies of England, as the duchess of Gloucester, the countesses of Derby, Arundel, and others, descended of the blood royal, greatly disdained that she should be matched with the duke of Lancaster, and by that means be accounted second person in the realm, and preferred in room before them, and thereof they said that they would not come in any place where she should be present, for it should be a shame to them that a woman of so base a birth, and concubine to the duke in his other wife's days, should go and have place before them. The duke of Gloucester also, being a man of an high mind and a stout stomach, misliked his brother matching so meanly; but the duke of York bare it well enough; and verily the lady herself was a woman of such bringing up and honourable demeanour, that envy could not in the end but give place to well deserving."† Three years after his marriage, in a parliament convened at London, he procured an act for legitimatizing the children whom he had by

Further
duchy
privileges.

Catharine
Swinford.

A.D. 1395.

* FURTHER DUCHY PRIVILEGES.

13 Ric. II.

"Rex, de assensu parliamenti, concessit prefato avunculo suo Johanni duci Lancastr', quod ipse & heredes sui masculi de corpore suo procreati habeant infra com' Lancastr' cancellarium suam, &c. & quecunque alia libertates & jura regalia ad com' palatinum pertin', & scēni suum, &c. ut in annis precedentibus, sicut ea ad presens habuit, pro termino vite sue.

† Holinshed, p. 485.

Catharine Swinford; and in another parliament, held in September in the same year, called the great parliament, the earl of Arundel was, by the duke of Lancaster, who sat that day as high steward, condemned of treason, and beheaded on Tower-hill. During this parliament the earl of Derby was created duke of Hereford.

Soon after the duke of Lancaster attended king Richard into France, being with him at Guynes, upon the meeting then had with the king of that realm, when peace was made by Richard II. marrying Isabel, daughter of the king of France, then only eight years old. In the same year, the duke of Lancaster had a renewal and amplification of the privileges of his duchy of Lancaster.* He also obtained the hundreds of Southgrenhowe and Laundishe, in the county of Norfolk, which had come into the king's hands by the attainder of the earl of Arundel. In 1398, after obtaining from the king an ample renunciation of all claim on any part of his inheritance, with a confirmation of the dower of the castles of Knaresbrough and Tickhill to Catharine his wife, and a settlement of the manor of Bradford and Almondbury on his son John Beaufort, marquis of Dorset, he was constituted lieutenant in the marches toward Scotland, from the beginning of the twenty-eight years' truce between that country and England. In October, Henry of Bolingbroke, the duke's son, received sentence of banishment; and from that period, this disgrace produced the most pungent sorrow in the mind of his venerable father, who was soon afterwards seized with a fatal illness, and died. His death was much lamented by his friends; but neither the king nor the people sympathized in their sorrow. He was interred with great funeral pomp near the body of Blanch, his first wife, for whom, and for

The
duke's
death

* CONFIRMATION OF DUCHY PRIVILEGES,

20 Ric. II.

"Exemplificatio & confirmatio ampla cartarum precedentium, sicut in anno primo. Et rex, volens eidem duci gratiam facere uberiores, concessit prefato duci quod de cetero predictis concessionibus, libertatibus, &c. plene gaudeat, &c. licet ipse aliquibus earum hactenus usus non fuerit. Et ulterius, pro majori securitate ipsius ducis, rex declaravit & concessit prefato duci, quod ipse ad totam vitam habeat omnes fines pro transgr', &c. pro licentiâ concordandi, & omnes exitus & forisfactos de omnibus hominibus & tenentibus & residentibus in terris & feodis suis; & quascunque forisfactur', annum, diem, & vastum, in quibuscunque curiis regis, &c. & quod per manus ministrorum suorum possit levare fines & amerciamenta predict'. Et quod habeat in terris & feodis predictis assisam panis, vini, & cervisie, &c. & aliorum ad officium clerici mercati pertin' & fines, &c. inde provenientia, ita quod clericus mercati regis non ingrediatur. Et quod habeat catalla felonum & fugitivorum. Et quod habeat retorna omnium brevium, summonitionum, preceptorum regis, &c. & executionem eorundem, ita quod nullus minister regis ingrediatur. Et quod si contigerit ministros dicti ducis in curiis regis propter negligentiam amerciari, &c. hujusmodi fines & amerciamenti sint prefati ducis. Et quod habeat catalla vocat' wayfe & streyc, deodand', thesaurum inventum, & catalla vocat' manuopera," &c.

himself, he had erected, soon after her decease, a sumptuous monument, surmounted with the ducal arms, and with the following inscription on a pensile tablet:—

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IV.

“ HIC IN DOMINO OBDORMIVIT,
JOANNES GANDAVENSIS,
Vulgò de Gaunt, à Gandavo Flandriæ urbe, loco natali, ita denominatus;
Edwardi Tertii regis Angliæ filius;
à patre comitis Richmondiaë titulo ordinatus.
Tres sibi uxores in matrimonio duxit;
primam Blancheam, filiam & hæredem Henrici ducis Lancastriæ,
per quam amplissimam adiit hereditatem.
Nec solùm dux Lancastrie, sed etiam Leicestriæ, Lincolniaë, & Derbeiaë comes effectus;
è cujus sobole imperatores, reges, principes, & procures, propagati sunt plurimi.
Alteram habuit uxorem Constantiam (quæ hic contumelatur), filiam & hæredem Petri regis Castiliaë
& Legionis; cujus jure optimo titulo regis Castiliaë & Legionis usus est.
Hæc unicam illi peperit filiam Catharinam, ex quâ ab Henrico reges Hispaniaë sunt propagati.
Tertiam verò uxorem Catharinam, ex equestri familiâ, & eximiâ pulchritudine fœminam;
ex quâ numerosam suscepit prolem, unde genus ex matre duxit Henricus Septimus, rex Angliæ
prudentissimus;
cujus felicissimo conjugio cum Elizabethâ Edwardi quarti regis filiâ è stirpe Eboracensi, regiaë illiaë
Lancastriensium & Eboracensium familiaë ad exoptatissimam Angliæ pacem coaluerunt.
Illustrissimus hic princeps Johannes, cognomento Plantagenet,
rex Castiliaë & Legionis, dux Lancastriæ, comes Richmondiaë, Leicestriæ, Lincolniaë, & Derbeiaë,
locum tenens Aquitaniaë, magnus seneschallus Angliæ,
Obiit anno XXII. regni regis Ricardi Secundi,
annoque Domini MCCCXCIX.”

In “An ancient and large [MS.] Chronicle in the English Tongue, from the beginning of the Raigne of King Edward I. continued to the 9^o yeare of King Henry VI.” preserved in the British Museum,* the death and interment of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, is thus recorded:—

Death of
John of
Gaunt.

“ In the 20th of Rich^d II. a parliament was held at Westminster, which was “clepid the gpete plement,” and at which so many noblemen attended with their armed retainers, as to fill the town and neighbourhood.—“And all pes gpete nombpe and multytude of this pepil come ynne to London in one day, that eury stpete and eury lane in London, in all pe subbarbes wepen full of hem, logged and so forth x or xj myles eury way about London.

“ And yn this same zere deid John of Gaunte, the kynges uncle, and duke of Lancastpe, in the Byshopes ynne of Ely in Holborne, and was bpought from

* Harl. Coll. cod. 266. fo. 107.

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IV.

thennes into London, to Seint Paulys, pe^r the kyng made hys terment well and worthely, w^t all his lordes and coïnes to reuerens and worship of the hÿe lÿnage and berthe that he come of, and for the hÿe and gpete and peuerent estate that he all way aforne hadde and ben ÿnne, and ÿs beryed pe^r ÿn the chupeche of Seint Paulys in London, be sydes Dame Blaunche his wyfe, that was dougter and heire to the goode Henry that was duke of Lancastpe.”

Henry of
Boling-
broke.

The bequests of John, duke of Lancaster, were numerous and munificent; but the largest portion of his estates descended to his only surviving son and heir by Blanch of Lancaster. Throughout his life, the duke of Lancaster surpassed all the great men of his age in power and fortune; but he was not so universally respected as his brother, the Black Prince, the good duke of Lancaster, or his eldest son, Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby. Some defects in the moral character of John of Gaunt, his haughty carriage towards inferiors, and his public support of Wickliffe, the reformer, added to his want of success in arms, contributed to lower him in the public estimation, though his readiness on all occasions to apply his ample fortune in the discharge of his public duties, and his zeal in the cause of his country, served to rank him amongst the most illustrious of her benefactors.

The ducal family of the house of Lancaster, had, by its marriage alliances, become connected with many of the most powerful barons of the kingdom, as will appear from the subjoined pedigrees, and Henry of Bolingbroke, the representative of this house after the death of his father, John of Gaunt, impelled partly by his wrongs, but principally by his ambition, was about to wrest the sceptre from the feeble hands of his royal consin, and to ascend the throne of England almost without a struggle. By this act of usurpation the seed was sown for the long and sanguinary intestine wars between the rival houses of Lancaster and York, which served for so many years to deluge the country with blood.

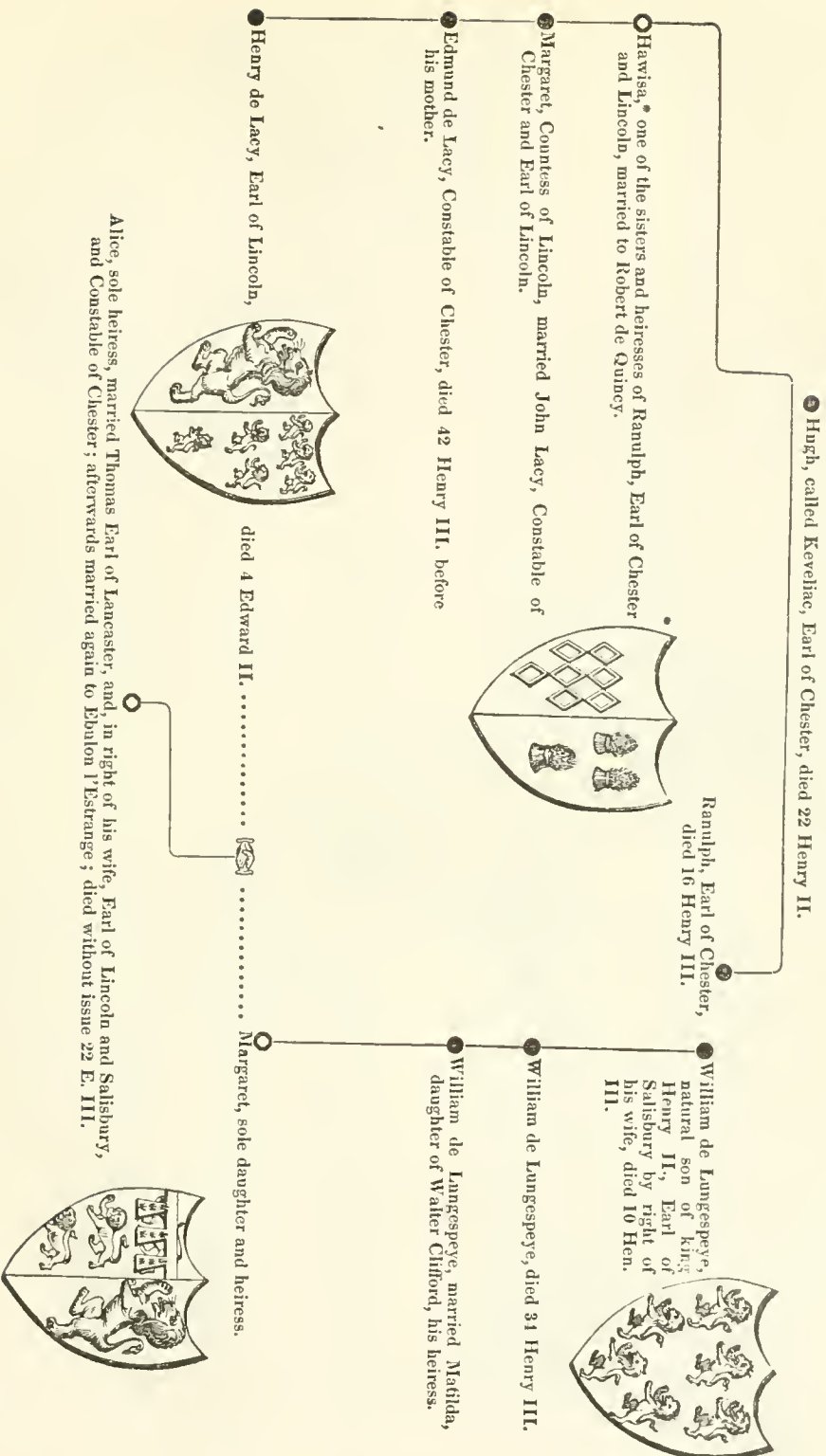
MARRIAGE ALLIANCES OF THE EARLS OF CHESTER, LINCOLN, AND SALISBURY,

DESCENDING INTO

The Lancasterian Family.

(TRANSLATED FROM MR. RUDING'S MS. ENLARGED BY ROT. PARL. VOL. IV. P. 263—266.)

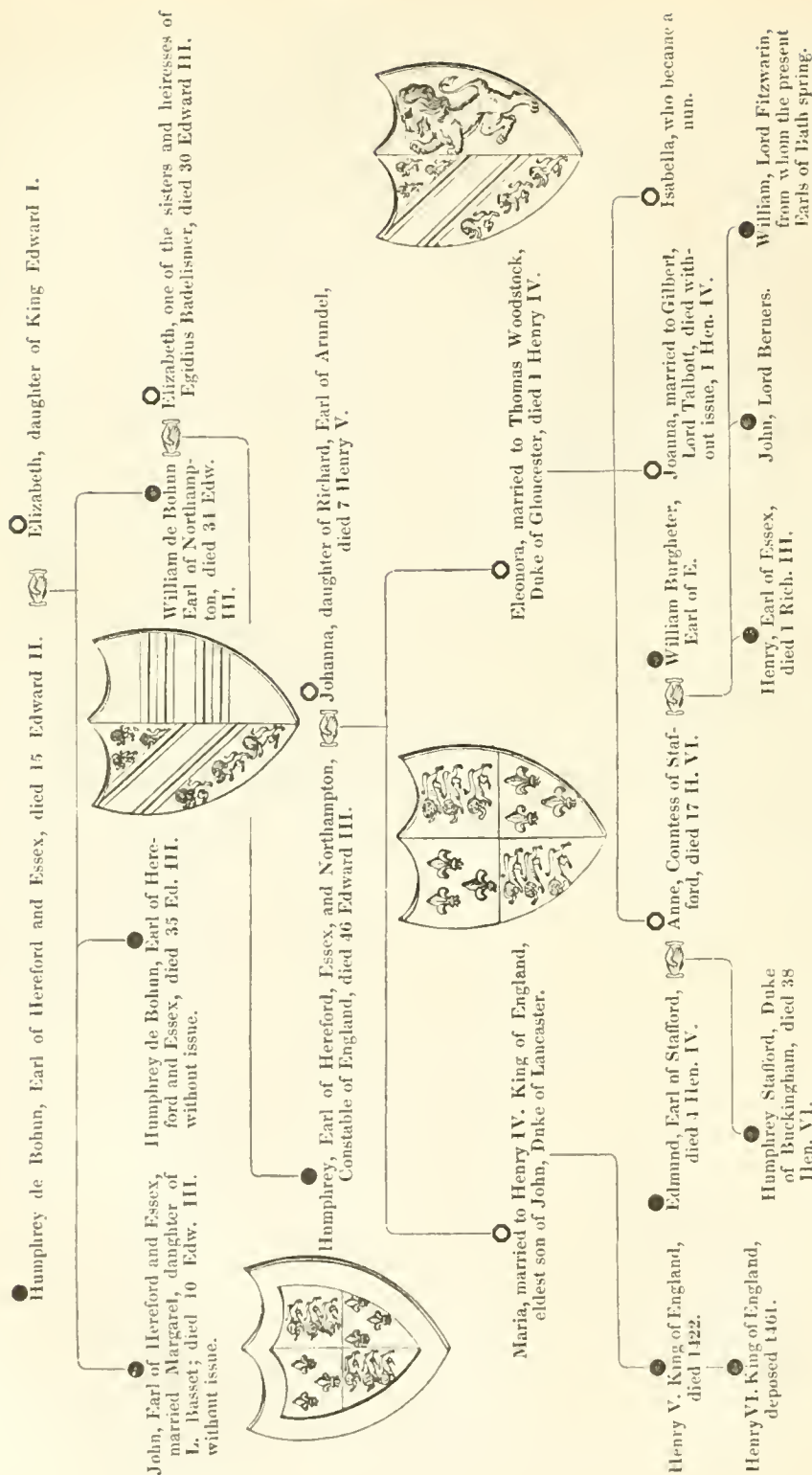
155



OF THE EARLS OF HEREFORD, ESSEX, AND NORTHAMPTON,

DESCENDING INTO

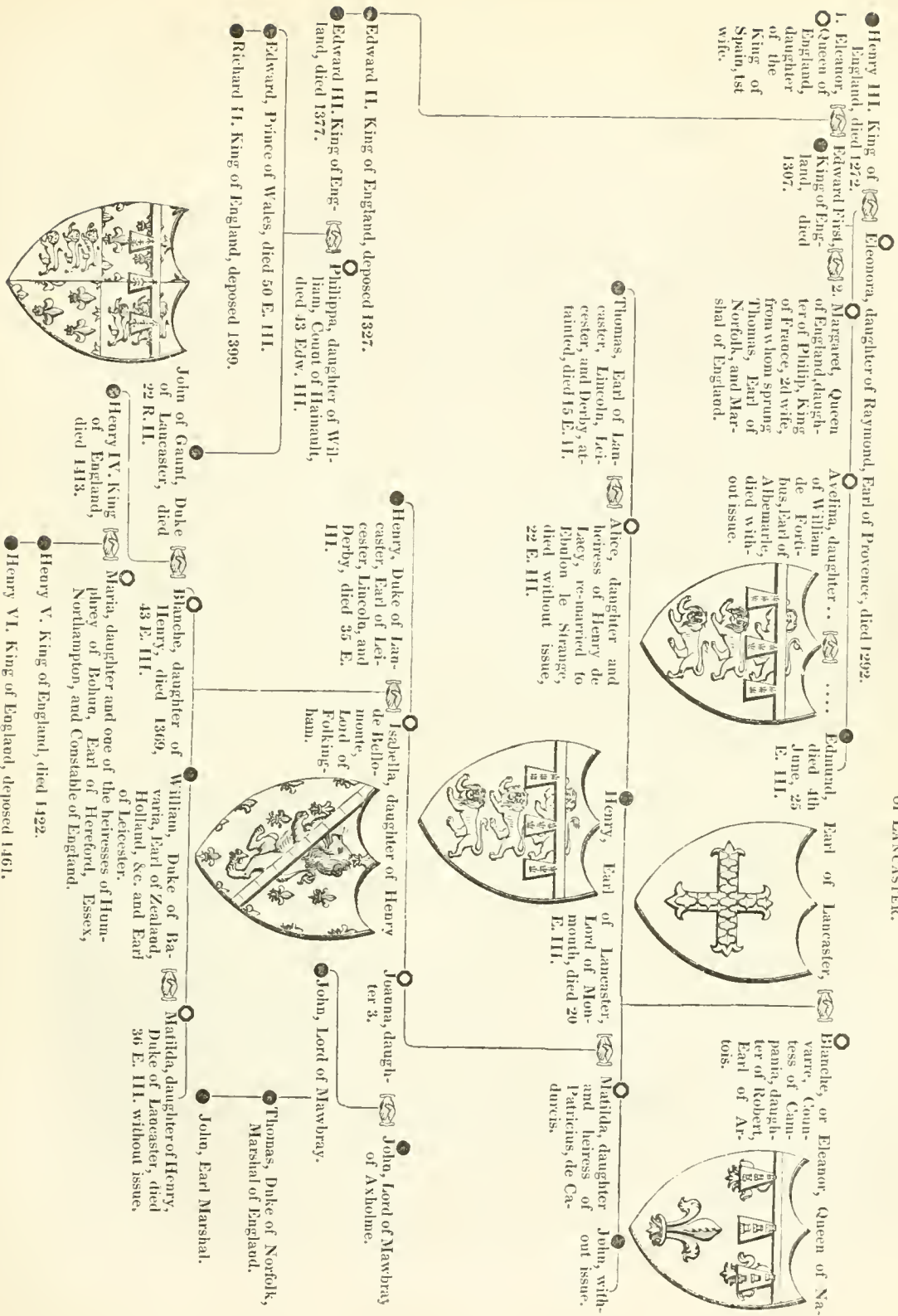
The Lancastrian Family.



Between the KING of ENGLAND and EARL MARSHAL of ENGLAND, lineally computed from HENRY the THIRD and his SON EDWARD.

Declaration of Alliance by Blood,

Between the KING of ENGLAND and the EARL MARSHAL, from the Line and Part of the DUKE of LANCASTER.



Pedigrees and Arms.

These Descents and Alliances of the noble House of Lancaster, derived from the most correct sources, are confirmed by the indubitable evidence of the best historians, and the heraldic illustrations are amongst the earliest efforts in this country, of men learned in “the Antient usage of Honour commonly called Arms,” of which our distinguished Herald, Sir William Dugdale, Garter Principal King of Arms, the worthy scion of a Lancastrian stock, has said :—

“That these Ensigns of Honour, as are commonly call'd *Arms*, which of later times have been chiefly used for distinction of families, had their original from the practice of great Commanders in War, is not unknown to the learned. For certain it is, that the faces of all great military Officers, being obscured by such Hoods and Helmets as were antiently worn in times of Battel ; it was expedient, that by some other means their persons should be notified to their friends and followers. *Necessity* therefore requiring it, they depicted upon their *Sheilds* (which were born for the defence of their bodies) as also upon their *Surcotes* of silk, *Banners*, *Penons*, &c. certain Badges, that might make them known at a distance from each other. Of which sort those, that were most conspicuous ; *viz.* *Crosses*, *Bends*, *Fesses*, *Chevrons*, *Saltiers*, &c. (all single charges) being ever held the best.

“In bearing whereof (as appeareth by divers old *Rolls of Arms*) such order was observed, that none might assume anothers mark ; but that there should be a plain and apparent difference in each man's *Shield*, *Surcote*, *Banner*, *Penon*, &c. to the end, that upon any disorder the common Souldier might know his Leader, and the better repair to his succour in case of danger.

“But these latter times having devised other sorts of Armour and weapons both for offence and defence, then of old were used ; those marks and Badges in *Shields*, *Surcotes*, &c. have been for divers past ages, as to any such military purpose, totally layed aside ; and since meerly retained as honorary Ensigns by the *Nobility* and *Gentry* ; especially to difference themselves and their families from the vulgar, and one from another ; as also to distinguish the collaterals from those of the principal stock. In all which the Kings of Arms, in their respective Provinces, were to see due order observed.”

Chap. V.

Character of Henry Plantagenet—His marriage, and summons to parliament by the title of Earl of Derby—Created duke of Hereford—His quarrel with the duke of Norfolk—Wager of Battel—Great preparations for the contest—The dukes separated in the moment of the on-set—Both sentenced to banishment—The duke of Hereford quits the country amidst the general lamentation of the people.—Elevated to the dignity of duke of Lancaster on the death of his father, John of Gaunt—Returns to England—Expels Richard II. from the throne.—Elevation of the noble House of Lancaster to the royal dignity—Allusion, on ascending the throne, to the tradition, that Edmund Crouchback was superseded by his younger brother.—Ancient tradition, that John of Gaunt was a foundling—Original letter on that subject.—Possessions of the Duchy of Lancaster separated from the crown possessions.—Establishment of the duchy court.—Abolition of the duchy court of star chamber.—Augmentation of the duchy possessions.—Early archives of the duchy.—Inquisitions *post mortem*, and pleadings in the duchy court.—Incorporation and confiscation of the duchy.—Act of Philip and Mary for restoring the duchy possessions.—Ancient duchy book, revenues, fees, &c.—Abolition of the feudal system.—Administration of the affairs of the duchy, and appropriation of the revenues under the Commonwealth.—Chancellors of the duchy of Lancaster, from the creation of the duchy to the present time.—Duchy records, their nature described, and the places of their deposit stated.—Officers of the duchy as they at present exist.—The duchy seal.—Origin and use of seals.—Ducatus Lancastriæ, from the Harleian MSS.



HENRY PLANTAGENET, surnamed of Bolingbroke, from the place of his birth, was, in character, diametrically the reverse of his sovereign, king Richard II. His talents were of a superior order; his manners were popular, and even fascinating; and his ambition led him to aspire to a higher station than that of the first subject in the realm, which his father had so long occupied.

In the fourth year of the reign of Richard II., Henry was betrothed, with the consent of the king, to Mary de Bohun, the younger daughter and coheirress of Humphrey de Bohun, late earl of Essex, Hereford, and Northampton, and hereditary constable of England. In 1385, he was summoned to parliament by the title of Henry, earl of Derby. In the eleventh year of the reign, Henry was engaged with the duke of Gloucester, in the combination against the

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Henry
Plantagenet.

His marriage.

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king's ministers, at which his majesty took great offence; but Richard was afterwards reconciled to him, and in the 21st year of his reign we find the king "sitting in royal majesty, holding in his hand a rod, and making his cousin, sir Henry of Lancaster, earl of Derby, a duke, by the title of Duke of Hereford."

Quarrel
with the
duke of
Norfolk.

This reconciliation was, however, short-lived; a violent quarrel having arisen between the duke of Hereford and the duke of Norfolk, which terminated in an appeal to arms, the king availed himself of this opportunity, with the advice of his council, of which the duke of Lancaster, father of the duke of Hereford, was at the head, to send them both into exile. The circumstances of this memorable quarrel and combat, in which all England, as well as all the knights of Christendom, felt the most lively interest, are related with great particularity in the following document, extracted from a MS. entitled, "The Originall of Herehawghtes," in the British Museum.* In some of the versions relating to this memorable duel, it is represented, that Henry, duke of Hereford, lodged the information against Thomas, duke of Norfolk; but sir John Froissart, a contemporary writer, states the matter differently, and more probably, by representing, that the secret of the confidential conversation between the duke of Hereford and the duke of Norfolk was divulged by the latter; and this construction is supported by the more severe sentence passed upon that duke, "because he had sown sedicion in this realme by his woordes, whereof he could make no profe."

"A Combate to be forghte betwixt ye Duke of Hereforde and Thomas Monbraye, fyrst Duke of Northefolke and Marshall of Englande.

Cause of
the quar-
rel.

"Henry, Earle of Darbeye, (sonne of John of Gaunte, duke of Lancaster, and fowrthe begotten sonne of Edward the thirde) being but a little before created Duke of Hereforde, a prudente and politiq^e psonne, beganne to consider howe that Kinge Richard, his cousyne germaine did litle regard the counseile of his vncles, or other graue psonnes, but did set his wille and appetite in steade of Law and Reasonne; on a daye being in y^e compaignye of Thomas Mowbraye, firste duke of Northefolke, beganne to breake his mynde vnto him, (rather lamentinge on the behalfe of his cousine germaine the king, then for anye malice that he bare vnto him) tellinge him, that the kinge litle esteemed or regarded the nobles and princes of his Realme, but that he sought occasions (as much as in him did lye) to destroye the greater pte of them, nothinge esteeminge the blotte of honor, the damage of the weale publique, the murmuringe of the nobility, the grudge of the comons, nor the wonderinge of all men, at his vnpryncely doinge, desired the Duke of Northefolke, (w^{ch} was one

* Harl. MSS. No. 6079. fo. 29—31.

of the kinges priuey counsaile, and well harde wth him,) to aduertise ye kinge to tourne the leafe, and to take a better lesson.

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“ When the Duke of Northefolke had harde his deuice at fulle, he toke it not in good parte, but rekened that he had got a praye, by w^{ch} he shoulde obtaine greater fauoure of the kinge then euer he had, so at that time dissembled the matter, (as he was in deede a deepe dissembler,) and hauinge fytte opportunitie, opened the whole matter vnto the king, and (aggrauatinge the same to make yt appeare vnto him more haynous,) broughte the kinge in great dislikinge wth the Duke of Hereforde. Neuerthelesse his furye beinge somewhat appeased, he determined to hear bothe ptyes indifferently, and called vnto him the Duke of Lancaster, and his counsaile, and also the Dukes of Hereforde and Northefolke, and caused the accuser to reporte openly the woorde to him declare, w^{ch} rehersed them againe, as he had before related them to the kinge. When Duke Henry harde the tale otherwise reported then he either thought or sayde, (somewhat disquieted wth y^e vntrewthe of y^e matter) besoughte y^e kinge that he would not conceane any euil opinion of him vntill he vnderstoode more of y^e matter; and tourninge him to his accuser, declared woorde and woorde what he had saide, and shewed the cause whereupon he spake them, affirminge, that if the kinge wolde pmitte and suffer him, he wolde pue his accuser a false forger of seditious tales, by the stroke of a speare, and dynte of a sworde. The Duke of Northefolke affirmed constantly his sayeing to be trewe, and refused not the combate. The kinge demaunded of them bothe if they wolde agree betweene themselves, w^{ch} they bothe refused; and then he graunted them the battell, and assigned them y^e place to be at Coventree citey, in y^e monethe of Auguste next ensueinge, where he caused a sumptuous theatre, and liste roiall, to be prepared.

“ At the daye appoynted, the 2. valiantes dukes came to Coventree, accompaigned wth y^e nobles and gentiles of their linages, w^{ch} encouraged them to y^e vttermoste. At y^e daye of combate and fighte, the Duke of Aumarle that daye highe marshall, entred into the lyste wth a greate compaignie of men, apparailled in silke sendale, embroudered wth siluer both richly and curioslye, enery man havinge a tipped staffe to keepe y^e field in order. About the tyme of prime, came to the barriers of the liste, the Duke of Hereford, mounted upon a white courser, barbed with blewe and green velute, embroudered somptuouslye, wth swannes and antelopes of goldesmithes woorke, armed at all pointes. The constable and marshall came to y^e barriers demaundinge of him what he was, who answered, “ I am Henrye of Lancaster, Duke of Hereforde, w^{ch} am come hether to doe my deuoyre againste Thomas Mowbraye, Duke of Northefolke, as a traitor vntrewe to God, the kinge, his realme, and me.” Then incontinente he sware vpon the Holy Evangeliste, that his quarrel was iuste and trewe, and therupon, he desired that he myghte enter the

Prepara-
tions for
the com-
bat.

The com-
batants
enter the
lists.

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liste. Then he put vp his sworde, (w^{ch} before he helde naked in his haude,) and put down his viser, and made a crosse in his foreheade, and, wth speare in his hande, entred into y^e liste, and descended from his horse, and set him downe in a chaire of greene velute, w^{ch} was set in a tranes of greene and blewelute, at thone ende of the liste, and there reposed himselfe, expectinge the cominge of his aduersarye. Soone after him entred into y^e field wth greate pompe, King Richarde, accōpaned wth all y^e pieres of his realme; and there came wth him also the Erle of St. Paule, who came in poste oute of Fraunce, to see thys challenge pformed. The kinge had aboute ten thousande men in harnesse, lest some fraye or tumult myghte rise amongst his nobles by parte takinge, or quarrellinge. When the kinge was set on his stage, w^{ch} was richely hanged, and pleasantly adourned, a kinge of armes made open pclamation, phibitinge all men, in y^e kynges name, and y^e high constable and marshalls names, vpō paine of deathe, not to enterprise, to approche any parte of y^e listes, excepte suche as were appointed to order and marshall y^e fiede. Whiche pclamation ended, another haraulde cryed, “Beholde here Henrye of Lancaster, Duke of Hereforde appealante, w^{ch} is entred into y^e Lystes royall, to doe his denoyre againste Thomas Mowbraye, Duke of Northefolke, defendante, vpon paine to be pved false and recreante.” The Duke of Northefolke honered on horsebacke; at the entrye of y^e Lyste his horse beinge barbed wth crimson velute, embroudered wth Lyons of syluer and mulbery trees. And when he had made his othe before the constable and marshall, that his quarell was iuste and trewe, he entered y^e fiede manfully, sayinge alonde, “God ayde him that hathe y^e right;” and then he dismounted from his horse, and sate downe in his chaire, which was crimson velute, curtene aboute wth white and red damaske.

Prepare
for action.

“The L. Marshall vewed theyre speares to see that they were at one equall lengthe, and deliuered thone speare himselfe to the Duke of Hereforde, and sent thother speare to the Duke of Northefolke by a knyghte. Then y^e haraulde pclaimed, that y^e trauesses and chaires of y^e champions shoulde be remoued, comaundinge them, on y^e kinges behalf, to mounte on horsebacke, and to addresse themselves to y^e battayle and combate. The Duke of Hereforde was quicklye horsed, and closed his bauer, and cast his speare into y^e reste, and (when ye trompet sounded) set forwarde courageouslye towardes his enemy .6. or .7. paces. The Duke of Northefolke was not fully set forwarde, when y^e kinge caste downe his warder, and the haraulde cried “Ho! Ho!” The kinge then caused their speares to be taken from them, and comaunded them to repaire vnto their chaires, where they remained .2. longe howres, while y^e king and his counsaile deliberately consulted, what waye was best to be taken in so waighy a case.

Separation of the
combatants.

“Then the haraulde cried Silence, and Sr John Boreye, secretary to the kinge,

reade y^e sentence and determination of the kinge and his counsaile, in a longe rolle, pⁿouncinge it in this manr. “ My Lordes and masters, I intimate and notifie vnto you by y^e kinges ma^{tie}, and his honorable counsaile, that Henrye of Lancaster, appealante, and Thomas, Duke of Northefolke, defendante, have honorably and valiantly appeared here wth in the liste royall this daye, and haue bene ready to darraigne to battaile, like .2. valiante knyghtes and hardye champions, but because y^e matter is greate and waighty between those .2. greate prynces, the kinge and his counsaile haue taken this order: Firste, that Henrye, Duke of Hereforde, for diuers considerations, and because he hath displeased the kinge, shall, wth in XV. dayes next followinge, depte oute of the realme, for terme of X. yeares, wth onte retourninge, excepte he be by the kinge repealed againe, vpon y^e paine of deathe.” The harauld then again cryed “ O Yes,” and then y^e secretary pⁿounced, “ That Thomas Mowbraye, Duke of Northefolke, by thordinaunce of the kinge and his counsaile, because he had sowne sedicion in this realme, by his woordes wherof he coulde make no profe, shall auoyde the realme of Englande, and dwell in Hungrye, Boeame, Puce, or where he like, and neuer retourne againe into England, nor approche y^e borders or confines of y^e same, vpon paine of deathe, and that y^e kinge wolde stay y^e p^fites and reuenewes of hys landes in his owne hand, vntill he had receaued suche somes of money as the Duke had taken vp of the kinges treasurer for the wages of y^e garison of Callyce, w^{ch} weare styll vnpaid.”

“ When these iudgements were thus deuulged, the kinge called before him those two exiles, and made them sweare, that thone shoulde neur come wth in place where thother was (willingely), or keepe compaignye, to go there in any forrayne regione, w^{ch} othe they humbly receaued, and depted from y^e Lystes. It was supposed that the kinge mistrusted, that if they two shoulde ioyne in one againe, and conspire to be renenged againste him, that they mighte woorke him muche trouble, and for that cause to haue deuised this othe. Then the Duke of Northefolke (w^{ch} supposed he should haue been borne oute by y^e kinge) repented sore of his enterpryse, and depted sorowfully oute of the realme, into Almayne, and at the last came to Hungre, where (through thought and melancholy) he decessed. The Duke of Hereforde tooke his leave of y^e kinge at Elsham, whiche there released .4. yeares of his banishment; and so he toke his iourneye to Callice, and so into Fraunce, where hauinge gotten estimation wth Charles the Frenche kinge, had like (by y^e helpe of y^e said kinge) to have maryed thonly dawghter of John duke of Berye, vnclie to the Frenche kinge, if kinge Richarde (for feare of y^e mischiefe that therby mighte ensue vnto his psonne, if the duke were so strongly alyed, because y^e co^mmons of Englande loued him dearely, and greatly desired his retourne) had not cast a stoppe in his waye.”

Sent into
exile.

* * * * *

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The nation was highly incensed by the king's behaviour to the duke of Hereford, who was the darling of the principal peers, of the city of London, and of the people. They held that he had committed no crime, and had been condemned without trial; that by his banishment they were deprived of their best protector; and they thought themselves by that event exposed to all the malice and indignation of an incensed and vindictive tyrant. As the duke passed through the city of London on horseback, on his leaving the kingdom, he was followed by more than 40,000 people, who cried after him, and bewailed his fate and their own in the most moving manner. He was accompanied on this occasion by trumpets and instruments of music, and with the more melting sounds of universal lamentation. The mayor of London, and others of the principal citizens, followed him to Deptford; and some accompanied him as far as Dover, in his way to Calais.

Arrival
at the
French
court.

On the duke's arrival at Paris, he was very graciously received by the court of France; where he was soon offered in marriage the only daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle of Charles VI. To prevent this union, king Richard sent the earl of Salisbury, his ambassador to the court of France, where the earl represented the duke of Hereford as a person guilty of traitorous designs against his prince; upon which the treaty of marriage proceeded no farther.

Becomes
duke of
Lancaster
on his
father's
death.

After his departure, he received letters from his father, advising him rather to go into Castile than into Hungary; but the duke of Lancaster becoming sick, his son continued in Paris, where the news reached him of his father's death. The king availing himself of the exile of the duke of Hereford, now become duke of Lancaster, seized the possessions of his father, John of Gaunt, into his own hands, and lavished them with his usual profusion upon his favourites. Shortly after this time, the king was obliged to embark for Ireland, to suppress a rebellion which had arisen in that oppressed country; and, during his absence, England fell into great distraction. In this exigency, the people of London sent for their favourite Henry, duke of Lancaster, promising him their assistance, if he would accept of the government.* With such encouragement, and aided by the duke of Britany, he took shipping at Le Port Blanc, and landed at Ravenspur, at the mouth of the Humber, in Yorkshire, where he was met by a number of nobles in the north, and their followers. On his arrival at Doncaster, he found himself at the head of a considerable army, and the common people in all places greeting his return with enthusiasm. The injustice practised towards him by the king, in first banishing him from the realm without proof of guilt, and then seizing upon his patrimonial inheritance, in violation of his letters patent, excited the indignation of the nation towards the oppressor, and their sympathy and enthusiasm in favour of the oppressed. His march through

The
duke's re-
turn to
England.

the country was a triumph; every where the castles yielded to his summons, and, on his arrival at Bristol, his forces were augmented to 60,000. To oppose this formidable force, the duke of York, who had been left viceroy of the kingdom during the king's absence, assembled an army of 40,000 men at St. Alban's; but their attachment to the royal cause was so lukewarm, that they attached themselves to the duke of Lancaster, on his representation that he sought not the subversion of the throne, but the recovery of his paternal possessions, which the king had seized, on the death of his illustrious father. The intelligence of this invasion reached the king when he was in Dublin, on which he hasted back into England, and landed in Wales; where, finding that he was almost totally forsaken, he went on to Conway castle, in the county of Carnarvon. The duke, on hearing of the king's arrival, marched to Chester. From thence he despatched the earl of Northumberland to the king, who proposed that a parliament should be called, to remove the grievances of which the country complained, and particularly to arbitrate between the king and the duke of Lancaster.

Richard, scarcely aware of the danger by which he was menaced, consented to an interview with the duke of Lancaster. In this way he became his prisoner, and was, under various pretences of friendship and loyalty, conducted to London. To give an air of justice to the ultimate designs of the duke, he caused a parliament to be convened under the authority of Richard, by which parliament the king was declared to have forfeited his throne by extortion, rapine, and injustice. Being thus deposed by the suffrages of two estates of the realm, the throne was declared vacant, and the head of the noble house of Lancaster ascended the throne of these realms, by the stile and title of Henry IV. On receiving this dignity before the assembled parliament, the new monarch crossed himself on the forehead, and, calling upon the name of Christ, said—

Elevation
of the no-
ble house
of Lan-
caster to
the regal
dignity.

“ In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster,
“ challenge this rewme of Yngland, and the croun, with all the membres, and
“ the appurtenances; als I that am descendit by right line of the blode, coming
“ fro the gude King Henry therde, and throge that right that God of his grace
“ hath sent me, with help of kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the which
“ rewme was in poynt to be ondone by default of governance, and undoing of
“ the gude lawes.”*

A tradition had prevailed amongst the vulgar, that Edmond Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III. was really the eldest brother of Edward I., but that, owing to some deformity in his person, he had been supplanted in the succession by his younger brother; and as the present duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmond

* Knyghton, p. 2757.

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by his mother, this genealogy constituted him the true heir to the throne. This was, however, a topic rather to be insinuated than declared, and the best grounds of Henry's claim were the misrule of his predecessor, and the affections of the people over whom he was himself called to govern.

A similar story of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, is told by that ancient gossip, Dame Alice Pierce,* the concubine of king Edward III., and retailed by John Stowe, the annalist, on which subject we find the following original letter, in the British Museum, (Harl. MSS. Cod. 374. De Rebus Literariis, Politicis, Domest. fol. 23.)

“LETTER TO STOWE, THE HISTORIAN.

“Mr. Stowe,—I hartely comend me vnto yow, and like well your Annales, and great paynes taken therin. My fownder is bound to yow, but that tale of Alice Peers is slanderous, and in my conscience most vntrue, nether hath Thomas Walsingham, nor Froisard, nor any writer the same, but yow note of a nameless munck of St. Albans, and the addition to Polycronico *per nescio quem*, and D. Harpissfeld doth confute yt. The like tale that quene Philip should vtter in confession to B. Wikam, and B. Wikam to the Parlement, to witt, yt the duke of Lancaster was a chaingelinge; that also is most vntrewe. And yet I know Monach^o Alban^o hath yt. In these three poynts I must dispute wt yow, therefore provide your selfe against the next Time, for I will defend the negative in euery one; as likewise that B. Wikam was neuer a banished man beyonde the seas. And yet some hold that he was there in banishment vij yeres, and some that he was their but iij yers, and some yt he was the whiles in Normandy, some in Pariss, and all most vntruly; nether can I fynde that Skipwith did euer procede to iudgment of the bannishment against him, but only to the deprivation of the temperalties of his bishopwricke. My sone, this bearer, shall give yow a token to have me in remembrance in the premisses. by

Your most assured friend,

(Superscribed)

“THOMAS MARTYN.”

“To my wel-beloved and very kind Mr. Stowe, at his howse, beyonde London hall in London, give these.”

* The character of this Dame Alice Pierce, and of royal mistresses in later times, may be collected from the account given of her by Stowe himself, who says:—

“At the time the Kings sicknesse increased, and Physicians began to dispayre of his recovery, although the forrenamed Alice, together with Isabell, her daughter, did lie by him every night. * * * Being now sodainly taken with the day of his death, he began to have manifest signes thereof: what Alice Pierce then did, any man may iudge, although we set them not downe in writing, for as soone as she saw the King had set foote with in deaths doore, she bethought her of flight, yet before she went, that all men might perceiue that she loved not the King for himselfe, but for that which was his, she tooke the rings from his fingers, which for the royaltie of his Maiestie hee was wont to weare. Thus yielding him such thanks for his benefites, shee bad him adieu, and so withdrew her selfe from him.”—*Stowe's Annals*, pp. 272, 276.

To return. Henry duke of Lancaster being now seated upon the throne of England, the unfortunate Richard was sent to the duke's castle at Pontefract. Here he was detained in confinement for some time; but so short is the distance between the throne and the grave of a deposed monarch, that his life was speedily terminated, either by the hand of the assassin, or the more protracted misery of famine. Richard's reign being thus terminated—

CHAP
V.

“ Post breve tempus
Exiit insigni sese diademate, sceptrum
Henrico Lancastrensi regale relinquens”—

his successor turned his attention to the appointment of his new officers. The office of high-steward, which he possessed in right of his earldom of Leicester, derived from the Lacys, he conferred upon his second son, Lord Thomas, whose incapacity, from his non-age, was supplied by the earl of Worcester, while the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster was given to John Wateringe, a divine of considerable influence with his royal master. Mr. Justice Blackstone, in his Commentaries,* observes, that “ the County Palatine, or duchy of Lancaster, was the property of Henry Bolingbroke, the son of John of Gaunt, at the time when he wrested the crown from king Richard II. and assumed the title of king Henry IV.” But this is a mode of expression at variance with the usual accuracy of that distinguished writer's style, and would seem to imply, that the county palatine of Lancaster and the duchy of Lancaster are co-extensive, and that the terms are convertible. This, however, is by no means the case, the county palatine being confined to the county, while the duchy of Lancaster, as we have already intimated, and as we shall speedily shew more specifically, comprehends not only the county of Lancaster, but many other portions of the kingdom. It has been justly observed by Plowden,† in the celebrated “ Duchy of Lancaster Case,” 4 Elizabeth, and by Sir Edward Coke,‡ in his fourth Institute, that the new monarch was well aware, that “ he held the duchy of Lancaster by sure and indefeasible title, but that his title to the crown was not so assured: for that, after the decease of Richard II. the right of the crown was in the heir of Lionel, duke of Clarence, *second* son of Edward III.; John of Gaunt, father of Henry IV. being but the fourth son.” One of his first measures after ascending the throne was, therefore, to pass an act, sanctioned by parliament, ordaining that his eldest son Henry should have and bear the name and title of duke of Lancaster, in addition to his other titles; and that neither the inheritance of his duchy of Lancaster, or its liberties, should be changed, transferred, or diminished, through his assumption of the royal dignity; but that they should retain their distinctive character and privileges, and be governed in like manner, as if he

Appoint-
ment of
public
officers.

Confers
the title of
duke of
Lancaster
on his
eldest son.

* Vol. i. Intro. sect. 4. p. 118.

† p. 215.

‡ p. 205.

CHAP.
V.The duchy
distinct
from the
crown.

had never attained the royal dignity.* It was further directed, that all ecclesiastical benefices in the said duchy should be conferred by himself and his heirs, so that the (lord) chancellor, treasurer, or other officers of the state, should not interfere, by reason of their respective offices, with the collection or preservation, or even with the visitation, of benefices within the duchy; and that all receivers, bailiffs, and other servants of the duchy, &c. should appear before certain special auditors and ministers, and not before the treasurer and barons of the king's exchequer, and account and answer for profits and benefits of the duchy, without any interference of the treasurer and barons.

* “ ACT RENDERING THE INHERITANCE OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER
INDEPENDENT OF THE POSSESSION OF THE CROWN.

I HEN. IV.

“ Item nre dit seignour le roi, considerant coment luy Dieu tout puissant de sa grande grace luy admys en honourable estat du roy, & per tant il ne poet mesme pur certeine cause porter le nom de duc de Lancestr' en son estile: Et auxi mesme nre seignour le roi, considerant coment cet honourable nom & estat de duc ad este mesnez & gouvernez moelt honourablement en honourable persone de son pier qi Dieu assoile & des pleusours ses honourable ancestres. Et veullant sur ceo q̄ le dit nom de duc Lancastre soit continuez en honur come affiert; de ladvis & assent des toutz les seignours espirituelx & temporelx & de les coēs avaunt ditz ad ordeignes, q̄ Henry son eisnex fitz ait & porte le nom de duc de Lancestr' & qil soit nomez Prince de Gales, duc d' Aquitaine, de Lancestr', & de Cornewaill, & count de Cestr'. Et outre ceo messme nre seign' le roy, considerant coment diverses libtees & franchises aient este g̃ntes devant ces heures, sibn a son dit pier come as autres ses aunecestres ducs & countz de Lanc' voet & g̃nte de ladvys & assent avaunt ditz, q̄ mesme les libtees & franchises soient & demorgent a son dit eisnez fitz & ses heires ducs de Lanc', dissevez fitz de la corone d' Engleterre, qui teinent & entierment solonc leffect & purport de les g̃ntes avaundites; & sur ceo monstra una chartre en parlement ent fait, & la bailla a son eisnez fitz avaunt ditz.

“ Post apmissiman cartarum precedentium repetitionem & exemplificationem. Rex, nolens hereditatem suam ducatus sui Lancestr' aut libertates ejusdem, occasione assumptionis regalis status, in aliquo mutari, transferri, seu diminui; sed eandem hereditatem, cum juribus & libertatibus suis pre-concessis, eisdem modo, forma, conditione, & statu, quibus sibi descenderunt & evenerunt, ac cum omnibus & singulis talibus libertatibus & franchisesiis, &c. quibus Johannes dux Lancestr', pater regis, dum vixit, eam ad terminum vite sue habuit & tenuit, sibi & heredibus suis, in cartis predictis nominatis, plenariè & integrè conservari & continuari; voluit & ordinavit, de assensu parliamenti quod tam ducatus suus Lancestr', quam universa alia comitat', honor', castr', maner', feoda, advocaciones, possessiones, &c. quecunque, sibi ante adoptionem dignitatis regis qualcumque descensa, &c. sibi & dictis hered' suis, &c. remaneant; & tali modo, & per tales officarios deducantur & gubernentur, &c. sicut remanere & gubernari deberent si ad culmen dignitatis regie assumptus non esset; & quod talia & hujusmodi libertates, jura regalia, &c. in eisdem in omnibus habeantur & continuentur, &c. qualia & cujusmodi uti & haberi consueverunt temporibus dictorum patris sui & aliorum antecessorum suorum. Volens ulterius quod singuli tenentes de ducat', com', honor', &c. predict' libere & illese conditionis sint, tam in ingressibus post mortem antecessorum suorum quam in tenuris suis, &c. sicut esse deberent si dicta dignitas regia non accessisset. Proviso semper quod tenentes infra com'

Steadily pursuing the principle here laid down, it was by a subsequent act* ordained, that the right of succession to the duchy of Lancaster after the king's death, should belong to his eldest son, Henry, prince of Wales, and his heirs; and in default of heirs to Thomas, his second son, and that the ancient rights, statutes, and customs of the duchy, should be maintained and observed inviolate. Having thus fixed the succession to the property of the duchy by all the force of legislative enactments, the next care of the king was to establish a court, called the duchy court of Lancaster, in which all questions of revenue and council, affecting the duchy possessions, might be decided. This court is now held at the duchy office in Westminster; thence issue all patents and commissions of office or dignities, all orders and grants affecting the limits and revenues, and all acts of authority within the duchy. It is also a court of appeal from the chancery of the county palatine of Lancaster, which court is a court of equity for matters of equity arising within the county of Lancaster,† and is held at Preston. The record-office of the duchy of Lancaster, where the deeds are deposited, has been frequently changed: within living memory, Gray's-Inn, Somerset-House, and Great George's-street, has each in succession afforded them a depository; but the office now seems permanently fixed within the precinct of the ancient ducal residence of the Savoy, in Lancaster-place, Waterloo-bridge, London, of which bridge the southern arch abuts against his Majesty's inheritance of the duchy of Cornwall, and the northern against his inheritance of the duchy of Lancaster. The duchy chambers at Westminster, being within the precincts described in old statutes as a royal residence, the proceedings are dated before his majesty, "at his palace at Westminster," and not, as other royal acts, at the personal residence of the monarch. In this court he is not only presumed to be present, as in others, but to be personally acting by the advice of his chancellor, and other ministers, for the affairs of his duchy.

CHAP.
V.

Establish-
ment of
the duchy
court.

When that intolerable nuisance, the court of star-chamber, existed, in contravention of the provisions of Magna Charta, which direct that no freeman shall be deprived of his liberty or property but by lawful judgment of his peers, the duchy of

Abolition
of duchy
court of
star-
chamber.

palatin' Lanc' hereditates suas, &c. extra manum regis prosequantur per liberationem in cancellar' regalitatis ibidem, ut est moris, &c. Voluit insuper rex, &c. quod singula beneficia ecclesiastica ad hereditatem predict' spectant' per ipsum & heredes suos predict' conferantur; ita quod cancellar' vel thes' Anglie, vel alius officarius regius, de collatione vel presentatione, seu etiam de visitatione beneficiorum hujusmodi ratione officiorum suorum non intromittant. Voluit insuper quod omnes receptores, firmarii, ballivi, & quicunque alii ministri sui predictorum ducatus, honorum, castrorum, maneriorum, &c. de singulis denariis & proficuis, &c. de eisdem ducat', honor', &c. provenient', coram certis specialibus auditor' & ministris, & non coram thes' & baron', sêcio regis, computent aut respondeant; ita quod thes' & barones predict' in aliquo premissorum se non intromittant."

* 8 Hen. IV.

† 2 Lev. 24.

CHAP.
V.

Lancaster had also its star-chamber, and the chancellor of the duchy and council of his court, punished without law, and decreed without authority; but this power was swept away by the act 16 Car. I., which ordained, that from the 1st of August, 1641, this power should be abolished in every court within the realm, and that from henceforth no court should exercise the jurisdiction of star-chamber.*

Augmen-
tation of
the duchy.

Two years after the succession had been settled upon prince Henry and his heirs, the manor of Brotilby, and fee of La Haye, in the county of Lincoln, with the wardship of the castle of Lincoln, formerly in the possession of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and which now remained in the hands of the king, through the forfeiture of Thomas, son of Thomas, earl of Kent, was incorporated with his inheritance of Lancaster, as parcel of the duchy; and it was ordained, that it should descend to his heirs, and that all the tenants of these possessions should be governed in the same manner, and by such officers as the other lordships and manors of the inheritance.†

Confirma-
tion of
former
acts.

Soon after Henry V. ascended the throne, he confirmed the acts of his royal father with regard to the duchy of Lancaster; and it was directed, with the sanction of parliament, that all the liberties and franchises of this duchy should in all things be maintained and exercised for ever, according to the tenor of the charters already granted, and that the seal hitherto used in the duchy, and all matters under that seal which had hitherto been given and granted, should have force, without the reclamation of the king, or his officers; and that the seal of the duchy should be used for ever, in transacting the business of the duchy. As several honors, castles, and manors, which were the inheritance of Mary, one of the daughters and heiresses of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, whose heir the king was, had descended to him by hereditary right; the king separated all these possessions from the crown, and incorporated them with his duchy of Lancaster, appointing that they should be administered by the officers of the duchy, as they had been accustomed to be; and that the vassals and tenants of this inheritance, and the residents within the same, should enjoy the liberties and franchise of the duchy. He also ordained, that all ecclesiastical benefices attached to the duchy inheritance, should be conferred under the seal of the duchy without the interference of the chancellor and treasurer of England. To render this ordinance complete, it was further directed, that all the castles, honors, and lands, which had come into possession of the king's father, Henry IV., in consequence of a grant made in the first year of his reign, as to escheats, forfeitures, and recovery, should be incorporated with the duchy, and that any other honors, castles, or manors, which had come by escheats, forfeitures, or recovery, should also be joined to the duchy, and that

Further
augmen-
tation of
the duchy.

* Rot. Parl. 16 Car. p. 2. nu. 6.

† Act of 10 Henry IV.

they should be ruled and governed by the officers and ministers of the duchy, under the sanction of the duchy seal.*

CHAP.
V.

In the third year of the reign of Henry V. it was directed, that two of the chief seneschals of his inheritance for the time being, besides the number of guardians limited by form of statutes, should act in all the counties of his kingdom, and that they should exercise their office of seneschal in all commissions of the peace, and that no donations, pardons, or releases, which concerned in any manner the duchy of Lancaster, or that emanated therefrom, should be valid, except under the seal designed for the duchy. Two other acts, the first passed in the ninth year of Henry V. and the second in the first of Henry VI. annex other possessions of the Bohun family to the duchy of Lancaster.

Appoint-
ment of
senes-
chals.

It was the misfortune of Henry VI. to be deeply involved in debt; and his expectation that two Lancashire knights would remove all his embarrassments, by the discovery of the philosopher's stone! was not sufficient to prevent his creditors from urging their demands in a tone little suited to the refinement of a court. To satisfy these demands, he was driven to the expedient of mortgaging for five years the revenues of the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall, and the terms of this mortgage, as given in the 18th Henry VI. sufficiently indicate the importunity of the royal creditors, and the petulancy of the king under their demands.

Mortgage
of the
duchy
posses-
sions.

“For so muche,” says this act, “as the king our soverayn lord having knowliche of greate murmur and clamour that shold be in his roialme of England, for nonpaiment of the dispensis of his houshold; willing of his good grace paiement to his liege people to be made for the dispensis of the same houshold, granteth and ordeineth, bi thassent of the lords spirituall and temporell, and the communes of this roialme, in this present parliament assembled, and bi auctorite of the same parliament, that all the profits, issues, revenues, customes, and commodites, comynge or for to come, of all the castles, honours, maners, lordships, landes, tenementes, rentes, reversions, services, franchises, libertees, viewes of francpleg, hundredis, letis, courtis, and all other inheritances and possessions of the duchie of Lancaster remayning in his hande, and of the duchie of Cornewaille while the same duchie shall be in his hande, from the fest of Seint Michell the archangell last passed, except all fees, wages, annuyteis, reparations, and other charges necessary goinge out of the same, be ordeined, applied, and employed, to the dispensis of his said houshold, and delivered by the receyvoirs generall of the said duchies for the tyme being, to the tresourer of his said houshold for the tyme being, by indenturs, thereof betwene thaim to be made; and that the receyvoirs generall of the said duchies, upon their accompte, allewayes shall have allowance and discharge of their payementz, made

* Act 2. Henry V.

CHAP.
V.

by suche endentures; and yf the same receyvoirs make payement in any otherwise than in forme aforesaid, that then therof they be disalowed upon theire accompt. Savinge to all the kinge's lieges theire title, right, and interesse that they have in the said duchies, or in any parcelle therof, this acte notwithstandinge; and that this ordinance endure to the ende of five yere next ensuinge."

Officers of
the duchy.

The revenues of the duchy having reverted to the king, as duke of Lancaster, an act was passed in the 39 Henry VI. appointing that there should appertain to the duchy one chief steward and one auditor in the northern parts, and one other chief steward and one other auditor in the southern parts, with one chancellor, one receiver general, and one attorney-general in and of all the duchy, with one chief steward, and one attorney-general in the county palatine of Lancaster. While the mortgage existed, several new offices had been created, but by this act those offices were abolished as burdensome in fees, and unnecessary for use.

Early
archives
of the
duchy.

Hitherto the archives of the duchy had been lodged in the church and priory of Saint Bartholomew, in West Smithfield, London, much to the annoyance of the prior and his convent. On a representation that the church had become much occupied and encumbered with "divers great chests containing the books" of the duchy of Lancaster, and that divine service was interrupted by the entrance of ministers, under colour of an examination of the books, and that no little disturbance was created thereby, the king directed that the prior and convent, and their successors, should be exonerated from the custody of the said books and documents; and the officers of the duchy were ordered to remove their chests, with their contents, out of the priory into the tower of London, or into such other place as might be found convenient to deposit them.*

Taken
under the
authority
of the
duchy
court of
Lancaster.

Ducatus
Lancas-
triæ.

Although the court of the duchy of Lancaster was instituted in the early part of the reign of Henry IV., no *post mortem* inquisitions are registered in this court earlier than the first of Henry V. The duty of collecting and arranging the inquisitions has been performed by the direction of his majesty's commissioners of public records, and a list of these inquisitions is published along with a list of the pleadings, consisting of bills, answers, depositions, and surveys, relating to the suits in that court, in two volumes, entitled "*Ducatus Lancastriæ*." These volumes are thus described by the persons charged with the duty of collecting and arranging the materials:

"According to the returns made to the select committee of the house of commons in the year 1800, the INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM in this repository then found amounted to 2400, beginning with the first year of king Henry V. (1413,) and ending with the eighteenth year of king Charles the First, (1642.) A more recent investigation has shewn their number to

* 39 Henry VI.

CHAP.
V.

Dated " Office of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1823."

Inquisitions Post Mortem, in Vol. I.		2105
	In Vol. II. (<i>Nil</i>) . .	
Pleadings in Vol. I.		1594
	In Vol. II.	1589
		————— 3183

Confirma-
tion of the
charters of
the duchy.

1 EDWARD IV.

“ It is declared and adjudged by the assent and advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons, being in this present parliament, and by the authority of the same, that the same Henry, late called King Henry the Sixth, for the considerations of the great, heinous, and detestable matters and offences before specified by him, committed against his faith and ligeance to our said liege Lord King Edward the Fourth, his true, righteous, and natural liege Lord, offended and hurt unjustly and unlawfully the Royal Majesty of our said Sovereign Lord, stand by the advice and assent convicted and attainted of High Treason. And that it be ordained and established by the same advice, assent, and authority, that he the same Henry forfeit unto the same our Liege Lord Edward the Fourth, and to his heirs, and to the said Crown of England, all Castles, Manors, Lordships, Towns,

CHAP.
V.

enacted, in the first year of his reign, that all the lands of the duchy of Lancaster, which had been alienated from that inheritance in the reign of Edward IV. should be re-invested in the king and his heirs for ever, as amply and largely, and in like manner, form, and condition, separate from the crown of England, and possessions of the same, as the three Henries, or Edward IV. or any of them, had and held the same. Ever since the period when Henry IV. mounted the throne of England, the duchy of Lancaster has indeed always been considered by the reigning monarch as one of the richest gems in the crown, though for state purposes it has been kept separate and distinct from the regal revenues and possessions. When the act for regulating the order of wards and liveries was passed, a special proviso was introduced, to guard against the royalties, liberties, and jurisdictions of the county

Townships, Honours, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Fee-Farms, Knights'-Fees, Advowsons Hereditaments, and Possessions, with their appurtenances, which he or any other to his use had the third day of March last past, being of the Duchy of Lancaster, or that were any parcel or member of the same Duchy, or thereunto annexed or united in the first year of the reign of Henry, late called King Henry the fifth, or at any time since. And that it be ordained and established by the same advice, assent, and authority, that the same Manors, Castles, Lordships, Honours, Towns, Townships, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Services, Fee-Farms, Knights'-Fees, Advowsons, Hereditaments, and Possessions, with their appurtenances in England, Wales, and Calais, and the Marches thereof, make, and from the said day of March be to the said Duchy of Lancaster corporate, and be called the Duchy of Lancaster. And that our said sovereign Lord King Edward the fourth have, seize, take, hold, enjoy, and inherit all the said Manors and Castles, and other the Premises with their appurtenances, by the same name of Duchy, from all other his inheritances separate, from the said fourth day of March, to him and to his heirs Kings of England perpetually, and that the County of Lancaster be a County Palatine: And that our Liege and Sovereign Lord King Edward the fourth and his heirs have, as parcel of the said Duchy, the same County of Lancaster and County Palatine, and a Seal, Chancellor, Judges, and Officers for the same; and all manner of Liberties, Customs, Laws Royal, and Franchises in the same County Palatine lawfully and rightfully used, and over that, another Seal, called the Seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a Chancellor for the keeping thereof, Officers and Counsellors for the guiding and governance of the same Duchy, and of the particular officers, ministers, tenants and inhabitants thereof, in as great, ample, and large form as Henry, calling himself Henry the fifth, at any time therein had, used, and enjoyed lawfully. And by the same authority the said officers and ministers, and also the said tenants and inhabitants of and in the same Duchy have, use, exercise and enjoy such and all Liberties, Privileges and Customs, as the Officers, ministers, tenants and inhabitants of the same Duchy had, used, exercised or enjoyed lawfully in the time of the same Henry, calling himself King Henry the fifth; and that also in the same Duchy be used, had, and occupied all such Freedoms, Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, Customs and Jurisdictions, as were used therein lawfully before the said fourth day of March. And the Officers, ministers, tenants, and inhabitants of or in the said Duchy be entreated and demeaned according to the same Freedoms, Liberties, Franchises, Customs, Privileges and Jurisdictions, and not distrained, aracted, nor compelled to the contrary in anywise."

palatine and the duchy of Lancaster suffering prejudice; and when Henry VIII. had impaired the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster by a number of gifts, grants, and sales, indemnity against the consequences of these alienations was found for the king, as duke of Lancaster, by a grant from parliament of the manor of Ripon and its dependencies, in the county of York, and of the vicary, in the forest of Ashedowne, with its rents and manors, in the county of Sussex, both of which were attached to the duchy, and the revenues received and accounted for as duchy lands. The example set by the father was closely and speedily imitated by his children; and in the time of Philip and Mary the duchy possessions were restored to their former extent, by an act expressed in these very significant terms:

CHAP.
V.33 Henry
VIII.37 Henry
VIII.

“ AN ACT FOR THE ENLARGING OF THE DUCHIE OF LANCASTREE.

“ Forasmuche as the Kyng and Quene our sovereigne Lorde and Ladye, considering and regarding the state of the Duchie of Lancastree, being one of the most famous Princeliest and Stateliest peeces of our said Sovereigne Ladie the Quenes annyeint Enheritance, doo peeve and consider that the Possessions and yerely Revenues of the said Duchie arre and have been of late greatlye diminished, as well by reason of Sundry Giftes, Grant^e and Sales, made by the late Kinges of famous memorye, Henry theight and Edoarde the Sixte, late Kinges of Englande, Father and Brother to our said Sovereigne Ladie the Quenes Highnes, as also by reason of sundrie Exchainges made wth dyvers their loving Subjectes, of Sundry Manors, Landes, Tentres, Possessions, and Hereditaments, lately belonging to the same Duchie; and the Mano^{rs}, Landes, Tentres, Possessions, and Hereditaments, being receyved and taken in recompence of the said Exchanges, bee not annexed to the said Duchie, but been in thorder svey and govern^ance of other Courtes and Places, so by theyr Highnes taken and receyved in Exchange; And forasmuche also as theyr Ma^{ties} doo mynde and intende to preserve, avaunce, mayntaine, and contynue thauncient and honorable Estate of the said Duchie; Our said Sovereigne Lord and Ladye therefore bee pleased and contented that yt be enacted, ordeyned, and established by their Ma^{ties}, wth thassent of the Lordes Spuall and Temporall, and the Comōns in this pntre pliamēt assembled, and by thauctoritee of the same, That all Hono^{rs}, Castels, Lordeshippes, Mano^{rs}, Landes, Tenementes, Possessions, and Hereditamentes wthin this Realme of Englande, w^{ch} at any tyme synce the xxijth daye of Januarie, in the first yere of the Reigne of our said late Sovereigne Lorde Kynge Edoarde the Sixte, were prell of the Possessions of the said Duchie of Lancastre, or w^{ch} were united and annexed to the said Duchie by anthorite of pliamēt tres Patentes or otherways, and w^{ch} at any time since the sayd xxvij daye

Act of
Philip
and Mary.

of Januarie, have been given, granted, alyenated, bargayned, solde, exchanged, or otherwayse severed from the said Duchie, by our said late Sovereigne Lorde King Edoarde the Sixte, or by our said Sovereigne Lady the Quene that now ys, or by our Sovereigne Lorde and Ladie the King and Quenes Ma^{ties} that now bee, to or wth any pson or psons, and w^{ch} sayd Hono^{rs}, Castles, Lordshippes, Mano^{rs}, Lande, Tente, and Hereditamente, since such Giftes, Grants, Alienaçõs, Bargaynes, Sales, Exchanges, or Severance thereof so made as is aforesaid, been, cōmon, or returned agayn to thandes of our said late Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Edward the Sixte, or to thandes of our said Sovereigne Ladie the Quene, or to thandes of our Sovereigne Lord and Ladie the King and Quene, or to thandes of her M^{tie}, her heires, and successors, in Possession, Reverçõn, Remainder, or other ways,¹ and w^{ch} now bee or remain in thandes of our said Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King² and Quenes Ma^{ties}, of any estate of inheritance, shall from the time the same came³ reverted agayn to thandes of our said late Sovereigne Lorde Kinge Edward the Sixte, or to thandes of our said Sovereigne Lady the Quene, or ⁴ thandes of our said Sovereigne Lord and Ladye the King and Quene, by anethoritee and force of this Acte bee united and annexed for ever unto the sayd Duchye of Lancastree, and shalbe adjudged, demed, and taken for ever for, and as peels and membres of the said Duchie of Lancastre,” &c.

In the following reign a systematic return was made of the fees, privileges, writs, and advowsons, attached to the duchy of Lancaster and its officers, a copy of which has been preserved, and is as follows :—

Here beginneth the Booke

WHICH IS KNOWN BY THE NAME OF AND TREATING OF THE FEES, PRIVILEGES, WRITTS, ADVOWSONS, AND OTHER OFFICERS THAT BELONG TO THE DUCHY AND COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER [ABOUT 1588].

Fees of the Dutchey.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
The chancellor's fee of the Dutchey	238	16	4	lying in London, as much more as makes both their salaries amount to, £76 17 3.]			
The attorney of the Dutchey .	66	5	4				
The auditor for the north partes	68	13	4	The sum of all the payments which are paid to all the officers, or allowed as salaries in the dutchey, in the whole amount to	641	3	4
The auditor for the south partes	68	3	4				
[Besides to both of them murrey cloth, green cloth for their tables and for their							

CHAP.
V.

Revenues of the Dutchey per annum.

The receiver of Cliderhow and Halton, payeth to the general Receiver of the dutchy	£.	s.	d.	The receiver of Leicester	.	£400	0	0		
Receiver of the dutchy	.	.	1700	0	0	The receiver of Furness	.	1000	0	0
The receiver of Pomfrett and Knasbrough, com. 69 annis	.	.	1800	0	0	The receiver of Bullingbroke	.	900	0	0
The receiver of Tickhull	.	.	500	0	0	Augmentation of Lancaster	.	400	0	0
The receiver of Pickeringleigh	.	.	350	0	0	The receiver of the collodge and chantry rents in the county of Stafford and Derby	.	40	0	0
The receiver of Duntanborough	.	.	80	0	0					
The receiver of Tutbury, p. ann.	.	.	1500	0	0			£8600	0	0
The receiver of Longberington	.	.	80	0	0					

South Division.

The receiver of Higham Fe-	£.	s.	d.	The receiver of Essex and Hart-	£.	s.	d.
rars	800	0	0	ford	1000	0	0
The receiver of Norfolk and Suf-				The receiver of the marches of			
folk	200	0	0	Wales and Monmouth . .	100	0	0
The receiver of Sussex . . .	300	0	0	The receiver of Kilwaldid . .	100	0	0
The receiver of the south							
parts	1000	0	0		£4800	0	0
So that the whole receipts of the general receiver of the Dutchy, one year	£.	s.	d.				
with another, amounteth to	*14,000	0	0				
The receiver is to pay to the treasurer of his Majesties most	£.	s.	d.				
honourable chamber	4000	0	0				
And to the cofferer of his Majesties household	7000	0	0				
For fees to the court officers	641	3	4				
For expenses of the <i>mass</i> songs, and others, per ann.	100	0	0				

Total disbursements . . .	11,741	3	4
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So that remains <i>communibus annis</i> , in the custody of the general receiver, to be disposed off according to his majesty's use, upon Mr. Chancellor, Sir Francis Walsingham†	2258 16 8
	£14,000 0 0

* It may be presumed, that the statement of Revenue this year is not equal to the average year, as the figures do not correspond with this amount.

+ Sir Francis Walsingham was chancellor in 1588.—See list. This fixes the period when this account was taken, or the rates affixed, concurring with the Entry of the Fees of the “Justices of the *Queen’s Bench*.”

CHAP. V. A DECLARATION of all the FORESTS, CHASES, and PARKES, belonging to the DUTCHY of LANCASTER, out of which the Chancellor, Attorney-General, Receiver-General, and two Auditors, are to have deer summer and winter.

<i>In Comit. Lancastriæ.</i>	Rolleston parke.	<i>In Comit. Leicestri.</i>
The forest of Bolland.	Marchington ward.	The forest of Leicester.
The forest of Wiersdale.	Tutbury parke.	Castle Donnington parke.
The forest of Bleasdale.	Hockeley parke.	Barnes parke.
Legrame parke.	Rowley parke.	New parke of Leicester.
Mierscough parke.	High Lenis parke.	Tonley parke.
Toxteth parke.		Pekelton parke.
Quernmore parke.	<i>Hæc sunt in Comit. Derby.</i>	
	High Peak forest.	
<i>In Comit. Cestriæ.</i>	Shattell parke.	<i>In Comit. Wilts.</i>
Halton parke.	Melbure parke	Loxley parke.
	Mansfield parke.	Alborne chace.
<i>In Comit. Staffordie.</i>	Morley parke.	Everley parke.
Yoxalward parke.	Posterne parke.	
Agardesley parke.	Ravensdale parke	

PARKS AND CHASES.

In Hamshire, Kingsomburne parke.—The chace of Holt, and the parke com. Dorset.—Kirby parke, in com. Lincolniz.—Higham Ferrers, in com. Northamptoniz.

In Comit. York.

Poulfret parke.	Pickeringly forest.	Havery parke.
Cridlinge parke.	Billon parke.	Coinsbrough parke.
Kepax parke.	The old parke of Wakefield.	Altafts parke.
Blausby parke.	Hay parke.	Acworth parke,
	and the New parke of Wakefield.	

<i>In Comit. Sussex.</i>	<i>In Comit. Essex.</i>	<i>In Com. Hartford.</i>
Hunsde parke.	The great parke of Plashey.	Hartingfordbury parke.
The forest of Ashdowne.	The little parke there.	Two more parkes in do.
Weecks parke.	Coppedhull parke.	Kingslaugby parke, do.
Two other parkes there are in	Highester parke there.	Oldney park, <i>Buckingham-</i>
<i>Suffolk.</i> Eyste parke there		<i>shire.</i>
also.		Hungerford park, <i>Berkshire.</i>

" FEES DUE PER ANNUM TO THESE OFFICERS.

CHAP.
V.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Bailiffe of the manor of Salford	6	13	4	Cryer of the sessions at Lan-			
Bailiffe of Derby wapontake .	4	0	8	caster	2	0	0
Bailiffe of man ^r of West Derby .	3	0	8	Master of Bolland forest . . .	6	13	4
M ^r of the forest of Wiers-				Steward of ponds for his fee . .	1	0	0
dale	1	10	0	Receiver of Clitheroe	15	13	4
M ^r of Amounderness forest .	3	0	0	Steward of Blackburn, Totting-			
The escheator of county palatine	5	0	0	ton, and Clederhow, for his			
The sheriff of Lanc. hath for				fee	3	6	8
allowance	9	0	0	Constable of Clitheroe castle .	10	0	0
The constable of Liverpool castle	6	13	4	The keeper and porter of the			
The maister of Symondwood				geole in the castle of Clithe-			
forest and keeper of Toxteth				row	3	0	8
parke hath for his fees, per				Messenger of the dutchy . . .	2	0	0
annum	2	0	0	The keeper of the parkes' fees .	2	5	8
Steward of the wapontake of				Fee of the bailive of Ormskirk .	2	0	0
Derby and Salford	5	0	0	Bailif of Burscough fee	2	13	4
The receiver of the co. palat. .	6	13	4	The under steward of Ormskirk			
Porter of Lancaster castle . .	4	11	0	appointed by the Earl of			
Steward of Amounderness . . .	2	0	0	Derby	2	0	0
Steward of Lonsdale	2	0	0	Fee of the clerk of the court			
Keeper of Quernmore parke . .	2	5	6	there	1	13	4
M ^r of the forest wood of Myers-				The fee of the auditor	28	0	0
cough	4	11	0	The fee of the receiver per annum	15	0	0
Maister of Wiresdale et Quern-				The reward of the said receiver	13	6	8
more	3	0	8	The fee for Furness	6	0	0
The chancellor's fee of the				The baylives of Dalton's fee . .	2	0	0
county palatine, per annum .	40	0	0	The ditto of Hawkshead's fee .	2	13	4
The justice of the <i>queen's</i> bench				The ditto of Beamond and Bol-			
for his office in county pala-				ton	2	10	0
tine	36	13	4	Fee of all the manors pertaining			
And for dyett	13	6	8	to Furness monastery	26	13	4
To another justice for his office				Fee of the receiver there	20	0	0
in county palatine, and dyett				Clerk of the court there	6	13	4
too	40	0	0	Baylive of Furness liberty . . .	4	0	0
Att ^y of County palatine	6	13	4	Keeper of woods in plane of			
Clerke of y ^e crown for county .	2	0	0	Furness	2	0	0
Clerk of the common pleas . .	2	0	0	Reward of the auditor	6	13	4
Clerk of crown and pleas . . .	6	0	0	The stipend of a clerk to serve			
Barons of the exchequer there .	4	0	0	in the chapel at Farnworth . .	3	12	10

CHAP. V.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
	The stipend of a clerk to serve in the chapel at Litherpoole . .	4	17	5	The stipend of a clerke and school maister at Manchester, per annum	4	0	2
	The fee of a clerk and schoole m ^r of Walton, per annum .	5	13	4	Clerke of Beconshawe chapell .	2	16	5
	The clerk's stipend at Black- rodes	4	4	1½	The stipend of a clerk and school- master at Leyland	3	17	10
	The clerk of Clitherow stipend .	3	9	1	The stipend of a clerk and school- master at Preston	2	18	2
	The stipend of the clerk of Pa- diham chappel	6	19	2	Clerke and steward of Wigan .	5	10	0
	The chaplin's fee in the chap- pel of Harewood, per annum	4	6	6	The clerke of Crostons stipend .	3	19	9
	The clerk in the chappel of Whalley	4	8	11	The payment made unto seven weomen praying within the late colledge, called Knowles's Alms house, per annum . .	35	15	0
	The stipend of a clerke to serve in the chappel of Ruf- ford, per annum	3	2	2	Payd to two persons and the surveyor thereof	5	10	0

“ A NOTE of all the BENEFICES and SPIRITUAL LIVING belonging to the DUTCHY
OF LANCASTER.

(*r*) for rectory—(*v*) for vikarage.

<i>Comit. Berks.</i>				<i>Gloucester.</i>			
Henton Rectory	23	7	5	Tiberton Rectoria	7	16	0
<i>In Comit. Ebor.</i>				<i>Hartford.</i>			
Methley rectory clare	25	8	11	Saint Andrews with St. Nicholas	12	1	2
Darrington viccaria, per ann. .	0	0	0	<i>In Com. Lincoln.</i>			
Ackeworth rectoria, per ann. .	22	1	0	Hartringfordbury (<i>r</i>)	16	0	0
Croston rectoria, per ann. . .	10	0	1½	Ounley (<i>r</i>) clere	9	3	4
Slaithborne rectoria, per ann. .	0	0	0	Whittingham (<i>r</i>)	18	6	8
Kirkbram with rectoria . . .	12	18	4	Hantley (<i>r</i>) per ann.	6	4	6
Ouston vicaria, per ann. . . .	7	2	1½	Stoopings parva (<i>r</i>)	9	19	4
Castleford rectoria, per ann. .	20	13	0	Norcot (<i>r</i>)	12	10	0
Bradford vicaria	20	0	0	South Somersetes (<i>r</i>)	22	6	8
Berwikes of Elemitt	33	12	4	Bennington (<i>v</i>)	20	0	2
<i>In Com. Essex.</i>				Salt Thetby (<i>r</i>)	7	0	2
Stamford rivers rectoria . . .	26	13	4	Southreston (<i>r</i>)	5	10	2
Munden (<i>v</i>)	12	12	0	Morningnerby (<i>r</i>)	9	8	4
Dedham (<i>r</i>) per ann.	10	0	0	Thoresby (<i>r</i>)	6	9	6
Essex (<i>r</i>) per ann.	8	0	0	<i>In Comit Lancastrie.</i>			
Longton (<i>v</i>) per ann.	18	3	8	Pennington Don clear (<i>r</i>) . .	0	0	0
Laugham viccaria sen rectoria .	17	0	0	Dalton (<i>v</i>) and clear	17	6	8

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	CHAP. V.
<i>In Com. Leicester.</i>				Passenham (r)	20	0	0	
Hathurend (v)	12	0	0	Preston (v)	15	4	0	
St. Peter, Leicester (v)	2	5	0	Widd (v)	3	6	10	
Desford (r)	2	9	7	Bethome (v) clear	13	17	4	
Whitwicke vic.	9	14	4	Millome (v)	8	5	8	
Viccaria de pembe valet, per ann.	6	6	8	Urswick (v) sunt Richmondsha	7	17	4	
Mandeoallocke sene Mono-								
bon(v)	9	13	4	<i>In Com. Stafford.</i>				
Swafeld (r)	6	8	6	Tudbury (v)	7	0	0	
Mamelly vic. valet. per ann.	6	13	4	Rolston (r)	13	9	6	
Shibden (v)	9	4	9	Tatenhill rectory	26	0	0	
Trunche (r)	10	13	4	Wolstanton (r)	32	3	9	
Southropes (r)	6	0	0	<i>In Com. Suffolk.</i>				
Sydestroud (r)	5	10	0	Clare (vic.)	4	18	8	
Northrope (r)	0	0	0	Eyken (v)	6	13	4	
Mondesley (r)	8	9	9	Holmesett (v) cleare	0	0	0	
<i>In Comit. Norfolk.</i>				Stratford	13	0	0	
Themingham rector	6	0	0	Somersham (r)	8	0	0	
Withrope (r)	5	5	2	Hunden (v)	7	13	4	
Malilaskes (r)	5	0	0	<i>In Co. Wilts.</i>				
Beeston (r)	16	0	0	Poole (r)	17	12	5	
Plumbstead (r)	5	3	2	Ashley (r)	9	16	4	
<i>In Comit. Northamp.</i>				<i>In Co. Westmoreland.</i>				
Inchester (v)	8	0	0	Orton (v)	16	17	4	

“The valuation of some parsonages and vicarages within the dutchy appeareth not in the records remaining in the dutchy office, but may be found in the office of the first-fruits, where the same are best known.”—*Birch's MSS.*

From the time of queen Elizabeth to the reign of Charles II. no material change took place in the duchy court of Lancaster, with the exception of the abolition of the duchy court of star-chamber already noticed; but in the twelfth year of that monarch, the last remaining vestige of the feudal system, after having existed in this country for at least six hundred years, was swept* away, and with it the privileges of wards and liveries attached to the duchy of Lancaster, although those privileges had been thought worthy of special protection a century before. The progress of knowledge had burst the bonds of vassalage, and although the system introduced, or completed, by the Norman conquerors, had taken deep root, and identified itself with the whole

Abolition
of the
feudal
system.

* Rot. Parl. 12 Car. II. p. 3. nu. 4.

CHAP. V
frame of society,* the tenures *in capite*, and *knights' service*, were now declared
"more burthensome, grievous, and prejudicial to the kingdom, than beneficial to the
king," and they were, therefore, for ever abolished.

During the interval between the year 1642, when the public treasury passed into
the hands of the parliament, and the year 1660, when Charles II. obtained the royal
inheritance, the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster were applied to the exigencies of
the state, first under the administration of Lord Newburgh, and subsequently under
the chancellorships of William Lenthall, speaker of the house of commons, John (Pre-
sident) Bradshawe, Thomas Fell, and Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart.; the latter of whom
was displaced at the Restoration by Francis lord Seymour, who, as a mark of the royal
favour, obtained this lucrative appointment, for his attachment to the House of Stuart.

16 & 17
Car. II.

To facilitate the proceedings in the duchy court, an act was passed in the 16th
and 17th Charles II. empowering the chancellor of the duchy to grant commissions
for taking affidavits within the county palatine of Lancaster, and other places in
the several counties of the kingdom within the survey of the duchy court, whereby
the same validity was given to those affidavits, as if they had been sworn, as hitherto
in the duchy chamber at Westminster, and to render these proceedings, in the
incipient state, as little burthensome as possible, it was directed that the very
moderate fee of twelve pence, and no more, should be received by the person
empowered to take the affidavits.

Chancel-
lors of the
Duchy.

From the first creation of the duchy of Lancaster, in 1351, to the present time,
1831, there have been eighty-three chancellors of the duchy. The following is a
complete list of those officers, obligingly furnished by the duchy office:—

CHANCELLORS of the DUCHY and COUNTY PALATINE of LANCASTER, from the
first Creation of the Dukedom in 1351, to the present time, June 1831.

34 Edward III.	Sir Henry de Haydok	Chancellor of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster.
46 Edward III.	Ralph de Ergham, clerk.	Bishop of Sarum.
51 Edward III.	Thomas de Thelwall, clerk	Created Chancellor of the County Palatine, 16th of April,
1 Richard II.	Sir John de Yerborough, clerk.	
6 Richard II.	Sir Thomas Stanley.	November 10th, pro temp.
6 Richard II.	Sir Thomas Searle.	November 29th.
7 Richard II.	Sir William Okey.	October.
1 Henry IV.	John de Wakering.	
1 Henry IV.	William Burgoyne, Esq.	

* See vol. i. c. 2. p. 66—84.

6 Henry IV.	Sir Thomas Stanley.	May 15th.
11 Henry IV.	John Springthorpe, clerk.	March 30th.
1 Henry V.	John Woodhouse.	4th April.
1 Henry VI.	John Woodhouse, contd.	20th of January.
2 Henry VI.	William Troutbecke, Esq.	10th of June.
9 Henry VI.	Walter Sherington, clerk.	16th of February.
17 Henry VI.		7th of May, Chancellor for life.
20 Henry VI.	William Tresham.	3d of July, Chancellor in reversion.
26 Henry VI.	William Tresham.	1st of November.
27 Henry VI.	John Say, Esq.	10th of June.
1 Edward IV.	John Say, Esq. contd.	16th of June.
11 Edward IV.	Sir Richard Fowler, Kt.	10th of June, also Chan. of Excheq.
17 Edward IV.	Sir John Say, Kt.	3rd of November.
18 Edward IV.	Thomas Thwaites.	2d of April, also Chan. of Excheq.
1 Richard III.	Thomas Metcalfe.	7th of July.
1 Henry VII.	Sir Reginald Bray, Knt.	13th of September.
19 Henry VII.	Sir John Mordant, Knt.	24th of June.
21 Henry VII.	Sir Richard Empson, Knt.	3d of October.
1 Henry VIII.	Sir Henry Marny, Knt.	14th of May.
14 Henry VIII.	Sir Richard Wingfield, Knt.	14th of April.
17 Henry VIII.	Sir Thomas Moore, Knt.	31st of Dec. made Chancellor of England.
21 Henry VIII.	Sir William Fitzwilliams, Knt.	3d of Nov. afterwards Earl of Southampton.
35 Henry VIII.	Sir John Gage, Knt.	10th of May.
1 Edward VI.	Sir William Pagett, Knt.	1st of July.
6 Edward VI.	Sir John Gate, Knt.	7th of July.
1 Queen Mary.	Sir Robert Rochester, Knt.	
4 & 5 Phil. & Mary	Sir Edward Walgrave, Knt.	22d of June.
1 Elizabeth.	Sir Ambrose Cave, Knt.	
10 Elizabeth.	Sir Ralph Sadler, Knt.	16th of May.
19 Elizabeth.	Sir Francis Walsingham, Knt.	15th of June.
32 Elizabeth.	Sir Thomas Henage, Knt.	
37 Elizabeth.	Sir Robert Cecil, Knt.	7th of October.
43 Elizabeth.	Sir John Fortescue, Knt.	16th of September.
13 James I.	Sir Thomas Parry, Knt. and John Daccomb, Esq.	27th of May.
14 James I.	Sir John Dacombe, Knt.	5th of June.
15 James I.	Sir Humphrey May, Knt.	23d of March.
5 Charles I.	Edward Lord Newburgh.	16th of April.
Feb. 10, 1644.	William Lord Grey of Wake and William Lenthall, Esq.	

CHAP. V.	1649.	John Bradshawe	1st of August.
	1655.	Thomas Fell	
	1659.	Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart.	14th of May.
	12 Charles II.	Francis Lord Seymour.	9th of July.
	16 Charles II.	Sir Thomas Ingram, Kt.	21st of July.
	23 Charles II.	Sir Robert Carr, Bart.	22d of February.
	34 Charles II.	Sir Thomas Chicheley, Kt.	21st of November.
	1 Wm. and Mary.	Robert Lord Willoughby, of Ersby.	21st of March.
	9 William III.	Thomas Earl of Stamford.	4th of May.
	1 Queen Anne.	Sir John Leveson Gower, Bart.	12th of May.
	5 Queen Anne.	James Earl of Derby.	10th of June.
	9 Queen Anne.	William Lord Berkeley, of Stratton.	21st of September.
	1 George I.	Henage, Earl of Aylesford.	6th of November.
	2 George I.	Richard Earl of Scarborough.	12th of March.
	3 George I.	Nicholas Lechemere, Esq.	19th of June.
	1 Geo. II.	John Duke of Rutland.	July 17th.
	8 Geo. II.	George Earl of Cholmondeley.	May.
	16 Geo. II.	Richard Lord Edgecumbe.	December 22nd.
	34 Geo. II.	Thomas Earl of Kinnoull.	27th of February.
	3 Geo. III.	James Lord Strange.	13th of December.
	11 Geo. III.	Thomas Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon.	14th of June.
	22 Geo. III.	John Lord Ashburton.	17th of April.
	23 Geo. III.	Edward Earl of Derby.	29th of August.
	24 Geo. III.	Thomas Earl of Clarendon.	31st of December.
	27 Geo. III.	Charles Lord Hawkesbury.	6th of September.
	44 Geo. III.	Thomas Lord Pelham.	11th of November.
	44 Geo. III.	Lord Mulgrave.	6th of June.
	45 Geo. III.	Earl of Buckinghamshire.	14th of January.
	45 Geo. III.	Dudley Lord Harrowby.	10th of July.
	46 Geo. III.	Edward Earl of Derby.	12th of February.
	47 Geo. III.	The Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.	30th of March.
	52 Geo. III.	The Earl of Buckinghamshire.	25th of May.
	52 Geo. III.	The Right Hon. Charles Bathurst	23d of June.
	4 Geo. IV.	Nicholas Lord Bexley	13th of February.
	9 Geo. IV.	The Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.	26th of January.
	9 Geo. IV.	The Rt. Hon. Charles Arbuthnot	2d of June.
	1 William IV.	Lord Holland	25th of November.

We have thus sketched, with a rapid hand, principally from official documents, a connected and authentic history of the duchy of Lancaster, one of "the most famous, princeliest, and stateliest of inheritances." The connexion of the duchy with the

ducal and royal House of Lancaster is too close to admit of separation. They serve to illustrate and to ennoble each other, and to have exhibited them apart would have derogated from the dignity of both. In each successive reign, from the period when Henry of Bolingbroke ascended the throne of this kingdom, to the present time, with the exception of the interregnum of the commonwealth, the kings of England have enjoyed the title of duke, and the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster, both of which are now in possession of our gracious sovereign WILLIAM IV., and will descend as an inalienable inheritance to his royal successors.

The proceedings of the duchy court during a period of four hundred and thirty years, are full of interest in all the counties of the kingdom to which the duchy extends, but in the county palatine of Lancaster they have a peculiar claim to that distinction; and it may tend essentially to the convenience of those who at present, or in future times, may have occasion to consult the records of that duchy, to be presented with the following authentic information, both as to their nature, and as to their places of deposit.

The Duchy Records.

“ Return from the deputy Clerk of the council, and keeper of the Records in the Duchy of Lancaster, to the Committee on the Public Records of this Kingdom, made in virtue of an order from the select Committee, with an answer to the enquiry, Whether all the Records of the Duchy are open to public inspection?

“ In obedience to your Order of the 21st February last, I herewith return answers to the several Queries put to me, with respect to the Records of this Office, under the Custody of the Clerk of the Council, and the two Auditors, to whom I, in this respect, act as deputy; but beg leave at the same Time to state, that such only are considered as public, and open for public Inspection, as in any wise relate to or concern Judicial Proceedings, the remainder being collected for the purpose of better managing and improving the Inheritance of his Majesty's Possessions in right of his Duchy of Lancaster; and the Officers of the Duchy think themselves at liberty to withhold them from public Inspection, except for the purposes before mentioned, or by command of his Majesty, as Duke of Lancaster, signified by his chancellor of the Duchy.

“ The Answer to the First Question, is contained in the following list of Records in the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster :—

- Records. “ Account of the purchase Money arising from the Sale of Rents under the several acts of Parliament,—29 Geo. III. 1780, to the present time.
- “ Awards for inclosures, in which the Duchy Property has been concerned,—27 Geo. II. 1754, to the present Time.
- “ Bills and Answers and Depositions in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, and of such as have been transmitted from the County Palatine to be heard in the Duchy Court,—1 Hen. VII. 1487, to the present Time.
- “ Charters and Grants of various Kings under the Great Seal, as well as of private Persons (remaining in Boxes), to the King’s Sons, and to Ecclesiastical Persons, of Lands within the Surveys of the Duchy,—1 King Stephen, 1135, to 10 Queen Elizabeth, 1558.
- “ Charters and Grants in Fee Farm, some of which are enrolled in the Office, and others remain on Parchment, with the Royal Sign Manual. The original Charters of the Duchy and County Palatine to the King’s Son, and Grants of Lands to Individuals of the possessions of the Duchy,—51 Ed. III. 1377, to 1 Queen Anne, 1702.
- “ Court Rolls of such Manors as formerly belonged to the Duchy, and have since been granted away, and of such as are at present demised by Leases under the Duchy Seal,—1283, to the present Time.
- “ Decrees of the Duchy Court inrolled in Books, and some drafts with the Attorney General’s Signature,—1 Hen. VII. 1487, to the present Time.
- “ Grants of Rents under the several Acts, to enable the Chancellor and Council to dispose of the Fee Farm and other Rents, and to enfranchise Copyhold Estates,—20 Geo. III. 1780, to the present Time.
- “ Inquisitions *Post Mortem*, consisting of 2,400 of various Lands and Tenements, within all the Counties in England,—1 Hen. V. 1413, to 18 Cha. I. 1642.
- “ Leases, Drafts, and Inrolments, of such as have passed the Duchy Seal, of Land and Tenements, Parcel of the Possessions of the Duchy,—1 Hen. VIII. 1510, to the present Time.
- “ Ministers and Receivers Accounts of the Rents and Revenues of the Duchy,—1135, to the present Time.
- “ Patents of Offices granted under the Duchy Seal,—1 Hen. VIII. 1510, to the present Time.
- “ Presentations to Livings under the Duchy Seal,—1 Hen. VIII. 1510, to the present Time.

“ Rentals and Particulars of Lands belonging to the Duchy, collected together in Bags and Presses, and consisting of various other documents, of such Descriptions, that they cannot be comprised under one Head, registered into Counties, and in the Catalogue are the Names of places alphabetically arranged,—51 Ed. III. 1377, to the present Time.

“ Registers of Leases, Warrants, Grants, and other Documents, under Royal Signs Manual, inrolled in Books, of John Duke of Lancaster, in the Time of Edw. the Third, and of various Kings, relating to the Possessions of the Duchy,—51 Edw. III. 1377, to 8 Hen. VI. 1430.

“ Revenue Proceedings in Duchy Court inrolled in Books,—6 Cha. I. 1630, to the present time.

“ Special Commissions of Sewers, and to survey estates belonging to the Duchy,—23 Eliz. to the present Time.

“ Privy Seals and Bills, being the particulars prepared previous to the granting any Leases or Offices under the Duchy Seal,—1 James I. to the present Time.

“ The Building wherein the Records are kept is situate on the East Side of Somerset Place,* is in good Condition and Security, with respect to the Rooms where the Records are deposited; but many of them have been obliged to be lately removed from the lower part on account of the Dry Rot, which has affected the Casement Story. As the Records yearly increase, more Room will be wanted at some future Period, for the Accommodation of them. The Office was appropriated to the use of the Duchy of Lancaster under the Act for erecting the Buildings at Somerset House, and is therefore public Property. But this office was given to the Duchy in consideration of Accommodations and Concessions made by his Majesty in right of his Duchy, from such parts of the manor of Savoy as belonged to the Duchy.

“ The Records, except those of very ancient Date, (which were, in some degree, destroyed by the vermin in the late office,) are in good preservation; and such as are not contained in Books are arranged in Presses, according to their Dates, tied up with paper and string, and numerically indorsed; and in the course of every summer a person is employed to remove the Dust from them, and put new paper and string to such as want it. The Books are deposited in Closets, indorsed according to their dates and Subjects.

“ There are correct general Indexes, Repertories, and Calendars, of all the Records in the Office, with reference to the particular Subjects which they contain; and as fresh Records are transmitted to the Office, they are continued to be entered in existing Calendars; and these additions are minutely attended to, without any Expense on that account being borne, by the King as Duke of Lancaster.

* The Records are now removed to Lancaster-place.

CHAP. V.
 Records. “Several Years ago, according to what I have been informed, a Fire happened at the Duchy’s Office, Gray’s Inn, by which accident several Records were destroyed, and some are supposed to have been stolen. Some of these have been recovered from persons, who have voluntarily surrendered them; and some few Indexes and Catalogues, which had been made for the use of the officers who had the care of the Records; but I know of none now existing in any place, from whence they are likely to be regained; and such ample Repertories have since been made, and the Records arranged in such order, that they would hardly be of use if recovered.

“I am employed in the arrangements of the Records myself, and a clerk assists me in placing and replacing them, for which no Salary or allowance whatever is paid, but a fee of 8s. 6d. is charged for the production of each Record, which is the sole allowance, as well for the trouble and producing them, as for arranging them and keeping them in proper preservation, and for making the Indexes, Repertories, and Calendars, and the further some of 1s. is charged per folio for Copies, or 16d. if there is any considerable difficulty arising from the Antiquity or Language of the Record. Attendance with the Records themselves is so seldom demanded, that no Fee has been regularly settled for that purpose; but if in London, a charge is made of one guinea, besides the coach-hire; and if in the country, two guineas a day, with the travelling charges, and all other expenses, would be expected. No account has been kept of the profits derived by searches for public Records, independent of those where fees have been received for other searches, from whence any average can be taken.

“The answer to the Sixth Question is, I presume, contained in the answer to the foregoing questions.

“I am not apprised of any regulation that can be made, for rendering the use of the said Records more convenient for proper Inspection.

“R. J. HARPER.

“May 8, 1800.”

“Deputy Clerk of the Council.

“Several Fee Farm Rolls of this Duchy have been lately transferred to this Office, from the Augmentation Office.”

“Return to a further Question to the Clerk of the Council and Keeper of the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster.

“Query. Are there in your custody, as such Officer, any Calendars, or Indexes, to the Inquisitions *Post Mortem* mentioned in your Return to this Committee, and upon what plan are they formed—and are they in a state sufficiently correct for

publication, if it should be thought to conduce to the benefit of the Public to have the same printed?"

CHAP.
V.

Records.

" Answer. There are, as stated in my former Return, several Inquisitions *Post Mortem*, Traverses, and other Inquisitions of divers kinds, remaining in this Office under my care, commencing in the beginning of the Reign of Henry V. and finishing 18 Charles I. amounting to nearly 24,000 in number, some of which consist of many large Skins of Parchment put on Files, in several bundles, secured from future injuries by strong covers, and to which there is a regular Alphabetical Index and Calendar, in one Volume, divided into the several Reigns of the Kings before mentioned, and containing the names of Persons, and all places mentioned in each Inquisition, omitting none that are legible. The first directing immediately to the several lands each person died possessed of; the other referring to each Inquisition, in which any particular Lands are to be found.

" I know of no objection to publishing the above Index, if it should be thought conducive to the public benefit; and understand it will fill about 90 Pages when printed.

" R. J. HARPER.

" June 27, 1810."

" Deputy Clerk of the Council.

The following is an Abstract from the public records relating to the Depositories of the Duchy of Lancaster :—

DEPOSITORIES OF THE DUCHY RECORDS.

<i>Records and other Instruments.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Where kept.</i>	
Charters and Grants :			
Under the great Seal of Duchy Lands . . .	Stephen to Elizabeth .	Duchy office.	Where deposited.
Of various Kings	1135 to 1558 . . .		
Grants in Fee Farm, some enrolled, others not,	51 Edw. III. to Anne		
Confirmation of privileges	2 Henry V. . . .	Bodleian Library.	
Copies of Charter relating to the Duchy . .	Henry IV. to Edw. IV.	Ashmolean Museum.	
Exemplification of the grant of creation of the } County Palatine, and creation of Duke . . }	1 Edw. IV. . . . }		
Patents of Offices under the Duchy seal . .	1 Henry VIII. to the present time. . . }		
Grants of Rent under Statutes	1780 to the present time }	Duchy Office.	

CHAP. V.	Records and other Instruments.	Date.	Where kept.
Records. Where de- posited.	Inquisitions, <i>Post Mortem</i>	1 Henry V. to Car. I.	Bodleian Library.
	Transcripts of, for Duchy Lands in Western } Counties, Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, Hants . }	16 Car. I.	University Lib. Camb.
	Sewers—Special Commissions	23 Eliz. to the present time	
	Surveys:—Of Woods and Underwoods	1575	
	Feoda Militum Regis Caroli Ducis Lancastriæ	Car. I.	
	Privy Seals and Bills	1 Jac. I. to the present time	
	Awards for Inclosures	1754 to the present time	
	Presentations to livings under the Duchy Seal	1510 to the present time	
	Court Rolls, Of manors formerly of the Duchy and of those } now in demise }	1283 to the present time	
	Leases, Registers of, together with warrants and other } documents, under the sign Manual . . . }	51 Ed. III. to 8 H. VI.	
	Drafts and inrolments of	1 Hen. VIII. to the present time . . .	
	Rentals and Particulars : Of Duchy Lands, alphabetically arranged . .	51 Edw. III. to the present time . . .	University Lib. Camb.
	Fee Farm Rent Rolls during the Commonwealth	Car. I and II. . . .	
	Knight's fees therein belong to Charles I. . . }	1648	
	General Rental Tempo. Interregni }	1636 to 1640 . . .	
	The like for Dorset, Somerset, Wilts, and Hants	1135 to the present time	Duchy Office.
	Of ministers and receivers	1780 to the present time	
	Of money arising by sales under statutes . .		University Lib. Camb.
	Of receiver in the County of Lancaster, and annexed lands of Clithero, Furneis, and Houlton }	Date wanting . . .	
	Forests, Pleas of	8 Edw. III. . . .	King's Rememb. Office.
	Pleading and Decrees, by Bill and answer . .	1 Henry VII. to the present time . . .	
	Books of decrees and orders	1487 to the present time	Duchy Office.
	Revenue Proceedings	1630 to the present time	
	A few Records concerning the Duchy		Auditor's Office Land Revenue.

The Seal of the Duchy of Lancaster is as ancient as the duchy itself; as is also the Seal of the County Palatine. The Seal of the Duchy remains with the chancellor of the duchy at Westminster; that of the county palatine is deposited in a chest in the county of Lancaster, under the safe custody of the keeper of the seal. All grants and leases of land, tenements, and offices, in the county palatine of Lancaster, in order to render them valid, must pass under the seal of the county palatine, and no other; and all grants and leases of lands, tenements, and offices, out of the county palatine, and within the survey of the duchy, must pass under the seal of the duchy, and no other seal.* The custom, however, is, to seal all deeds of lands, &c. within the county palatine, with both the duchy and the county palatine seals, and all without the county, but within the survey of the duchy of Lancaster, with the duchy seal only.

CHAP.
V.37 Hen.
VIII.
c. 16.

These seals are essentially the same as those that have been used since the days of John of Gaunt, but new seals are engraved in each successive dukedom. Those at present in use are extremely splendid, and may rank amongst the first efforts of art in this department, as will be seen on reference to the annexed plate, in which they are correctly delineated.

THE DUCHY SEAL

Represents the King seated on his Throne in Royal Robes, wearing the Collar of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and the Imperial Crown. In his right hand he holds the Royal Sceptre, and his left is placed on the Orb and Cross on his left knee. On the dexter side of the Throne, on a compartment adorned with the Union Badge of the Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock, is placed a Lion sejant crowned with the Imperial Crown, and supporting between the Paws a Banner of the Arms of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and on the sinister side of the Throne, on a like compartment, is a Unicorn sejant and addorsed, gorged with a Prince's Crown, and supporting a banner of the Arms of the Duchy of Lancaster, viz. Gules, 3 Lions passant guardant Or, a label of three points, each charged with three fleurs de lis. The ground of the Seal is diapered, and round it is the Royal Style,

Duchy
Seal.

Guilielmus quartus dei gratia Britanniarum Rex. Fidei Defensor.

* Sir Edward Coke's Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, fo. 210.

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V.

ON THE REVERSE is an antique Shield of the Arms of the Duchy, placed in bend dexter, between two Ostrich Feathers erect Ermine, each issuant from an Escrol. The Shield is pendent by a belt from a Helmet, from which flows the Lambrequin, and on the Helmet rests the Crest, being upon a Chapeau, turned up Ermine, a Lion statant guardant, gorged with a Label of three points, each charged with three fleurs de lis.

The Seal is circumscribed with the inscription

Sigillum Ducatus Lancastria.

THE COUNTY PALATINE SEAL,

County
palatine
Seal.

The ground of which is diapered, represents the King on Horseback in Armour, upon a Mount in base, with the right arm elevated, and brandishing a sword. Upon the King's Helmet is placed the Crest, being on a chapeau, a Lion statant guardant. On the dexter side, under the upraised Arm, is a Rose ensigned by a Prince's Coronet. The Caparisons of the Horse are ornamented with the letter *Z*, ensigned with a like Coronet, and with the Royal Motto, *Dieu et Mon Droit*. On the Mount, near the dexter foot of the King, is a Talbot Dog courant, gorged with a collar.

The whole is circumscribed

Sigillum Comitatus Palatinus Lancastria.

THE REVERSE of this Seal is also diapered, and bears a Shield of the Arms of the Duchy, as above described, pendant by a belt from a Coronet, composed of Crosses patee and fleurs de lis, occupying the upper part of the Seal. On a Mount, in base, are represented, on each side of the Shield, two Talbots addorsed, each collared, and supporting an Ostrich Feather issuant from an Escrol.

The Seal is thus circumscribed,

Guilielmus quartus dei grat. Britanniarum Rex: Fid: Def:

Although the offices of the duchy, and the county palatine, except that of the chancellor's, are little subject to political changes, the list of officers is frequently varying by the inevitable operations of time. At present, June, 1831, these lists stand thus:—

Seal of the County Palatine of Lancaster.



Seal of the Duchy of Lancaster.



OFFICERS OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

CHAP.
V.

Chancellor—Lord Holland.	Clerk in Court in Causes—W. Minchin, Esq.
Attorney-General—William Walton, Esq.	Surveyor of Lands and Woods South of Trent—Robert Smirke, jun. Esq.
King's Sergeant—R. G. Cecil Fane, Esq.	Surveyor of Lands North of Trent—John Bower, Esq. Ferrybridge.
King's Counsellors—F. A. Roe, Esq. and Robert Palk, Esq.	Surveyor of Woods North of Trent—R. I. Harper, Esq.
Receiver-General—Sir William Knighton, Bart. G.C.H.	Usher of the Duchy Court—Mr. Richard Edwards.
Auditor—Sir George Harrison, K.C.H.	Messenger—Charles Coggins.
Clerk of the Council and Registrar— Fredk. D. Danvers, Esq.	

Receivers of the Rents.

Lancashire—Wm. Eccles, Esq. Manchester.	Staffordshire—Thomas Lack, Esq.
Yorkshire and Notts—Thos. Lack, Esq.	Monmouthshire—William Davies, Esq.
Leicestershire and Northamptonshire—Thom- as Freer, Esq.	Essex and Hertford—T. Hinckley, Esq.
	Derbyshire—Rd. Hinckley, Esq. Lichfield.

OFFICERS OF THE COUNTY PALATINE.

Chancellor—Lord Holland.	Cursitors and Clerks of the Chancery -- William Wilson, Nicholas Grimshaw, Christopher B. Walker, Robert R. Hopkins, Charles Birch, Esqrs.
Vice-Chancellor—Francis L. Holt, Esq.	Acting Cursitor—N. Grimshaw, Esq.
Secretary—Robt. J. Harper, Esq.	Prothonotary—Earl of Clarendon.
Attorney-General—John Crosse, Esq.	Deputy—
Constable of Lancaster Castle—William Hulton, Esq.	Clerk of the Crown—J. T. Batt, Esq.
Registrar, Examiner, and First Clerk— Wm. Shawe, Esq.	Clerks of the Peace—Edw. Gorst, Esq. Thos. Birchall, Esq.
Seal Keeper—Robt. Wm. Hopkins, Esq.	Messenger—Charles Coggins.

The use of seals is of very ancient date. The Romans, during the four centuries that they occupied this country, had them in constant use; but we do not find that in Lancashire, or in any other part of the kingdom, that they were used by our Saxon ancestors.—The Normans again introduced them; and the progress of the use of seals, till they became almost universal, is exhibited with considerable precision in a paper on that subject, in the Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum, of which the following is a copy:—

Antiquity
of seals.

* Harl. MSS. no. 6079, fo. 109.

“PARTICULER VSE OF SEALES.

“First, y^e Kinge only.

“At first, y^e kinge onlye, and a few other of y^e nobilitye besides hym vsed y^e seale.

“Then Noblemē, and none other.

“Afterwardes noblemē for y^e moste parte, and none other. As a man maye see in y^e Historye of Battell Abbaye, where Richard Lucye, chiefe Justice of Englande in y^e tyme of kinge Hen. y^e seconde, ys reported to have blamed a meane Subiecte, for that he vsed a pryvate seale, wher as that playned (as he saide) to y^e kinge and nobilitye onlye.

“At this tyme also (as John Rosse noteth) they vsed to engraue in theyre seales Their owne picktures, and Counterfaytes conered wth a long coate ouer their Armour.

“Vse of sealinge by Gentilemē of y^e better Sorte.

“After this y^e Gentlemen of y^e better sorte toke vp y^e fashion. And because they were not all Warriours, they made seales engraved with their seuerall coates or shieldes of Armes, for difference sake. as y^e same Author reporteth.

“Common vse of Sealinge.

“At lengthe aboute y^e tyme of kinge Edwarde y^e thirde, seales became verrye comon; so that not only suche as bore armes vsed y^e seale, but other mē fashioned to themselues signets of their owne deuice. Some takinge y^e letters of their owne names, some flowres, some knotts and flowrishes, some byrdes or beastes, or some other thinges, as now be helde daylye in vse.

“Other maner of Sealinges differinge from those aboue mentioned,
as followeth :—

“Some other maners of sealinge besids these have bene harde of amongst vs, as namely, that of kinge Edwarde y^e thyrde, by w^{ch} he gave vnto Norma y^e Hunter, y^e Hop et y^e Hoptowne, wth all ye boundes vsiddowne, and in witnesse it was soothe, He byt y^e waxe wth his fore Toothe.

“The like was William y^e conquerour.

“I Williā kinge geve to thee, Powsen Royden, my Hope et my hope
“Landes, wth y^e boundes vp and downe, from heaven to earthe,
“from earthe to hell, for thee et thyne to dwelle, from me and
“myne to thee et thyne, for a bowe and a broade arrowe when I come
“to hunt vpō yarrow; in witnesse this is his soothe, I byt this waxe
“wth my toothe, in the presence of Magg. Mawde and Margary,
“and of my thirde sonne Henry.”

“ Another forme is, that of Aberirke de Veer conteyninge y^e donation of Hatfelde, to y^e w^{ch} he affixed a short black hafted knife, like to an olde halfpenny whyttell, in steede of a seale, wth dyueres suche like. CHAP.
V.

“ Some phappes will thinke that these latter were receaned in co^mon vse and custome, and that they were not rather denices and pleasures of a fewe singular psonnes. Suche are no lesse deceaued thē they that deeme euery charter that hathe no seale annexed to be as aunciente as y^e conquest; wheras in deede sealinge was not comonly vsed, vntyl y^e tyme of kinge Edwarde y^e thirde.”

From the institution of the duchy of Lancaster, seals were, no doubt, in use, and the words, “ The seal hitherto used,” in the act above quoted, serves to prove that it was not now introduced for the first time.

In the British Museum* there is a manuscript entitled “ Ducatus Lancastriæ,” on the subject of the honors and dignities of the dukedom of Lancaster, written in the age of Elizabeth, and attributed to Sir William Fleetwood, recorder of London, one of the worthies of Lancashire, which supplies an hiatus in the early period of the history of the Honor of Lancaster, wherein the learned civilian scrutinizes the claims of Edmund Crouchback, to the title of Earl of Lancaster, with as little ceremony as he was accustomed to use in scrutinizing the representations of the suitors in the recorder’s court.

“ DUCATUS LANCASTRIÆ.

“ Hitherto I have trauelled to declare, how Lancaster is an antient Honor, and the rather for that the Dukedome of Lancaster is made and incorporated of a number of honors. This simple Discovrse may serue for a declaration of all y^e honors belonging to y^e same; and further, y^t honors were dignities before the conquest, wee may gather y^e same to bee soe by the agreement y^t was made betweene King Stephen and Henry Duke of Normandy, sonne to Maude y^e Empresse, for succession of the crowne. This Stephen was sonne to Adela, daughter to y^e conqueror. Thus much may suffice as soue^reign of the Honor of Lancaster. Honors
were dig-
nities be-
fore y^e
Conquest.

“ How after y^e death of K. Stephen, Henry Plantagenet, (filz de Empresse) was king of England, and how he had issue Henry, whom hee crowned king in his life tyme; and after Richard Cœur de Lyon, Geffrey Duke of Brittain, and after John, Counte Sams Terre, and lastly, Isabella. This Henry y^e 2^d had greate discomfort of his children; for Henry, his second sonne, being crowned King of this realme in his fathers life tyme, did take part wth y^e french king in open battaile against his owne father,” &c.

* Harl. Coll. No. 2077

CHAP.
V.How Lan-
caster was
held.

“ Henry, through greefe of mynd, departed this life ; Rich. Cœur de Lyon was crowned king, and did penance for his rebellion against his father. The King Richard did create John Counte Sanns Terre Earle of Lancaster, and tounne and territory of Bristole, y Prouinces of Nottingham, Devonshire, and Cornewall, but alsoe wth many other stately things. To bee short, this now earle of Lancaster, his sayd brother, kinge Richard, being in the holy land in the warres against y^e enemies of Christ, did enjoye the crowne and kingdome very unnaturally, having been so lately aduanced to so great dignitie and yearly renemues by his brother. Well, suche was the successe of tyme that he dyed withoute issue, and leauing yong Arthur and his sister, the children of Jeffrey, his next brother and heire. John neuerthelesse was crowned king of Englande, whoe had issue Henry and Richard, besydes 4 daughters. John dyeth, Henry, his eldest sonne, is crowned king. The w^{ch} Henry graunteth to his brother y^e earledome of Cornewall. Hee graunted vnto him greate and ample possessions. This king Henry did marry Helinor, y^e daughter of Raymon, y^e earle of Prouince. In y^e 26th yeare of y^e king there came into England an auncient noble man, Peirs of Savoi. This noble man fuit vir multo prudentissimus quo Rex Henr 3. familiariter est usus, hunc ppter gravitatē prudentiamque rex humaniter accepit huncque in consilio in rebus agendis. Vnto y^s noble man did y^e king [give] the whole earledome of Lancaster, pell of w^{ch} earldome is y^e Savoy, a place wth out y^e Barres of the new temple, London, y^e w^{ch} in those dayes were known by y^e name of a Vanaforia, and sithence hath bene named Maner Mori Templi, att this day, the Savoy, pell of the possessions of y^e dukedome of Lancaster ; y^e sayd Pierce of Savoy did build him a house there, and did calle y^t by y^e name of y^e countrie from whence hee came, vizl. y^e Savoy ; y^t Piers groweing into greate Age, being earle of Lancaster, his heire being an alien borne, could not inheritt y^e earldome of Lancaster for y^t cause, y^t did Escheate vnto y^e king, as y^t may appere by Magna Charta 31., and y^t being vestid in y^e crowne. Hereafter yo^w shall [know or learn] how kinge Henry the 3^d disposed of y^e same. King Henry hauing issue 6 somes and twoe daughters, vizl. John, Rich., W^m., Henry, whoe dyed wth out issue, Edward y^e prince, after king by succession, and likewise Edmund, surnamed Crouchebacke, of whom is descended y^e familie and right no^{ble} house of Lancaster. The names of his daughters were Margrett queene of Scotts, and Beatrice dutchesse of Brittainne. The said king Henry y^e 3^d ad exaltacōem sanguinis sui, did by his Lerēs Patents, dated att Lyncolne y^e 8th daye of August, on y^e 22^d yeare of his raigne, grante vnto his dearely beloved somme Edmund honorem de Lancaster, cū oīl^z ho. wardis releuijs Escact redd et oīl^z alijs ad hoñor pñent ad hend. sibi et hæc suis de corpe suo itēm poeñ impptnū. The same king alsoe graunted and confirmed vnto his somme Edmund ad honor de

Leycester, cum oīl^o ho. vt supra. Dat 17^o Junij, a^o 55 regni sui p^t hend sibi et hæred. suis.

CHAP.
V.

“ Before I proceede any further I am to note in y^s place, y^t I haue not sett downe any manner of prooffe or record, y^t euer y^e said Edmunde was created earle either of Lancaster or Leycester, therefore many one y^t hath a quirke will moue y^s question vnto whomsoever shall bee good grace chancelor of y^e Dutchie, how cometh it to passe, that Edmund Crouchebacke should be earle of Lancaster, and after earle of Leycester, and carry y^t name and stile and dignitie, and y^t there is not any manner of record or proof extant y^t euer hee was created either earle of Lancaster or Leycester;* according to antient lawes of y^s crowne vsed for y^e creation of dukes, marquesses, and earles in y^t behalf. For the truth is, y^t if y^t please her Ma^{tie} to graunt vnto W^m Fleetwood, Srjeant att Lawe and Recorder of London,† and his heires, euer y^e honor of Tutbury, wth y^e appurtenances, by y^s grant y^e said W^m is not a whitt att all of better dignitie than hee was before, but yo^w must weighe in your mynd y^t there is a natural earle, and an earle artificiall, and earle artificiall is an earle created, framed, made, ordeined by Lrs. Patents from y^e king, wth y^e ceremonie therevnto belonging; but an earle natural is enermore a king's sonne, who, by his birth right, is an earle borne by reason, y^t by y^e lawes of the crowne euēy king's sonne is an earle borne, &c.

“ And as I said before of king John, whoe was named by y^e wholl world John Counte Sans Terre, vntil sometyne as y^t pleased y^e king Richard to graunt him y^e aforesaid Honno^r of Lanc. and then hee was named earle of Lancaster, not by creation but by birth right. Euen soe doe I say y^t y^e said Edmund Crouchebacke being a kings sonne, and alsoe a covnte Sans Terre vnto whom y^e king had [ad] Exhaltacōm sangūis sui, first did grante y^e sayd Honor of Leycester, and by those places hee was named y^e earle of Lancaster, vizl. The earle of Lancaster and Leycester. Here alsoe may growe a question, first, in w^t countreyes y^e said honors did extend, and then whether y^e whole dukedome of Lancaster did concist upon these honors; yea or noe. First, the honor of Lancaster, as by Record y^t doth appere, doth extend cheifly vnto Lanc. Middlesex, Norf. Suff. Lyncoln, Nottingham, Derby, Ebor. Rotell. and Staff. and into diuers other countries.

“ This Edmund Crouchebacke being, as I said, y^e 2^d sonne of king Henry y^e 3^d, and being alsoe aduanced to the aforesaid honors and dignities, had 2 sommes, Thomas and Henry, and after dyed. This Tho. erroneously attainted in Parliam^t

* No assertion can be more erroneous than this; Prince Edmund was created earl of Leicester by letters patent, 49 Hen. III., and earl of Lancaster 51 Hen. III., both which patents are still extant.

† The supposed author of this MS.

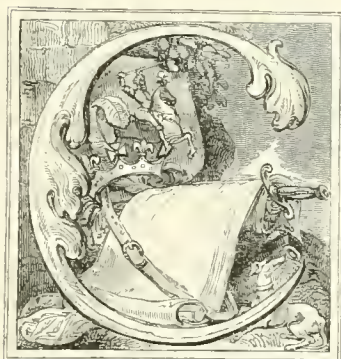
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V.

holden by K. E. y^e 2. by y^e pollicie of Hugh Spencer y^e father, and Hugh Spencer y^e sonne, and was putt to deathe at Pomfrett, but afr y^e deathe of Edward y^e 2^d, in a parliamt holden a^o 1^o E. 3, y^e said erronious judgem^t was reuersed, and y^e said earles doomes and possessions restored to y^e next heire, w^{ch} was y^e said Henry, brother of y^e said Thomas, whereby y^e king, both earle of Lanc. and Leycester. His issue, whoe, by lineal descent, was not only earle of Lanc. and Leycester, butt alsoe Heritor to diuers other earldomes, honors, manors, and dominions, y^e w^{ch} to recite were too long. The said Henry was afterwards created duke of Lancaster, by king E. y^e 3^d. The said Henry then created Duke of Lancaster, had issue one onlie daughter named Blanch, was afterwards married to John of Gant, by means whereof y^e said John was created Duke of Lanc. and by y^e assent of y^e lady Blanch his wife, all y^e possessions of y^e said dukedome, by circumstance of lawe, were lawfully conueyed to the said John Duke of Lancaster and y^e said Lady Blanch, and to y^e heires of y^e body of y^e said John Duke of Lanc. lawefully begotten, after w^{ch} y^e said John Duke of Lanc. had issue of y^e said Blanch, Henry of Bullingbrooke, whoe was afterwards king by name of H. y^e 4th, whoe had issue H. 5. H. y^e 5th had issue King H. y^e 6th, founder of Eton College, neare Windsor, and also founder of y^e Kings college, Cambridge, w^{ch} H. y^e the 6th had issue, after whose death y^e right and title of y^e said Dukedome by force of y^e said Entaille, vnto John Earle of Somersett, sonne of y^e said John Earle of Lanc. begotten of Katherine Swinford, y^e 3^d wife of y^e Duke of Lanc. w^{ch} John earle of Somersett had issue Margrett, y^e countesse of Richmond and Derby, w^{ch} Margrett had issue H. y^e 7th, who married Elizabeth, y^e eldest daughter of Edward y^e 4th, by whom he had issue K. H. y^e 8th, who had issue oure Soneraigne lady y^e Queene Elizabeth, in whose sacred person are conteyned y^e twoe houses of Lancaster and Yorke.

“ Here in this place it is my intention to sett downe what became of y^e Dukedome of Lancaster, and of all Franchises thereunto belonging att y^e instant when Henry y^e Bullingbrooke did take up the kingdome of England, so y^t I see y^t y^e lawe is cleere y^t y^e said Dukedome and dignitie, and all y^e preleminaries as well in name as in stile and title to all intents and purposes were extinguished and determined, and then y^t was not further a dukedome of Lancaster, but y^t was reformed to one.”

Chap. VI.

Creation of the county palatine.—Dr. Kuerden's letter on its antiquity.—Reasons for conferring the palatine privileges.—Form of legal processes in the county.—Mode of electing the sheriff.—List of sheriffs from the earliest records to the present time.—Violation of the liberty and property of the subject.—Ancient petition to parliament.—Punishment of outlaws.—Prohibition of liveries.—Exigent.—Appointment of sheriff during the civil wars.—His oath.—Courts of the county palatine.—Ecclesiastical courts.—Synopsis.—Description of the various courts.—Contemplated removal of the assizes.—Ancient indictment of the high sheriff.—Inferior courts of the county palatine.—Public records of the county palatine, civil and ecclesiastical.



LOSELY connected with the duchy of Lancaster are the courts and privileges of the county palatine. Upon the subject of the palatinate privileges, Selden observes, "that the counties of Chester and Durham are such by prescription or immemorial custom, or, at least, as old as the Norman conquest; but that Lancashire, as a palatine county, is of more modern date, and was so created by Edward III. after it became a duchy, in favour of Henry Plantagenet,

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Creation
of the
county pa-
latine.

Henry
Plantage-
net.

first earl and then duke of Lancaster, whose heiress being married to John of Gaunt, the king's son, the franchise was greatly enlarged and confirmed in parliament, to honour John of Gaunt himself, whom, on the death of his father-in-law, the king had also created Duke of Lancaster."*

Upon this subject, the authorities are conflicting: Lancashire appears to have enjoyed palatine jurisdiction under earl Morcar, before the Norman conquest; but after that event, which changed the whole frame of society, these privileges remained in abeyance till they were partially revived in the early part of the twelfth century, and fully confirmed in the time of "the good duke of Lancaster," and of John of Gaunt.

The following original letter from Dr. "Kuerden, in his own hand," to his brother, both in law and in pursuits, Mr. Randle Holme, is found in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum:†

* Tit. Honour, part ii. sec. 8. p. 677.

† Cod. 2,042.

CHAP.
VI.

“ Brother Hulme,

“ Preston, 20th Jan. 1664.

Dr. Kuerden on the county palatine.

“ Being so unfortunate in my necessitous occasions as not being permitted to visit you at Chester. I could do no less than salute you by my friend, Mr. King, who is to be in your city at 12 of this Instant, at Mr. Greg’s, as I conceive. I hope my sister Holme and your little ones are all in good health. I desire, if your leisure will permit, to send me by this bearer, my townsman, what you have of Coll. Worden’s descent, and likewise an old role or bundle of transcripts I left with you long agoe, concerning Fazakerley and Walton lands nere Liverpoole. Mr. Townly and myself are in hott pursuit of our cuntries affaires, and in retriuing the glory of our Palatinate out of monumētal ashes, and are able by this time to prove our county a Palatinate Jurisdiction under Rog. Pictavensis, before the grand survey of Doomsday’s Record in y^e Echq^r and forfeited before that time, restored again in Wit^h the second’s time. forfeited againe by Pictavensis at the battell of *Teuerchbuy*, in the beginning of Henry the first, bestowed then on Stephen before he was king, and continued for his reigne in his son, W. Comes *Bolonie et Moritonie*, till about the 5th of Richard the first, then giuen to J^o Earl Moreton, afterwards to P. of Savoy, and by Henry 3^d conferred on Edmund Crouchback, our first earl by charter, though some of these latter had not their *Jura Regalia* as at first. S^r, I am troublesome in this discourse, and, therefore, in hast shal rest and subscribe,

“ Your Brother, “ RIC. KUERDĚ.

“ *For M^r Randle Holme, over against the Twoo Churches, in Chester, Thes.*”

County palatine.

Counties palatine are so called a *palatio*, because the owners thereof, the earl of Chester, the bishop of Durlham, and the duke of Lancaster, had in those counties *jura regalia* as fully as the king had in his palace; *regalem potestatem in omnibus*.^{*} The peculiar jurisdiction and form of proceedings of the courts of law, in the county palatine of Lancaster, are the result of those privileges which were granted to its early earls and dukes, to induce them to be more than ordinarily watchful against the predatory incursions from the Scotch border, and to prevent their tenants from leaving the territory defenceless and exposed to hostile aggressions, while seeking redress at the more distant tribunals of the realm.[†] Law was to be administered by the officers and ministers of the duke, and under his seal, and anciently

Reason why granted.

* Bracton, lib. iii. c. 8. sec. 4.

† Upon this account there were formerly two other counties palatine, border counties, as they were called, Pembrokeshire and Hexhamshire; the latter now united with Northumberland; but these were abolished by parliament; the former, 27 Henry VIII.; the latter, 14 Elizabeth. By the first mentioned of these acts, the powers of owners of counties palatine were much abridged, the reason for their continuance having in a manner ceased, though still all writs are witnessed in their names, and all forfeitures for treason by the common law accrue to them.

all offences were said to be against his peace, his sword and dignity, and not as now “against the peace of our lord the king, his crown and dignity.” The king’s ordinary writs for redress of private grievances, or the punishment of offences between man and man, were not available within the county palatine, such writs then ran in the name of the duke; but in matters between the king and the subject, the palatine privileges could not contravene the exercise of the sovereign power, and the prerogative writs were of force, lest injuries to the state should be remediless. Since 27 Henry VIII. all writs have run in the name of the king, and are tes’d before the owner of the franchise. Hence it is that all ordinary writs out of the king’s court at Westminster, for service in this county, are addressed to the chancellor of the duchy, commanding him to direct the sheriff to execute them, and that all processes to that officer, out of the chancery of the county palatine, are not tes’d before the king or his justices at Westminster, as in other counties. The franchise and revenue of the duchy being under different guiding and governance from those of the crown, all honours and immunities and all redress within this county, with very few exceptions, must be derived from the chancellor of the duchy, as the principal minister of the king, in his capacity of duke of Lancaster. Justices of assize, of gaol delivery, and of the peace, are, and, ever since the creation of the county palatine of Lancaster, have been made and assigned by commission, under the seal of the county palatine,* and the sheriffs for the county of Lancaster are appointed in the same way. The election of sheriff for this county palatine, in 1824, formed an exception to the general rule. The practice is to date the writ before his majesty, “at his palace at Westminster;” but on this occasion, when John Entwistle, Esq. of Foxholes, was appointed, that document was dated from “the palace of Brighton.” Anciently sheriffs, like coroners, were chosen by the freeholders;† but popular elections growing tumultuous, this practice was abolished.

Form of
legal pro-
cess in the
county
palatine of
Lancaster.

28 Ed. I.

9 Ed. II.

The choice of the sheriffs in the palatine counties is conducted in a different manner from that of the choice of these officers in the other counties of the kingdom. The usual mode of election is for the judges, having met in the exchequer chamber on the morrow of St. Martin, to return for each of the counties, not palatine, the names of three persons, residents in each county, to the king—and for the king, with a small instrument, to prick the name of one of the three, usually the first upon the list, as sheriff. But for the county of Lancaster, the chancellor of the duchy selects the three names, which he submits to the king, as duke of Lancaster, usually on some day between the 1st and the 20th of February in each year; and the king chooses one of the three, generally that at the head of the list. In the early periods of British history, the sheriffs continued in office for a number of years,

Sheriffs of
Lanca-
shire.

* Coke’s 4th Institute, p. 205.

† Coke’s 2d Institute, p. 174.

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as will be seen in the following list, and some for the whole term of their life; but since the twenty-eighth Edward III. the office can only be held legally for one year. Nor was it unusual in early times to elect to this office the most exalted peers of the realm. Before the Conquest, the county of Lancaster, with some other jurisdictions, were committed to the Comes Northumbriæ, in the large sense, and sometimes to the Comes Deiræ, being the more southern part of that kingdom or province. The last of these comites in the Saxon times were earls Tosti and Morcar, whose possessions are noted in Domesday Book.

The following list is compiled from the manuscripts of Mr. Hopkinson, compared by the late Matthew Gregson, Esq. with that of the late George Kenyon, Esq. which we have collated with and corrected from a MS. (No. 259.) in the British Museum, indorsed, “Nomina Vicecomitum collecta ex Rotulis Pellium recepta apud Westmonasterium. De Terminis Michaelis, anno primo Regis Edwardi primi.”

SHERIFFS OF LANCASHIRE,

FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT TIME.

NORMAN LINE.

1177. Robt. fil. Bernardi. Rad. fil. Bernard.

WILL. II.

1178

to } Radulphus fil. Bernardi.

1183. }

1184. Gilbert Pipard and Hugo.

Gilbert Pipard,

1185. Frater ejus pro eo. Alan Valans.

86. Gilbertus Pipard and Petrus frater
ejus pro eo. Gilbert. Pipard.

HENRY II.

1156. Rad. Pigot, *for four years.*1160. Robt. de Montaltop, *for three years.*

63. Hugh de — Owra.

64. Galfr. de Valoniis.

1165. Galfridus de Valoniis.

66. William Vesci.

67. Williclmus de Veseye.

68. Rogerus de Herlebeck. Herlebergo.

1170. Idem.

71. Herlebeck.

72. Rad. fil. Bernard

73. Idem.

74. Rad. fil. Bernardi. Rad. de Glanvill.

75. Radulphus fil. Bernardi.

76. Radulphus fil. Bernardi.

87. Gilbertus Pipard and Petrus.

88. Gilbertus Pipard.

RICHARD I.

1189. Gilbertus Pipard.

1190. Henry de Cornhill.

91. Idem.

92. Rad. de Cornhill.

93. Idem.

94. Theobald Walter and Wm. Rad-
cliffe pro eo, Theobald Walter.95. Idem Theobald and Benedictus Gar-
net pro eo.

96. Idem. idem.

1197. Idem Theobald and Robertus Va-
vasor pro eo.High
sheriffs
of Lanca-
shire.

* See chap. iii. p. 100.

1198. Theobald Walter and Nicholas Pincerna pro eo.

JOHN.

1199. Theobald Walter.

1200. Rob. de Tattershall.

Rob. de Toteshal.

1. }
2. } Ricardus Vernon.
3. }
1205. { Roger Lacy. Cons Cest. Robt.
Walensis, Rich. Vernon.
William Vernon. Gilbertus fil.
Roger and Rich.
1206. { Idem. Roger, Walter Marshall, Gilbertus fil. Reynfridi.
Adam fil. Roger pro eo.
1207. Roger Lacy, Robert Wallensis, Gilbert fil. Reynfridi, Adam fil. Rogrio pro eo.
8. Gilbert fil. Reynfridi and Adam fil. Rog. pro eo.

Gilbert fil. Reinford.

- 1209 { Idem. Gilbert and Adam, durante
to vita Johs. regis.
1216. { Idem.

HENRY III.

1216. R. Comes Cestra.
17. Ranulfus Comes Cestra and Jordanus fil.
18. Idem. Ranulfus and Jordanus, for five years the same.
1223. Idem. Ranulfus and Jordanus.
William Ferrars Comes.
24. Idem. Ranulfus and Jordanus, and Will. Ferrars Comes.
Robertus Montjoy pro eo.
25. Idem. Wills, and Roberts. Custos pro eo.
26. Idem. Willielmus, and Gerardus Etwell pro eo.

1227. Adam de Eland, Cust. pro Will. com. Adam de Yeland.

28. Idem, (same person appointed five years more, Eland of Ebor.)

1233. Johannes Byron Mills, Will. de Lancaster. Other accounts say, William de Lancaster only.

Gilbert Westby pro eo.

34. William Lancaster, et Simo de Thornton, pro eo.

35. Idem, Willielmus et Simo.

36. Robertus de Latham, idem Will. and Simo pro eo.

37. Same William and Simeon for six years.

43. William Lancaster et Richard Butler pro eo.

44. Willielmus Lancaster.

45. Idem. William and Matthew Redmain.

46. } Idem.

47. }

48. Idem. Mathews and Robert Latham, half-year.

49. Robert Latham.

Ditto, for seven years further.

Patricius de Ulvesby, for three years.

1256. { Ult. an junct. Will. de Pincerna de Bewsey.

Patricius de Ulvesby.

59. Galf. de Chetham ut Firmarius.

1260. Idem. Galfridus for two years.

61. Idem. Galf. Radulus Dacre and Gal. de Chetham, half-year.

62. Idem, Galf. and Adam de Montalto.

63. Idem, Adam and Robert de Latham. Adam de Montalto.

1272. Randulphus Dacre.

SAXON LINE RESTORED.

EDWARD I. REX.

73. Thos. Travers.

74. William Genty.

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VI.

High
sheriffs
of Lanca-
shire.

CHAP.
VI.High
sheriffs
of Lanca-
shire.

1275. Ranulphus de Daker.
 76. Nichus de Le.
 77. Henry de Lea, or, Hen. du Lee.
 78. Gilbert de Clifton.
 79. Rog. de Lancaster.
 1280. Radus de Montjoy.
 81. Thomas Banester.
 82. Rich. de Hoghton.
 83. Thos. de Lancaster.
 84. } Henry de Lea.
 85. }
 86. Robert Latham and Gilbert Clifton
 pro eo. or, Gilbert Clifton alone.
 87. Gilbert Clifton.
 88. Robert de Leyborne.
 89. Gilbert Clifton.
 1290. Roger de Lancaster.
 91. Radus Montjoy.
 92. Richard Hoghton and Rads. de
 Montegaudeo, or Montjoy.
 1292 }
 to } Idem Radulphus Montegaudeo, or
 1298. } Montjoy.
 99. Edmund Comes Lancaster and
 Richard Hoghton pro eo.
 Thomas Lancaster, by inheritance
 with Rich. Hoghton.
 1300. Richard Hoghton for two years.
 1. Thos. Travers and Richard Hoghton.
 2. Thos. Travers.

EDWARD II.

- 1303 }
 to } Thos. Earl of Lancaster.
 1308. }
 1309. Willielmus Gentyl.
 10. Thos. Earl of Lancaster.
 1311 }
 to } Richard de Bickerstath.
 1320. }
 21. Gilbertus Southworth.
 Wm. le Gentyl.
 23. John d' Arcy.

EDWARD III.

1328. Wm. Gentyl.
 29. Johes de Hambury.
 1330. Johes de Burghton.
 31. Johes de Hambury and Galfrus de
 Warburton.
 32. Johes de Denon.
 1333. }
 34. } Robertus Foucher, others Toucher.
 35. } Willielmus Clapham.
 1339. }
 40. } Robertus Radcliffe, of Ordsall.
 44. Stephanus Ireton.
 45. Johes le Blount.
 48. Johannes Cockayne.
 1355. Ricardus Radcliffe.
 58. Willielmus Radcliffe.
 59. Johannes Ipree.
 1360. Willielmus Radcliffe.
 63. Johannes Ipree, vice-sheriff, (no
 sheriff's name found.)
 1371. Galfrus de Chetham.
 1375. }
 1376. } Richard Townley.

RICHARD II.

1377. Richard Townley.
 78. Thos. de Bobbeharn.
 79. Nicholas Harrington, for six years.
 1385. Rads. Radcliffe, for three years.
 89. Robertus Standish.
 1392. Rads. Standish, miles.
 93. Johannes Butler de Rawcliffe, miles,
 for two years more.
 97. Ricardus Mollineux.

HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

HENRY IV.

1400. Thomas Gerard.
 1. Johannes Butler.
 4. Johannes Butler.
 5. Radulfus Radcliffe.

1406. Radulfus Radcliffe, miles.

7. Johannes Bold.

1410. Johannes Bold, miles.

11. } Radulfus Stanley, miles.
12. }

HENRY V.

13. Rads. Stanley, miles, and Nicholas
Longford.14. William Bradshaw and Robert
Longford.15. } Robertus Urswick.
18. }

19. Robertus Lawrence.

1420. } Ricardus Radcliffe.
21. }

HENRY VI.

23. Ricardus Radcliffe, for three years.

27. } Robertus Lawrence.
29. }1441. } Johannes Byron, Knt.
42. }

1459. Nichus Byron.

HOUSE OF YORK.

EDWARD IV.

1462. Johannes Broughton.

63. } Thomas Pilkington.
65. }

66. Robtus Urswick, miles.

1473. Thos. Pilkington, arm.

76. Thos. Molineux, arm.

1482. Thos. Pilkington, miles.

UNION OF YORK AND LANCASTER.

HENRY VII.

1501. } Edward Stanley, miles.
8. }

HOUSE OF TUDOR.

HENRY VIII.

12. Edwardus Stanley, miles.

14. Idem, Postea Dom. Monteagle.

1520. } Edwardus Stanley.
27. }

28. Alex. Osbaldeston, miles.

1532. Johes Townley, miles.

42. Thos. Southworth miles.

46. Alex. Radcliffe, miles.

EDWARD VI.

47. Alexander Radcliffe, miles.

Richard Radcliffe.

48. Thomas Gerrard, miles.

49. Robert Worsley, miles.

T. Gerrard.

1550. Peter Lcgh, miles.

R. Worsley, miles.

51. John Atherton, miles.

Peter Leigh de Lime, mil. John
Atherton.

52. Thomas Talbot, miles.

53. Thomas Gerrard, miles.

MARY.

1554. Marmaduke Tunstall, mil.

55. John Atherton, miles.

56. Thomas Langton, miles.

57. Edmund Trafford, miles.

58. Thomas Gerrard, miles.

ELIZABETH.

59. John Talbot, Esq.

1560. Robert Worsley, Knt.

61. John Atherton, Knt.

62. John Southworth, Knt.

63. Thomas Hesketh, Knt.

64. Thomas Houghton, Esq.

65. Edmund Trafford.

66. Richard Molineux, Knt.

67. Thomas Langton, Knt.

68. Edward Holland, Esq.

69. John Preston, Esq. of the Manor.

1570. Thomas Butler, Esq.

71. Edmund Trafford, Esq.

CHAP.
VI.High
sheriffs
of Lanca-
shire.

CHAP.
VI.High
sheriffs
of Lanca-
shire.

1572. John Byron, Esq.
73. Richard Holland, Esq.
74. William Booth, Esq.
75. Francis Holt, Esq.
76. Richard Bold, Esq.
77. Robert Dalton, Esq.
78. John Fleetwood, Esq.
79. Rafe Ashton, Esq.
1580. Edmund Trafford, Knt.
81. John Birom, Knt.
82. Richard Holland, Esq.
83. John Atherton, Esq.
84. Edmund Trafford.
Thomas Preston.
85. Thomas Preston, Esq. Richard
Asheton, Esq.
86. Richard Asheton, Richard Bold,
Esqs.
87. John Fleetwood, Esq.
88. Thomas Talbot, of Bashall, Esq.
89. Richard Molineux, Knt.
1590. Richard Bold, Esq.
91. James Asheton, Esq.
92. Edward Fitton, Esq.
93. Richard Asheton, Esq.
94. Ralph Ashton, Esq.
95. Thomas Talbot, Esq.
96. Richard Holland, Esq.
97. Richard Molyneux, Knt.
98. Richard Asheton, Esq.
99. Richard Hoghton, Knt.
1600. Robert Hesketh, Esq.
1601. Cuthbert Halsall, Esq.
2. Edmund Trafford, Knt.

HOUSE OF STUART.

JAMES I.

- 1603 John Ireland, Esq.
4. Nicholas Moseley, Knt.
5. Ralph Barton, Esq. Rand. Barton,
Esq.
6. Edmund Fleetwood, Esq.

1607. Richard Ashton, Knt.
8. Robert Hesketh, Esq.
9. Edmund Trafford, Knt.
1610. Roger Nowell, Esq.
Roger A. Nowell, Esq.
11. John Fleming, Esq.
12. Cuthbert Halsall, Knt.
13. Robert Bindloss, Esq.
Robert Binloss. A. Borwick, Esq.
14. Richard Sherborne, Esq.
Rich. Sherburne, Stonylhurst.
15. Edmund Stanley, Esq.
16. Rowland Moseley, Esq.
Robert Moseley.
17. Edmund Trafford, Knt.
18. Richard Shuttleworth, Esq.
19. John Holt, Esq.
1620. Leonard Ashawe, Esq.
Leonard Ashall, or Ashow.
21. Edmund Moore, Esq.
22. Gilbert Ireland, Esq.
23. Sir George Booth, Knt. and Baronet.
24. Sir Rafe Asheton, Baronet.

CHARLES I.

1625. Richard (or Edward) Holland, Esq.
26. Roger Kirkby, Esq.
27. Sir Edward Stanley, Baronet.
28. Edmund Ashton, Esq.
29. Edward Rawsthorne, Esq.
1630. Thomas Hesketh, Esq.
31. Richard Bold, Esq.
32. Nicholas (or Richard) Townley, Esq.
33. Rafe Ashton, Esq.
34. Ralph Standish, Esq.
35. Humfry Chetham, Esq. (Benefac-
tor) Manchester.
36. William Farrington, Esq.
37. Richard Shuttleworth, Esq.
38. Roger Kirkby, Esq.
39. Sir Edward Stanley, Baronet.
1640. Robert Holt, Esq. or Ri. Holt.

1641. Peter Egerton, Esq.
 42. John Girlington, Knt.
 43. Gilbert Hoghton, Esq.
 44. }
 45. } John Bradshaw, Esq.
 46. }
 47. }

COMMONWEALTH.

1648. Gilbert Ireland, Knt. until May 1649.
 49. John Hartley, of Strangeways, gentleman, until December 1649.
 1650. Edward Hopwood, of Hopwood, Esq.
 51. Henry Wrigley, gentleman, Chamber Hall. A. Wrigley.
 52. Alexander Barlow, of Barlow, Esq.
 53. John Parker, of Entwistle, Esq.
 54. Peter Bold, of Bold, Esq.
 1655. John Atherton, of Chowbent, Esq.
 56. John Starkie, of Huntroyd, Esq.
 57. Hugh Cooper, of Chorley, Esq.
 58. Robert Bindloss, Esq.
 59. Sir Richard Hoghton, Baronet.

RESTORATION.

CHARLES II.

1660. George Chetham, Esq.
 61. }
 62. } Sir George Middleton Baronet.
 63. J. Girlington, Esq.
 64. Thomas Preston, Esq.
 65. }
 66. } William Spencer, Esq. two years.
 67. John Arden, Esq.
 68. } Thomas Greenhalgh, Brandlesome,
 69. } Esq.
 70. Christopher Banister, Esq.
 71. Henry Slater, Knt.
 72. }
 73. } Sir Robert Bindloss, Baronet.

1674. Peter Brooks, Knt.
 75. Alexander Butterworth, Esq.
 76. Idem. Alexander Rigby, Esq.
 77. Alexander Rigby, Esq.
 78. Idem, of Layton.
 79. Sir Roger Bradshaw, Baronet.
 1680. William Johnson, Esq. of Rishton Grange. William Spencer.
 81. Lawrence Rosthorn, Esq.
 82. Idem. Thomas Leigh, Esq.
 83. Thomas Leigh, jun. Esq.
 84. Idem. Peter Shakerley, Esq.

JAMES II.

1685. Peter Shakerley.
 86. William Spencer, Esq. two years. Peter Shakerley.
 88. Thomas Richardson, of Rawnhead, nominated, but not sworn in.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1689. Jas. Birch, Esq.
 1690. Peter Bold, Esq. Alexander Rigby.
 91. Alexander Rigby, Esq. Layton, Lindley.
 92. Francis Livey, Esq. Lindley. Thomas Rigby.
 93. Thomas Rigby, Esq.
 94. Thomas Ashurst, of Ashurst, Esq.
 95. Richard Spencer, Esq.
 96. Thomas Norris, Esq.
 97. Roger Manwaring, Esq.
 98. Wm. West, Esq.
 99. Robert Duckenfield, Esq. Thomas Rigby, of Middleton.
 1700. Thomas Rigby, Esq. Hulm, of Davy Hulme.
 1. William Hulm, Esq.

ANNE.

1702. Roger Nowel, of Read, Esq.
 3. Peter Egerton, of Shaw, Esq.

CHAP.
VI.High
sheriffs
of Lanca-
shire.

CHAP.
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of Lanca-
shire.

1704. George Birch, of Birch Hall, Esq.
Succeeded by his brother, Tho-
mas Birch.
1705. Richard Spencer, of Preston, Esq.
6. Christopher Dautesey, of Agecroft.
7. Edmund Cole, of Lancaster and Cote.
8. Miles Sandes, of Graythwaite, Esq.
9. Roger Kirkby (ob. this year). Suc-
ceeded by Alexander Hesketh.
Esq.
1710. Roger Parker, of Extwisle, Esq.
11. Sir Thomas Standish, of Duxbury,
Bart.
12. Wm. Rawsthorne, of Preston, Esq.
13. Richard Valentine, of Preston and
Bentcliffe, Esq.
14. William Farrington, of Werden, Esq.
1729. William Greenhalgh, of Myerscough,
Esq.
1730. James Chetham, of Smedley, Esq.
31. William Leigh, of West Houghton.
32. John Parker, of Breightmet, Esq.
33. John Greaves, of Kilshaw, Esq. or
Culcith.
34. Dr. Bushel, of Preston, M.D.
35. Arthur Hambleton, of Liverpool,
Esq.
36. Darcey Lever, of Alkington, Knt.
LL.D.
37. Thos. Horton, of Chadderton, Esq.
38. Samuel Chetham, of Castleton, Esq.
39. Sir Ralph Asheton, of Middleton,
Bart.
1740. Roger Hesketh, of Meols, Esq.
41. Robert Duckenfield, of Manchester.
42. Robert Bankes, of Winstanley.
43. John Blackburne, of Orford, Esq.
44. Robert Radcliffe, of Toxdenton, Esq.
45. Daniel Willis, of Red Hall, Esq.
(now Halstenhead.)
46. William Shaw, of Preston, Esq.
47. Sam. Birehe, of Ardwick, Esq.
48. Geo. Clarke, of Hyde, Esq.
49. Rigby Molineux, of Preston, Esq.
1750. Charles Stanley, Esq. Cross Hall.
51. James Fenton, of Lancaster, Esq.
52. Richard Townley, jun. of Belfield,
Esq.
53. John Bradshaw, of Manchester, Esq.
54. Thomas Hesketh, of Rufford, Esq.
55. Thomas Johnson, of Manchester,
Esq.
56. James Barton, of Penwortham, Esq.
57. James Bailey, of Withington, Esq.
58. Robert Gibson, of Myerscough
Planks, Esq.
59. Edward Whitehead, of Claughton,
Esq.
1760. Samuel Hilton, of Pennington, Esq.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

GEORGE I.

1715. Jonathan Blackburne, of Orford, Esq.
16. Thomas Crisp, Esq. Wigan and
Parbold.
17. Samuel Crooke, of Crooke, Esq.
18. Richard Norris, of Liverpool and
Speke, Esq.
19. Thomas Stanley, of Clithero, Esq.
1720. Robert Mawdesley, of Mawdesley,
Esq.
21. Benjamin Hoghton, Esq.
22. Benjamin Gregg, Esq. Chamber Hall.
23. Sir Edward Stanley, of Bickersteth,
Bart.
24. William Tatham, Esq. Over Hall.
1725. Miles Sandys, of Graithwait, Esq.
26. Edmund Hopwood, of Hopwood,
Esq.

GEORGE II.

1727. Dr. Daniel Wilson, of Dalham Tower.
28. Joseph Yates, of Peel, near Man-
chester, Esq.

GEORGE III.

1761. Sir William Farington, of Shawe Hall, Knt.
 62. Thomas Braddie, of Conishead, Esq.
 63. Thomas Blackburne, of Hale, Esq.
 64. Sir William Horton, of Chaderton, Bart.
 65. John Walmesley, of Wigan, Esq.
 66. Edward Gregg, of Chamber Hall, Esq.
 67. Alexander Butler, of Kirkland, Esq.
 68. Thomas Butterworth Bayley, of Hope, Esq.
 69. Dorning Rasbotham, of Birch House, Esq.
 1770. Nicholas Ashton, of Liverpool, Esq.
 71. Sir Ashton Lever, of Alkrington, Knt.
 72. William Cunliffe Shaw, Esq. Preston.
 73. Thomas Patten, Esq. Warrington.
 74. Geoffrey Hornby, of Preston, Esq.
 1775. Sir Watts Horton, of Chadderton, Bart.
 76. Lawrence Rawsthorne, Preston, Esq.
 77. Samuel Clowes, of Chorlton, Esq.
 78. Wilson Gale Bradyall, Esq. Conishead.
 79. John Clayton, of Carr, Esq. or Little Harwood.
 1780. John Atherton, Esq. Walton Hall, Liverpool.
 81. John Blackburne, Esq. Orford, now Hale.
 82. Sir Frank Standish, Duxbury, Bart.
 83. James Whalley, Esq. Clerk Hill, Whalley.
 84. Wm. Bankes, of Winstanley, Esq.
 85. John Sparling, Esq. Liverpool.
 86. Sir John Parker Mosely, of Ancoats, Bart.
 87. William Bamford, of Bamford, Esq.
 1788. Edward Falkner, of Fairfield, near Liverpool, Esq.
 89. William Hulton, of Hulton, Esq.
 1790. Charles Gibson, Esq. of Lancaster, now Quernmore.
 91. James Starkie, of Heywood, Esq.
 92. William Asheton, of Cuerdale, Esq. now Downham.
 93. Thomas Townley Parker, of Cuerden, Esq.
 94. Sir Henry Philip Hoghton, of Walton, Bart.
 95. Robinson Shuttleworth, of Preston, Esq.
 96. Richard Gwilym, Bewsey, Esq.
 97. Bold Fleetwood Hesketh, of Ros-sall, Esq.
 98. John Entwistle, of Foxholes, Esq.
 99. Joseph Starkie, of Royton, Esq.
 1800. James Aekers, of Lark Hill, Esq.
 1. Sir Thomas Dalrymple Hesketh, Bart. Rufford.
 2. Robert Gregg Hopwood, of Hopwood, Esq.
 3. Isaac Blackburne, Esq.
 4. Thomas Lister Parker, of Browsholme, Esq.
 5. Meyrick Bankes, of Winstanley, Esq.
 6. Le Gendre Pierce Starkie, of Huntroyd, Esq.
 7. Richard (Cross) Legh, of Shawe Hill and Adlington, Esq.
 8. Thomas Clayton, of Carr Hall, Esq.
 9. Samuel Clowes, of Broughton, Manchester, Esq.
 1810. William Hulton, of Hulton, Esq.
 11. Sam. Chetham Hilton, of Moston Hall, Esq.
 12. Edmund Greaves, of Culcheth, Esq.
 13. William Farington, of Shawe Hall, Esq.
 14. Lawrence Rawsthorne, Penwortham, Esq.

CHAP.
VI.High
sheriffs
of Lanca-
shire.

CHAP.
VI.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1815. Le Gendre Pierce Starkie, Hunt-royd, Esq.
16. William Townley, Townhead, Esq.
17. Robert Townley Parker, of Cuerden, Esq.
18. Joseph Feilden, Wetton House, Esq.
19. John Walmesley, Castle Mere, Esq.
20. Robt. Hesketh, Rossal, Esq.
21. Thomas Richard Gale Braddyll, Conishead Priory, Esq.
22. James Shuttleworth, Barton Lodge, Esq.
23. Thomas Greene, Slyne, Esq. | 1824. John Entwistle, Foxholes, Esq.
25. John Hargreaves, Ormerod House, Esq.
26. James Penny Machell, Penny Bridge, Esq.
27. Chas. Gibson, Quernmore Park, Esq.
28. Edmund Hornby, Dalton Hall, Esq.
29. Henry Bold Hoghton, Bold Hall and Hoghton Tower, Esq.
1830. Peter Hesketh, Rossal Hall, Esq.
31. Peregrine Edw ^d Towneley, of Towneley, Esq. |
|---|--|

The county palatine of Lancaster is parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, and the king has a seal, chancellor, and other officers, for the county palatine, and others for the duchy, both of which are managed separately from the possessions of the king.* It is one of the privileges of a county palatine, that none of its inhabitants can be summoned out of their own county, except in case of treason, or error, by any writ or process.†

Violation
of the li-
berty and
property
of the
subject.

In the early periods of the palatine privileges in Lancashire, these distinctions of law were not so well understood as at present; hence a number of legal harpies were in the daily habit of seizing the inhabitants and their property, and conveying them away under form of law, though they had no jurisdiction whatever in the county. These violent and illegal proceedings kept those parts of the county wherein they were practised in a continual ferment. Large assemblies of the people rose, to resist the intruders; and riots, and even murders, frequently ensued. So intolerable an evil called for a strong remedy, which the law had not then provided, but in 28 Henry VI. an act was passed, by which it was ordained, that if any "misruled" persons, under colour of law, made a distress where they had no fee, seignior, or cause, to take such distress in the counties and seignories in Wales, or in the duchy of Lancaster, they should be adjudged guilty of felony, and punished accordingly.‡ An ancient petition to parliament from the inhabitants of this county has been preserved in the Tower of London, wherein that protection was loudly called for, which the legislature were not slow to grant:—

* Plow. Com. p. 219. on the duchy of Lancaster case, so elaborately argued, by which it was decided, that a lease under the duchy seal of land, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster, made by Edw. VI. in his nonage, to commence after the end of a former lease in *esse*, was good, and not avoidable by reason of his nonage.

† Coke's 4th Institute, p. 411.

‡ Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 356.

“ Soit baille as Srs.

CHAP.
VI.

Petition.

“ To the discrete Comyns of this pſent Parliament. Please it your wiſdomes and high diſcrecions tendirly to conſidre, that diſverſe miſgoverned perſones of the Shires, Lordeshippes Roialx, in Walys, and of the Ducherie of Lancaſtre in the ſeid parties, dayly taken and uſe to take, diſverſe perſones, goodes and catelx in the ſeid Shires, Duchie and Lordeshippes, by the name and undre colour of diſtreſſe, where thei have noo maner Fee, Lordeship, ne cauſe to take ſuch diſtreſſe, but feynen accions and quarelx, to greve and deſtrye the trewe pepill of the ſeid Shires, Duchie and Lordeshippes, ayenſte lawe, reaſon and conſcience; and the ſeid pſones, goodes and catelx ſoo taken, leden and carien out of the Shires Duchie and Lordeshippes where thei ben taken, into other diſverſe places in England and Walys: And oft tyme for ſuche diſtreſſe takyng, and in reſiſtens therof, ther is grete aſſembles of pepill, riotes, mayhemmys, and murdres doon and hadde, and if it be not in haſty tyme remedyed, like to folowe therof other inconveniſtiſe; of the which takynges, ledynges and carynges, there is in that partie no dewe puniſhment, cauſe wherof the pepill of the ſeid parties dayly habundeth and encreſeth in miſgoſnaunce. That it pleaſe youre ſaid high diſcrecionns to conſidre thees pmiſſes, and to praye the Kyngre oure Sovereigne Lorde, by adviſe of his Lordes Spuelx and Tempelx in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by auctorite of the ſame Parliament, to ordeigne and ſtabliſh; that if eny pſone take eny goodes, catelx or perſons, in eny of the ſeid Shires, Duchie or Lordeshippes, and them lede or carye into eny places out of eny of the ſeid Shires, Duchie or Lordeshippes, wherin thei ben taken, into eny other places, that all manner ſuche takynges, ledyng, or caryng, be hadde and demyd Felonye; And if eny perſon therof be atteint in eny wyſe, that he have execucion as a Felon ſhulde have. And that noo maner perſon in the ſeid Shires, Duchie or Lordeshippes, ne in no other places in Walys, arettyd, accused or endited of Felonye, in eny wiſe be admitted to diſclayme out of the ſeid Shire, Duchie or Lordeship, where he is ſoo endited, accused or arettd. Purveyd alway, that noo perſon for diſtreſſe takyng within his Fee, or for eny maner cauſe wherfore diſtreſſe is lawfull by the comyn lawe of England, by this Ordinaunce be hurte or greved: And alſo purveyd, that this Acte be not prejudicial to eny pſone Englyſhe boren in Engeland; and that in the onour of God, and in the wey of charite.

RESPONSIO. “ Le Roy ſ’adviſera.”

A moſt extraordinary piece of legiſlation relating to the county palatine of Lancaſter, took place four years after this, by which an act, made for a temporary purpose, was declared perpetual. By this act it was ordained, that if any person

Puniſh-
ment of
outlaws.

CHAP.
VI.31 Hen.
VI.33 Hen.
VI.

should be outlawed in the county palatine of Lancaster, he should forfeit such of his land and goods as were found in that county, but in no other;* and that this should be the extent of his punishment, however aggravated might be his offence. The effect of such a law was to encourage crime to an alarming extent, for if any "foreigner" came into the county palatine of Lancaster, and committed any treason, murder, or robbery, or made and violated any contract, the sole redress for the injured party was against his lands and effects in the county, which generally were of no value. The pernicious consequence of this law soon became too palpable to be endured, and, two years after it had been made "perpetual," it was repealed.†

The defeat of this insidious measure did not prevent its repetition in the seventh year of the reign of Henry VII. when, in the absence of the "knights of the shire, and other noble persons of the county," an act of parliament was obtained, at the instance, and by the influence, of a single individual, probably one of the adherents of the deposed tyrant, Richard, by which it was ordained, that persons residing out of the county should neither be liable to process in the county of Lancaster, nor should forfeit, for their offences in the county, any goods but such as were to be found within its limits. It may easily be conceived, that no long time was necessary to discover this legislative error; and, accordingly, we find that, in the very same parliament, an act was passed, which, after reciting, "That the Countie of Lancastre is and of long tyme hath byn a Countie Palantyne, made and ordeyned for grete consideracion, and within the same hath byn had and used Jurisdiccion Roiall, and all things to a Countie Palantyne belonging, in the dayes of the noble Progenitours of our Soverayn Lord the King, unto the begynnyng of this present Parliament," proceeds to enact, "that the said Countie Palatyne, and every parte of the Jurisdiction therof, be in every poynt touching all Processes, Forfaitures, and other thinges, as large, and of like force and effecte, as it was the day next before the first day of this p̄sent Parliament, and as if the said Acte had not bin made."

Rot. parl.
7 Hen.
VII.
m. 8.Prohibi-
tion of
liveries.

The wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster still agitated the country. The madness of party raged with its utmost violence, and men of fortune and influence were accustomed to equip their partisans in liveries, and to furnish them with badges of distinction indicating to which house they belonged. The natural consequence of this conduct was to increase the general agitation, and to embarrass the administration of the laws. It is probable also, that there were local feuds mixed up with these elements of general discord, which so far exceeded the corrective power of the police, that a law was enacted, by which it was declared, that no person should give liveries or badges, or retain, as their menial servants, officers, or men learned either in civil or ecclesiastical law, by any oath or promise, under

* Stat. of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 356.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 365.

the penalty of one hundred shillings per month for every person so retained, to be recovered before the justices at their usual sessions of oyer and terminer, or before the king's justices in the counties palatine of Lancaster and Chester.*

CHAP.
VI.

The palatine privilege had in the reign of Edw. VI. been perverted to the injury of the inhabitants, by subjecting them to the consequences of outlawry without their knowledge. As the king's writ of proclamation awarded upon an exigent against any inhabitant of Lancashire, in any action involving the process of outlawry, did not run in Lancashire, it was necessarily sent to the sheriff of an adjoining county, and the consequence was, that many persons were outlawed without their own knowledge. When the trade and commerce of the county began to be extended, this grievance manifested itself so frequently, that an act was passed, whereby it was enacted, that whenever any writ or exigent from the court of king's bench or common pleas, should issue against any person residing in Lancashire, a writ of proclamation should be awarded to the sheriff of the county palatine of Lancaster, and not to the sheriff of any adjoining county; and that the sheriff of Lancashire should make and return the proclamation accordingly.

Proclama-
tion upon
an exi-
gent.

6 Ed. VI.

During the civil wars between prerogative and privilege, when Charles I. had the nominal authority of the sovereign, but when the two houses of parliament exercised the royal functions, the powers of the duke of Lancaster, like those of the king of England, were assumed by the founders of the commonwealth; and an ordinance remains upon record, by which John Bradshaw, of Bradshaw, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. was appointed to the office of sheriff of this county, which office he held for four successive years, in contravention of the act of 28 Edw. III. till the king was deposed, and until he, the sheriff of the county palatine of Lancaster, in the capacity of president of the parliamentary tribunal, consigned his monarch to the block. This ordinance is of the date of the 10th of February, 1644, and is thus expressed:—

Sheriff of
Lanca-
shire dur-
ing the
civil wars.

“ The Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, do order and ordain, and
“ be it ordered and ordained, that William Lenthall, Esq. Speaker of the House of
“ Commons, shall have power, and is hereby authorized to put in use the duchy
“ seal, for the constituting and making of sheriffs and justices of peace within the
“ county of Lancaster, and to issue out all writs and processes, and to do and perform
“ all acts and things necessary for the benefit of the said county, in as ample
“ manner as any Chancellor of the Duchy heretofore hath done, or ought to do; and
“ this ordinance to continue and be in force, until both houses take further order;
“ and whatsoever the said William Lord Grey, of Mark, and W^m Lenthall, shall do
“ in pursuance hereof, they shall be saved harmlesse by both houses of parliament :

* Stat. of the Realm, vol. ii. p. 426.

CHAP.
VI.

“ and it is further ordered and ordained, that the officers belonging to the Duchy Court do prepare a patent for to make John Bradshaw, of Bradshaw, Esquire, Sheriff of the said County, who is to take the oath of Sheriff hereinto annexed:—

“ THE OATH OF THE SHERIFF OF LANCASTER.”

“ Yee shall Swear, That well and truly ye shall serve the King in the Office of the Sheriff of *Lancaster*, and do the King’s profits in all things that belongeth you to do by way of your Office; As much as you can or may, ye shall not respite the Kings Debts, for any gift or favour, where you may raise them without great grievance of the Debtors: Yee shall truly and rightfully treat the people of your Sheriffwick, and do right, as well to Poor as to Rich, in all that belongeth to your office; Yee shall do no wrong unto any man for any gift or promise of goods, nor favour nor hate: Yee shall disturb no man’s Right; yee shall truly Accompt before the Auditor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*; of all them of whom yee shall any thing receive of the King’s Debts: Yee shall nothing take whereby the King may loose, or whereby that Right may be disturbed, letted or the Kings Debts delayed: Yee shall truly return, and truly serve all the Kings Writs, as far forth as it shall be in your cunning: * * * * *

Also, yee shall utterly testify and declare in your conscience, that the said Kings Highnesse is the onely Supream Governour of this Realm, and of all other His Highnesses Dominions and Countries, aswell in all Spirituall and Ecclesiastical things or causes, as Temporall; and that no Forraign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminency or Authority, Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realm; and therefore yee shall truly renounce and forsake all Forraign Jurisdictions, Power, Superiorities, and Authorities, and shall promise, that from henceforth yee shall beare Faith and true Allegiance to the said Kings Highnesse, His Heirs and Lawfull Successors; and to your power, shall Assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preheminences, granted or belonging to the said King’s Highnesse, His Heirs and Successors, or Vnited or annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm: So help you God, and by the holy Contents of this Book.”

“ H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. D. Com.”

With the restoration in 1660, the authority and the revenues of the duke of Lancaster reverted to the king. In order to secure the ducal prerogatives, and the ancient privileges of the county, a number of courts have, in the succession of ages, risen up in Laucashire, involving the jurisprudence of the county. The reason of

these immunities, as assigned by Sir Edward Coke, is, “for that the county of Lancaster is a county palatine, and the duke,” at its institution, “had *jura regalia*,” or royal prerogatives, within the county—“to exercise all manner of jurisdiction, high, mean, and low.” “This county palatine (of Lancaster) adds Sir Edward, was the youngest brother, and yet best beloved of all other, for it hath more honors, manors, and lands annexed unto it than any of the rest, by the house of Lancaster, and by Henry VIII. and Queen Mary, albeit they were descended also of the house of York, viz. from Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV.” The nature of the courts in the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, ecclesiastical, civil, and criminal, have already been exhibited in a connected form,* in combination with the other courts, which have a concurrent jurisdiction in the county; and it is only necessary in this place to repeat this information, and somewhat to amplify the details:—

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS ARE,

The Prerogative Court of York, within which province this county lies; the Court for the Archdeaconry of Chester; and the Court for the Archdeaconry of Richmond. Probates of wills and letters of administration, of persons dying within the archdeaconry of Richmond, are usually granted in the ecclesiastical court of Richmond, and the original wills, with the registers of other proceedings, are deposited at Lancaster, where the court for the Lancashire portion of that archdeaconry is held; while the wills and letters of administration, as to persons dying within the archdeaconry of Chester, must be proved in, or granted by, the ecclesiastical court of Chester, held in that city, in which case the wills are there deposited. But during the year of triennial visitation, the jurisdiction of the archdeaconry of Richmond ceases, and the proceedings throughout the whole county of Lancaster are then registered at Chester. The widows of intestates, dying within the archdeaconry of Richmond, obtain, by the custom of the province of York, sanctioned by the statute of distributions, a greater share of their husbands' personal estates than that to which those are entitled, by the statute, whose husbands die within the archdeaconry of Chester, where such custom does not prevail, Chester not being governed by any custom but by statute law. Until the institution of the bishopric of Chester, at the period of the Reformation, Lancashire lay within the dioceses of Lichfield and Coventry, and wills proved from this county, at that time, were deposited at Lichfield, where those wills now remain. The river Ribble generally forms the boundary of the two archdeaconries—places to the *North* of the Ribble being in the archdeaconry of Richmond; and those to the *South* of that river, in the archdeaconry of Chester. This definition is, however, subject to one exception; the whole of the extensive

Ecclesiastical
courts.

32 Hen.
VIII.

* Baines's Lancashire, edit. 1824. vol. 1. p. 128—138.

CHAP. VI. parish of Whalley is in the archdeaconry of Chester, though the township of Bowland-with-Leagram, in this parish, is on the north side of the Ribble.

THE COURTS OF LAW ARE,

Synopsis.

SUPERIOR COURTS.	*The High Court of Chancery. *The Exchequer. - The Chancery of the Duchy. - The Chancery of the County Palatine. *The King's Bench. *The Common Pleas at Westminster. - The Common Pleas at Lancaster. - The Judges Commission of all manner of Pleas. - The Commission of Oyer and Terminer.			
INFERIOR COURTS.	Of Record.	Criminal.	Sessions	
			{ For the County and For Boroughs.	
			Coroner's Court.	
	Not of Record.	Civil.	{ For the County and For Boroughs.	
			{ For Hundreds and For Manors.	
			Leets	
		County.	{ Borough Courts.	
			{ Piedpoudre Courts.	
			{ Courts of Requests.	
		For Hundreds.	{ By Justicias.	
			{ By Replevin.	
			{ By Plaintiff.	
		For Honors.	{ By Replevin.	
			{ By Plaintiff.	
			{ Copyhold.	
		For Manors.	{ Customary.	
			{ Copyhold.	
			{ Customary.	

SYNOPSIS.

The Courts marked thus * have a general jurisdiction, and are not peculiar to this county.

THE HIGH COURT OF CHANCERY,* AND THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER, have concurrent jurisdiction in this county with the Chanceries of the Duchy, and the county Palatine, in all matters requiring the interference of equity to remedy the defects, or mitigate the rigours, of law. But in affairs where the authority is derived by statute, or commission from the crown, as in bankruptcy and matters of a fiscal nature, the lord chancellor has an exclusive jurisdiction, and the barons of the exchequer paramount authority.

CHAP.
VI.Court of
chancery.

THE CHANCERY OF THE DUCHY OF LANCASTER

is not a mixed court of law and equity. It has cognizance of matters of an equitable nature, whether they relate to the county palatine, or to the duchy, and of all questions of revenue and council, affecting the ducal possessions. The proceedings in this court, as in the court of chancery, are by English bill and decree. The process is by privy seal and attachment, as in the chancery. All patents, and commissions of officers, or dignitaries, all orders, and grants affecting the lands and revenues, and all similar acts of authority within the duchy, issue from hence. It is also a court of appeal from the chancery of the county palatine; and the archive of all records affecting the franchise. It is held at the duchy office in Westminster, from which all processes issuing out of this court are dated.

Chancery
of the du-
chy.

THE CHANCERY OF THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER

is an original and independent court, as ancient as the 50th of Edward III. and the proceedings are carried on by English bill and decree. The office is at Preston, and the court sits four times a year, at least; namely, once at each assize at Lancaster, and once at Preston in the interval of each assize. The process of the court is by subpœna, attachment, attachment with proclamations, commission of rebellion, sequestration, and writ of assistance, &c.; and the general practice of the court, except in some particular cases where it is governed by its own particular rules, is similar to the practice of the high court of chancery in almost every thing, except in despatch and expense. The chancery of Lancashire has concurrent jurisdiction with the high court of chancery, and the court of exchequer, in all matters of equity, whether concerning lands lying within the palatine, or concerning transitory

Chancery
of the pa-
latine.

* The chancery is called of *Chancelli*, because they examine matters within places endorsed with partitions of cross-barrs; or rather, from the chancellours cancelling or dashing out, wt cross lines lattice-wise, commissions, warrants, and decrees, passed against all law or right. They (the chancellors) were in England before the Conquest, and then, and now, are reputed the second persons in the Kingdom.—*Fragmenta Historipolitica Miscellanea, Harl. MSS. no. 980. fo. 59.*

CHAP.
VI.

suits, its cognizance of which depends on the person or lands of the defendant being amenable to the process of this court; but its jurisdiction is *exclusive* of all other courts of equity, when both the subject of the suit, and the residence of the parties litigant, are within the county, and in such case a defendant may insist on his right to be sued in this chancery by demurrer or plea to any other equitable process. This court seems to be entirely independent of the high court of chancery, the latter court not assuming any jurisdiction or power over it; for an appeal from the chancery of Lancashire lies to the duchy chamber at Westminster, and from thence to the king in parliament; and no instance can be remembered, nor any precedent adduced, when the high court of chancery has ever in any manner attempted to interfere in the process or proceedings of the court of chancery of Lancashire, or to remove the cause or matter in dispute from its jurisdiction.

The court in point of fact exercises a concurrent jurisdiction with the high court of chancery in all matters of equity within the county palatine, particularly in matters of account, fraud, mistake, trusts, foreclosures, tithes, infants, partition, and specific performance of contracts and agreements. It also interferes to restrain parties from proceeding in actions at law, and for that purpose grants the writ of injunction. And it also issues injunctions to stay waste and trespass in cases where irreparable mischief might arise, unless the parties were immediately restrained from doing the acts complained of. It is likewise auxiliary or assistant to the jurisdiction of courts of law, as by removing legal impediments to the fair decision of a question depending, either by compelling a discovery which may enable them to decide, or by perpetuating testimony when in danger of being lost, before the matter to which it relates can be made the subject of judicial investigation. It also has jurisdiction, on ex-parte applications, in appointing guardians for infants, and in allowing them a competent maintenance out of their property, and in enabling them to make conveyances of their trust, and mortgaged estates, for the benefit of the parties beneficially entitled. It also claims the care of all lunatics and idiots within the county palatine, and grants commissions in the nature of the writ *de Lunatico vel Idiota probando*, for the purpose of inquiring into the state of mind and circumstances of the parties against whom the commission of lunacy or idiocy is prayed. And on the inquisition being returned, it grants administration of the persons and estates of lunatics and idiots to committees or guardians appointed for the purpose, under the directions of the court. If the suit is on behalf of a private individual, the bill of complaint is addressed to the chancellor of the duchy in the name of the party complaining, and if the suit is instituted on behalf of the crown, or of those who partake of its prerogative, or whose rights are under its peculiar protection, as the objects of a public charity, &c. the matter of complaint is offered to the chancellor of the duchy by way

of information, in the name of the attorney general of the county palatine. The proceedings are afterwards carried on, except in little points of practice arising from local circumstances, as in suits originally commenced in the high court of chancery. Although the bills are addressed to the chancellor of the duchy, the vice-chancellor of the county palatine is the judge of the court, and the causes and all motions and petitions are set down, and heard before him. The chancellor of the duchy, assisted by the two judges in commission for the county palatine, sits to hear causes at Westminster, either commenced originally in the duchy chamber, or which have been transmitted there by way of appeal from the court of chancery of the county palatine.

All original writs within the county palatine issue from the chancery of Lancashire, and writs from the courts at Westminster are directed to the chancellor of the duchy, who makes out his mandate to the sheriff of the county, to execute, and return them into the chancery. The officers of the court are—the chancellor of the duchy, the vice-chancellor, the registrar, examiner, and first clerk, the five cursitors and clerks in court, who are the attorneys of the court, the seal-keeper, and the messenger.

THE COURT OF KING'S BENCH AND THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS AT WESTMINSTER,

have concurrent jurisdiction with the court of common pleas, for the county palatine of Lancaster, in almost all cases; and will enforce their jurisdiction over personal actions, unless *consuance* of the cause be claimed, or the palatinate jurisdiction be pleaded, or error be brought, after judgment by default, with the venue laid in Lancashire, and the want of an original be assigned for error. In the two first instances, the superior courts cannot refuse to allow the privilege, when properly claimed; and in the last, the want of jurisdiction becomes apparent, from the circumstance of there being, in the chancery at Westminster, cursitors for the issuing of writs into every county but the counties palatine, and therefore, upon a cause of action arising in Lancashire, there is no proper officer from whom an original could have been obtained, to warrant the subsequent proceedings in the court at Westminster. The cases where the jurisdiction of the courts above is excluded, and that of the common pleas at Lancaster must be adopted, are chiefly pleas of lands within the county; actions against corporations existing in Lancashire; or suits in which a defendant residing there must be arrested for less than £20. All writs out of the courts at Westminster (except Habeas Corpus and Mittimus) are directed to the chancellor, and not to the sheriff, in the first instance; and, where execution of them must be done by the sheriff, the chancellor issues his mandate to that officer, and, on

Courts of
king's
bench and
common
pleas.

CHAP.
VI.

receiving his return, certifies, in his own name, to the court above, that the writ has been duly executed; and if the chancellor return, that he commanded the sheriff, and has received from him no answer, the court above will rule the sheriff to return the mandate. There is only one franchise in the county having the execution of writs by its own officer, viz. *the Liberty of Furness*, to the bailiff of which the sheriff directs his precepts, and receives from him the requisite returns.

THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS FOR THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER,

Common
pleas of
the pala-
tine.

is an original superior Court of Record at Common Law, having jurisdiction over all real actions for lands, and in all actions against corporations within the county, as well as over all personal actions where the defendant resides in Lancashire, although the cause of action may have arisen elsewhere; but this court has no jurisdiction beyond the limits of the county. The judges of this court are appointed by commission from the king, under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster, but in the name of the king, pursuant to the statute of 27 Hen. VIII. The judges, according to the present usage, are only two, being the judges appointed on the northern circuit, whose commission continues in force so long as the same judges continue to be appointed to that circuit. Its returns are on the first Wednesday in every month. The office of the prothonotary is at Preston, where the records for the preceding twenty years are kept, and those for previous years are deposited at Lancaster, where the court sits every assizes before one of the two judges of the courts at Westminster who have chosen the northern circuit, and who are half-yearly commissioned, the one as the chief justice, and the other as one of the “justices of the common pleas at Lancaster.” The patent of the judges for the common pleas at Lancaster also appoints one of the judges “chief justice, and the other, one of the justices of all *manner of pleas* within the county palatine,” and under this the causes sent by *mittimus* from the courts at Westminster are tried at bar; but as there is no clause of *nisi prius* in the jury process by *mittimus* to Lancaster (it being out of the ordinary circuit of the judges,) they cannot be assisted by a sergeant on the civil side as in other counties. By the same commission are tried at bar all *pleas of the crown*, whether removed by *certiorari*, or otherwise directed so to be tried. This court is a great advantage to the commercial county of Lancaster, as well because its process for arrests to any amount reaches to all parts of the county, and may be had without the delay of sending to London, as from the celerity and excellency of its practice. A great majority of the causes now tried at Lancaster are brought in the common pleas of the county palatine, and in point of importance are equal to those sent down for trial there from the courts at Westminster. In this court, actions may be

brought within about three weeks from the time of holding the assizes ; and execution may be had after trial, as soon as the assizes terminate, without waiting till the following term, which, at the summer assizes especially, embraces a considerable period. The advantage of this promptitude in legal processes in Lancashire, has been so strongly felt, that the principle is now extended to the general law of the country ; and still further improved, by an act of parliament passed in the early part of the year 1831, for the more speedy judgment and execution in actions brought in his majesty's courts at Westminster ; and the proceedings in the court of common pleas of the county palatine of Lancaster, have been facilitated by making all writs of inquiry or damage returnable on the first Wednesday in every month, (in addition to the first and last days of each assize,) in lieu of being returnable, as hitherto, on any of the return days in Easter and Michaelmas terms respectively. The general official business of the court of common pleas in Lancashire, is transacted by the deputy of the prothonotary. The office of prothonotary is a patent office, in the gift of the crown, in right of the duchy of Lancaster. John Crosse, Esq. is the attorney-general ; and Wm. Walton, and M. F. A. Ainslie, Esqrs. are king's counsel for the palatinate. The attorney-general for the county is an officer of this circuit, and there are also two king's counsel for the palatinate.

1 Will.
IV. c. vii.

It is not within the province of this work to enter into the subject of fees, and other details of legal practice, but the following order of court, issued by the judges upwards of two hundred years ago, may serve as a piece of legal lore :—

“ ORDERS MADE AT LANC :

By S. James Altham, Bar. of Ecq.

S. Edw. Bromley, Bar. of Ech.

By assent of Tho. Tidsley, Attorn. of Coūt. Pal. and Vicechancellor of the same, at the assizes at Lanc.

29th July. Jac. 9.

“ That Attorneys admonish there clients. both dwell: in the coūty, to trie in the coūty.

“ If Attorn will not be reformed, then to ——— them in any foren court acc. to Stat. 4 H. 4. if it seeme good to the Justices.

“ Euery writ made by the Attorn. shall cost 2^d for euery 12^d the proton. hath.

“ The Attorney shall have his fee in euery action 3^s 4^d for euery assize.

“ The Sherif shall return at the first Distr: suff: issues upon euery Freholdr that shall be sued, and double the same til the freeholder appere to the suit.

CHAP.
VI.

- “ Under enery action of debt of 20ls. or upward, the debtor shall put in special bayle if the plantifs Attor. do require, unles good cans to the contrary.
- “ The Protonot. shall not accept of any writs wherupon any fines or recon. are to be sued wher above 3 or 4 cognisors are named, being not joynt ten a ten in coū. without spec: direct: from the Justices of Assizes.
- “ No recovery brought to the Proton. but under the hand of some Attorney of the said court.
- “ Enery Attorney shall bring his orig. writs and mean proces wher any exigent is awarded of the Ass. precedent 14^d. All cost be the Assise subseq. to be filed with the Proton.
- “ Or else to pay for enery such writ returned the assise before, he bring the same for the post diem 4^d.
- “ If they file any writts of any former Assis after the said Ass. subseq. begin then to pay for each 12^d for a post assis. Attorney may receive of there own use $\frac{1}{3}$ of al fines due upon orig. writs, and writs of conents, and writs of Entryes for reco. only excepted.

Assizes.

Previous to every assize, commissions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery are issued, under which the senior judge presides in the crown court, and delivers Lancaster castle. The official proceedings in criminal cases within the county are conducted by the clerk of the crown, or his deputy.* The office of clerk of the crown is in the gift of the chancellor of the duchy for the time being, and he is assisted by a deputy, on whom the duty principally devolves. The office is held at Preston. At the end of the assizes, three copies are made of the calendar of the prisoners; one of which is signed by the senior judge, and delivered to the clerk of the crown, in whose custody it is kept; another copy is signed by the clerk of the crown, and kept by the judge; and a third, signed by the same officer, is left with the high sheriff or the gaoler. Under this authority, and without any special warrant, all executions take place. The judge writes the word “reprieved” or “respited”, opposite to the name of each convict sentenced to die, but not left for execution; and such as have not either of these words written opposite their names, are hanged. On behalf of those who are reprieved, the judge addresses a letter, called “the Circuit Letter” to the king, recommending them to mercy on the grounds therein specified, which letter is transmitted to the office of the secretary of state, and generally, indeed invariably, produces a commutation of punishment.

Contem-
plated re-
moval of
the as-
sises.

The assizes are held half-yearly at Lancaster, but strenuous efforts have, from time to time, been made by the more populous part of the county, to obtain an

* Appendix to Evans on the Court of Common Pleas of the County Palatine of Lancaster.

adjournment of each assize from the county town to Preston, Manchester, and Liverpool, on the grounds—that as it is a principle of the great charter, that justice ought not to be delayed, it is in consonance with that principle, that it ought not to be remote. It is alleged that nine-tenths of the civil causes, and four-fifths of the criminal prosecutions, tried at Lancaster, are from the three most distant hundreds of Salford, West Derby, and Blackburn, which contain nearly nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the county; and that, by the proposed adjournments, the saving to prosecutors and suitors, both in time and travelling expenses, would be immense. The cogency of these representations arrested the attention of the magistracy of the county, and in the report of a committee appointed by that body at their annual general sessions of the peace in 1820, which report was made in 1822, the committee earnestly recommend, that at the county assizes at Lancaster, the two judges should “both proceed upon the trial of prisoners, and afterwards upon the trial of all cases from the north of the county, as usual, and then adjourn to Preston, and there proceed with the causes from all other parts of the county.” By this arrangement, the committee “estimate the saving to the county to amount to at least £10,000 a year,” but they discountenance the idea of adjourning the assizes to Manchester and Liverpool, and deem it to be a measure fraught “with serious inconvenience and mischief.”

The subject being thus brought under the consideration of the whole bench, it became necessary to pronounce a decision upon it; and in a report of the magistracy, subsequently made, they negative the proposition in toto: first, because they agree with the committee, that it would be attended with serious inconvenience and mischief to adjourn the assizes to Manchester and Liverpool; and second, because an adjournment to Preston would only shorten the distance of travelling about twenty miles, and is not estimated to save more than £10,000 a year—a consideration which they do not think sufficiently powerful to justify the adjournment of the assizes from the place where justice has been well administered for centuries past, and which is entitled to have the assize held in it by the charters of many kings. Liverpool took a strong interest in this question, and at a public meeting of the inhabitants, held on the 11th of April, 1823, at which the mayor presided, it was determined to present a memorial to the lord high chancellor, the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and the Right Hon. Robert Peel, secretary of state for the home department, urging the measure upon their consideration. To this memorial an answer was returned by Mr. Secretary Peel, on the 3d of March, 1824, to the effect “That the memorial relative to an adjournment of the assizes to the towns of Liverpool and Manchester, or the neighbourhood thereof, having been fully considered, and the arguments weighed in support of that measure, with those which have been urged from several quarters against the proposed adjournments, he is directed to

acquaint the memorialists, that the parties memorialized are of opinion that it is not expedient for the government to take measures for adjourning the assizes from the town of Lancaster, at which they have been holden for a long series of years." Subsequent efforts have been made for the attainment of this object, but hitherto with no better success.

On this subject, the commissioners appointed by his majesty to inquire into the practice and proceedings of the supreme courts of law, in their report made to the king on the 18th of February, 1829, say—"The increased population of the county of Lancaster, amounting to more than one million of inhabitants, has augmented the business of that county to such a degree as to render a subdivision of it necessary. Accordingly, a regulation has been found expedient, and has been established for many years past, under the authority of the judges on that circuit, by which the causes are divided into three separate lists, appropriated to three different portions of the county, viz.:

"I. The three northern hundreds of Lonsdale, Amounderness, and Blackburn.

"II. The hundred of West Derby, including the town of Liverpool and the hundred of Leyland.

"III. Salford hundred, including Manchester.

"The causes entered for trial were as follows, viz.:

Last fourteen Circuits.					Last seven Circuits.				
1st List . . .	377	average	27		1st List . . .	227	average	32	
2d	919	. . .	65½		2d	573	. . .	82	
3d	807	. . .	57½		3d	491	. . .	70	

To promote this act of justice, it is proposed by the commissioners, that Manchester, with the rest of the hundred of Salford, should be comprehended within an additional circuit proposed to be established, to comprehend Staffordshire and Salop, the two north Welsh districts, the district of Chester, including Flintshire and the western part of Denbighshire. But this scheme, which involves a strange subdivision of counties, only cures half the alleged evil, and leaves Liverpool, with the other parts of West Derby, and the whole of Leyland, subject to “the unjust degree of inconvenience.”

THE COURTS OF INFERIOR JURISDICTION,

are either Courts, which, upon recording their judgment, can award that the party condemned shall be fined, or imprisoned, or they are COURTS NOT OF RECORD, and, consequently, not possessing the power to make such an award. Of the former class, some are more conversant in matters of criminal, and others of civil nature. The Criminal Courts of Record are—the General Sessions, held, annually and quarterly, before the justices of the peace for the county. The Annual Sessions are held in July, at Preston, and afterwards, by various adjournments, until the numerous county affairs, placed, by various statutes, under the peculiar cognizance of this court, are transacted. These are annually accumulating; and the matters of county finance have now become so much the objects of magisterial care and public interest, that its sittings bear no very distant resemblance to those of parliament.

Inferior
courts.

Sessions.

THE GENERAL QUARTER SESSIONS

are now held, according to statute, the first week after the 11th of October; the first week after the 20th of December; the first week after the 31st of March; and the first week after the 24th of June, in each year. The multifarious matters under the cognizance of this court are too well known to require enumeration. A very considerable number of barristers attend the last adjournments; and many judicious arrangements have been made, which evince the anxious desire of the magistrates to reduce, as much as possible, the time consumed, and the enormous sums annually expended, in the prosecution of offenders. The bench have the power, and, in some cases exercise it, to effect a further saving of both, by dividing the sessions, and trying indictments and appeals in different courts at the same time; which, especially in parish matters, would be a great public advantage.

1 William
IV.

Similar sessions are held in the boroughs of Lancaster, Preston, Clitheroe, Wigan, and Liverpool, before the local magistrates, agreeably to the respective

Borough
sessions.

CHAP.
VI.Coroner's
court.

charters, or to immemorial prescription, which presupposes such a charter anciently granted, and now lost or decayed.

Another court of record of criminal judicature, is the coroner's court, rapidly assembled on the discovery of any dead body, and composed of the officer, and a jury selected by the constables of the four townships next adjoining to that spot on which the corpse was first found. The name of the officer is supposed to be derived from the circumstance of his examination of the witnesses, and pronouncing of sentence, being in a ring or circle of people assembled round the deceased, or in *corona populi*. He is elected by the freeholders, upon a writ requiring the sheriff to hold a county court for the election, and returned into chancery. In this county there are six coroners, each of whom has full power to act through Lancashire; but the exercise of such power is limited, by private agreement, and for mutual convenience, to the hundred or neighbourhood of their respective residence. The coroner is bound by law to discharge his office in person, to come when sent for, and to view the body in the presence of the jury; and if the corpse cannot be found, no inquest can be held. He must also inquire of every death in prison, whether naturally or by misfortune. There are other duties attached to the office, such as the execution of process where the sheriff is party, or in contempt; the taking and entering of appeals of murder, rape, and robbery, &c.; the judgment on the writs of outlawry; the inquests of wreck, and treasure-trove; and others of less frequent occurrence, and less public concernment, than its ordinary painful and unpleasant task: the office is of high antiquity, and great public utility, when executed according to the spirit, and for the end, of its original institution. The principal officers of the corporate boroughs are usually coroners within the precincts of their jurisdiction. The coroner is a conservator of the peace, at common law, *virtute officii*.

Courts
leet.

The remaining court of record, for the punishment of offences, is the Leet. Formerly the sheriff perambulated the county, and held his criminal court in every hundred. This was called the *Torn*, or *Tornn*; but when the delay, inconvenience, and expense of that officer "taking a turn" through so extensive a district became manifest, this court was made stationary in every hundred, and was held, as at present, before the steward of the hundred.

Ancient
indictment
against
the high
sheriff.

A singular instance occurs, as early as the time of Edward II., of the exactions to which the inhabitants of Lancashire were subjected, by the itinerant visits of some of the ostentatious sheriffs in their periodical *turns* through the county; but to these grievances they did not tamely submit, as appears from an ancient indictment presented by the grand jury, of which the following is a translation:—

* Rot. plac. coram R. 17 Edw. II. m. 72.

“ LANCASTER. { The Grand Jury of the Wapentake of West Derby present
 that ‘ *Willielmus le Gentil*,’ at the time when he was sheriff,
 and when he held his Town in the said Wapentake, ought to have remained no
 longer in the Wapentake than three nights with three or four horses, whereas he
 remained there at least nine days with eight horses, to the oppression of the people ;
 and that he quartered himself one night at the house of ‘ *Dns de Turbat*,’ and
 another night at the house of one ‘ *Robertus de Bold*,’ another at the house of
 ‘ *Robertus de Grenlay*,’ and elsewhere, according to his will, at the cost of the men
 of the Wapentake.”

For this offence, and for another of a more extraordinary kind, which will be
 exhibited in the parliamentary history of the county, the sheriff was placed in duress ;
 but the record goes on to say, that “ the said ‘ *Willielmus Gentil*’ is enlarged upon
 the manucaption of four manucaptors.”

At the period when the comes or earls divested themselves of the charge of the
 counties that duly devolved upon the sheriffs, as the name *shire-reeve*, or bailiff of the
 shire, imports ; and, in like manner, when the hundredors ceased to govern the
 divisions styled hundreds, their office was supplied by the steward, i.e. *stede-ward*,
 or governor of the place. This officer is one of those conservators of the peace who
 still remain such by virtue of his office. The six hundreds in Lancashire, viz.
 Lonsdale, Amonderness, Blackburn, Leyland, West Derby, and Salford, were
 anciently styled shires. Thus Leland, temp: Henry VIII. speaks of Manchester
 standing in Salfordshire ; and, in common with all the hundreds north of the Trent,
 they bear the synonymous name of wapentakes, from the ancient custom of the heads
 of families assembling armed, upon the summons of the hundredor, and touching his
 weapon, to testify their fealty. In many parts of this county, lands and manors are
 held by suit to the hundred leet, of which service this was probably the sign and
 symbol, and such are called hundred lands. The leet must be held at least twice in
 every year, and within a month of Easter and Michaelmas, respectively. It is held
 before the steward of the hundred, or his deputy, and a jury impannelled by him.
 The amercements are limited only by the assessment of at least two men, according
 to the measure of the fault, agreeably to a provision of magna charta. Anterior to
 the statutes which have given to the sessions concurrent jurisdiction, its duties
 embraced every offence, from eaves-dropping and vagrancy, to high treason ; but,
 although contrary to several very learned dicta, every statute affecting it has pre-
 served, and none has diminished, its powers, which are seldom called into exercise,
 except to abate nuisances, punish deficient measures, and appoint the high and petty
 constables, and other municipal officers. Its proceedings have two singular charac-
 teristics—the entire absence of fees and lawyers. The increase of population, and the

CHAP. VI. influence of feudal lords, gave rise to *manorial leets*, which were granted, to obviate the necessity of the tenants of a particular manor being obliged to attend the torn, or general leet of the hundred, before the stewards of the several lords of manors, or their deputies; and, by custom, the leets of several manors may be held at once in some certain place within one of the manors.

THE INFERIOR COURTS OF RECORD OF CIVIL JUDICATURE,

Borough
courts.

are, 1st, the Courts of Boroughs, usually held before the principal corporate officer, and the recorder or steward, and having jurisdiction, in personal actions, to an unlimited amount. Such is the Court of Passage at Liverpool, the Borough Court of Preston, and others, as numerous and as various as the respective charters or pre-

Piedpou-
dre court.

scriptions. 2nd, The *Piedpoudre Court* is a court of Record, having unlimited jurisdiction over all contracts arising within a fair, before the lord or owner, or his steward or clerk of the fair. It was the lowest and most speedy court in the realm, except one now extinct, called the Court of Trail-baton, where the judge was bound to decide whilst the bailiff drew his staff, or trailed his baton, round the room. 3rd,

Courts of
request.

Almost equal to these, in the rapid administration of justice, are the Courts of Request, which the legislature has, at various periods, established in Liverpool, Manchester, Ashton-under-Line, and Poulton in the Fylde. Under various regulations, and chiefly before a certain number of commissioners, assembling by rotation, they determine, in a summary manner, at a small expense, and without lawyers, such matters as are allowed by their respective statutes, under forty shillings, or five pounds.

THE INFERIOR COURTS, NOT OF RECORD,

County
court.

are all calculated for the redress of civil, and not of criminal, injuries. It has been seen that the sheriff had a court leet called the torn, which was the *criminal* court of the county; he had also his court baron or *civil* court, which formerly travelled round the county, in the same manner as the torn. The same complaint of expense, delay, and inconvenience, attended this rotary process; and long before the torn was localized in the hundreds, the *county court*, or sheriff's court, became stationary in the county town, and its jurisdiction was limited to those suits in which the parties dwelt in several hundreds. In both hundred and county courts, matters to any amount were originally determined, until the statute of Gloucester directed that no suits should be commenced without the king's writ, unless the cause of action did not exceed 40s. Since that time, a device has been adopted, to give the county court jurisdiction in matters above 40s. without breach of this statute. A plaintiff sues forth out of chancery a writ, alleging that he is clamorous for defect of right, before the king, and commanding the sheriff to do him justice. This is held to be in the nature of a

commission to the sheriff to try the cause in the county court, and the defendant is summoned to answer the complaint before the sheriff, by virtue of his majesty's writ of *justicias*. The jurisdiction under this commission is unlimited in amount, except by the facility of removing the suit by merely lodging a writ, without security that it shall be proceeded in, when the suit is for £10 or upwards; which virtually limits the county court to that sum. It has also unlimited jurisdiction in *replevins* of property unlawfully distrained, subject to the like removal. The Lancashire county court, so far as relates to the recovery of small demands, probably possesses greater practice and efficiency than any other similar court; owing to an act of parliament,* (peculiar to the county palatine of Lancaster) prohibiting the removal of causes without bail, where the debt or damage is under £10, and to the excellent rules of practice since introduced, in conjunction with the circumstance that process may be issued at Preston, from the chancery of the duchy, at a much smaller expense, and more speedily, than it can be in ordinary cases, where it must be had from the high court of chancery. Very much delay (incident to proceedings in county courts in general) is likewise obviated in this court, by entries being permitted to be made at the sheriff's office in the intervals between the regular monthly court days, as if they had been entered at the previous court day. According to immemorial usage, the court has been held every Tuesday month, at Preston, but latterly, in addition to this, it has regularly adjourned its monthly sittings from thence to Manchester, on the Thursday following, in order to obviate the expense and loss of time incurred, through so many witnesses having to travel from that populous district as far as to Preston. Of late years too, the sheriff has retained a barrister, to preside in the court, in which the number of actions commenced may be stated at from 4 to 5,000 annually: from 1 to 2,000 being for sums under 40s., but the greater proportion being for sums above that amount.

THE HUNDRED COURTS

have concurrent jurisdiction with the county court in certain personal actions under 40s. in value, and are held from three weeks to three weeks, before the steward of the hundred, or his deputy, and a jury, within the respective jurisdictions. One of the deputy stewards of Salford hundred is a barrister, James Norris, Esq. of Manchester, who has presided for above twenty years. No suit can be removed by the defendant, before judgment, without bail, to the satisfaction of the court; nor by the losing party, after judgment, without similar security in double the amount of the judgment.

There is in this county, one Honor or Superior Manor, having numerous dependent manors under it. It is the *Honor of Clitheroe*, the jurisdiction of which is very extensive. It has courts in the nature of courts leet, at which the lords of the

Hundred
courts.Honor
courts.

CHAP.
VI.

inferior manors owe suit; and others in the nature of copyhold courts, for the admittance of tenants by copy of court roll, under the various forfeited manors within the honor.

Manor
courts.

There are also numerous other Manors in various parts of the county; some of which have copyhold courts, and others only courts baron for the redress of the tenants' grievances; some have courts leet, and some few courts for the recovery of debts and damages under 40s. held according to their various local customs.

It has been complained of as a defect of the superior courts, that their sittings and offices are at too great a distance from the centre of business, and the mass of the population. The evil of the inferior judicatures of a civil nature is, that, owing to the restrictions upon the amount of the sums sought to be recovered, and the diminished value of money, the time of respectable juries, and professional men, are wasted upon trifling suits, when they might be advantageously applied to ease the superior courts of those matters which are too small to deserve their cognizance, and yet too great to pass remediless, save at the risk and ruin of individuals. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to remedy both these grievances. The answer to such has been, that it is dangerous to render more easy, cheap, and speedy the administration of justice, lest the people should contract a love of litigation, which would injure them more than the delay or denial of redress.

Records of the County Palatine.

Public
record
of the
county.

The principal public records, connected with the jurisprudence of the county palatine of Lancaster, may be classed under three heads: 1st. Those in the department of the deputy clerk of the crown at Lancaster. 2d. Those in the department of the prothonotary of his majesty's court of common pleas for the county of Lancaster; and, 3d. Those in the department of the register of the court of chancery of Lancashire. Soon after the appointment by his majesty of the commissioners of public records, issued in virtue of a recommendation of the two houses of parliament, in the year 1800, the commissioners instituted inquiries into the nature of these records, and the places of their deposit; and from the answers returned to those inquiries it appears—

In the
custody of
the clerk
of the
crown.

FIRST, That the public records, rolls, instruments, and manuscript books and papers, in the custody of the clerk of the crown for the county palatine of Lancaster, consist of instruments and other criminal proceedings in the crown office for the county palatine; the records of such instruments and proceedings, and different books of entries, though not very numerous, are supposed to be all that have been preserved. These records (except the proceedings at two or three preceding assizes,

which are kept in the office of the deputy clerk of the crown in Preston) are deposited in the new office or room that has been fitted up in Lancaster castle, for the reception of these and other records of the county; Lancaster castle being supposed to be the property of the crown, in right of the duchy of Lancaster. For eighty or ninety years past, the indictments, &c. are so far arranged, that any proceeding inquired for, may be easily referred to; antecedent to that period, such as have been preserved are promiscuously placed together in no regular order, but are in tolerable preservation. All the proceedings at each assizes, within the period first mentioned, are entered or docketed in books, by referring to which, the proceedings in each prosecution may be known; but there are no other indexes or catalogues, except that, upon some of the older rolls, the contents are endorsed. All searches are made by or in the presence of the deputy clerk of the crown, or his confidential clerks, who are employed in the custody and arrangements of the records, and give attendance as occasion may require, without any remuneration from the public. Office copies of records are charged after the rate of eight-pence for each sheet, consisting of seventy-two words, and the usual fee upon a search is 6s. 8d. and the deputy clerk of the crown charges for attending at Lancaster during the assizes, with a record, a guinea. The searches in this office are very rare, and, of course, the fees upon them very inconsiderable.

SECOND. The public records, rolls, instruments, and manuscript books and papers, in the custody of the deputy prothonotary of the court of common pleas, in and for the county palatine of Lancaster, consist of fines and recoveries, records, writs, minutes, papers, and proceedings in real, personal, and mixed actions, instituted in this court along with some few enrolments of deeds; and they are supposed to be the whole of the records or papers relating to this court since its creation. These records and other documents, for a period of upwards of fifty years, are lodged at the office of the deputy prothonotary, which (with the other principal law officers of this county palatine) is held at Preston, on account of its central situation. All the early records and documents are now lodged in an ancient tower or chamber within the castle of Lancaster, which has been very commodiously fitted up for their reception, at the expense of the county. The records and other documents are methodically arranged in separate compartments, according to their dates, and are in general in very good preservation. There are docket rolls, or indexes, to all the records, containing the names of the parties to the fines, recoveries, and suits recorded at each assizes. As the records of this court are kept at a distance of twenty-two miles from the office, a person is appointed at Lancaster by the deputy prothonotary, vulgarly called *custos rotulorum*, who is entrusted with the care of the records, &c. whose duty it is to attend every search, and to take care that every

Of the
protho-
notary.

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VI.

record be duly and safely restored to its proper place, for which a fee of one shilling is due for each king's reign into which a search is made, besides a salary of three guineas, payable by the deputy prothonotary. But all searches are made by or in the presence of the deputy prothonotary, or his confidential clerks, who are employed in the custody and arrangement of the records, and give attendance as occasion requires, without any salary paid by the public in respect of such custody. According to the table of fees payable to the prothonotary, 6s. 8d. is paid on a search for each reign, and to the *cust. rot.* one shilling. For an office copy for each sheet of seventy-two words, and duty, one shilling; and for a certificate of a copy, if required, 3s. 6d. Searches among the records kept at Lancaster are usually made during the time of the assizes, when the prothonotary's office is held at Lancaster; but when a search is required at any other time, the deputy prothonotary charges a reasonable extra sum for his journey and expenses. If a record is to be produced in the court at Lancaster, the deputy prothonotary, or his clerk, attends upon a subpoena, and charges a guinea for each attendance. If any proceeding is to be produced elsewhere, he charges a reasonable sum for his journey and attendance, according to circumstances. The nett annual amount to the prothonotary's office of these fees, upon an average of years, after deducting the salary, &c. of the *custos rotulorum*, was stated in 1800 not to exceed £10, which sum, it is added, is barely equal to the rent of the rooms occupied by the records and public papers of the office at Preston.*

Of the register of the chancery of the county palatine.

THIRD. The public records, &c. in the custody of the register of the court of chancery of the county palatine of Lancaster, consist of bills, answers, and other pleadings, depositions, order-books, decrees, decree-books, and other books for entries in causes, and other matters instituted in that court; and are supposed to be the whole of the records or papers that have been preserved since its creation. These documents, anterior to the year 1740, were kept in a room or chamber in the castle of Lancaster; such as are subsequent to that period are at the office of the deputy register in Preston, which is the private property of the deputy-register. The old records are deposited in an office fitted up in the early part of the present century in Lancaster castle for their reception, at the expense of the county. The bills, answers, and depositions, &c. are upon different files, with the respective years in which they are filed marked upon labels affixed to them; but neither these, nor the other books or proceedings, appear ever to have been well arranged; many of them are much defaced, and almost, if not wholly, unintelligible. The bills, answers, depositions, &c. have usually been indexed (or entered in a pyc-book) when brought to the register's office to be filed: there are no indexes of the other proceedings, and many of the indexes first

* Return made by William Cross, Esq. deputy prothonotary to the commissioners of Public Records.

mentioned have been lost, and the remainder are not accurate. Various circumstances have caused these records or papers to be at different times removed. All searches in this office are made by, or in the presence of, the deputy register, or his confidential clerks, who are employed in the custody and arrangement of the records, and give attendance as occasion requires, without any salaries or emoluments paid by the public. The charge for copies of proceedings in this office is fourpence for each sheet, consisting of seventy-eight words; and the usual fee for a search is 6s. 8d.; should a search be required at Lancaster, the deputy register charges a reasonable extra sum for his journey and expenses. But owing to the irregular state of the records, few searches are made.

The places of deposit of the records of the county palatine may be summarily stated as follows:—

<i>Records and other Instruments.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Where kept.</i>
County Palatine of Lancaster.		
Chancery :		
Bills, Pleadings, Depositions, Orders, and Decrees	1740 to 1800. Dates wanting before 1740; 1135 to 1558.	Register of the County Palatine Duchy Office.
Charters and grants of various kinds . . .	1136 to 1558. . .	
Common Pleas :		
Fines and Recoveries, Writs, Minutes, Proceedings in Actions, and Inrolment of Deeds	Geo. III.	Prothonotary's Office, at Preston.
The Records before his present Majesty's Reign	Dates wanting . . .	
Pleas of the Crown :		
Indictments and other Criminal proceedings, and Books of Entries	About 50 years before 1800	} Castle, Lancaster.
Collectanea relating to the History and Antiquities thereof, made by the three Holmes . . .	— —	
Collection of Names of the King's Castles, Mansions, Parks, Forests, Chases, &c. within the survey of the Duchy of Lancaster	— —	British Museum.
Iter Forestæ	8 Edward III.	University Library, Camb.
Nona Roll	15 Edward III.	Lincoln's Inn Library.
Ecclesiastical Survey (a copy)	26 Henry VIII.	King's Rememb. Office.
Survey of Estates therein not granted in Fee Farm	1629	First Fruit's Office.
Catalogue of Charters throughout England and Wales	— —	University Library, Camb
Fee Farm, Rolls of	Temp. Interregni.	Ashmolean Museum.
		Augmentation Office.

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VI.Archives
of the ec-
clesiasti-
cal courts.

The archives of the ecclesiastical courts, so far as they concern the county of Lancaster, are to be found at Lichfield, from the earliest period of their preservation up to the year 1590, in the custody of the registrar of the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry; and since that period, in the custody of the deputy registrar of the diocese of Chester; the deputy registrar of the consistory court of the archdeaconry of Richmond; and the deputy registrar of the five several deaneries of Amounderness, Copeland, Lonsdale, Kendal, and Furness. These depositories may be classed under four heads:—

In the
diocese of
Lichfield.

FIRST. There are in the custody of the registrar of the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, in right of the bishop's see, original manuscripts, or episcopal registers, or acts, of the bishops of Lichfield and Coventry, from the year 1298, except that there are some chasms in several of the bishops' times. These registers contain acts on institutions of rectors and vicars, and some entries of appropriations of rectories and endowments of vicarages in the diocese. There are also books of the judicial proceedings in causes in the court, from about the year 1450. Original wills, and grants of letters of administration, from 1526 to 1590, when the ecclesiastical archives belonging to the diocese of Chester ceased to be kept at Lichfield.

In the re-
gistry of
Chester.

SECOND. There are deposited in the public episcopal registry at Chester, in which diocese the county of Lancaster is situated, original wills or copies thereof proved there, from the year 1590 to the present time, and bonds given by persons administering to the effects of persons dying intestate. Sundry pleadings and proceedings exhibited in causes in the consistory court of Chester, and books of the acts in the same causes. Nine folio volumes, commencing in the year 1525, containing entries of sentences of consecrations, of churches, chapels, and burial grounds, in the diocese, faculties for rebuilding and improving churches, chapels, and parsonage-houses, confirmation of seats, and other ecclesiastical commissions and faculties. Proceedings on the installations of bishops, patents of the officers of the vicar general, and official principal commissaries; rural deans, registrars, proctors, and apparitors. Three books, commencing in 1500, containing entries of presentations or institutions to ecclesiastical benefices within the diocese. Four books, commencing in 1752, containing entries of institutions, licenses to curacies, ordinations, and other episcopal acts. Several books of subscriptions to the liturgy, and the articles of the church of England, by persons ordained, and clergymen admitted to benefices or cures. A volume usually called *Bridgman's Ledger*, having been chiefly collected by Dr. John Bridgman, who was appointed bishop of Chester in 1619, containing copies of various appropriations, endowments, compositions, grants, agreements, leases, charters, orders by the crown, rentals of synodals, procurations, pensions, tenths, and subsidies; patents and statutes of grammar schools. A volume

usually called *Gastrell's Notitia*, being compiled by Dr. Francis Gastrell, elected lord bishop of Chester, in 1714, containing an account of the then population of each parish, number of families, Catholics, Dissenters, families of note, patrons, wardens, schools, endowments, charities, and several other particulars of each parish and chapelry in the diocese; entries of licenses of marriage; probates of wills, and letters of administration; names of the clergy; church and chapel wardens; account of exhibits at episcopal visitations, and correction books; original presentation to benefices, and nominations to curacies and schools, and terriers and parish and chapel registers. There are two other registries in the archdeaconry of Richmond, within the diocese of Chester, at Lancaster and Richmond. All the foregoing records are deposited in the public episcopal registry in Chester, which is a stone building, slated, and commodiously fitted up for the safe and convenient preservation of the records and papers deposited therein. The records and papers are in general in good preservation, except the most ancient part; from time or inevitable accident, they are in many parts imperfect before the year 1650, and for ten years following quite deficient. From that period, the wills, and most of the registries and entries, are regular and correct. There are complete indexes to the wills, registries, and entries of institutions, from their commencement, except in the parts before mentioned to be deficient. There are several manuscript volumes in the possession of the bishop of the diocese, containing a particular account of the extent and population of the diocese; number of Catholics and Dissenters, state of parsonage-houses, residence of clergy, schools, charities, and several other particulars relative to the diocese, being answers to queries addressed by different bishops to the clergy of the diocese. The number of parishes in the diocese of Chester was, in the year 1800, two hundred and sixty-two.

THIRD. The records, instruments, and papers, in the custody of the deputy registrar of the consistory court of the archdeaconry of Richmond, in the diocese of Chester, consist entirely of original wills; bonds taken upon the issuing of letters of administration, tuition, and curation; affidavits and bonds relative to marriage licences; proceedings in ecclesiastical suits; enrolments of faculties for pews and galleries in churches and chapels; terriers and duplicates of parish registers; and such other matters as relate to the office and jurisdiction of the commissary of the said archdeaconry of Richmond, but do not comprehend any record or instrument of any other nature or description. From the most ancient of the said records, to the year 1750, they compromise the wills, administration and tuition bonds, which have arisen from every part of the said archdeaconry of Richmond; but since that year, a division took place, and the wills, and other papers and records not relating to such business as is usually called contentions, arising within the five deaneries of

In the
archdeaconry of
Rich-
mond.

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Amounderness, Kendal, Copeland, Lonsdale, and Furness, part of the said archdeaconry, are deposited in the parish church of Lancaster, under the custody of another officer there. From the most remote period, the duplicates of parish registers, terriers, and all other records, proceedings, and papers (except those of a contentious nature, and the wills, &c. of the period first before mentioned) of the five deaneries, are also deposited at Lancaster; whilst all other wills, papers, and records, arising within this archdeaconry, have continued to be deposited, and remain in the registry of the consistory court at Richmond. The registry at Richmond is part of the ancient chapel, called Trinity Chapel, in the centre of the market-place of the borough of Richmond, sufficiently large and commodious, and in most respects secure; but having several dwelling-houses and shops, wherein fires are directly underneath, as well as adjoining to it, it is in some measure exposed to danger. The state of preservation of the records, &c. at Richmond, is in general very good, though some few of the ancient wills have suffered by the access of moisture in certain places, particularly in the corners of the roof, which are now perfectly repaired; and all increase of decay is prevented as much as possible. The wills are arranged alphabetically in bundles of ten years each; the terriers and parish registers in parcels, according to the different parishes; and all the rest of the records, with sufficient regularity to answer the purposes of those who require searches to be made. There is no regular catalogue, schedule, or repertory of the records, nor any index, except of the terriers and faculties, and of such of the wills and administrations as have arisen within the present century, within the three deaneries of Richmond, Catterick, and Boroughbridge, commonly called the three Yorkshire deaneries.

In the five
deaneries.

FOURTH. The original wills within the five deaneries of Amounderness, Copeland, Lonsdale, Kendal, and Furness, within the archdeaconry of Richmond in the diocese of Chester, preserved and kept at Lancaster, proved and approved before the worshipful commissary (for the time being) of the said archdeaconry, or his surrogates; or before the vicar-general, or his surrogates respectively, since the first of November, 1748, are registered, deposited, and kept in a convenient room, called the registry of the east end, of and within the parish church of Lancaster; where are also deposited all bonds taken on granting letters of administration, curation, tuition, and marriage licenses, within these five deaneries. And in the same place are also deposited and kept, copies of the parochial registers delivered in by the church and chapel wardens, within the five deaneries at each visitation. The register, or place of deposit, is deemed very secure, and well accommodated for the keeping of the several instruments. The several wills and instruments are well preserved, and the wills and administration, curation, and tuition bonds, belonging to each of the said deaneries, are kept separate and apart from each other; and those of each deanery

arranged annually, and also decennially, in alphabetical order. The bonds on granting marriage licenses are arranged in numerical order. There are distinct alphabetical books for each of the deaneries, called "Act Books," in each of which are entered schedules containing a short entry of the probate of each will, and of every administration, curation, and tuition, granted within each of the deaneries respectively; to each of which act books is prefixed or annexed an alphabetical index of contents.

The following exhibits a condensed view of the places of deposit of the records, and other instruments, connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of the county of Lancaster:—

ECCLESIASTICAL.

<i>Records and other Instruments.</i>	<i>Date.</i>		<i>Where kept.</i>
Diocese of Chester :			
Installations of Bishops, Patents of Officers, &c.	—	—	Bishop's Registry, Chester.
Terriers and Parish and Chapel Registers . .	—	—	
Presentation to Benefices, Nominations to Curacies and Schools	—	—	
Appropriations, Endowments, Compositions, Grants, Agreements, Leases, Orders, &c. .	—	—	
Licenses of Marriage, Probates of Wills, and Letters of Administration	—	—	
Proceedings in causes, and Books of Acts of the Consistory Court	—	—	
Presentations and Institutions to Ecclesiastical Benefices	Commencing 1500 .		
Consecrations of Churches, Chapels, &c. and Faculties for rebuilding Churches	1525	} to the present time. ¹	
Original Wills, or Copies of	1590		
Population of Parishes, Account of	1714		
Richmond Archdeaconry, Consistory Court :			
Wills, Original	—	—	Consistory Registry Richmond.
Bonds on granting Letters of Administration, &c.	—	—	
Marriage Licenses and Affidavits thereon . .	—	—	
Parochial Registers, copies of	—	—	
Act Books, containing Entries of Probates .	—	—	
Proceedings in Suits	—	—	
Inrolment of Faculties for Pews, &c. . . .	—	—	
Terriers	—	—	
Duplicates of Parish Registers	—	—	

<i>Records and other Instruments.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Where kept.</i>
Wills, Original	1748 to the present time.	Commissary Registry, Lancaster.
Administration, Curation, and Tuition Bonds . .		
Act Books, containing Entries of Probates . .		
The earliest date—		
Chester	1500	Registry, Chester.
Lichfield and Coventry Diocese :		
Ecclesiastical Survey	26 Hen. VIII. . .	First Fruit's Office.
Terriers of Rectories and Vicarages	— — — — —	
Registers, containing Institutions of Rectors and Vicars, Appropriation of Rectories, and Endowments of Vicarages	1298 to the present time, with Chasms. 1450 1526 } to present time. 1660	Bishop's Registry, Lich- field.
Judicial Proceedings in Causes		
Wills and Grants		
Administration, Letters of		
Licenses		
Registers of Parishes		

[A number of original documents illustrative of the history of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, accompanied by a succinct unpublished history of the duchy, from the pen of Villiers, Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, here press for admission ; but as the supplemental collection is not yet complete, they must be reserved for an Appendix.]

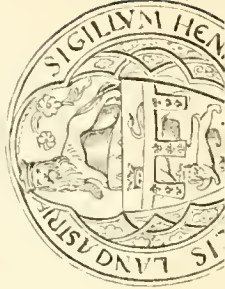
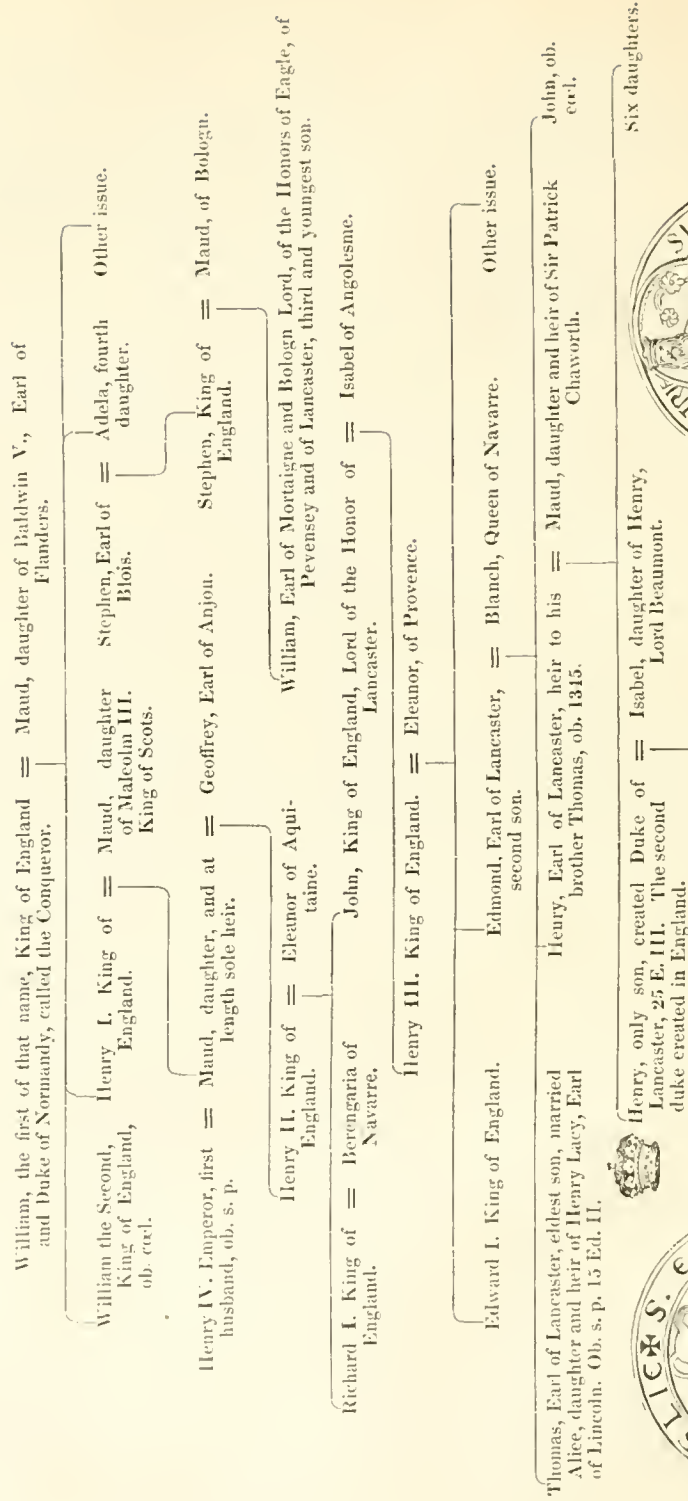
GENEALOGY

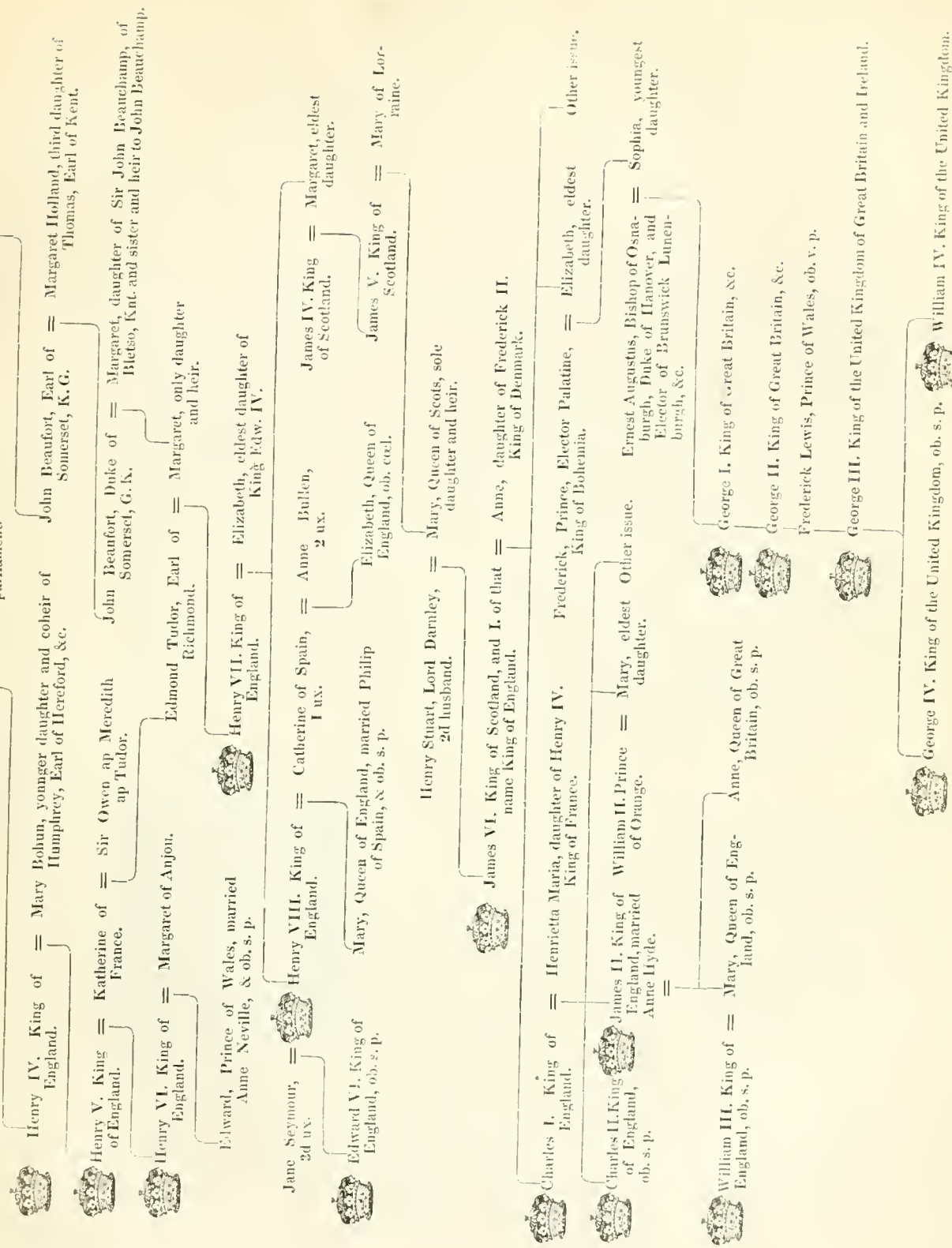
OF THE

Earls and Dukes of Lancaster,

FROM THE CREATION OF THE DUCHY TO THE PRESENT TIME,

(With the SEALS of the first EARL and the first DUKE of LANCASTER, of the dates of 1266 and 1348.)





* * In this Genealogical Table each successive Duke of Lancaster is designated by the Ducal Crown affixed to his name. The Queens Mary, Elizabeth, and Anne, also held the duchy in their own right.

Chap. VII.

The antiquity of the county.—The Earldom possessed by King John.—The crusades.—Privileges granted to the honor of Lancaster in the articles of Magna Charta.—Ratification of Magna Charta.—The Forest Laws.—Assize of the Forest at Lancaster.—King William's letter.—Abolition of the ordeals of fire and water.—Grant of land between Mersey and Ribble.—Origin of the representative system in England.—The Barons' Wars, and their effect on the honors and inheritances of the house of Lancaster.—War with Wales.—Ancient Lancashire wood-cutters.—First Military Summons extant addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire.—Wages of labourers, their uniform adaptation through successive ages to the price of grain.—Chronological table of the standards of value for six centuries.—Coals first used for fuel.—Ancient loyalty loan.—Summonses of military service.—Conquest of Wales.—Reference to Pope Nicholas' Valor.—Wars with Scotland.—Lancashire newsmongers denounced.—Scotland conquered.—Renewed struggles under William Wallace and Robert Bruce.—Large drain for men and money on Lancashire.—Effects of war.—Commission of Trailbaston.—Edward I. in Lancashire.—His death at Carlisle.—Fresh wars.—Increase of crime and misery.—Adam de Banistre takes the field against the earl of Lancaster.—His fate.—Renewed wars of the barons; headed by Thomas, earl of Lancaster.—His fate.—Interest taken in Lancashire in the Barons' Wars.—Charge of aiding Thomas, earl of Lancaster.—Edward II. dethroned.—Placed in the custody of the earl of Lancaster.—His cruel death.—The Testa de Nevill analyzed, so far as regards the landed possessions in the county of Lancaster.



RESUMING the chronological order of our history from the period at which it had arrived when we commenced the history of the dukes and duchy of Lancaster, it is proper to correct an error into which the learned Selden has fallen, when he says, "That Lancashire, till Henry III. created his youngest son Edmund, Crookback, earl of it, (A. D. 1266,) I think was no county; for in one of our old year books a learned judge* affirms that in this Henry's time

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VII.

Error of
Selden.

was the first sheriff's turn held there."

That sheriffs were elected for this county upwards of a century before Henry III. ascended the throne of these realms, is already abundantly clear. In the Domesday Survey of the date of 1086, the county of Lancaster, as we have

* Thorp, 17 Edward III. fol. 566.

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VII.Early
mention of
Lancashire.

already seen, and as the ancient map of the county, now presented for the first time, will make still more obvious, is surveyed as portions of the adjoining counties of Yorkshire and Cheshire, but it is not named in that survey; and after a diligent examination of the public records, the first mention we find of the county is in the Pipe Roll in the Exchequer office, seventy-eight years after that survey was completed. The entry consists of a return made to the king's treasury by the sheriff, in 11 Henry II. A. D. 1164, and the words of the record are these:—

LANCASTRE.

Gaufr̃ de Valoniis redd Com̃ de firma de Lancast^a de. cc.ii.

In th. libavit in. ij. tall. Et Quiet^o est.

Id redd Com̃ de. liij. li. 7. xvj. š. 7. viij. d. de Ex̃citu Walie.

In th. xxxiiij. li. 7. iij. š. 7. iij. d.

Et Inpdoñ p̃ br. R. x. Mit ỹ fuer̃t in Ex̃citu cū Rege.

x. ñi. Et Rič Pinčne. viij. ñi. Et Henr̃ de Laci. v. ñi.

Et deb. v. ñi. Et Id redd Com̃ de Eod̃ debito.

In th. xl. š. p. Coñi Huğ p̃ Ernaldo Rufo. Et deb. ij. ñi.

The Pipe Rolls commence with 5 Stephen, and contain returns from a great number of the sheriffs of other counties, but the name of Lancashire does not occur till eleven years afterwards, as will be seen from the following enumeration of the first nineteen returns:—

PIPE ROLLS ENTRIES.

5 Stephen.	Nil in Lancaster.	
1 Henry II.	This Roll is missing.	
2 . . .	Nil in Lancaster.	
3 . . .		
4 . . .		
5 . . .		
6 . . .		
7 . . .		
8 . . .	This roll is missing.	
9 . . .	Nil in Lancaster.	
10 . . .		
11 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 6.	In turgo
12 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 1.	. . .
13 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 5.	. . .

14 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 11.	In turgo.	CHAP. VII.
15 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 9.	. . .	
16 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 3.	. . .	
17 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 2.	. . .	
18 . . .	Lancaster, Memb. 5.	. . .	

It is thus manifest that Selden is in error, in supposing that Lancashire was “no county” till the time of Henry III. and that it had no sheriff till 1266, when Edmund Crouchback was created earl of Lancaster. The records in the office of the duchy of Lancaster are stated by Mr. Harper to be of as early a date as the first of Stephen, but those do not of course apply to the duchy, which was not created till more than one hundred years afterwards; nor have we found any traces of records so early in that depository, relating to the county of Lancaster, as even the time of the second Henry.

In the Chapter House, at Westminster, there is amongst its immense circular documental stores, a bag of Lancashire fines, marked “*Lancastria*,” in which several ancient deeds are deposited, of the date of 7 Richard I. relating to ecclesiastical affairs, and one of which, on the advowson of the church of Kirkham, in the hundred of Amounderness, and the archdeaconry of Richmond, will be introduced in its proper place in these volumes.

In the reign of John, the men of Lancashire, complained that their privileges were infringed by Theobald Walter, who had abridged their supply of fuel, and by Roger Poer, who had deprived them of more than a hundred acres of wood and forest land, which they had been accustomed to enjoy as pasturage:—

“LANC. 7 Loquendum cū Dñō Rege de hōibz Lan^c qui non possūt ut dicūt
JOHN. 5 hēre libtates suas sicut p illis hēndis finē fecerūt in Normand
p Theobald Walteri, & de hōibz de Sutton qui queruntur de Roḡo le Poer qđ cepit
ad se injuste post mortem Hen^{ri} RS patris plusqñ 100^{um} acras tam de bosco
qñ de landa de Foresta Dñi RS in quo bosco solvunt habere communē pasturā.”—
rōt 1. *Abbrev. Placit.* p. 24.

The complaint of the men of Lancashire was made with peculiar propriety to king John, who, though he was surnamed *Sansterre*, possessed the earldom and honor of Lancaster, which were conferred upon him as an inheritance, while he was earl of Morton, by his brother Richard I. in the excess of his bounty. The return made by John was snitable to his character; when Richard was on his return from the Holy Land, where he had been vigorously engaged in the crusades, John con-

The earldom and honor of Lancaster, possessed by the earl of Morton, afterwards king John.

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spired with Philip, king of France, to deprive him of his throne, and thus to unite prematurely the honor of Lancaster with the crown of England. The escape of Richard from the Austrian prison in which he had been immured, alarmed the confederated princes; but such was his indulgence toward his brother's faults, that, though Philip apprised John of the king's escape in these expressive terms, "Take care of yourself, the devil has broken loose," Richard was induced, on the intercession of his mother, queen Eleanor, to restore John to his favour with this mild rebuke—"I forgive you; and I hope I shall as speedily forget my injuries as you will my pardon."

The
crusaders.

The death of Richard soon after opened the way to the throne for John, who did not hesitate to assume the possession by imbruing his hands in the blood of his nephew Arthur. During the reign of Richard, the spirit of crusading had been at its height; not only the flower of the most distinguished families in Lancashire, but in every part of Christendom, embarked in these holy wars with the utmost enthusiasm; and though a few splinters from the wood of the real cross were purchased by the sacrifice of more than 300,000 men, such was the excitation of the times, that a knight templar seldom failed to rank amongst the first of public benefactors. To these wars future ages are indebted for the introduction of coats of arms, by which the incased knights were distinguished on the plains of Palestine, and since which time illustrious families have used them, to adorn their pedigrees.*

Privileges
to Lanca-
shire in
the arti-
cles of
Magna
Charta.

When the great bulwark of British freedom, Magna Charta, was wrested from king John on the field of Runnymede, by the intrepid barons, special privileges were granted to the honor of Lancaster by name; and it was provided in the articles appendent to that charter, that "if any one should hold any escheat as the honor of Walingeford, Notingeham, Bonon, and Lankastr', and of other escheats which are in the king's hands, and are baronies, and he die, his heir shall not give any other relief, or perform any other service, to the king, than he should perform to the baron; and that the king hold it in the same manner as the baron." The Charter of Forests was scarcely less appreciated in Lancashire than Magna Charta. The number and extent of the forests in this county made the severity of the laws by which they were protected oppressive in the extreme, (though the rigour of the laws had already been relaxed in their favour,)[†] and the immunities conferred on the people by these memorable charters would have immortalized the memory of the king, had they flowed spontaneously from the royal bounty, instead of having been dictated by an imperious necessity, over which he had no control. Extorted reforms produce weakness to governments; voluntary ones, strength. This is a distinction which monarchs should never lose sight of, and which applies with equal force in all ages.

* See p. 158.

† See p. 240.

The Forest Laws are of great antiquity in this country; they are of Saxon origin; and, like the laws of Draco, they are written in blood. A charter of forests was granted by Canute, in the year 1016, called "The Charter and Constitution of Forests," introduced by this royal declaration:—"These are the Constitutions of the Forest, which I Canute, king, with the advice of my nobles, do make and stablish, that both peace and justice may be done to all the churches of our kingdom of England, and that every offender may suffer according to his quality, and the manner of his offence." By this charter, four of the best freemen, (*Poegened*) were appointed in every province of the kingdom, to distribute justice, called "The Chief men of the Forest." There were placed, under each of these, four men of middle sort, (*Lespegend*), to take upon themselves the care and charge by day, "as well of the vert as of the venison."* Under each of these, two of the meaner sort of men, *Tinemen*, were appointed to take care of the vert and the venison by night. These officers were supported at the cost of the state, the first class receiving a stipend of two hundred shillings a year, the second of sixty, and the third of fifteen each, with certain equipments and immunities. "The chief men of the Forest" were clothed with royal powers, in the administration of the laws of the forest. If any man offered violence to one of these chief men, if a freeman, he was to lose his freedom, and all that he had; and if a villain, his right hand was to be cut off, for the first offence; for the second he suffered death, whether a freeman or a slave. Offences in the forest were punished according to the manner and quality of the offender: any freeman, either casually or wilfully chasing or hunting a beast of the forest, so that by swiftness of the course the beast pant for breath, was to forfeit ten shillings to the king; if not a freeman, twenty; if a bondman, to lose his skin! If the beast chased be a royal beast, (a staggon), and he shall pant and be out of breath, the freeman to lose his liberty for a year, the bondman for two years, and the villain to be outlawed. A freeman or a bondman killing any beast of the forest, to pay double its value for the first offence, the same for the second, and for the third to forfeit all that he possesses. Bishops, abbots, and barons, not to be challenged for hunting in the forests, except they kill royal beasts, and then to make restitution to the king. Every freeman to be allowed to take his own vert, or venison, in the purlicus of the forest, or when hunting in his own ground, but he must refrain from the king's venery. Freemen only to keep the dogs called greyhounds, and the knees of those dogs to be cut before the chief men, unless they be removed, and kept ten miles from the bounds of the royal forest. Vellerons, or Langerans, small dogs, as well as Ram-

CHAP.
VII.The forest
laws.Canute's
code.

* The *vert* is the covert, the trees, and the herbage of the forest; and, according to Sir Edward Coke, whatever beast of the forest is for the food of man, is venison, and therewith agreeth Virgil, describing a feast—"Implentur veteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinæ."

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VII.

himdt, might be kept without cutting their knees. If a dog became mad, and bit a beast of the forest, the owner was required to make a recompense according to the price of a freeman, that is, twelve times two hundred shillings; but if a royal beast was bitten by a mad dog, then the owner was to answer as for the greatest offence in the forest, namely, with his own life! Such substantially were the forest laws of Canute the Dane.

No forest
spoliation
committed
in Lanca-
shire by
the Con-
queror.

William the Norman, another royal Nimrod, did not relax the severity of these laws; but, by afforesting large tracts of land, very much extended the field of their operation. Though the Conqueror displayed a large share of his sanguinary and rapacious character in the north, there is no reason to suppose that he deprived any man of his possessions, to enlarge the forests of Lancashire. It is said of him, however, by Mapes, perhaps with some monkish exaggeration, that in afforesting the New Forest, in Hampshire, for the free enjoyment of the chase, "he took away much land from God and man, and converted it to the use of wild beasts, and the sport of his dogs, for which he demo'ished thirty-six churches, and exterminated the inhabitants."* The retribution which followed was speedy and signal; three of the immediate descendants of the great spoliator lost their lives while engaged in the chase in this forest, amongst whom was William Rufus, who fell by the arrow of his bow-bearer, Sir Walter Tyrrell—

Retribu-
tion.

"He draws his bow with right good-will,
"The shaft, if it go true, must kill;
"Back leaps the sounding string:
"Missed of the deer, the whistling reed,
"A nobler prey was doomed to bleed,
"No less than England's king."

Forest
privileges
of the
knights
and free-
holders of
Lanca-
shire.

Richard I. was much addicted to the pleasures of the chase, and, as one of the highest favours he could bestow upon his brother John, earl of Morton, he gave him, as we here learn, the honor of Lancaster, and the royal prerogatives of forest in this county. John, having received so much from his sovereign, felt disposed to allow the knights, thanes, and freeholders of the county of Lancaster to share in the royal bounty; and for this purpose he granted them a charter, whereby they and their heirs, without challenge of him and his heirs, were allowed to fell, sell, and give, at their will, their forest woods, without being subject to the forest regulations, and to hunt and take hares, rabbits, and all kinds of wild beasts, except deer, *bisse* (wild oxen), goats, and wild hogs, in all parts within his forests and demesne hays of the county.

* Lib. de Script. Brit. 187. c. 159.

LANCASTR' Johēs Comes Morton Justic⁹ Vicecoibz Batlis Ministris ꝛ omībz
fidelibz ꝛ amicis suis Francis ꝛ Anglicis qui sunt ꝛ qui venturi
sunt saltū sciatis me concessisse ꝛ hac Carta mea confirmasse
omībz militibz ꝛ omībz thengis ꝛ omībz libe tenētibz qui manet in
foresta mea de Honore de Lancast^r qđ Possint nemora sua ppa
assartare vende ꝛ dare ꝛ in eis herbergiare p voluntate sua sicut in feodo suo ꝛ de
eis suas voluntates face absq^o omīa calupnia mei vī hēdum meō^r vī Ballio^r meō^r
concessi et eis quietanciā rewardi de Foresta pretea concessi eis canes suos ꝛ venatu
leporis ꝛ Vulpis ꝛ ominū aliā^r bestia^r (p^rq^m cervi ꝛ cerve ꝛ porci silvest^r ꝛ
laye ꝛ capriol) per totam dēam forestam ext^a. dñicas hayas meas Quare volo ꝛ firmi^t
p^ricipio qđ omēs p^rdcī milites thengi et libe tenētes ꝛ hēdes sui post ipōs omēs
p^rdcās libtates hēant de me ꝛ hered. meis bre ꝛ in pace Et phibeo ne quis Ballio^r
meō^r vel aliq^s alius eos inde desturbet Et p hac mea concessione dederūt
Michi Quingentas lib^r argenti.

T. Roģo de plan Wiffo de Buchet, Roģo de novo Burgo Ingamo de
Praelles, Johe de Nevill David Walens Magro P. de Littelbu^r
apud Saleford.

[Extract from the Rolls of the Duchy of Lancaster, Rot. f. 12.]

This charter he confirmed to them in the first year of his reign, before the celebrated
“ Carta de Foresta,” for ameliorating the rigours of the forest laws, was sketched;
and his successor, Henry III., confirmed these franchises to the lieges of Lan-
cashire four years after he had signed that charter. These grants, so ratified and
confirmed, were not sufficient to protect “ the lieges” against the annoyance of the
royal foresters, and on the 18th of Edw. II. we find them presenting a petition to the
king, praying that they may enjoy their chartered privileges without molestation.*

Carta de
foresta.

Rot. Par.
18 Edw.
11. 17.

* Ex Pet. in Parl. 18 Edward 11. No. 17.

A.D. 1324 }
&c 1325. }
18 Ed. 11. }

No. 17.
Lancashire.

A n're Seigneur le Roi monstre ses liges de Counte de Lancaster, qe com le Roi
Johan, tant com il estoit Conte de Moreton, par sa Chartre les graunta, qe eus e lour
heires, sans chalenge de luy e de ses heires, lour propres Boys poient assarter, vendre, e
doner, a lour voluntee, e qe eus fuissent quitts de reward de Forest; e ensement q'il
puissent chaser e prendre Levre, e Gupyl, e chescune manere de beste de salvagine,
forpris Cerf, e Bisce, e Chevercil, e Pork salvage, tutes parties dedeinz sa Forest en le dit Counte,
de hors ses demeynes hayes. Et puy apres, mesmes cele chartre en le primer an de son regne
conferma. E ensement, le Roy Henry, l'an de son regne trezisme, les dites Chartres recita e con-
firma. Dount il prient a n're Seigneur le Roi, q'il luy pleise celes Chartres confermer, e commander
p Bref a ces Ministres en celes parties, qe eus ne soient sur les ditz pointz grevez ne chalengez.

Responsio. Veignent en Chauncellerie, & monstrent lur Chartres & les Confermens, et le
Roy se avisera. Coram Rege.

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VII.

The parks, forests, and chases* of Lancashire, in the time of the Edwards, according to the records in the duchy office, were—

Wyresdale,	Amounderness,	Fullwood,	Croxteth,
Lonsdale,	Blesdale,	Symoneswood,	Toxteth;
Quernmore,	Derbyshire,	Lancaster,	

and included in the general term of the Forest of Lancaster, were the forests of Bowland, Blackburnshire, Pendle, Trawden, Accrington, and Rossendale; in a word, the high region on the eastern side of the county, the successive possessions of the houses of Lacy and of Lancaster.

Forest
assize.

Though the “Carta de Foresta” and the “Assiza et Consuetudines Forestæ,” of the 6th Edward I. had so far relaxed the rigour of the forest laws, as no longer to allow the life of a man to be put on a level with the life of a stag, yet assizes of forests were statedly held in this county, at which the Justices in Eyre north of the Trent presided, and where offences committed against “the vert and the venison” were visited with heavy penalties.

The first of these ancient commissions we find, is in the records of the duchy of Lancaster, and the document, hitherto unpublished, is at once curious for its antiquity, and interesting for its details.†

FOREST ASSIZE HELD AT LANCASTER,

15 EDWARD I. A. D. 1286.

UNDER THE JURA REGALIA OF PRINCE EDMUND, EARL OF LANCASTER.

Duc. Rot.
15 Edw. I.
F. 12.

“Placita apud Lanc^e
die lune a die
Pasche in xv dies
Anno r̄ r̄ Edwardi
quinto decimo.

“Coram dñis Willmo de Vesey, Thom. de Normanvill
“et Ricō de Creppynge Justic^o dñi Reḡ itin^oantibis ad plicita
“foreste de Lanc^e de t^onsgrssionib³ fcis in eadem foresta ab
“anno Regni Reḡ Henr̄ xlvij usq³ ad annū Regni ejusdē
“Reḡ l^j p quinq³ annos usq³ ad temp^a quo p̄dca foresta
“data fuit dño Edmundo fr̄i Reḡ qui nūc est placitata p
“forestar e virida subsptos videlt p.”

* The legal distinction between a *forest* and a *chase* is this: the latter is under the common law, the former under the forest law.

† When a deer was found dead, either in the forest or in the purlieus, a kind of inquest was held, at which the Viridors acted as coroner, to ascertain the cause of its death. The swainmote, an inferior court, then sat in judgment upon the accused; but it was only “The Justice Seat” that could inflict punishment.

“FORESTAR. Thom. de Gersinghām forestar feod ē Willm de Dacre qui desponsavit filiam ē heredē Benedti Gernet qm̄ tūc t̄pris fuit forestar feod ē p Rogm de Lanc.

“VIRIDAR. Johem de Oxclyve Adam de Brokholes heredē Roḡi de Brokholes, Joheḡ de Barton fil ē tiedem Willi de Barton, Thom Bolrun fil ē hedem, Radi Bolrun ē p xxiiij juṛ loco viridaṛ electos ē eisde adjūctos videlt Joheḡ de Tathm milite Thom Travers, Johem Gentyll Gilbtm de Lanĉ clicum Robtm de Pratis, Robtm de Syngelton, Rogm de Wedacre, Robtm de Holauud, Joheḡ de Ryggemayden, Ad de Hochton, juniore, Willm de Wytingham clicum Henṛ le Botiller, Robtm de Eccleston, Robtm de Hundersale, Willm de Carleton, Rogm de Byllesburg, Joheḡ de Tunstall, Willm fil Symois de Boulton, Rogm de Stodard, Willm de Clachton, Joheḡ de Parles, Willm de Hoton, Willm Banes, ē Joheḡ de Eston.

“Presentatū est ē convictū p forestar ē viridar q^d Adam de Carleton, Roḡs fil Roḡi de media Routheclyve ē Ricūs fraṛ ejus qui obiit cepūt tres bissas cū lepar Ricī le Botiller in foresta dñi Reḡ sup mossam de Pelyn, Anno R. R. H. xlvij^o ē venacoēm portaverit ad domū Roḡi p̄p̄oiti qui obiit Qui p̄deūs Adam venit coram Justic ē sup hoc convict^o libatur p̄sone ē educt^a de p̄sona est redeptus ad j nī ē invenit sex sufficetes mañ de redēpcoe sua ē qd deceto^o nō forisfac in aliq^a foresta dñi Reḡ put patet in rotto manucaptor. Et p̄deūs Roḡus fil Roḡi nō venit nec p̄us attach fuit s3 testat est qd manet in eodē com jo. p̄cept^o est vic qd heat corpus ejus hic de die in diē &c. Postea venit p̄deūs Roḡus fil Roḡi corā justic ē sup hoc con li. pⁱ. ē qdon3 p aia R. q3 paup ē invenit mañuc ut p3, &c.

Venacio
ano. r H.
xlvij.

“Present^o est ē com &c qd Nichūs de Lee Johēs fil. Symonis Johēs de Arkelbeck mortuus Rogūs frat ejus Willis fil. Juliane de Heysam Walṛs Gernet sup^o redept^o Ricūs fil Willi de Hoton fuernt in foresta dñi Reḡ infra dñicas hayas anno p̄dco ad malefaciend de venacoe ē ceput cervos ē bissas cū arcub3 sagitt ē leporaṛ qm̄ p̄dei Nichis ē Johēs fil. Symōis venerūt coram Justic ē sup hoc con li. p Postea venerūt ē sunt redeptū Nichū ad j nī ē Johēs fil. Symōis ad xl. d. ē quilt eore invenit manue ut patet &c. p̄sentatū est ē con &c qd p̄dei Nichūs ē ali3 j. m. xl. d. ceput in foresta anno p̄dcō damos ē damas cū Arcub3 sagitt ē lepar ext^a. dñicas hayas dñi Reg qm̄ p̄deūs Nichūs venit ē dicit qd bñ advocac capeōem p̄deor damoṛ ē damaṛ in foresta capt ext. dñicas hayas dñi Reg ut p̄dem est cū manifestū sit qd tam milites q thengi ē libe tenetes Com p̄dei possint cape om̄iodas feras silvestr except cervo ē bissa capriolo Porco silvestṛ ē laya put continet^r. in

CHAP.
VII.In r. ex.
xl. d.
xl. d.

Carta dñi. Reg quam ijdē Milites ꝥ libe tenētes com ꝑdēi coīra justiciariꝑ ptulerut et qꝫ inventū est ꝑ rotlos ultimi itinīs foreste Robti de Nevill qd ꝑdēi milites ꝥ libe tenetes hoc ide clamavarūt ꝥ tuē in respēm ponebatur jō ad ꝑ sens ponitꝫ in respēm. Et testꝫ est qd Rogūs de Arkelbek nō hē nec scit^a nec aliquis &c. jō exiḡ. Et ꝑdēi Wiſls fil. Juliane ꝥ Ricūs fil. Wiſli no venit nec ꝑius &c. sꝫ testꝫ est qd manet in eode Com Jō ꝑ^c. vic &c. Postea venit Wiſls fil. Juliane coram Justie ꝥ sup capcōe dcōre Cernore ꝥ biss con li ꝑⁱ ꝥ est redēptus ad xl. d ꝥ inveñ manūc ut patet &c. Postea testatꝫ est qd Ricūs fil. Wiſli de Hoton nō hīt n^c scit^a &c. n^c aliḡs &c. Jō ex^t Postea ven^t idē Ricūs apud Notyngh coq^a ꝥ sup hoc con li ꝑ ꝥ est redeꝑt^o ad xl. d. ꝥ inūen mām Henrī de Kyghele ꝥ Thom Travers &c. de redempconē sua tīm.”

This ancient document discloses pretty fully the system of forest jurisprudence. We have here the Justices in Eyre, “Justiciarii Itinerantes,” north of the Trent, assisted by the Foresters of the Fee, in their ministerial capacity, for they had no judicial office. To these were added the Viridors, who presided in the forest courts of attachment and swainemote, as a kind of initiative tribunal, leaving it to the judges to ratify or to annul their decisions. To complete the judicial array, there were added twenty-four Regardors, or jurors, knights of the forest, chosen by virtue of the king’s writ, and elected, like the Viridors, by the freeholders in full county. The presentments for killing and taking deer are in the usual style, and amounted at this assize to forty-eight in number, a few of which we have selected, as a specimen of the remainder. The most remarkable is, the plea set up by Nich. de Lee, who, in justification of his conduct, urges the chartered privileges of the knights and freeholders of Lancashire,* one of whom he doubtless was. These proceedings are so perfectly intelligible as to call only for one observation, and it is this, the sanguinary character of the forest laws had been gradually ameliorated ever since the time of Canute, by the charters of king John, Henry III., and Edward I.; and, instead of expatriation and death, we find the heaviest punishment inflicted at this memorable assize, to consist of fine and imprisonment, and those of a very moderate nature. In a word, the forest laws, so severely condemned, were less rigorous under the Plantagenets than are the game laws of modern times.

The delights of the chase were enjoyed with a high zest by our ancestors; and the following vivid description of the costume and armour of an ancient forester, by Chaucer, may be supposed, without any great stretch of imagination, to have been suggested on entering upon the chase, in the Forest of Lancaster, during one of his visits to the baronial castle of his great benefactor, John of Gaunt, whose

* See John’s Charter, p. 245.

singular felicity it was, not only to have been the intrepid advocate of John de Wicliffe, the first English reformer, but also the munificent patron of Geoffrey Chaucer, the first English poet:—

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VII.

“ And he was clad in Cote and Hode of Grene ;
 “ A shaft of Pecoche Arwes bright and kene,
 “ Under his Belt he bare full thriftily,
 “ Well coude he dresse his takel yemanly ;
 “ His Armes drooped not with Fetheres lowe,
 “ And in his Hande he bare a mighty Bowe ;
 “ A not-hed had he with a broune visage,
 “ Of Wood-crafte could he well all the usage.
 “ Upon his Arm he bare a gay Bracer,
 “ And by his Side a Sword and a Bokeler,
 “ A Christopher on his Brest of Silver Shene,
 “ A Horne he bare, the Baudrick was of grene,
 “ A Forister was he sothly, as I gesse.”

Chaucer's
descrip-
tion of the
costume of
an ancient
forester.

PROL. TO THE CANT. TALES.

The Lancaster forests, in days of yore, answer with great accuracy to the description given by Manwood, the elaborate writer on the Forest Laws, when he says—“ A forest is a certaine territory of woody grounds and pastures, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of forest, chase, and warren, to rest and abide in under the protection of the king, for his pleasure and recreation.” The forest laws of Lancaster and of Pickering are quoted by this authority, as the most perfect model of forest jurisprudence. “ The earl of Lancaster,” says he, “ in the time of Edward II. and Edward III. had a forest in the counties of Lancaster and York, in the which he did execute the forest laws as largely as any king in this realm did. And even at this day, (A. D. 1580,) there are no records so much followed as those which were executed by the said earl in his forests.”*

Descrip-
tion of a
forest.

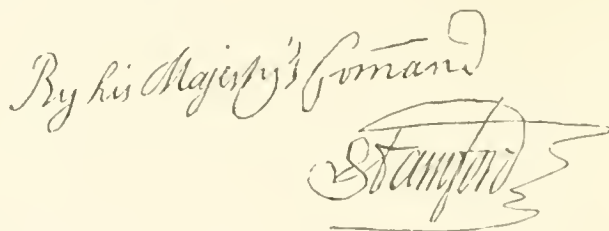
In much later times we have had an English monarch displaying his solicitude for the preservation of the “ vert and venison” in the forests of Lancashire. The following royal warrant, addressed to the Master Foresters, Bow-bearers, and Keepers of the Forests, Parks, and Chases, in the county palatine of Lancaster, and in other parts of the duchy, bearing the signature of king William III. and countersigned by the chancellor and the auditor of the duchy, will form not an inapt conclusion to the digression into which we have been betrayed, by the alluring influence of the chase:—

* See “ Manwood on the Forest Laws,” p. 72, a work which may be consulted with advantage by those who wish to obtain more than a popular acquaintance with this subject.


Duc. Rol.
66. 17.

Whereas Complaint has been made to Us that great Destruction has been made of Our Deer in severall of Our Forrests, Chaces & Parks within Our Duchy & County Palatine of Lancaster, and that some of you have refused to give an Account thereof. Our Royall Will and Pleasure is, that you and every of you, do from time to time, as often as it shall be required of you, give a true and just Account To Our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cozen & Counsellor Thomas Earle of Stamford, Chancellor of Our Duchy & County Palatine of Lancaster, or Chancellor for the Time being, Of All Our Deer within the Forrests, Chases & Parks where you are respectively concerned, and of what Destruction has been made thereof. And at the Close of every Season you also give a particular and true Account what Number of Our Deer have been killed, by whom, for whom, and by whose Order or Authority, and of what Stock is or shall be remaining in Our Forrests, Chases, and Parks wherein you are concerned as aforesaid, that all abuses and ill practices may be remedied, and Our Deer better preserved for the future. And hereof you are not to faile, as you will answer the contrary at your Perill.

Given at Our Court at Kensington the 23d day of December, 1697, and
in the Ninth year of Our Reign.



Irrotulatur in Officio Auditoris Dñi Regis nunc Ducat. sui Lanc. in partib⁹. Austral
Vicesimo quarto die Decembris Anno Regni dñi Regis nunc Willi tertij Nono Anno
y⁹ Domini 1697.

p *Jo. Bennett, Aud.*

To all Rangers, Master Forresters, Bowbearers, Keepers, &c. of all and
singular Our Forrests, Chaces, or Parks in the County Palatine, or in any
part or parcell of Our Duchy of Lancaster.

Gilbert de Lancastre (son of Reynfr') who had been placed in confinement by king John, found it necessary, in order to satisfy the cupidity of the king, to deliver up his castles of Hirlull and Kirkley,* and yet so slow was his persecutor to relax his severity, that it was not till two years after this surrender, that his prisoner was set at liberty.† In the following reign this Gilbert was appointed a commissioner, on the marriage of the king's sister to Alexander, king of Scotland.

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Gilbert de
Lancastre.
A.D.1215.

The act of Magna Charta, so recently granted by John, was confirmed and ratified by Henry III., to whom an aid of one-fifteenth of all the moveables of his people was given by parliament in return for this favour, with the reservation, that those only who paid the fifteenth should be entitled to the liberties and privileges of the charter. To give increased stability to the obligations of this engagement between the king and his people, all the prelates and abbots were assembled, with burning tapers in their hands, and the great charter being raised in their presence, they denounced the sentence of excommunication against all who should henceforth violate this fundamental law. Then, throwing down their tapers on the ground, they exclaimed—"May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence, so stink and corrupt in hell!" To which the king, who took part in the ceremony, added—"So help me God. I will keep these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed."†

Ratifica-
tion of
Magna
Charta by
Hen. III.

The trial by ordeal, introduced by the Saxons, and continued through so many successive ages, to the outrage of justice, and the scandal of the nation, could now no longer be tolerated. The church of Rome, never prone to innovation, was the first to protest against a standard so fallible. And accordingly we find royal letters of the reign of Henry III., addressed to the itinerant judges in the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, the north-western circuit of that day, announcing to the judges, that, because it was not determined previous to the opening of the circuit, what form of trial they should undergo who were charged with robbery, murder, arson, and the like, "since the ordeal of fire and water had been prohibited by the Roman church," it had been provided, by the king in council, that the judges should proceed in the following manner with persons accused of these crimes:—viz. That those charged with the greater crime, and to whom violent suspicion attached, should be held and safely confined in prison, but not in such a manner as to incur peril of life or limb: That persons accused of other crimes, and to whom, had it not been prohibited, the ordeal of fire and water might have been sufficient, should be

Abolition
of the or-
deals of
fire and
water.

Pat.
3Hen.III.
m. 5, Turr
Lond.

* Fædera, vol. i. p. 136.

† Fædera, vol. i. p. 146.

‡ Matt. of Paris, p. 580.

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required to quit the realm : And that those charged with minor offences should be liberated on bail. These directions, it was felt, were very vague and general ; but as they were all that the council could at the time provide, the judges were left at liberty to follow their own discretion, and to act according to the dictates of their consciences.*

Lands between
Mersey
and Rib-
ble.

In this reign the undisputed possession of that great mass of Lancashire property, the lands between Ribble and Mersey, was conveyed by the family of Roger de Maresey to lord Randulf, earl of Chester, in virtue of a compact already adverted to (see p. 121.), and which is expressed in the following terms :—

Circa
A.D. 1230.
15 H. III.

“ Hæc est conventio facta inter dominum Ranulfum comitem Cestriæ et Lincolnæ, et Rogerum de Maresey ; videlicet, quod dicti comes et Rogerus traderunt domino Radulfo de Bray in æquali manu quadregenta marcas argenti, et chartam quam dictus Rogerus fecit domino comiti de venditione et dimissione omnium terrarum suarum, quas habuit vel habere potuit inter Ribble et Mersey :

* 3 HENRY III.

“ Rex dilectis et fidelibus suis Philippo de Ulletot, & sociis suis, justiciariis itinerantibus in comitatibus Cumberland’, Westmerland’, & Lancastriæ, salutem.

“ Quia dubitatum fuit & non determinatum, ante inceptionis itineris vestri, quo judicio deducendi sunt illi qui rectati sunt de latrocinio, murthero, incendio & hiis similibus, cum prohibitum sit per ecclesiam Romanam judicium ignis & aquæ, provisum est à concilio nostro, ad præsens, ut, in hoc itinere vestro, sic fiet de rectatis de hujusmodi excessibus.

“ Videlicet, quod illi, qui rectati sunt de criminibus prædictis majoribus, & de eis habeatur suspicio quod culpabiles sint de eo unde rectati sunt, de quibus etiam, licet regnum nostrum abjurerent, adhuc suspicio esset quod postea malefacerent, teneantur in prisonâ nostrâ & salvò custodiantur ; ita quod non incurrant periculum vitæ vel membrorum occasione personæ nostræ.

“ Illi verò, qui mediis criminibus rectati fuerint, & quibus competeret judicium ignis vel aquæ si non esset prohibitum, & de quibus, si regnum nostrum abjurent, nulla fuerit postea malè faciendi suspicio, regnum nostrum abjurent.

“ Illi vero, qui minoribus rectati fuerint criminibus, nec de eis fuerit mali suspicio, salvos & securos plegios inveniant de fidelitate & pace nostrâ conservandâ, & sic dimittantur in terrâ nostrâ.

“ Cum igitur nichil certius providerit in hac parte concilium nostrum ad præsens, relinquimus discretioni vestræ hunc ordinem prædictum observandum in hoc itinere vestro, ut, qui personas hominum, formam delicti, & ipsarum rerum veritatem melius cognoscere poteritis, hoc ordine, secundum discretionem & conscientias vestras, in hujusmodi procedatis.

“ Et in hujus rei testimonium, &c.

“ Teste domino P. WINTON,

“ apud West’, vicesimo sexto die Januarii, anno regni nostri tertio.

“ Per eundem & H. de Burgo justiciarium.”

Ità scilicèt quòd Rogerus sinè dilatione iturus est inter Ribbel et Mersey ad depò-
nendum se de dictâ terrâ, et ad faciendum omnes illos (qui de ipso ibidem tennuerunt)
homagia sua facere dicto domino comiti, vel fidelitatem ejus ballivis loco suo consti-
tutis: et etiàm seisinam de Boulton cùm omnibus pertinentiis dicto comiti facien-
dam: Quo facto dictus Radulfus de Bray sæpe-dicto comiti chartam jàm dictam
reddet, et eidem Rogere dictas quadraginta marcas: Et si contingat, quòd tenentes
de dictis tenuris ad hoc quod prædictum est, domino comiti faciendum per ipsum
Rogerum adesse noluerunt, sæpe-dictus comes, vel ballivi sui, ipsos compellent ad
hoc faciendum. Et dictus Rogerus ad sumptus domini comitis itinerabit unà cùm
ballivis comitis, quòdsque negotium istud, secundùm quod prædictum est, fuerit con-
summatum. Et ad majorem hujus rei securitatem utérque illorum præsentì scripto,
more cheirographi, sigillum suum apposuit.

“ Hiis testibus, domino Waltero abbate Cestriæ, domino Willielmo de Vernon
justiciario Cestriæ, Radulfo de Bray, Waltero Dayvill, Ricardo de Biron, Johanne
de Lexington, Simone et Johanne, clericis.”

[From the Couchir Book of the Duchy Office, Lancaster Place, London, tom. i.
Comitatus Lancastriæ, fol. 77. num. 70.]

Notwithstanding the ratification of Magna Charta, the nation continued much
agitated, by the intrigues of the nobles within, and the hostility of the bordering
countries from without. To meet this emergency, a proclamation was issued to the
sheriffs of the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, ordering
them to assemble all those, in their respective jurisdictions, who held of the king in
chief to the amount of a knight's fee, to be prepared with horses and arms, to march
with the king from Chester, on an expedition into Wales, against Llewelyn, and
other rebels.

The barons, in the mean time, more anxious about the redress of their own
grievances, than the incursions of the Welsh, assembled in supreme council, at
Oxford, under Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, and, after insisting upon the
strict fulfilment of the articles of Magna Charta, demanded, that four knights should be
chosen by the freeholders from each county in the kingdom, to make inquiries into
the complaints of the inhabitants, and to present them at the next parliament. They
also resolved, that three parliaments should be held in every year, including
burgesses, as well as barons and ecclesiastical dignitaries, the two latter of whom
had alone been hitherto summoned; that the sheriffs should be annually chosen in each
county by the freeholders; that the sheriffs should have no power to fine the barons;
that no heirs should be committed to the wardship of foreigners; that no new war-
rens or forests should be created; nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds let

Origin of
the repre-
sentative
system in
England.

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The barons' wars.
A.D. 1263.

Accession of wealth and honours to the house of Lancaster from the barons' wars.

to farm. The king, feeling that the tendency of these extensive measures of reform was to abridge the royal power, strenuously opposed their introduction, and the matter was finally referred to the pope, by whose decision the great charter was ratified, but the ordinances of the supreme council of Oxford were annulled. The barons did not hesitate to resist the award of his holiness by force of arms, and Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, was amongst the most distinguished of the insurgents. An association was formed in the city of Worcester, consisting of the populace and the leaders of the insurgents, amongst whom were eighteen of the great barons, headed by the earls of Leicester, Gloucester, and Derby, with le Despenser, the chief justiciary. By the terms of their compact they were never to make peace with the king but by common consent, and with such securities for their liberties and privileges as those which were contained in the convention of Oxford. A long and sanguinary civil war ensued, during which the king was taken prisoner by the barons, and obliged to ratify the obnoxious convention. Subsequently, Simon de Mountfort, earl of Leicester, fell in the contest, and the earl of Derby was taken prisoner. This struggle was, however, essentially conducive to the establishment of the public liberties, and laid the foundation of our representative system of government. The defeat of the barons elevated the house of Lancaster. The forfeited title and possessions of Simon de Mountfort devolved by royal favour upon Edmund Crouchback, the second son of Henry III., and the estates of Robert de Ferrars, earl of Derby, were also conferred upon him by the king,* with a grant of the possession of the county of Lancaster, but not to the prejudice of Roger de Lancastre.

Llewelyn, prince of Wales, had been deeply implicated with the barons of England in their wars against their sovereign, Henry III., and when Edward I. ascended the throne, one of the first acts of his government was, to summon the Welsh prince to do homage in person to the new king. With this mandate Llewelyn refused to comply, except upon the condition, that the king's son, and other noblemen, should be delivered to the Welsh court as hostages for his safe custody. Edward was in no temper for parley, and, accordingly, we find a summons from the king, calling upon Roger de Lancastre to attend upon his majesty, to proceed against the Welsh, who are represented as having risen in rebellion. This royal order was followed by a writ of military summons from the king to Edmund, earl of Lancaster, and the sheriff of the county, announcing, that Llewelyn, son of Griffin, prince of Wales, and his rebellious associates, had invaded the land of the lieges in the Marches, and committed murders, and other enormous damages, and commanding, that the sheriff do forthwith assemble all that are capable of bearing

* See p. 124.

arms in the hundreds, boroughs, and market towns, of his shrievalty, to march to Worcester, in the octaves of St. John the Baptist, prepared with horses and arms.*

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The war was continued, with some intermissions, through several successive years; and in order to clear a passage into Wales, it appears that a mandate was issued by the king in the year 1282, to the sheriff of Lancashire, ordering him to provide two hundred woodcutters (*coupiatoribus*), to cut away the wood, and thereby to open passes into Wales. These men were to be powerful and active, and each of them was to come provided with a large hatchet, to cut down the trees. They were to be chosen in the presence of William de Percy, who was sent specially into the county for that purpose; and were to muster at Chester, on Saturday on the octaves of the feast of St. Peter. For this service, the sheriff was to pay, from the issues of his bailiwick, into the hands of each hewer, three-pence per diem for his wages.†

War with
the Welsh.

The Lan-
cashire
Coupiato-
res.

Their
wages.

At the time when these Lancashire husbandmen, of extraordinary powers, were receiving three-pence a day for their labour, the price of wheat was nine-pence per bushel, and, taking the average of wages in England for the six hundred years following, it will be found, (unfavourable seasons apart,) that the wages of labour have generally been in the proportion of a peck of wheat per day. In large towns the price of manufacturing labour has often been higher, and in some cases, especially amongst the weavers, much lower; but as a standard, none can approach nearer than the one which is here suggested. Much of obscurity is thrown over historical and topographical works on the subject of money, for want of some standard of value to which the sums mentioned in different ages may be referred. No standard will be found so unerring as the prices of wheat and of labour, which, on being com-

Wages of
labour re-
gulated by
the price
of wheat
in all
ages.

* This first form of military summons extant, addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire, we present entire, as claiming a place in the antiquarian stores of the county:—

“ *Forma de ex̄citu R suñ in Wall.*

“ *EDWARDUS Dei gr̄a Rex Angl̄ Dñs Hybñ ⁊ Dux Aquil̄ dilecto fr̄i ⁊ fideli suo Edmūdo Coñ Lancast̄ salm. Quia Lewelinus fil̄ Griffini P̄nceps Wallie ⁊ complices sui rebelles n̄ri ſras n̄ras ⁊ fidelium n̄roz in p̄tibz Marchie invaserūt ⁊ de die in diem invadūt ⁊ homicidia ⁊ alia dampna enormia ibidem ppet̄runt. Et idem Lewelin⁹ nob̄ put debet obedire, cōtempnit ⁊ cōtempnit in n̄ri p̄judicium ⁊ contemptū ⁊ v̄ri ⁊ alioz fidelium n̄roz grave dāpnū ⁊ exliradaçõem māifestam, p qđ jam ex̄citurum n̄rm suñ fecimus qđ sit apđ Wygorñ in Octab̄ S̄ci Joñis Bāpte px’ futuř ad rebellionē d̄ci Lewelini ⁊ fautoř suoz rep̄mendam: voř mandamus qđ d̄cis die ⁊ loco inl̄stis cū equis ⁊ armis cū Servicō v̄ro nob̄ debito pati nob̄cū exinde p̄fiscisci in expediçõem n̄ram cont̄a p̄d̄c̄m Lewel̄ ⁊ cōplices suos rebellos n̄ros. T. me ip̄o apđ Wind̄ xii die Decemb̄ anno ř. ř. q̄nto.”*

Rot. Claus. 5 Ed. I. m. 12. d. in Turr. Lond.

† *Fœdera, vol.ii. p. 611.*

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pared in times past with the price of those articles in our day, will always convey to the mind some definite notion, when sums of money are mentioned, of the value of those sums at the period under consideration. With this view, the following table, extracted from the records in the exchequer, and collated with Paris, Walsingham, Stowe, Fleetwood, and others, is constructed:—

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

SHEWING THE PRICE AT WHICH THE ARTICLES, THEREIN MENTIONED, SOLD IN THE YEARS SPECIFIED.

			£.	s.	d.	
Table of prices for six centu- ries.	A.D. 1202.	Wheat (rainy season)	0	12	0	per quarter.
	1248.	Thirty-seven sheep for the King	0	18	4	
	1253.	Wheat fell to	0	2	6	per quarter.
	1256.	Brewers ordered to sell three gallons of ale in the country for a penny.				
	1272.	A Labourer's wages	0	0	1½	per day.
		A Harvest Man	0	0	2	do.
	1274.	A Bible in nine vols. with a Comment	33	6	8	
	1275.	Rent of the Lord Mayor's House	1	0	0	a year.
	1280.	The Chancellor's Salary	40	0	0	do.
	1283.	An English Slave and his Family sold for	0	13	4	
	1285.	Grinding Wheat	0	0	0½	per quarter.
	1286.	Wheat, after a great storm	0	16	0	per quarter.
	1288.	fell to	0	1	8	do.
	1294.	Wheat (a grievous famine)	1	0	0	do.
		Wheat, average in the 13th century, about	0	6	0	do.
	1300.	Wheat and Barley	0	3	4	do.
		Oats	0	1	8	do.
		A Primer for the Prince of Wales, now 15 years 11 months old, £2 0 0.				
	1302.	A Cow	0	6	0	
		A fat Sheep	0	1	0	
		A Cock or Hen	0	0	1½	each.
	1309.	A Pair of Shoes	0	0	4	
	1314.	Prices fixed by Parliament,—A fat Ox	0	16	0	
		A Cow £0 12s. 0d.				A Sheep 0 1 2
		A fat Hog £0 3s. 4d.				A fat Goose 0 0 2½
		Pair of Chickens £0 0s. 1d.				Eggs 0 0 0½ per dozen.

This *Maximum* increased the scarcity which it was intended to remove. The growers would not bring in provisions, and what was sold was dearer than before. The act was therefore repealed in 1315.

		£.	s.	d.	
A.D. 1315.	Salt (an unheard of price)	0	2	6	a bushel.
1326.	Yearly Rent of Arable Land in Kent, 3d. to	0	0	6	per acre.
	Pasture Land	0	0	1	do.
	Meadow Land, 4d. to	0	0	10	do.
1338.	Allowance from Edward III. to 32 Students at Cambridge	0	0	2	per diem.
	Wool taken by the King (a forced price)	0	2	0	per stone of 14lb.
1342.	Wine	0	0	4	per gallon.
1347.	King's Apothecary, a pension for life	0	0	6	per day.
1348.	A year of pestilence,—a Horse	0	6	8	
	a fat Ox	0	4	0	
	a Cow	0	1	0	
	a Heifer	0	0	6	
1357.	Ransom of David, King of Scotland	100,000	0	0	
1360.	of John, King of France	500,000	0	0	
	A horse for military service	1	0	0	
	A Master Carpenter, 4d.—his Journeyman	0	0	2	per day.
1379.	Wine, white, 6d.;—Red	0	0	4	per gallon.
1385.	Assistant Clerk of Parliament	5	0	0	a year.
1390.	Kendal Cloth, from 3s. 4d. to	0	5	0	a piece.
	Wheat, average in the 14th century, about	0	6	0	per quarter.
1407.	Salt	0	0	7½	per bushel.
	A Plough	0	0	10	
	Wages of a Thresher	0	0	2	per day.
1414.	A Priest's stipend, with cure of souls	5	6	8	a year.
	without	4	13	4	do.
1482.	220 Draught horses for	100	0	0	
1495.	Allowance to Edward the Fourth's Daughter	1	0	0	a week.
	for her eight servants	51	11	8	a year.
	Oats	0	2	0	a quarter.
	Wheat	0	6	0	
	Wheat, average in 15th century, as estimated for rent, about	0	7	0	
1547.	Income of the poor churches in York	1	6	8	a year.
1562.	Wheat conversion price	0	8	0	per quarter.
	Ale, when Malt was 8s. per quarter	0	0	2	per gallon.
1576.	Beef and Mutton	0	0	6	a stone.
1576.	Veal, eight pence to	0	1	0	
	Wheat, average in the 16th century, about	1	1	0	per quarter.
	Labour of a husbandman per week, in the 16th century	0	5	0	

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VII.*Average Price of Wheat and Malt per quarter, at Windsor.*

From 1611 to 1620	£2 1 1½	From 1671 to 1680	£2 10 8½
1621 to 1630	2 5 2	1681 to 1690	1 19 1½
1631 to 1640	2 6 10½	1691 to 1700	2 16 10½
1641 to 1650	3 12 8	1701 to 1710	2 3 2½
1651 to 1660	2 10 0	1711 to 1720	2 4 11
1661 to 1670	2 8 10½	1721 to 1731	2 1 1
Labour of a husbandman per week, in the 17th century			

These prices of wheat are from the Eton Books, and are for the best grain; the measure also is above the legal standard, so that 7-9ths of the preceding quotations will form about the average price of all England.

Average London Price in January:—

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.
From 1732 to 1740 . .	£1 8 10	£0 15 1½	£0 12 5
1741 to 1750 . .	1 5 8½	0 14 3	0 12 4
1751 to 1760 . .	1 13 3	0 17 11	0 14 10½
1761 to 1770 . .	1 13 11½	1 2 0	0 15 11½

Average Price in England and Wales.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.
From 1771 to 1775 . .	£2 10 0	£1 6 9	£0 16 10½
1776 to 1780 . .	1 19 0	1 0 0	0 16 6½
1781 to 1785 . .	2 9 2	1 4 4½	0 16 10
1786 to 1790 . .	2 5 10	1 3 5½	0 17 0½
1791 to 1795 . .	2 12 11	1 10 11½	1 1 0
1796 to 1800 . .	3 12 3½	1 17 8	1 5 2
Labour of a husbandman per week, in the 18th century			

AVERAGE PRICE OF WHEAT IN ENGLAND AND WALES,

In each year from 1801 to 1830 inclusive, from the official returns.

In 1801 . £5 18 3¾	In 1809 . £4 15 2	In 1817 . £4 14 4½	In 1825 . £3 6 5⅝
1802 . 3 7 4	1810 . 5 6 2¼	1818 . 4 4 2¼	1826 . 2 17 3¾
1803 . 2 16 5¾	1811 . 4 14 11	1819 . 3 13 0½	1827 . 2 16 10
1804 . 3 1 7	1812 . 6 5 6	1820 . 3 5 6	1828 . 3 11 10¾
1805 . 4 7 9¾	1813 . 5 8 5	1821 . 2 14 4	1829 . 3 16 10
1806 . 4 0 1½	1814 . 3 14 0½	1822 . 2 3 5¾	1830 . 3 14 6
1807 . 3 12 4¼	1815 . 3 4 4½	1823 . 2 11 9	
1808 . 3 19 2	1816 . 3 15 5⅞	1824 . 2 17 0	
Labour of a husbandman per week, in the 19th century			

COINAGE.

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For a further illustration of the Scale of Prices in successive ages, it is necessary to show how many pounds, shillings, and pennies have been coined out of a pound troy of silver, at different times in England; and also the degree of fineness of the standard, and the times at which the several alterations have taken place.

		Fine Silver.			Alloy.					
		Before A.D. 1300 a pound of } oz. dwt.			oz. dwt.			£.	s.	d.
		standard silver contained, }			11	2	. . .	0	18	. . . 1 0 0
1300.	28 Edward I.		11	2		0	18		1	0 3
1344.	18 Edward III.		11	2		0	18		1	2 2
1346.	20 Edward III.		11	2		0	18		1	2 6
1353.	27 Edward III.		11	2		0	18		1	5 0
1412.	13 Henry IV.		11	2		0	18		1	10 0
1464.	4 Edward IV.		11	2		0	18		1	17 6
1527.	18 Henry VIII.		11	2		0	18		2	5 0
1543.	34 Henry VIII.		10	0		2	0		2	8 0
1545.	36 Henry VIII.		6	0		6	0		2	8 0
1546.	37 Henry VIII.		4	0		8	0		2	8 0
1549.	3 Edward VI.		6	0		6	0		3	12 0
1551.	5 Edward VI.		3	0		9	0		3	12 0
1551, end of 1552.	6 Edw. VI.		11	1		0	19		3	0 0
1553.	1 Mary		11	0		1	0		3	0 0
1560.	2 Elizabeth		11	2		0	18		3	0 0
1601.	43 Elizabeth		11	2		0	18		3	2 0
1816.	56 George III.		11	2		0	18		3	6 0*

These Rates of English Money, except the last, are taken by Mr. Folkes, from the indentures made with the masters of the mint, and consequently may be depended upon as authentic; the last is from the act 56 George III. cap. 68.

The mines of Lancashire were yet unexplored; and the most important of all its minerals, as constituting the principal source of its manufacturing greatness, had lain undisturbed in the bowels of the earth till the reign of Henry III., when coals were, for the first time, used as fuel in England. From that period to the present, the great coal fields in the south and in the centre of the county of Lancaster have continued to be worked, but the full extent of their capacity and utility were not

Coal first
used as
fuel,
A.D.1260.

* In 1816, the pound of bullion was first coined into sixty-six shillings, of which, however, only sixty-two were issued; four shillings being kept at the mint as a seignorage.

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shown till the middle of the eighteenth century, when the agency of steam began to be brought into general operation under the powerful geniuſes of Crompton, Arkwright, and Watt, aided by the skill, enterpriſe, and capital of Peel, and a hundred other names that might be mentioned.

Honour of
knight-
hood.Rot.
Claus.
6 Edw. 1.
m. 8. d.
Turr.
Lond.

In the early ages of our hiſtory, the honour of knighthood, with the military ſervices to which it was incident under the feudal ſystem, was often forced upon the ſubject, and hence we find that, in the year 1278, a writ was addreſſed to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire, commanding him to diſtrain upon all perſons ſeized of land of the value of £20 per annum, whether held of the king *in capite*, or of any other lord, who ought to be knights, and were not, and all ſuch were ordered forthwith to take out their patent of knighthood. Fourteen years after this, a writ was iſſued, wherein the qualification was raiſed to double the amount, and a writ, dated the 6th of February, 1292, was iſſued to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire, along with other ſheriffs, proclaiming that all perſons holding lands in fee, or of inheritance, of the value of £40 per annum, muſt take the order of knighthood before Chriſtmas in that year. One of the prerogatives of the crown was to relax and to vary theſe ſervices, and hence a writ, addreſſed to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire, was iſſued, reciting “ that the commonality of England having performed good ſervices againſt the Welch, the king excuſes perſons, not holding lands of the value of £100 per annum, from taking the order of knighthood;” but in this writ it was directed, that all holding above that amount, and not taking that order before the Nativity of the Virgin, are to be diſtrained upon. Subſequentlly, injunctions were addreſſed to the ſheriff, commanding him to make extents on the lands of thoſe who reſuſe to take the order of knighthood, and to hold them for the king until further orders. It muſt not be ſuppoſed that this honour was always declined, or that no man’s ambition led him to aſpire to the diſtinction. Such a concluſion would be erroneous; for we find a writ to the ſheriff of Lancaſhire, of the date of the 6th of April, 1305, directing him to proclaim, that all who ſhould become knights, and are not, muſt repair to London before Whit-Sunday next, to receive that diſtinction, if properly qualified.

Rot. Fin.
21 Edw. 1.
m. 25.Rot.
Claus. 31
Edw. 1.
m. 16. d.Commis-
ſions.Rot. Pat.
7 Edw. 1.
m. 19.

While the conteſt continued between England and Wales, a number of public officers were appointed, called commissioners of array, (*arraiatores*.) whoſe duty it was to array the troops engaged in the war, to preſerve the peace in the miſt of ſo much agitation, and to communicate the views and intentions of the government to the people. Roger de Mortimer, who enjoyed a large ſhare of the royal favour, received the appointment of conſervator of Lampaderoour, in Weſt Wales, which appointment was announced by letter to the prelates and clergy, in Lancaſhire, through the medium of Reginald de Grey, the captain, in Cheſter and Flintſhire.

The neceſſities of the public treaſury, in 1282, obliged the king to demand an

aid by way of loan from the religious houses, and from all the merchants in the kingdom, and John de Kirkeby was empowered to declare certain difficult and important matters with which he was entrusted, explanatory, no doubt, of the king's necessities, to the people of Lancashire. Speedily afterwards, letters patent were addressed to Robert de Harington, John Byron, and Robert de Holland, appointing them conservators of the peace, pursuant to the statute of Winton, and writs of Venire were issued for that purpose.*

During the contest with Wales, several summonses for military service were issued in Lancashire, the number of which was probably increased by its vicinity to the seat of war. On the 26th of May a writ was sent to the sheriff, reciting an ordinance in council, whereby every person holding land or rents of the value of £30 a year, was required to provide himself with a horse and suitable armour, and to join the king's forces against the Welsh, and even persons unfit for military service were required to find and to equip substitutes. On the 30th of July, in the same year, a docket of commission issued, empowering William de Butiller, de Werenton, to press 1,000 men, capable of bearing arms, into the king's service; from which, it would appear, that the obnoxious practice of impressing men for the navy in latter times extended then to the army. The contest with Wales was now at its crisis. On the 24th of November, a writ was addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire, requiring him to send all men capable of bearing arms to march against the Welsh; and Edmund, earl of Lancaster, was required to furnish from his lands in Lancashire 200 soldiers. Early in the following year another levy was called for; and the earl, on the summons of the king, was required to repair with horse and arms to Montgomery: a similar summons to arms was also addressed to Roger de Lancastre; and to supply the necessary ways and means for this vast expenditure of the government, a commission was issued, constituting Henry de Newark and others collectors of the levy of the 30th.

The skill and perseverance of Edward, seconded by the zeal and constancy of his subjects, at length reduced the Welsh nation to the greatest extremities. Llewelyn, finding all his resources exhausted, his country almost depopulated by the length and severity of the contest, and famine rapidly completing the destruction which the sword had commenced, was obliged to submit to the conqueror; and the ancient Cambrians, after having for 800 years maintained their national independence, passed under the English yoke. The title of "Prince of Wales" was now conferred for the first time on a "foreign prince," and the eldest son of the king of England has ever since that period borne this designation.

* By the statute of Winton, (Winchester,) passed 13 Edward I. it is, amongst a number of other important enactments, provided, that every hundred shall be answerable for the robberies and other offences committed within its jurisdiction.

CHAP. VII.

Ancient
loyalty
loan.

Rot. Wall.
10 Edw. I.
m. 6.

Rot. Pat.
15 Edw. I.
m. 13.

Sum-
monses
for mili-
tary ser-
vice.

Rot. Wall.
10 Edw. I.
m. 6. d.

Rot. Wall.
10 Edw. I.
m. 4.

Rot. de
Tricesima,
11 Edw. I.
m. 2.

Conquest
of Wales.

CHAP.
VII.

Valuation
of the
English
benefices,
by order of
Pope Ni-
cholas.

The wars of the crusades, in which England took so large a share, had served to drain the treasury, and the cost of these holy contests seemed especially to belong to the church. Pope Nicholas IV. to whom, as the head of the see of Rome, the first-fruits and tenths of all English benefices were payable, granted to king Edward I. the tenths of these benefices for six years, towards defraying the expenses of the crusades. In order to ascertain the full value of the livings, and ultimately to enrich the church, his holiness caused a survey to be made, usually called "Pope Nicholas's Valor," which was completed in the province of Canterbury in 1291, and in the province of York in the following year, under the direction of the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln. This valuable and curious document is still preserved; and its contents, so far as regards the county of Lancaster, will be introduced in that department of our work which relates to the ecclesiastical history of the county. How far this exhibition of the wealth of the church of England influenced the mind of the king, it is impossible now to ascertain; but in this reign the celebrated statute of mortmain was passed, by which the clergy were prevented by law from making new acquisitions of land for the use of the church.

New
wars.

This county had scarcely recovered from the drain made upon its blood and treasure by the war with the neighbouring principality of Wales, when it was called upon, in common with the other parts of England, to engage in another contest, still more formidable, against the combined power of Scotland and France. The causes of these long and sanguinary wars, it is not the province of this history to investigate; but it may be observed, that the war with Scotland originated in a wish on the part of the English monarch to render that country a tributary state; and that the war with France arose out of the failure of a negotiation conducted with the court of Paris by Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, originating in a quarrel between two seamen, a Norman and an Englishman, to determine which of them should take the precedence in supplying his boat with water from a spring on the banks of the Adour.

Fresh
levies in
Lanca-
shire.
Rot. Vasc.
21 Edw. I.
m. 7. d.
Rot. Pat.
22 Edw. I.
m. 2.

On the breaking out of the war, writs of military service were issued to the sheriffs, announcing that the king was about to set out for Gascony, to protect his inheritance from the king of France; and all knights, abbots, and priors, holding in chief by military tenure, or serjanty, were required to meet the king at Portsmouth, to embark in this expedition. In the same year, letters patent were sent to the knights and freeholders in Lancashire, announcing that collectors were appointed, of the tenths in aid of the war: writs were issued in the early part of the following year, to sixty-eight persons about to embark with Edmund, earl of Lancaster, to Gascony, exempting their goods from the payment of this impost, and, as a matter of precaution, orders from the king were issued to the sheriff of Lancashire, reciting, that through

some religious foreigners, as well Normans as others, residing in this kingdom, and dwelling on the sea coasts, not a little danger had arisen to the safety of the state; he was, therefore, commanded to cause such persons to remove to the interior without delay, and to give up their places to religious English. The sheriffs were also commanded further to draw to land all their ships and boats, wherever they might find them, in the sea or any other water, and to cause all their furniture and cargoes to be wholly removed, so that the vessels might be of no use.

CHAP
VII.

The commissioners for assessing and collecting the tenth and the seventh this year were, “Mağr. Rich. de Hoghton, clerk,” and “Rad de Mausfield, clerk;” and that the returns might be duly made, Ric^d de Hoghton and John Genty^l were earnestly required to appear in their proper persons, before the treasurer and the barons of the exchequer, on the feast of St. Nicholas ensuing, to do and execute those matters which should be more fully explained to them; and this they were to do as they regarded the king’s honour, and their own loss of all things, both lands and tenements, goods and chattels, and as they would avoid the king’s perpetual wrath.* The exactions of the king to carry on the war became burdensome in the extreme; the first peers of the realm murmured against his demands upon their purse, and upon their personal services; and to such an excess did their altercations arise, that the king, in requiring the reluctant services in Flanders of his constable, Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, and one of the founders of the duchy possessions, exclaimed—“Sir Earl; by God, you shall either go, or hang!” was answered by the earl with equal determination—“By God, sir king, I will neither go, nor hang!”† The clergy were not more disposed to acquiesce in the arbitrary exactions of the king and his ministers, than the laity; in consequence of which, numbers of them were put out of the protection of the law; but in order at once to stimulate their loyalty, and inflame their fears, writs were issued to John de Lancastre, and to the sheriffs, empowering them to appoint commissioners to reverse the recognizances of such of the clergy as wished to receive the king’s protection, and to arrest and imprison all those who had promulgated excommunications and ecclesiastical censures against his ministers.

Rot.
Claus.
24 Edw. I.
m. 3. d.

Importu-
nate de-
mands for
money.

Rot. Pat.
25 Edw. I.
m. 12.

* LANCASTER.—R dilco ĩ fideli suo Mağro Riç de Hoghton, cŕco saltem. Mandam⁹ voř in fide ĩ dilecōe quibz noř tenemini firmi ĩ injungentes qđ sitis in ppria psona vřa coram Theř ĩ Baronibz nřis de Scđ^oio octavo die post festũ Sđi Nichi pximo futuř ad ultimũ, ad faciend ĩ exequend ea que iidem Theř ĩ Baroñ, voř tũc ibidem dicent ĩ injungent plenius ex pte nřa. Et hoc sicut honorem nřm ĩ vřm amissionem ořum fřaz ĩ teñ bonoz ĩ catalloz que in Regno nřo tenetis, et indignacōem nřam ppetuam vitare volũtis nullo modo omittatis. Et hęatis ibi hoc bře. T. R apud Sđm Edm. xv. die Nov.

† Rymer’s Fœdera, vol. ii. p. 783.

CHAP.
VII.News-
mongers
denoun-
ced.

At this early period of our history, newspapers were unknown, and prosecutions against the public press had of course no existence, but in the 25 Edward I. the king addressed a mandate to John de Lancastre, sheriff of the county, announcing, that his majesty had learnt, that newsmongers (*"troveurs de nouvelles,"* as they are called,) were going about the country, sowing discord amongst the prelates, earls, and barons, as well as others of his subjects, endeavouring thereby to disturb the public peace, and to subvert the good order of the realm; which said offences, the sheriffs were required to inquire into, and to take order for bringing the delinquents to justice.

March of
the Welsh
through
Lanca-
shire
against
the
Scotch.

From enemies the Welsh had been converted into allies; and while the king was engaged in the French war, an army from Wales was appointed to march against the Scots, to carry hostilities into their country. That no interruption might be given to that force, letters were addressed by the king to the sheriffs of Lancashire and Yorkshire, as well as to those of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, directing them, at their peril, to take care that all bakers and brewers should have a sufficient supply of bread and beer in the towns through which the Welsh army had to pass, on their march "against the Scottish rebels." In the course of this year, no fewer than three rates were imposed: the first, of an eighth; the second, of a fifth; and the third, of a ninth of the moveables of the subject; and William de Quinton and Geoffry de Hotham were appointed assessors and collectors for the county of York, while Rob^t. de Hoyland, Allan le Norreys, John Genty, and Hugh de Clyderhan, with the sheriff of the county, were appointed assessors and collectors for the county of Lancaster. To reconcile the people to these accumulated impositions, and to assuage the popular discontent, letters were addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire, and the sheriffs of the other counties, directing them to take means for the redress of public grievances, the most intolerable of which probably was that of excessive taxation.

Rot. Pat.
25 Edw. I.
p. 2. m.Dawn of
the com-
mercial
and ma-
nufactur-
ing great-
ness of the
county.
A. D. 1216.

At this time the resources of the government were principally derived from the landed possessions of the people; but commerce and manufactures, to which in future ages the state was to stand so much indebted for its supplies, now began to dawn upon the country, and the establishment of the famous commercial society of "Merchant Adventurers," with the partial introduction of the staple manufacture of woollens, both in the west and in the north of England, laid the foundation of those mighty resources, which we shall have occasion, in the future progress of our labours, more fully to develop, and which in modern days distinguish the county of Lancaster from all other districts of the world.

Rot. Pat.
25 Edw. I.
p. 2. m.

In the time of the Edwards of the Plantagenet line, the population of Lancashire must have been very considerable; for in this year, the commissioners of array, in

their precepts to Will. de Ormesby, the king's justiciary, directed, that a levy of three thousand foot soldiers should be raised in Lancashire, and sent to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by the feast of St. Nicholas, to be placed under the command of Robt. de Clifford, warder of the Scotch marches, adjoining to Cumberland. The following year a writ was directed to John de Warren, earl of Surrey, directing him to march forthwith to Scotland, at the head of the troops raised in Lancashire and in the neighbouring counties.

CHAP.
VII.

Levy of
3000 sol-
diers in
Lanca-
shire to
invade
Scotland.

The war with France having been brought to an end by the mediation of his holiness the pope, and the peace consummated by a double marriage, that of Edward himself with Margaret, the sister of Philip, king of France, and that of the prince of Wales with Isabella, the daughter of the same monarch, the king was left at liberty to turn his undivided attention to the conquest of Scotland; and for the purpose of infusing fresh vigour into the operations against that country, Edmund determined to place himself at the head of the English army. No fewer than three successive writs of military summons were issued during the year 1297, to the authorities of the county of Lancaster; the first to the sheriff, the second to Thomas earl of Lancastre, and the third to Henry baron de Lancastre, calling upon the levies to meet the king at Carlisle, and appointing Robt. de Clifford, the king's lieutenant ("cheventain") of Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. The spirit of Scotland sunk under the mighty array that was proceeding against that country, headed by a monarch accustomed to conquer. Robt. Bruce, father and son, along with several other nobles, made their submission to Edward, but John Baliol, the king, assembled the flower of the Scotch nobility, together with a large portion of the military force of the kingdom, hoping by one mighty effort to expel the invaders, and to liberate their country. For this purpose, they made a general and simultaneous attack upon the English, under the earl Warrenne, who were at that time besieging Dunbar with a force of twelve thousand men. Undismayed by superior numbers, the English general advanced to receive them, and a sanguinary battle ensued, which issued in the total defeat of the Scotch army, with a loss of twenty thousand men. One of the first consequences of this victory was the surrender of Dunbar, and the other fortresses of Scotland soon followed the example. Baliol, the king, despairing of his country's cause, resigned his crown into the hands of the English monarch, who, on his return from Scotland, conveyed with him the ancient stone of inauguration, which had for so many ages been deposited at Scone, and to which tradition attached the belief, that wherever that stone was placed, the monarch in possession of it would govern Scotland.

The king
places
himself at
the head
of the in-
vading
army.

Rot. Pat.
26 Edw. I.
m. 19.

Rot. Pat.
27 Edw. I.
m. 31.

Scotland
subdued.

Though subdued, the spirit of the Scotch nation was not wholly broken. The severity of the English justiciary, Ormesby, and the exactions of the treasurer,

CHAP.
VII.

William
Wallace
relieves
the for-
tresses
of his
country.

Cressingham, rendered the yoke of the conqueror intolerable ; and William Wallace, the descendant of an ancient family, whose valour and skill will be remembered through all time in Scotch history, reanimated the spirits and rallied the scattered forces of his country. The English army under Warrenne, consisting of forty thousand men, having obtained a victory at Annandale, pushed forward to Stirling, where they were encountered by Wallace, on the banks of the Forth, and the greatest part of their number was pushed into the river at the edge of the sword. After this signal victory, Wallace, in his turn, became the invader ; and the north of England, as far as the borders of the county of Lancaster, was laid waste with fire and sword. The king, on receiving this disastrous news in Flanders, hastened back to England ; and having placed himself at the head of one hundred thousand men, of which our country furnished its full complement, he chased the invaders into Scotland, and inflicted upon them a signal overthrow at Falkirk. Wallace, aided by the son of Robert Bruce, still kept the field, and, by a kind of predatory warfare, rendered the conquest of Scotland any thing but secure.

1298-9.

Writs of
military
summons.

No cessation was allowed to the efforts, military and pecuniary, of the inhabitants of the north of England ; for, in the two following years, eight writs of military service were issued, appertaining to the county of Lancaster. The first directed the sheriff to proclaim the prorogation of the general military summons of the 26th September preceding : the second was a writ of military summons to Thomas, earl of Lancaster, requiring him to appear at York on the morrow of St. Martin : the third, addressed to the commissioners of array, ordering them to raise two thousand foot soldiers in Lancashire, to meet at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the eve of St. Katharine, to march against the Scots : the fourth, was a writ to the commissioners of array, indicating the deteriorated state of the coinage, in which it was announced, that if the soldiers levied by the preceding commissions should be unwilling to march on account of the bad money then current, (*p. v. malam monetam,*) or from the severity of the weather, the commissioners were to provide them a premium in addition to their pay : the fifth, was a summons to Henry earl of Lancaster to repair to the army : the sixth, a writ to Thomas de Banastre to raise two thousand infantry in Lancashire, to meet the king at Berwick-upon-Tweed : the seventh, a writ to the sheriff of Lancashire, directing that all prelates and other priests, and all widows and other women holding of the king, should send substitutes to Carlisle : and the eighth, a summons to Thomas, John, and Henry de Lancastre, to meet the king, to proceed against the Scots.

Rot.
Claus.
25 Edw. I.
m. 11. d.

In the following year, commissions were addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire, empowering him to summons all persons holding lands or rents of the value of forty pounds per annum and upwards, to meet the king at Carlisle ; and in the same year,

the commissioners of array called by various writs upon Robert de Holand, Mathew de Redman, Allan Norreys, John Genty^l, and Robert de Norreys, to raise in Lancashire, by separate levies, three thousand men, to meet the king at Carlisle on the Nativity of St. John Baptist, on the day after the Assumption. The oppressive nature of these ancient conscriptions may be collected from the royal proclamations of the same period, by which Jehan de Seint Jehan, (the king's lieutenant and and cheventayne,) in all matters relating to deeds of arms in Lancashire, &c., was empowered, along with the earl de Abindon, to amerce those refractory persons who refused to perform services, either in defence of the marches, or to act against the Scots.

The writs to the sheriff of Lancashire, in the two following years, relate principally to the assessment and collection of the fifteenths, which both the clergy and the laity were called upon to pay to the knights appointed to make the collections.

Rot. claus.
29 Edw. I.
m. 5. d.

Jehan de Seint Jehan having been superseded in his lieutenancy in Lancashire by John Butterte, letters of credence were addressed to the inhabitants, clerical and laical, requiring them to give full faith to the king's clerk, Ralph de Mouton, and to Richard le Brun, who were commissioned to declare to them certain weighty matters touching the safety of the country, not explained in the letters of credence, but which, it appears, related to the king's determination to undertake a fresh expedition against Scotland. One of the first consequences of this confidential communication was a call upon the commissioners of array, William de Dacre, Henry de Kygheley, and Robert de Hephale, requiring them to raise seven hundred men in Lancashire, and to send them to Lancaster after the feast of the Invention of the Cross; and all prelates, women, and others unfit to bear arms, but who were willing to pay the fine, (twenty pounds for a knight's fee, and so on in proportion to their possessions,) for the services done to the king in Scotland, were to appear before the treasurer at York on the morrow of the Ascension; or otherwise, by substitute, with horse and arms, at Berwick. Aided by a large army, and a no less powerful fleet, Edward marched victoriously through Scotland, and laid the country at his feet. Amongst his trophies, the gallant William Wallace became his prisoner, and, instead of obtaining that respect to which he was entitled by his courage and patriotism, he was conveyed in chains to London, where he was tried and executed as a traitor.

Rot. Pat.
31 Edw. I.
m. 46.

Rot. Pat.
31 Edw. I.
m. 28.

Rot. Pat.
31 Edw. I.
m. 28.

The disorganization of society produced by so much intestine war, exhibited itself on every hand. Crimes were greatly multiplied, and Peter de Badbate, Edmund Deyncount, William de Varasour, John de Island, and Adam de Middleton, were judges under a commission of *Trailbaston*, appointed to hear and determine all offences against the peace in the counties of Lancaster and Westmoreland, as well

Effects of
war.

Commis-
sion of
trailbas-
ton.

CHAP.
VII.

as in eight other counties. The number of offenders rendered necessary the utmost promptitude in the administration of justice ; and the proceedings of the judges, under these commissions, are said to have been so summary, as not to exceed the time in which their staff of justice, or baston, could be trailed round the room.*

Robert
Bruce.

One formidable enemy still remained in Scotland, viz. Robert Bruce, the grandson of that Robert who, in the time of Baliol, was a competitor for the crown. Animated by those principles of resistance to foreign sway which had inspired the breasts of so many of his countrymen, this ambitious young nobleman collected a strong army in Scotland, by means of which he was enabled to expel a large portion of the English from that country, and to drive their principal army across the borders. Edward, roused to desperation by this renewed revolt, when he considered his conquest secure, determined to take signal vengeance upon the Scottish nation.

Edward I.
at Pres-
ton.

On his march to the north, he took the route of Lancashire, and for some time fixed his head-quarters at Preston. From this place the king addressed a letter to his holiness the pope, complaining of the wrongs he had sustained from the archbishop of Canterbury, and claiming redress.

Rot.
Claus.
31 Edw. I.
m. 16. d.

The tidings of a new war were communicated to John de Lancastre, by a writ, dated the 5th of April, which recites, that “ Robertus de Brus,” late earl of Carrick, and his accomplices, have raised war against the king, with the intention of usurping the kingdom of Scotland. To resist this aggression, Henry de Percy was appointed commander-in-chief under the king, and John de Lancastre was required to assist him with all the horses and arms in his power. At the same time, two writs were addressed to the sheriff of Lancaster: the first, requiring him to make purveyance of corn, &c. for the king’s army, at the public cost ; and the second, a letter to the sheriff, archbishops, and other prelates, as well as to women who owed military service, ordering them to send their substitutes to Carlisle, in fifteen days from the Nativity of St. John Baptist, or to appear at the exchequer, and make fine for the same.

Rot.
Claus.
34 Edw. I.
11 m.

* According to Sir Edward Coke, the judges of trailbaston were a sort of Justices in Eyre ; and it is said, they had a baston, or staff, delivered to them as the badge of their office ; so that whoever was brought before them was *trailé ad baston, traditus ad baculum* ; whereupon they had the name of justices *de trail baston*, or *justiciarii ad tradendum offendentes ad baculum vel baston*. Their office was to make inquisition through the kingdom on all officers and others, touching extortion, bribery, and such like grievances ; of intruders into other men’s lands, barretors, robbers, and breakers of the peace, and divers other offenders ; by means of which inquisitions, some were punished with death, many by ransom, and the rest flying the realm, the land was quieted, and the king gained riches towards the support of his wars. *Mat. Westm. anno 1305*.—A commission of *trailbaston* was granted to Roger de Gray, and others, his associates, in the reign of king Ed. III. *Spelm.*

In the midst of all this hostility, the Scots and the English were not indisposed to indulge in their ancient games of the jousts and the tournaments. The indulgence in these pastimes was thought by the king to indicate a degree of levity and familiarity inconsistent with the relative situation of the two countries; and hence two proclamations were addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire, requiring him to announce, that any persons who should engage in these sports until the Scottish war was terminated, would be liable to arrest, and that their lands and goods would be seized into the king's hands.

CHAP.
VII.

Rot.
Claus.
34 Edw. I.
m. 5. d.

From Preston the king marched at the head of one of the most powerful armies ever seen in Lancashire, to Carlisle, and from thence into Scotland. The final conflict now approached. Bruce, who had procured himself to be proclaimed king, and had been crowned in the abbey of Scone by the bishop of St. Andrews, met the English army at Methven, in Perthshire, where a general engagement took place, which ended in the entire overthrow and dispersion of the Scots. A number of the most distinguished men in the country were taken by the English, and executed by order of Edward, as traitors; but Robert Bruce escaped with his life, and took shelter, along with a few of his followers, in the Western Isles.

Marches
against
Scotland.

Conquers
that coun-
try.

To complete the conquest of Scotland, Robert de Latham, Nicholas de Leyburn, Will. Gentill, Alan le Norreys, and John de Kirkeby, clerk, commissioners of array for the county of Lancaster, were ordered to levy one thousand foot soldiers in this county, one hundred and fifty of them from the liberty of Blackburnshire, and the remainder from the other parts of the county. This force, when collected, was ordered to advance in pursuit of Robt. de Brus, into the marches of Scotland, where he was lurking. But in the mean time, the king, in the midst of all his glory, was seized with a mortal sickness at Carlisle, and there he surrendered himself to the universal conqueror.

Death of
the king
in the
north.

One of the legacies left by Edward I. to his successor, was the recently subdued kingdom of Scotland; and, amongst the first acts of the new monarch, we find writs of military service addressed to the sheriffs of the counties of Lancaster, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, as well within their franchise as without, commanding them to assist the custos, Johannes de Britannia, earl of Richmond, the king's lieutenant in Scotland, with horses and arms, for the purpose of resisting the malice and insolence of "Robertus de Brus," and his accomplices. Summonses of a still more urgent nature were addressed in the following year to "Willielmus de Acre," "Mattheus de Redeman," and the sheriff of the county of Lancaster, urging them to assemble together, with the men of the county, as well horse as foot, and to take order for the defence of the Scotch marches, under the command of "Gilbertus de Clare," earl of Gloucester and Hereford.

Rot. Pat.
1 Ed. 11.
p. 1. m. 29.

Rot. Sec.
2 Ed. 11.
m. 13. d.
m 12.

CHAP.
VII.Rot. Scoc.
1 Ed. II.
m. 13.

The pay of the forces was made with so much irregularity as to disincline the conscripts to the service ; but in the year 1310, a commission of array was addressed to “ Robertus de Leyburne ” and “ Mattheus de Redman,” along with the sheriff of the county, ordering, that three hundred foot soldiers should be “ elected,” to muster on the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and from thence to march against the Scots ; their wages to be paid to them by the sheriff, from the day that they marched from the county of Lancaster, until their arrival at the place of muster.

Fresh mi-
litary le-
vies de-
manded
from Lan-
cashire.
Rot. Scoc.
7 Ed. II.
m. 1.

The war with the Scots, so long protracted, was now drawing to a crisis. Edward II. had placed himself at the head of the English army, and the commissioners of array called upon the inhabitants of Lancashire for a fresh levy of five hundred men, while Yorkshire was required to contribute four thousand, Derbysire one thousand, Nottinghamshire one thousand, Northumberland two thousand five hundred, and the other counties in a similar proportion, regulated, no doubt, in some degree, by their wealth and population. After due preparation, the two armies met at Bannockburn. At first the event of the contest seemed dubious, but the English having got involved amongst a number of covered pits prepared by Bruce for their reception, their forces fell into disorder ; and the disasters of years, suffered by the Scots during the reign of the first Edward, were retrieved in a single day. The throne of Scotland was re-established by this remarkable victory, Robert Bruce reaped the reward of his valour in the loyalty and affection of his people, and Edward returned to London to coerce his refractory barons, who appeared as little disposed to submit to his sway, as were the people he had so lately left in the north.

Preva-
lence of
crime in
the coun-
ty.Rot. Pat.
7 Ed. II.
p. 2. m. 6.Rot.
Claus.
8 Ed. II.
m. 14. d.

The description given of the state of the county of Lancaster, as well as of other parts of the country, at this period, in the royal proclamations, serves to shew to what an extent insubordination and lawless outrage were carried. According to these documents, malefactors of all classes, as well knights as others, were accustomed to assemble unlawfully by day and by night, in large bodies, and to commit assaults, and even murders, with impunity. To put an end to these excesses, commissioners were appointed in Lancashire, under the designation of conservators of the peace ; and as a healing measure, a letter of credence was issued by the government to “ Nigellus Owghulam,” chief of escheats, requiring him to obtain full faith for “ Edmundus le Botiller,” justiciar, “ Ricardus de Beresford,” chancellor, and “ Magister Walterus de Jeslep,” treasurer of Ireland, who were empowered to explain to the principal inhabitants certain matters relating to the king and the kingdom. Similar letters were also addressed to “ Walterus de Lacy,” “ Hugo de Lacy,” “ Thomas Botiller,” and others, whose influence was necessary to maintain

the public peace, under the combined pressure of war and of famine, with both of which the county was at that time afflicted.

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The tide of invasion seemed now about to pour from the north to the south, and, instead of the levies being raised to march into Scotland, a commission was appointed, whereby “Johannes de Maubray” was empowered to raise all the able-bodied men in Lancashire, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, for the purpose of resisting the Scots, in case they should invade this kingdom. Shortly after the institution of this commission, a command was issued to “Thomas” earl of Lancastre, and to one hundred and twenty-eight other individuals, usually considered barons, or tenants *in capite*, ordering them to appear at Newcastle, prepared with horses and arms, to proceed against “Robertus de Brns.” In the same year, a writ of summons was addressed to Thomas earl of Lancastre, and twelve other barons, convening them to meet at Nottingham, to hold a colloquium, to deliberate upon matters of state with the pope’s legate.

Rot.
Claus.
10 Ed. II.
m. 11. d.

Rot.
Claus.
10 Ed. II.
m. 6. d.

Rot.
Claus.
10 Ed. II.
m. 3. d.

The state of society in Lancashire at this juncture called loudly for the appointment and intervention of conservators of the public peace. A species of civil war existed in the heart of the county. Adam de Banistre, of the house and family of Thomas earl of Lancaster, in order to ingratiate himself with the king, and to avert the consequences of his own crimes, invaded the lands of the earl. Having erected the royal standard between the Ribble and the Mersey, in opposition to his feudal lord, he declared that the earl wished to control the king in the choice of his ministers, which he disapproved; and numbers of others, friends to high prerogative, embarked in his cause. Having entered the earl’s castles, they supplied themselves with money and arms, which had been deposited there for the use of the soldiers who were appointed to march against the Scots. In this way about eight hundred armed men were collected, when the earl, hearing of the hostile enterprise, immediately ordered his knights and vassals into the field. This force did not exceed six hundred men; but they marched without delay against the insurgents, and, having come up with them in the neighbourhood of Preston, they divided themselves into two bodies. The force under De Banistre did not wait to be attacked, but fell furiously upon the first division of the earl’s men, which began to give way, when, the second division coming up, the fortune of the day was changed, and Adam and his followers took to flight, many of them having been killed by wounds in their back, received in their precipitate retreat. For some time, De Banistre, their leader, concealed himself in his barn; but being closely beset by his enemies, and abandoning all hope of escape, he took courage from despair, and boldly opposed himself to his foes, of whom he killed several, and desperately wounded many others; at length, finding it impossible to take him alive, his assailants slew

Adam de
Banistre
takes the
field
against
the earl of
Lancas-
ter.

him, and, having cut off his head, presented it to the earl as a trophy. According to an ancient indictment, hereafter to be inserted, the battle between Adam de Banistre and his adherents, and the adherents of the earl of Lancaster, took place near Preston, in the valley of the Ribble; and the victors so far forgot their duty to their lord, and their allegiance to the king, that they entered the hundred of Leyland, and robbed and despoiled various of the inhabitants, of property to the amount of five thousand pounds—an immense sum in the fourteenth century, when, as we have seen, a bushel of wheat sold for nine-pence, and the yearly value of good arable land did not exceed sixpence per acre.

The necessities of the state still continued urgent, and a commission of array was issued, for levying the following bodies of foot soldiers in the north:—

In Lancashire	1000
Cumberland	1000
Northumberland	2000
Westmoreland	1000
Yorkshire	10,000

To support these enormous levies, it became necessary to resort to extraordinary means, and writs were addressed to the mayors of Lancaster, Preston, and Wigan, as well as to all the other principal towns in the kingdom, soliciting them to send the king as much money as they could possibly afford, to carry on the almost interminable war with Scotland. This corporate contribution, or “Loyalty Loan,” as it was probably called in that day, was independent of the collection of the eightieths, which was proceeding along with it contemporaneously; for we find in the records a writ, addressed to the collectors and assessors of the rates, directing them to stay the collection in Lancashire, as to those persons who had their property destroyed from the invasion of the Scots, but specifically providing that they alone should be exempted. The levy for the scutage, in respect of the general summons of the array against the Scots, was also continued, and fixed at the rate of two marks for each shield or knight’s fee, in Lancashire.

In the turbulent and disastrous reign of the second Edward, the invasion of the enemy from without was aggravated by the wars of the barons directed against the royal favourites within the kingdom. We have already seen,* in that department of our history of Lancashire which relates to its ancient barons, that Thomas earl of Lancaster, after having headed the barons against Piers Gaviston, made a further attempt, by force of arms, to remove the De Spencers from the royal councils. While this war was pending, a commission was issued to arrest and take “Thomas” earl of Lancaster, and ten others, his principal associates in rebellion; and a writ

* Page 127—130.

was at the same time addressed by the king to the sheriffs of Nottingham and Derby, commanding him to raise the “hue-and-cry” against the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, and other rebels, their adherents, and to bring them to condign punishment. The fatal battle of Boroughbridge surrendered the earl of Lancaster, and his followers, into the king’s possession; and the hand of the executioner, with the delinquent’s face turned to Scotland, to indicate that he was in league with the Scotch rebels, terminated his career, without allaying the general discontent.

Although it does not appear that the county of Lancaster was the actual scene of any of the conflicts between the barons and the king’s forces, yet levies of troops were called for in the county, to aid the earl’s enterprise; and, in a memorandum of the delivery of the prisoners confined in the king’s marshalsea, and in the castle of York, some of whom had been taken in arms against the king, and others had surrendered at discretion, in all about two hundred principal men, it is stated, that “Nicholas de Longford,” of the county of Lancaster, was fined two hundred marks, and that “Ricardus de Pontefracte,” “Robertus de Holand,” “Johannes de Holand,” and “Ricardus de Holand,” found security for their good behaviour. There is also preserved an ancient inquisition, taken at Wigan, of which the following is a copy, tending still further to shew, that neither the laity nor the clergy of the county of Lancaster were indifferent spectators of the contest by which the kingdom was at that time agitated:—

Rot. plac. coram.
R. Mich.
17 Edw. II.
p. 2. m. 19. } INQUISITION taken before the king at Wigan, in the county of
Lancaster, in his presence, and at his command.

WEST DERBY.—The jurors of the Wapentake present, that, “*Gilbertus de Sutherworth*,” 15 Ed. II., sent two men at arms at his own expense, to help the Earl of Lancaster against the King; viz. “*Johannes filius Roberti le Tuillour de Wynequik*,” and “*Ricardus de Plumpton*,” and that he also abetted many other persons in aiding the Earl against the King.

The said “*Gilbertus*,” being in court, puts himself upon the country, and is acquitted by the jury.

The jurors present, that, “*Robertus de Cliderhou*,” parson of the Church of Wygan, who, for thirty years, was a clerk of the Chancery, and afterwards Escheator “*citra Trentam*,” has committed the following offences:—

That he sent two men-at-arms, well armed, viz. “*Adam de Cliderhou*,” his son, and “*Johannes fil. Johannis de Knolle*,” to assist the Earl of Lancaster against the King, and with them four able-bodied foot soldiers, armed with

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VII.

Rot.
Claus.
15 Ed. II.
m. 17.

His fate.

1321

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VII.

swords, daggers, bows and arrows. That, on a certain high festival, he preached to his parishioners and others, in his Church at Wigan, before all the people, telling them that they were the liege men of the Earl, and bound to assist him against the King, the cause of the Earl being just, and that of the King unjust. By means of which harangues, many persons were incited to turn against the King, who otherwise would not have done so.

And the said "*Robertus*," being present in Court, and arraigned, says, that on a certain feast day, when preaching in his Church, he exhorted his parishioners to pray for the King, and for the peace of the kingdom, and for the Earls and Barons of the land; and he denies sending any men at arms or foot soldiers; and he puts himself upon the Country,—he is found guilty by the Jury, of the offences charged in the indictment,—and is committed to prison.

Afterwards, thirteen Manucaptors undertake to produce him *on Monday after the Octaves of St. Martin*, under the penalty of 1,000 marks, and they also undertake to answer for any fine, &c.

On which day, the said "*Robertus*" appears in court, and submits to a fine of £200.

Though a truce had been concluded between England and Scotland, the war was continued with little intermission; and in a commission for raising fresh levies in this and the other counties, it is said, that, after the conclusion of the truce, the Scots had invaded the kingdom, and that Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, and his adherents, ("whose malice is now quelled,") had entered into treasonable conspiracy with them. The commissioners of array for the county of Lancaster, under the commission, were, "Richard de Houghton," "Johan Travers," and "Thomas de Iathum," to whom the duty was confided of arming the forces of the county, and marching them to their destination.

Rot. Pat.
16 Ed. 11.
p. 1. m. 5.

Rot.
Gaus.
17 Ed. 11.
m. 10. d.
Rot. Pat.
17 Ed. 11.
p. 1. m. 15.
d.

The disorders of the times had filled the prisons of Lancashire with inmates, and writs were addressed from Kirkham, to the constables of the castles of Liverpool, Hornby, and Clitheroe, (but not of Lancaster,) directing them to keep the prisoners in their respective castles, in safe custody. At the same time a commission was issued, under the royal seal, whereby Johannes de Weston, jun., marshal of the household, was empowered to pursue, arrest, and take "*Willielmus de Bradshagh*" and "*Ricardus de Holland*," the leaders of disorderly bodies of armed men, who committed great depredations in the county of Lancaster. This *Willielmus de Bradshagh* soon after appears to have been restored to the royal favour; for in the following year we find a writ addressed to him, stating, that the king has ordained, that "*Johan*," earl of Warrenne, and others, shall proceed to Lancashire with an

Rot. Vas.
18 Ed. 11.
m. 11. d.

armed force, for its protection, (against the Scotch invaders, no doubt,) and that “Bradshagh” shall be one of the commissioners of public protection.

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VII.

The return of the sheriff to a writ issued for that purpose, serves to shew, that the great landed proprietors were, at the early part of the fourteenth century, very few in number: it is as follows:—

“ In Lancashire, { 13 Knights and
 { 51 Men at arms.

“ All the above hold lands to the amount of £15 per annum.”

According to a presentment made in the hundred of West Derby, it would appear that the sheriffs, in these days, were often remiss in their duty, and that “Willielmus de Gentil,” and “Henricus de Malton,” his predecessor in office, suffered certain notorious thieves to be set at liberty upon manucaption, though their crimes were not mainpernable according to the law; and that owing to the laxity of their administration of the law, several persons in the wapentake avoided making presentment of other notorious thieves, to the injury of the peace, and the danger of the property of their honest and well-disposed neighbours. Nor was this all; they returned certain persons as jurors, and on inquests, without giving them warning; and “Gentil” so far presumed upon his office, as to arrogate to himself the election of knights of the shire; “whereas,” as the instrument charging him with these manifold delinquencies very properly observes, “they ought to have been elected by the county.”

Present-
ment
against
the sheriff.

Rot. Plac.
17 Ed. II.
m. 72.

The intrigues of the barons were still actively at work against the king and the royal favourites, the De Spencers; and Henry, earl of Lancaster, the brother and heir of earl Thomas, entered into that conspiracy by which Edward was dethroned. The ill fortune of this weak monarch having precipitated him from a throne to a prison, the earl of Lancaster became his gaoler in the castle of Kenilworth. The mildness and humanity of the earl’s character ill suited him for this office, which he was ordered by Mortimer, the gallant of the perfidious queen, to surrender into the hands of Mautravers and Gournay, under whose direction, if not actually by their hands, the wretched Edward, after having been exposed to every possible insult and privation, was thrown upon a bed, and a red-hot iron having been forced up his body, he was consigned to death, under agonies so excruciating, that his shrieks proclaimed the atrocious deed to all the guards of the castle.

The king
dethroned.

The earl
of Lan-
caster pri-
soner.

Edward
barba-
rously
murdered.

One of the first acts of Edward III. was, to reverse the attainder of Thomas earl of Lancaster, and to place his brother Henry in possession of the princely inheritance of that illustrious house.*

But here we must pause, to take a survey of the landed property of the county of Lancaster, and the tenures by which it was held in the early part of the fourteenth

* See page 134.

century, as deduced in the "TESTA DE NEVILL." Of this book it is said, in the Records published by his majesty's commissioners, that "in the king's remembrancer's office of the court of exchequer, are preserved two ancient books, called the Testa de Nevill, or Liber Feodorum, which contain principally an account—

" 1st. Of fees holden either immediately of the king, or of others who held of the king *in capite*.

" 2d. Of serjeanties holden of the king.

" 3d. Of widows and heiresses of tenants *in capite*, whose marriages were in the gift of the king.

" 4th. Of churches in the gift of the king, and in whose hands they were.

" 5th. Of escheats, as well of the lands of Normans as others, in whose hands the same were.

" 6th. Of thanage, forestry, and other peculiar services and tenures.

" The entries specifically entitled *Testa de Nevill*, form comparatively a very small part of the whole. A part of a roll, bearing that name, is extant in the chapter-house at Westminster, consisting of five small membranes, containing ten counties, of which Lancashire is one. The roll appears to be of the age of Edwd. I., and these books to have been compiled near the close of the reign of Edwd. II., or the commencement of that of Edward III., partly from inquests on presentments, and partly from inquisitions on writs to sheriffs."

The following is a tolerably copious extract and analysis of the contents of the Testa de Neville, so far as relates to the county of Lancaster, which may answer any popular purpose, reserving the official return itself for the Appendix to these volumes :—

1. FEES HELD IN CHIEF OF THE KING, &c.

Fees in
chief of
the king.

" Agnes de Clopwayt, in *Blothelay*, Alex de Kyrkeby, Ormus de Kelet, Henr. de Waleton, in *Waleton*, Adam Girard, Luke Pointus de Dereby, in *Dereby*, Adam de Helmesdal, in *Crosschy*, Quenilda de Kirkdale, in *Forneby*, Robert Banastr, Robert de Clyton, in *Leyland Hundred*, Alward de Aldholm, in *Vernet*, Hug. le Norrays, in *Blakerode*, Edwin Carpenter, in *Kuleweldesir*, Rich de Hilton, in *Salford Hundred*, Alan de Singleton, in *Blackburn Hundred*, and *Amounderness*, Rich. Fitz Ralph, in *Singleton*, John de Oxeclive, in *Oreumbe*, Roger Carpenter, in *Lancaster*, Robert Seertne, in *Sutherton*, Ra. Barun, John Oxeclive, *Oxeclive*, Robert, the constable of Hofferton, in *Hofferton*, Adam Fitz Gilemichel, in *Seline*, Rog. Carpenter, in *Lancaster*, Rob. de Shertnay, in *Skerton*, Rad. Balrun, in *Balrun*, W. Gardinar, in *Lancaster*, Walter Smith, in *Hefeld*, Rog. Gernet, in *Halton*, Will. Gernet, in *Heschin*, Will. & Benedict de Gersingham, in *Gressingham*, Margery, widow of Barnard Fitz Barnard, in *Gressingham*.

“ The Earl of Ferrars, in the wapentake of *Derby*, (and he has sub-tenants,) Almaric Butler, who has the following sub-tenants—Gilb. de Kulchet, in *Culcheth*, Alan de Rixton, in *Richston* and *Astley*, Will. de Aderton, in *Atherton*, Robt. de Mamelisbury, in *Sonky*, Roger de Sonky, in *Penketh*, Earl de Ferrars in *Hole Hulesale* and *Wyndul*, Will. de Waleton & Will. de Lydyathe in *Lydiat* & *Hekagard*, Rich. Blundea in *Hym* and *Barton*, Ad. de Molinous & Robt. Fitz Robt. in *Thorinton*; the heir of Robert Banaster in *Makerfeld*, *Waleton* & *Blakeburnshire*, and has sub-tenants; Will. de Lanton & Rich. de Golborn in *Langton*, *Keman* & *Herbury*; the Earl of Lincoln (Randolph Earl of Chester) in *Appleton* & *Cronton*, of the Earl Ferrar’s fee; of the same fee are, Will. de Rerisbury in *Sutton* & *Eccleston*, Robt. de Lathun in *Knowsley*, *Huyton*, and *Torbock*, Ad. de Molineus in *Little Crossby*, Robt. de Rokeport, Rog. Gernet and Thom de Bethem in *Kyrkeby*, Sim. de Halsale in *Maghul*, Will. de Waleton in *Kirkdale*, Will. le Koudre in *North Meols*, Thom de Bethum & Robt. de Stokeport in *Raven Meols*.

“ Waren de Waleton in *Waleton*, Ric. Banastre, Walt. de Hole, Ric. de Thorp, Will. de Brexin, Thom de Gerstun, Sim. del Pul in *Bretherton*, Robt. de Cleyton in *Clayton* & *Penwortham*, the abbot of Cokersand in *Hutton*, Robt. Russel in *Langton*, *Leyland*, & *Eccleston*, Robt. Banastre’s heir in *Sherington*, *Charnock*, and *Welch Whittle*.

“ John Punchardun in *Little Mitton*, Ad. de Blackburn in *Wisewall* and *Hupton*, Henr. Gedleng in *Tunley*, *Culdecoats*, & “ Sn. Odiswrth,” Ad. de Preston in *Entwistle*, Ra. de Mitten in *Altham*, *Mearley*, & *Livesay*, Robt. de Cestr’ in *Downham*, John de Grigleston in *Kokerig*, Will. Marshall in *Little Mearley*, Gilb. Fitz Henry in *Rushton*, Hugo Fitun in *Harewood*, Thos. de Bethum in *Wurton*, Will. Deps’ in *Preesall* & *Newton*; Ric. de Frekelton in *Frekelton*, *Quintinghay*, *Newton* & *Eccleston*, Gilb. de Moels, Rog. de Nettelag & Will. de Pul in *Frekelton*, Alan de Singilton & Iwan de Frekelton in *Frekelton*, Waren de Quittinghay & Robt. de Rutton in *Quittinghay*, Alan de Singilton in *Quittinghay*, *Newton*, & *Elswick*, Warin de Wytingham in *Elswick*—The heir of Theobald Walter in *Wytheton* & *Tretele*, John de Thornbul, Will. de Prees, Rog. de Notesage, Ad. de Bretekirke, Will. de Kyrkeyn, Robt. Fitz Thomas, & Will. Fitz William in *Thisteldon*, *Preesall*, & *Greenhulgh*. Will. de Merton in *Marton*; Rog. Gernet, Thos. de Bethun, and Robt. Stokeport in *Bustard Rising*.

“ Adam de Bury in *Bury*, Robt. de Midelton in *Middleton*, Gilb. de Warton in *Atherton*, the heir of Rich. Hilton in *Pendleton*; Thomas de Gretley’s tenants, Gilbert Barton in *Barton*, Matthew Haversage in *Withington*, Robt. de Lathum in *Childwall*, *Parbold*, and *Wrightington*, Rich. le Pierpoint in *Rumworth*, Will. de Worthinton in *Worthington*, Rog. de Pilkinton in *Pilkington*, Thos. le Gretley in *Lindeshey*, in the honor of Lancaster.

“ Will. de Lancaster in *Ulverston*, Matthew de Redeman & Robt. de Kymyers in *Yeland*, Lambert le Muleton in *Routhelive*, Rog. Gernet in *Little Furleton*, Robt. de Stokeport in *Gt. Farlton*, Ad. de Eccleston, Will. de Molineus, Hug. de Mitton, Ric. de Katherale, Hen. de Longeford in *Eccleston*, *Leyrebreck*, and *Cutterall*, Ad. de Werninton in *Wernington*, Hug. de Morwyc in *Furleton* & *Cunsfield*, Henr. de Melling in *Melling*, Rich. de Bikerstat in *Helmes* & *Stotfuldechage*; Adam Fitz Richard in *Bold* & *Lawerke*, Rich. Fitz

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VII.Fees in
chief of
the king.

Martin in *Ditton*, Rich. Fitz Thurstan in *Thingwall*, Thos. de Bethum in *Bootle*, Rich. de Frequelton in *Thorp*, Rog. de Lacy, 5 knts. fees of the fee of Clithero, Walter Fitz Osbert, Will. de Wynewyck, Peter de Stalum, Elya de Hoton, the heir of Rog. de Hoton, Alan Fitz Richard & John de Billesburgh, *tenants of the king, but no place mentioned*; Will. de Nevilla in *Kaskenemor*, Morferth de Hulton in *Pendleton*, Ric. de Middleton in *Chetham*, Edwin Carpentar in *Cadwalesate*, Ada de Prestwyche in *Prestwyche & Failesworth*, Hugh de Blakerode, by charter in *Blakerode*, Elias de Pennellbury in *Pendlebury* and *Chadderton*, Robt. de Clifton in *Clifton*, Gospatric de Cherleton in *Chorleton*, Henry de Chetham in *Chetham*, Will. de Bothelton, Gilbt. de Tonge in *Tonge*, Rich. de Edburgham, the Abbot of Furness in *Furness*, Ad. Fitz Orm in *Middleton*, Walt. de Parles in *Pulton*, Will. de Hest in *Middleton*, the Prior of Lancaster in *Newton & Aldeliff*, the Burgesses of Lanc. in *Lancaster*, Nich. de Verdon in *Kirkby*, Jarnord de Hilton in *Pendleton*.*

2. SERJEANTIES HOLDEN OF THE KING.

Serjean-
ties.

“Orm de Kellet, in *Kellet*, Rich. de Hulton, *Wapentake of Salford*, Roger Carpentar in *Lancaster*, Roger Gernet in *Fishwick*, *Lonesdale*, & *Wapent. of Derby*, Alan de Singleton, Will. de Newton; Ad. Fitz Orm in *Kellet*, Thos. Gernet in *Hesham*, John de Oxecleve in *Oxcliffe*, Robt. de Overton in *Overton*, Rog. de Skerton, Rog. Blundus in *Lancaster*, le Gardiner in *Lancaster*, Rad. de Bollern in *Bolrun*, Thos. Fitz Ada in *Gersingham*, Will. & Benedict, in *Gersingham*, Margery, widow of Bernard Fitz Bernard; Walter Underwater holds *Milneflet*. Ad. Fitz Richard, in *Singleton*, by serjeanty of *Amounderness*, “Willoch’ & Neuton” in *Newton*, Ad. de Kelleth, son of Orm in *Kellet*, Henr. de Waleton in *Walton*, *Wavertree* & *Newsham’s*, Edwin Carpentar in *Cadwalslete*, Hamo de Macy & Hugo de Stotford in *Scotforth*, Rog. White & Gilbert Fitz Matthew in *Lancaster*, Will. Fitz Dolfin & Will. Fitz Gilbert in *Gersingham*. The places are not mentioned after the following names: Henry Fitz Siward, Robt. de Middleton, Rich. Fitz Henry, Gilbt. de Croft, Hugo de Croft, Robt. Pierpoint, Adam de Relloc, & Rog. Fitz John; Roger Gernet in *Hulton*, Rog. le Clerk in *Fishwick*, Baldewin de Preston in *Fishwick*, John Fitz John in *Fishwick*, Alan and Rich. de la More in *Fishwick*, Rog. Fitz Viman in *Hesham*, Thomas Gernet in *Hesham*, John de Toroldesholm in *Torrisholm*, Adam Gerold in *Derby*, Ad. de Moldhal in *Crosby*, Robert de Curton in *Querton*, Rog. de Assart in *Fishwick*, Will. Wachet in *Fishwick*, Will. & Agnes de Ferar, *Salford*, *Clayton*, and *Newshams*, Gervas Fitz Simon in *Oxcliffe*, Abbot of Cockersaud in *Bolrun*, Brothers of St. Leonard at York in *Bolrun*, the widow Christiana de Gersingham, Robt. & Will. de Bolrun the Prior of Lancaster, Will. le Gardiner & Adam Gernet in *Bolrun*, Rog. Fitz William, Will. Fitz Thomas, Will. & Matilda de Parles in *Torrisholme*, Rad. Bolun in *Bol’*, Margery del Beck in *Halghton*, Robert Seertne in *Sutherton*.

* The “Testa de Nevill” mentions several tenants in chief, whose lauds, though held of the honor, are not in the county of Lancaster, and which are omitted here.

3. WIDOWS AND HEIRESSES OF TENANTS IN CAPITE, WHOSE MARRIAGES WERE IN THE GIFT OF THE KING.*

CHAP.
VII.

“ Alicia dr. of Galfr. de Gersingham, Christiana dr. of same Alicia & Thomas de Gersingham, Lady Elewisa de Stutevill, Oliva, wid. of Rog. Montbegon, Quenilda wid. Rich. Walens. Margaret wid. Ad. de Gerstan, Waltania, wid. Rich. Bold, Beatrix de Milton, Quenilda, wid. Rog. Gernet, Matilda de Thorneton, Avicia wid. Henr. de Stotford, Avicia wid. Rog. de Midelton, Eugenia wid. Will. de Routhclive, Eva de Halt, Matilda dr. Nicholas de Thoroldeholm, Alicia the wid. of Nicholas, Emma the wid. of Nicholas, Sarra de Boterhelton, Alicia wid. Rich. Fitz Robert, Cecilia wid. Turstan Banastr, Quenilda dr. Richd. Fitz Roger, Matilda de Stokeport, Lady Ada de Furneys; wid. of Gamell de Boelton, Matilda de Kellet, Agnes de Hesham, widow of Hugo de Oxeclive, wid. Will. Gernet.

Widows
and hei-
resses at
the king's
disposal.

4. CHURCHES IN THE GIFT OF THE KING, &c.

- “ Lancaster; earl Roger de Poitiers gave it to the Abbot of Sees.
 “ Preston; King John gave it to Peter Rossinol, who died, and the present King Henry gave it to Henry nephew of the Bishop of Winton. Worth 59 marks *per an.*
 “ St. Michael upon Wyre; the son of Count de Salvata had it by gift of the present King, and he says, that he is elected into a bishoprick, and that the church is vacant, and worth 30 marks *per an.*
 “ Kyrkeham; King John gave 2 parts of it to Simon Blundell, on account of his custody of the son and heir of Theobald Walter. Worth 24 marks.

Churches
in the
king's
gift.

5. ESCHEATS OF THE LANDS OF NORMANS AND OTHERS.

Escheats.

“ Merton, Aston, ‘ Henry de Nesketon holds of the king’s escheats in the counties of Warwick & Leicester, Nottingham and Derby, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland.’ Fourteen bovates of land in Haskesmores, which Willm. de Nevill held as escheats of our lord the king.

“ Hugo le Norreys holds a carucate of land in Blakerode, which is an escheat of the king, to whom he pays a yearly rent of 20s.

* See Chap. II. on Feudal Tenures, “ Marcheta Mulierum,” p. 81.—If the land-holder left only daughters, the king had the profits of relief and wardship; and had also, if they were under the age of fourteen, the right of disposing of them in marriage. This power was said to be vested in the king, in order to prevent the heiresses that were his tenants, from marrying persons that were of doubtful affection to him, or that were incapable and unfit to do the services belonging to the land. He had also a power of disposing of his male wards in marriage, whose parents had died when they were under twenty-one, though without such good reasons for it. But this power of disposing of wards of either sex in marriage, as well as the right of wardships, was afterwards very much abused, and was therefore taken away by the statute of 12 Car. II., together with the tenure itself by military, or (as it was usually called) knight’s service.

CHAP.
VII.

6. THANAGE,* FORESTRY, AND OTHER PECULIAR SERVICES AND TENURES.

Peculiar
services
and te-
nures.

“ Thomas & Alicia de Gersingham, by keeping the king’s hawks in Lonsdale ; Luke Pierpoint, by keeping an aery ; Adam de Hemelesdale, by constabulary at Crosby ; Quenilda de Kirkdale, by conducting royal treasure ; Richd. Fitz Ralph, by constabulary of Singleton ; John de Oxeclive, by being carpenter in Lancaster castle ; Adam Fitz Gil-mighel, by being the king’s carpenter ; Roger Carpentar, by being carpenter in Lancaster castle ; Rad. Barun, by being mason in Lancaster castle ; Rad. Babrum, the same ; Walter, son of Walter Smith, by forging iron instruments ; Roger Gernet, by being chief forester ; Willm. Gernet, by the service of meeting the king on the borders of the county with his horse and white rod, and conducting him into and out of the county ; he holds 2 carucates of land in *Heskin* ; Willm. & Benedict de Gersingham, by forestry ; Gilbert Fitz Orm, by paying annually 3d., or some spurs to Benedict Gernett, the heir of Roger de Heton, in thanage ;

* THANAGE SERVICE.—Thane, from the Saxon *thenian*, *ministrare*, was the title of those who attended the Saxon kings in their courts, and who held their lands immediately of those kings ; and therefore they were promiscuously called *thani et servientes regis*, though, not long after the Conquest, the word was disused ; and instead thereof, those men were called *Barones Regis*, who, as to their dignity, were inferior to earls, and took place after bishops, abbots, barons, and knights. There were also *thani minores*, and these were likewise called barons : these were, lords of manors, who had a particular jurisdiction within their limits, and over their own tenants in their own courts, which to this day are called Courts Baron : but the word signifies sometimes a nobleman, sometimes a freeman, sometimes a magistrate, but, more properly, an officer or minister of the king. “ Edward King grete mine Biscops, and mine Earles, and all mine Thynes, on that shiren, wher mine Prestes in Paulus Minister habband land.”—*Chart. Edw. Conf. Pat. 18 H. VI. m. 9. per Inspect.*

In an Anglo-Saxon writ of William the First, quoted by Spelman from an Abbotsbury MS. the term *Thegena* occurs in the same sense.

In *thanage of the king*, signified a certain part of the king’s lands or property, whereof the ruler or governor was called thane.—*Cowell*.

Buchanan says, In former times there was no name of honour higher than the order of knighthood, except that of thane, which meant the prefect or governor of a country, and judge of capital offences ; which, I understand, is still observed by the Danes.—*Hist. Scot. fol. 59. 20.*

In the early periods of the history of this country, the payments of the thanes were made regularly into the public treasury by the sheriffs, distinctly in the name of this class ; hence we find, that in 13 Henry III. the thanes of the county of Lancaster, through the sheriff, paid a composition of fifty marks, to be excused from the talliage or assessment, which the king, in the exercise of his absolute authority, had imposed upon his people.—Thayni de Comitatu Lancastriæ, reddunt compotum de l marcis, ut quieti sint hac vice de tallagio, quod Rex super eos assidere præcepit. *Mag. Rot. 13 Hen. III. titulo Lancastriae*. Idem Vicecomes (sc. Willelmus de Vesci) reddit compotum de quater xx. & xvi. libris, de Dono Militum & Tainorum. *Mag. Rot. 5 Hen. II. Rot. 2. b. Tit. Northumberland Nova Placita & Novæ Conventiones*. In 3 John, the “ Theigni and fermarii” of the honor of Lancaster, had paid a composition of fifty marks to be exonerated from crossing the sea. (*Mag. Rot. 3 John. Rot. 20. a.*)

Heir of Robt. Fitz Barnard, in thanage; Rog. de Leycester, by paying 8s. & 2 arrows yearly; Adam Fitz Rice & Alan Fitz Hagemund, in drengage; Richd. de Gerardin, in drengage;* Gillemuth de Halitton, in drengage; Adam de Glothie, Will. de Nevilla, Reynier de Wambwalle, Gilbert de Norton, Rog. de Midelton, Adam de Pikinton, Will. de Redeclive, Adam de Prestwich, Elias de Penilbury, Will. & Rog. Fitz William, Henr. de Chetham, Alured de Ives, Thomas de Burnul, Adam de Pemberton, Adam de Rulling, Gilbert de Croft, Gilbert de Kelleth, Matell de Kelleth, Thos. Gerneth, William de Hest, and William, son of Rich. de Tatham, all in thanage; John de Thoroldesholm, by lardernery; Rog. de Skerton, by provostry; Robt. de Oveston, by provostry; Rog. White and Edward Carpenter, by Carpentry; Roger Fitz John, by making the king's iron ploughs; Will. Fitz Matthew, by gardenry; Rad. de Botran, by masonry; the burgesses of Lancaster, in free-burgage and by royal charter; the Prior and monks of Seaton, by royal charter; Thomas Fitz Adam, Will. Fitz Dolfin, & Willm. Fitz Gilbert, by forestry; Peter de Mundevill, by service of one "berachet" of one colour; prior of Wingal, by he knows not what service; Lady Hillaria Trussebut, by no service, and she knows not by what warrant; Henr. de Waleton, by being head serjeant or bailiff of the hundred of Derbyshire; Galfr. Balistrar', by presenting two cross-bows to the king; Will. Fitz William, by presenting one *brachet*, one *velosa*, and two *lintheamina*; the serjeanty of Hetham, which Roger Fitz Vivian holds, by blowing the horn before the king at his entrance and exit from the county of Lancaster; Thomas Gernet, in Hesham, by sounding the horn on meeting the king on his arrival in those parts; Will. Gresle, by presenting a bow without string, a quiver, twelve arrows, and one *buzon*; Will. Fitz Waukelin, by presenting one soaring hawk; Hervi Gorge, by presenting one plough, one *linthola*, one *velusa*, and one *auricular*; Roger and Hugh de Auberville, by keeping one hawk."

In addition to these peculiar services and tenures of the feudal times, many of which sound strangely in modern ears, several religious houses are enumerated which held in pure frank alms; and a still larger number of persons who held by donation, in consideration of annual rents, as will be seen on reference to the "TESTA DE NEVILL."

* See chapter on Feudal Tenures, "Drenches," p. 82.

Chap. VIII.

Representative history of the county of Lancaster—Hitherto neglected.—Ancient constitution of Parliaments.—The dawn of parliamentary representation.—The reform parliament of Oxford, called *parliamentum insanum*.—First appointment of knights of the shire.—Constitution of the parliament of Oxford.—Its acts.—First writ for the payment of members of parliament.—Opposition given to the ancient parliamentary reform.—Borough members first sent to parliament.—How elected.—First members for the county of Lancaster, and for its boroughs.—First parliamentary return for Lancashire, extant.—First parliamentary writ of summons for Lancashire, extant.—Returns in the reign of Edward I.—Number of counties, boroughs, &c. then returning members.—Duration of the session of parliament.—Frequent parliaments.—Members returned for the county of Lancaster in the reign of Edward II.—Lancashire borough returns in this reign.—The high sheriff of Lancashire assumes the power to elect members for the county.—Presentment against him for this and other offences.—Lancashire county members in the reign of Edward III.—The duration of parliaments.—False return for the county made by the under-sheriffs.—The king, and not the commons, decides on disputed elections.—Peers of parliament temporal and spiritual.—The boroughs of Lancashire cease to return members.—The reason assigned.—Payment of the wages of members of parliament.—Returns in the reign of Richard II.—Writ of summons, not to the sheriff, but to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster.—Members for the county in the reign of Henry IV.—The lack-learning parliament.—Lancashire members in the reign of Henry V.—of Henry VI.—Qualification of electors for knights of the shire fixed.—County members in the reign of Edward IV.—Returns lost from 17 Edward IV. to 33 Henry VIII.—County members from 1 Edward VI. to 16 Charles I.—The ancient Lancashire boroughs, consisting of Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan, resume the elective franchise 1 Edward VI.—Newton and Clitheroe added to the boroughs of Lancashire.—Nomination boroughs.—Dame Packington's nominees.—Claim of the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster to nominate members for Leicester.—Representation of Lancashire during the commonwealth. List of knights of the shire for the county of Lancaster, from the Restoration to the present time. Political character of the county representation. Alterations made in the representation of the county and boroughs of Lancashire by the Reform Bill of 1831.

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VIII.

Representative
history of
Lancashire
hitherto
neglected.



WE have now arrived at that period when the representative system began to prevail in the English parliament, and when this county, by its freeholders and burgesses, obtained the privilege of returning members to the senate, charged with the duty of making known the public will in that assembly, in order to promote the interest of the great community for which it legislates. None of the English counties presents a more interesting representative history than the county of Lancaster; and yet this subject has hitherto been either entirely neglected, or has been treated in so vague and desultory a manner,

as to have neither uniformity nor connexion. To supply this deficiency, much labour has been required in examining and collating the public records; but that labour has been amply rewarded by the mass of facts which these documents contain, and by the satisfaction which is generally found to flow from the fountain head of authentic information.

So early as the Saxon heptarchy, a species of parliament existed, as we have already seen, under the designation of the Witena-Gemot, or "Council of Wise Men," by whom the laws were enacted. This assembly consisted of the comites or earls, the hereditary representatives of counties, assisted by the prelates and abbots, and the tenants *in capite* of the crown by knight's service. The disposition of such an assembly would naturally incline them to sanction the edicts of the sovereign; and it is highly probable that his will generally served as their law.

Ancient
parlia-
ments.

After the Conquest, the first William, and his immediate descendants, called to their "Great Council," the Norman barons and the dignified clergy, with the military tenants. This council, or "King's Court," as it was called, (the term Parliament not having then come into use,) assembled three times in the year, namely, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

The barons and other tenants in chief of the king, enumerated in Domesday Book, amount to about seven hundred. These persons possessed all the land of England in baronies, except that part which the king reserved in his own hands, and which was called "Terra Regis," and has since been called the "ancient demesne" of the crown. These tenants in chief, *per baroniam*, as well the few who held in socage as those who held by military service, composed the great council, or parliament, in those times; and were summoned by the king, though they had a right to attend without summons. The landowners of the second, third, and other inferior classes, being all tenants, or vassals, of this upper class of landholders, though by free and honourable tenures, similar to those by which their lords themselves held of the king, were bound by the decisions of their upper lords. The landed interest alone was represented in the national councils; there were at that time no representatives, either of the cities, or boroughs, or of the trading interest, which were considered too insignificant to be represented in the great council.* The representation of such places was an innovation introduced in the early part of the fourteenth century by Simon de Montfort, and the reforming barons of his day.

It is true that these barons were actuated in some degree by ambitious motives, and that their conduct partook of the revolutionary turbulence of the age in which they lived; but they were the legitimate descendants of those illustrious patriots, who wrung from king John the charter of British freedom. The reforms they introduced

The first
dawn of
parlia-
mentary
reform.

* Archæologia, vol. ii. p. 310.

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were parts of the same system; the one the natural effect of the other, and both flowing from that spirit of "popular encroachment," which does not, and which ought not, to rest, till its fair claims are satisfied. In this way the dictation of the barons, and the discontents of the subordinate orders of society, were overcome; and, though in an age of comparative darkness, Edward I., the "Justinian of England," whose sagacity enabled him to mark the signs of the times, did not hesitate to declare in his writs to the sheriffs for the return of burgesses to parliament, "that it was a most equitable rule, that that which concerns all should be approved of by all." The best security against undue democratical encroachment, is to be found in the concession of those reasonable immunities which time and circumstances render necessary to the improved state of society. By this temperate extension of the popular rights, the visionary projects of John Ball and Wat Tyler, which soon after arose, were defeated; and the representative system of England has remained ever since essentially unaltered, till an enlargement of the elective franchise was rendered necessary by the altered state of society in commerce and in manufactures. That five centuries more will pass over before any new change will be required in the constitution of parliament, it would be presumptuous to declare; but all history bears out the fact, that the best security against frequent changes is to be found in those large and liberal grants to popular claims, which satisfy the reasonable, and withdraw from the schemes of the visionary all the support they derive from public sympathy, when mixed up with real and generally admitted grievances. It is equally demonstrable from historical experience, that danger to the stability of a government never arises from timely reforms, cheerfully acquiesced in on the part of the governing powers, but that the great danger consists in a pertinacious resistance of those ameliorations.

If the ancient house of Lancaster, instead of aiding the barons in their efforts to establish the representative system in England, seized upon and appropriated the estates of the principal of them (the earl of Leicester and the earl of Derby,) to their own use; it must be admitted that the modern duke of Lancaster has done more, and with a better grace, than any monarch that ever swayed the British sceptre, to extend and consolidate that system.

Accumulated abuses in the government.

In the time of Henry III. abuses in the government had been suffered to accumulate, till, according to the contemporary historians, "justice itself was banished from the realm; for the wicked devoured the righteous, the courtier the rustic, the oppressor the innocent, the fraudulent the plain man, and yet all these things remained unpunished. Evil counsellors whispered into the ears of the princes, that they were not amenable to the laws. The subject was oppressed in various ways, and, as if these sycophants had conspired the death of the king, and the destruction

of his throne, they encouraged him to disregard the devotion of his people, and to incur their hatred rather than to enjoy their affection.”* In addition to these grievances, the kingdom was deeply involved in debt, and the king stood in need of fresh contributions to carry on his wars, which the barons refused to grant till the public grievances were redressed.

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VIII.

Overwhelmed with difficulties, Henry issued his mandate for holding a parliament at Oxford. Of this parliament, so celebrated in history, and particularly in the representative history of England, it is recorded, that “the grandees of the realm, major and minor, with horses and arms, were convened at Oxford, together with the clergy, to make provision and reformation, and ordination of the realm: and on their oath of fidelity were exhibited the articles, which in the said realm stood in need of correction.” This parliament, owing to the popular excitation under which it was assembled, and to all the members coming dressed in armour, and mounted as for battle, obtained the name of *parliamentum insanum*; but there was a method in their madness, and one of their first acts was to ordain, that four knights should be chosen by each county, whose duty it should be to inquire into the grievances of the people, in order that they might be redressed, and that they should be returned to the next parliament, to give information as to the state of their respective counties, and to co-operate in enacting such laws as might best conduce to the public good. Some approach had been made towards this state of things in the time of king John, when the knights were appointed to meet in their several counties, and to present a detail of the state of those counties to the great council; but here they were not only to present their complaints, but, by being made a component part of the legislative body, they were to contribute from their local knowledge to the removal of those wrongs which it was their duty to present.

The re-
form par-
liament of
Oxford.

June 11,
1258.

First ap-
pointment
of knights
of the
shire.

In this parliament at Oxford, twenty-four persons were elected; twelve on the part of the king, and as many on the part of the community, for the reformation of public abuses, and the amendment of the state of the realm.

Constitu-
tion of the
parlia-
ment of
Oxford.

“The elected on the part of the king
were—

The lord bishop of London,
The lord elect of Winton,
Sir Henry, son of the king of Almaine,
Sir John, earl of Warrenne,
Sir Guy de Lesignan,

“The elected on the part of the barons
were—

The lord bishop of Worcester,
Sir Simon, earl of Leicester,
Sir Richard, earl of Gloucester,
Sir Humphrey, earl of Hereford,
Sir Roger Mareschal,

* Ann. Burton, anno 1258, p. 424.

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Sir Wm. de Valence,
 Sir John, earl of Warwick,
 Sir John Mansel,
 Friar John de Derlington,
 The abbot of Westminster,
 Sir Hugh de Wengham,
 [The twelfth is wanting.]

Sir Roger de Mortimer,
 Sir Geoffry Fitz-Geoffry,
 Sir Hugh le Bigot,
 Sir Richard le Grey,
 Sir William Bardulf,
 Sir Peter de Montfort,
 Sir Hugh Despenser."

Their acts.

Amongst a variety of other decrees, the twenty-four enacted that the state of the holy church be amended ; that a justiciar be appointed for one year, to be answerable to the king and his council during his term of office ; that a treasurer of the exchequer be also appointed, to render account at the end of the year ; that the chancellor shall also answer for his trust ; that shire-reeves be provided in every county, trusty persons, freeholders, and vavasors,* of property and consequence in the county, who shall faithfully and honestly treat the people of the county, and render their accounts to the exchequer once every year ; and that neither they, nor their bailiffs, take any hire ; that good escheators be appointed, and that they take nothing from the goods of the deceased out of the lands which ought to be in the king's hands ; that the exchange of London be amended, as well as all the other cities of the king, which had been brought to disgrace and ruin by talliages, and other extortions ; and that the household of the king and queen be amended.†

Of the parliaments, they ordain :—

" That there be three parliaments in the year: the first, upon the octave of St. Michael ; the second, on the morrow of Candlemas ; the third, on the first day of June. To these three parliaments shall come, the counsellors elect of the king, though they be not commanded, to see the state of the realm, and to manage the common business of the realm, when there shall be need, by the command of the king."

" That the community do choose twelve prode men (opulent persons), who shall go to the parliaments, and attend at other times when there shall be need, when the king or his council shall command, to manage the business of the king, and of the realm ; and that the community hold for stable that which these twelve shall do ; and this to spare the cost of the commons. Fifteen shall be named by the earl mareschal, the earl of Warwick, Hugh le Bigot, and John Mansel, who are elected by the twenty-four, to name the aforesaid fifteen, who shall be of council of

* Vavasors were persons who held lands by military tenure of other persons than the king.

† See cap. vii. p. 257.

the king ; and they shall be confirmed by them, or by the greater part of them ; and they shall have power from the king to give them counsel in good faith concerning the government of the realm, and all things belonging to the king and kingdom ; and to amend and redress all things which they shall see want to be amended and redressed, and be over the high justiciar, and over all other persons ; and if they cannot all be present, that which the greater part shall do, shall be firm and stable.”

The unconstitutional power assumed, of choosing the responsible ministers of the crown—for in no other light can the functions of these “ twelve prode men ” be considered—gradually fell into disuse, though the time when that authority ceased is not very accurately defined in history. In November of the same year, after the dissolution of the memorable parliament of Oxford, writs were issued from the king’s chancery to the sheriffs of England, commanding them respectively to pay “ reasonable wages ” to the knights delegate for their journey to parliament, upon the affairs touching their several counties. This is the first known writ “ *de expensis*,” and it is of the same tenure as that of subsequent times, when it became essential to parliament to have in it the representatives of the counties, chosen by the freeholders ; but the writ for Lancashire, issued on this occasion, is lost, and with it the names of the knights returned for the county.

First writ for the payment of members’ expenses.

The king and his courtiers, headed by his brothers, and countenanced by his son Edward, the heir-apparent of the crown, resisted, to blood, the attempts made to reform the parliament, and to redress the public grievances, accompanied, as these attempts were, with measures for subverting the royal prerogative, and establishing an aristocratical oligarchy. The progress of reform in the constitution of parliament was not, however, materially retarded by this resistance. It had always been the avowed intention of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and Robert de Ferrers, earl of Derby, to confine the executive power within the limits of the law, and to have all the acts of the king confirmed as well by the representatives of the county, as by the barons spiritual and temporal ;* and in the parliament of Worcester, called “ Montfort’s Parliament,” held in 49 Henry III., it was enacted, that each sheriff, throughout England, should cause to be sent to the parliament two knights (not four,) elected by the freeholders, with two citizens from each of the cities, and two burgesses from each of the boroughs, throughout England. By these means, the respective orders in the state had an opportunity of expressing the public will ; and in an assembly so constituted, and of which the lords spiritual and temporal formed a

Opposition given to the reform bill of Henry III.

A.D.1264.

Borough members first sent to parliament.

* According to Selden, there were, in 1262, one hundred and fifty temporal, and fifty spiritual barons, summoned to parliament to perform the service due to their tenures.

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part, the due consideration of the public good was effectually secured.* It happened, however, that in these early parliaments the expense incurred by the communities of the counties, cities, and boroughs, from the attendance of their members in parliament, was often considered oppressive; and hence we find, that many poor boroughs, particularly in the county of Lancaster, had no members; the reason alleged being, that they were unable to pay their expenses, on account of their debility and poverty.

How
elected.

The boroughs for which returns were made were principally "walled towns," held of the king in ancient demesne; and the only places in Lancashire entitled to the privilege, if that could be considered a privilege which was felt as a public burden, were, Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan. The inhabitants of the boroughs, under the feudal system, were, for the most part, villeins, either in gross, or in relation to the manor in which the town stood, and belonged to some lord.† The former held houses, called burgage tenures, at the will of the lord, and carried on some trade, such as carpenter, smith, butcher, baker, clothier, or tailor, and the election of members was in the inhabitants of the burgage tenures, so far as they were free agents. There were also in these boroughs, certain free inhabitants who held burgages, and were in consequence invested with the elective franchise. In incorporated cities and boroughs, the right of election was generally in the corporate body, or freemen, as they were called, subject to such limitations, however, as the charters imposed. When the wages of the members representing the cities or boroughs were paid out of the rates, the election was in the inhabitant householders paying those rates, and the right of election was hence designated "scot and lot suffrage."

The sub-
ject how
treated.

In treating the subject of the county representation from the first return to parliament made by the sheriff of Lancashire to the present time, the most clear and satisfactory mode will be to take the reign of each of the early kings separately, and connect with the lists in each reign such other historical matter as may be presented on the subject: and 1st. Of the parliamentary history of the reign of——

* In former times, both lords and commons sat together in one house in parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, in his 4th Institute, 23; but this is clearly a mistake, as is shewn by Sir Robert Cotton and others, and as is decidedly proved by 6 Edward III. n. 3. Parl. Rol., where it is said—"The bishops by themselves, the lords by themselves, and the commons by themselves, consulted, and advised the king touching the war with Scotland." So that in reality the early parliaments of England consisted not of one house, but of three houses.

† Archaeologia, vol. ii. p. 315.

EDWARD I.

Although the return of knights and burgesses summoned to parliament by writ, commenced as early as 49 Henry III.,* no original return made by the sheriff for this county, or for its boroughs, is found in any of the public records till 23 Edw. I. The first return of members for this county is to the parliament at Westminster, appointed to assemble on *Sunday* next after the feast of St. Martin; and it announces, that "Matthew de Redman," and "John de Ewyras," were elected knights for the county of Lancaster, by the consent of the whole county, who have full and sufficient power to do for themselves, and for the commonality of the county aforesaid, what our lord the king shall ordain by his council.

A.D. 1264.
A.D. 1295.First
members
for the
county
and bo-
roughs of
Lanca-
shire.

"That the aforesaid Matthew was guaranteed to come on the day contained in the writ, by Thomas, son of Thomas de Yeland; Thomas Fitz Hall; William Fitz Adam; and William son of Dake," (in confirmation of which they affix their marks, the manucaptors, or sureties, for the members not being able, probably to write their own names).

+

+

"And that the aforesaid John was guaranteed by John de Singleton, Richard de Grenel, Roger de Boulton, and Adam de Grenehulles."

The sheriff's return adds, "There is no city in the county of Lancaster." It then proceeds to say, "That Lambert le Despenser and William le Despenser, burgesses of Lancaster, are elected burgesses for the borough of Lancaster, in manner above said. And the aforesaid Lambert is guaranteed by Adam de le Grene and John de Overton; and the aforesaid William is guaranteed by Thomas Molendinair and Hugh le Barker."

Borough
of Lancas-
ter.

That "William Fitz Paul, and Adam Russel, burgesses of Preston, are elected for the borough of Preston in Amounderness; and the aforesaid William is guaranteed to come as above by Richard Banaster and Richard Pelle. And the aforesaid Adam is guaranteed by Henry Fitz Baldwin, and Robert Kegelpin."

Borough
of Pres-
ton.

That "William le Teinterer, and Henry le Bocker, burgesses of Wigan, are elected for the borough of Wygan in the manner above said. And they are guaranteed to come by John le Preston of Wygan, Adam de Cotiler, Roger Fitz Orme, and Richard Fitz Elys."

Borough
of Wigan.

That "Adam Fitz Richard and Robert Finklowe, burgesses of Liverpool, are elected for the borough of Liverpool. And they are guaranteed to come, in the time

Borough
of Liver-
pool.

* Prynn's Enlargement of his 4th Institute.

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specified in the writ, by John de la More, Hugh de Molendino, William Fitz Richard, and Elias le Baxster.”*

Rot. Parl.
22 Edw. I.
m. 2.

There is a copy of a writ and return, in 1294, for Cumberland, and amongst the persons returned for that year are—Matthew de Redman† and Richard de Preston, as knights of the shire.

First Par-
liamen-
tary writ
of sum-
mons for
the coun-
ty.

The first parliamentary writ extant, addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire, is of the date of 25 Edward I. in the Tower of London, and requires that knights only (not citizens and burgesses) shall be sent from this county to parliament, for the confirmation of Magna Charta, and the Charter of Forests. This writ, which is of the nature of a bargain between the king and his people, recites, that in relief of all

* FIRST PARLIAMENTARY RETURN FOR LANCASHIRE, &c.

h
Lanc.

“*Matheus de Redman* ⁊ *Johes de Ewyas* Milites sunt electi pro Comitatu Lancast̃ per consensum totius Comitatus, qui plenam ⁊ sufficientem potestatem pro se ⁊ communitate Comitatus prædicti habent ad faciendū quod Dominus Rex de communi consilio suo ordinabit.

“*Et prædictus Matheus* manueaptus est veniendi ad diem in brevi contentum per Thomam filium Thomæ de Yelond. Thoñ fil̃ Hañ Willm filium Adæ ⁊
Willm filium Dake

“*Et prædictus Johes* manueaptus est per Joñem de Singleton Riçm de Grenel Rogerum de Boulton ⁊ Adam de Grenchulles.”

“Nulla Civitas est in Coñ *Lancast̃*.”

Burgus de
Lanc.

“*Lambertus le Despenser* ⁊ *Willms le Chaunter* Burgeñ *Lancast̃* electi sunt pro Burgo *Lancast̃* modo supradicto.

“Et prædictus *Lambertus* manuẽ est per Adam de le Grene ⁊ Joñem de Overton.

“Et prædictus *Willms* manuẽ est per Thomam Molendinañ ⁊ Hugonem le Barker.

Burgus de
Preston.

“*Willius filius Pauli* ⁊ *Adam Russel* Burgenses de Preston electi sunt pro Burgo de *Preston* in Amounderness modo prædicto.

“Et prædictus *Willius* manueaptus est veniendi ut supra per Ricardum Banaster ⁊ Ricm Pelle.

“Et prædictus Adam manueaptus est per Henñ filium Baldwini ⁊ Robtum Kegelpin.

Burgus de
Wigan.

“*Willius le Teinterer* ⁊ *Henr le Bocker* Burgenses de Wygan electi sunt pro Burgo de Wygan modo supradicto.

“Et manueapti sunt veniendi per Johannem le Prestun de Wygan, Adam le Cotiler, Rogerum filium Ormi, ⁊ Ricm filium Elys.

Burgus de
Liverpool.

“*Adam filius Richardi* ⁊ *Robtus Pinklowe* Burgenses de *Liverpol* electi sũt pro Burgo de *Liverpole*.

“Et manueapti sunt veniendi in brevi contentum per Johannem de la More, Hugonem de Molendino, Willm filium Riçi, ⁊ Eliam le Baxster.”

Petit MSS. vol. 15. fol. 88. Inner Temple Libr.

† This is probably the same person that was returned for Lancashire in the following year.

the inhabitants and people of the kingdom for the eighth of all the goods of every layman, and the most urgent necessity of the kingdom, the king has agreed to confirm the great charter of the liberties of England, and the charter of the liberties of the forest; and to grant, by letters patent, that the said levy of the eighth shall not operate to the prejudice of his people, or to the infringement of their liberties; and he commands and firmly enjoins the sheriff, that he cause to be elected, without delay, two of the most able and legal knights of the county of Lancaster, and send them with full powers from the whole community of the said county, to his dearest son Edward, his lieutenant in England, (the king being then abroad, engaged in the war with France,) on the octaves of St. Michael next ensuing, to receive the said charters and the king's letters patent for the said county.*

In the parliament of 1296, no original writ for Lancashire appears, nor is there any enrolment of writs de expensis for this county on the rolls.

Returns in
the reign
of Edw. I.

The members returned in the parliament of 1297, were "Henricus de Kigheley" and "Henricus le Botiller," vel "Botiler."

In the parliament of 1298, the return in the original writ is "Henricus de Kigheley," and "Joannes Denyes," knights of the shire.

The parliament of the following year produces no original writ, nor any writ de

* FIRST WRIT EXTANT TO THE SHERIFF OF LANCASTER, FOR THE
CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS.

"EDWARDUS Dei gr̃a Rex Angl̃ Dñs Hib̃ñ ⁊ Dux Aquit̃ Viç Lancast̃r saltm. Quia in relevacionem om̃ium incolaz ⁊ populi regni ñri p̃ octava om̃ium bonoz singuloz laicoz p̃ totũ idem regnũ p̃ urgentissima nũc dñi regni cont̃ Gallicos necessitate levandas concessimus p̃ nob̃ ⁊ hered̃ ñris confirmare ⁊ firmiũ teĩ fac̃e magnam cartam de lib̃ertatibz Angl̃ ⁊ cartam de lib̃tatibz foreste ⁊ concedere om̃ibz et singulis ejusdem regni l̃ras ñras patentes qđ dñe octave levacio nō cedit eisde in p̃judiciũ svitutum exheredaçõem usũ vel consuetudinẽ in futurũ tibi p̃cipim⁹ firmiũ injũgentes qđ sine dñone aliq̃a duos de pbioribz ⁊ legalioribz militibz coĩ tui eligi ⁊ eos plenam potestatem p̃ ip̃is ⁊ tota cõitate dñi Coĩñ h̃entes ad Edwardũ filiũ ñrm carissimũ tenẽtem in Angl̃ locũ ñrm venire fac̃ ita qđ sint London ad eundẽ filiũ ñrm mod̃ oĩbz in Octab̃ S̃ci Mich̃is proxĩo futuĩ ad ultimũ cartaz p̃dictaz p̃ ⁊ l̃ras ñras su dñe concessione p̃ ip̃a coitate in forma p̃dicta recepturi ⁊ feuri ul̃cius qđ p̃ diẽm filiũ ⁊ consiliũ ñrm ibidem p̃dit ordinatum. Et hoc nullo modo omittas ⁊ heas hoc b̃re. T. Edwardo filio ñro apud S̃m Paulũ, Londoĩ, xv die Sept̃ anno ř. ñ. vicesimo quinto.

De veni-
endo pro
confirma-
cione
Magne
Carte.

6 Oct.
1297.

15 Sept.
1297.

"Rot. Claus. 25 Ed. I. m. 6. d. Orig. in Turr. Lond."

"In dorso,

Elegi feci p̃ assensũ toti⁹ Coĩñ Heñr de Kigheleye ⁊ Heñr le Botiller qui plenam potestatem h̃ent
put in b̃ri cõtinet̃r,

Pleḡ p̃dñi Heñr de Kigheley veĩ § Roḡus de Boulton

⁊ Ad de Stodlehurst,

Pleḡ Heñr le Botiler veĩ

§ Wills fit Simonis de Canterhale

Wills Gormond de ead̃m."

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expensis, for this county. The same observation applies to the parliaments of May, 1300 and 1305, and to the two parliaments in 1306.

To the parliament of January, 1300, "Henricus de Kigheley" and "Thomas Travers" were returned for this county; in September, 1302, "Willielmus de Clifton" and "Gilbertus de Singleton;" in 1304, "Willielmus de Clifton," vel "de Clyffedone," and "Willielmus Banastre," were elected to the same honour. These returns to the frequent parliaments,* in the latter part of the reign of Edward I. complete the writs for that period, so far as regards this county. During the same reign, four returns were made to parliament of members for the borough of Lancaster, two for the borough of Liverpool, five for Preston, and two for Wigan; each of which will be treated of in its proper place.

Number
of places
returning
members.

The number of counties, cities, and boroughs, making returns to parliament at this time amounted to one hundred and forty-nine,† in the list of which we find ten members for Lancashire; namely, two for the county, and two for each of the above-named boroughs. In the 24 Henry VI. the number of members was reduced to 274, all the boroughs of Lancashire having then disappeared from the list, and the only members returned for this county consisting of the knights of the shire.

Duration
of session
of parlia-
ment.

Although these early parliaments were frequent, the period of their sitting was of short duration. In 49 Henry III. the parliament which assembled to settle the peace of the kingdom, after the barons' wars, accomplished its duty in thirty-two days, and then dissolved; and yet this was reputed an incredible delay. The parliament 28 Edward I. which confirmed the great charter, and made *articuli super cartas*, was summoned to meet on the second Sunday in Lent, and ended the 20th day of March, on which day the writs for the knights' and burgesses' expenses were dated, making a session of three weeks. The famous parliament at Lincoln, 28 Edward I. wherein the king and nobles wrote their memorable letters to pope Boniface, claiming homage from the kings of Scotland to the kings of England, sat but ten days. The parliament of 35 Edward I. was summoned to meet at Carlisle, on the 20th of January, when the king expected cardinal Sabines; but the cardinal not arriving, as was expected, the king prorogued this parliament by another writ, till the Sunday next after Mid-lent, and on Palm Sunday the parliament ended, having sat only fourteen days, whereof three were Sundays,‡ it being in those times

* It is evident that no fixed rule was adhered to in summoning these parliaments, except that which arose out of the king's want of either money or counsel, or both. The order of the parliament of Oxford, that three parliaments should be held in one year, does not appear ever to have been acted upon with uniformity, and this enactment was probably intended only to fix the times at which the parliaments were to assemble, till the reforms then contemplated were completed.

† Prynne's Brev. Parl.

‡ Prynne's Enlargement of his 4th Institute.

the general practice to assemble the parliaments on the Sunday, and so far to disregard the Sabbath, as to hold their sittings continuously, without any intermission, on that day.

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EDWARD II.

No fewer than thirty-two parliaments were held during the twenty years' reign of Edward II. There are no writs extant for Lancashire in eleven of that number: namely, in 1308 and 1309; in 1311; in the two parliaments of 1312, the first in February and the latter in July; in the parliaments of 1313 and 1316; and in those of 1317, 1318, 1319, and 1323.

Frequent
parlia-
ments.

Mr. Palgrave, in his second volume of Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons, published by direction of the commissioners of public records, has given a very complete list of the returns made to parliament, by the sheriff of Lancashire, during this reign; and from that source the following returns, from 1307 to 1327, are derived.

In 1307, it appears from the original writ for this county, that "Matheus de Reddeman, miles," and "Willielmus le Gentyll, miles," were returned.*

Members
returned
for the
county.

In 1311, "Thomas de Bethune," vel "Bethum, miles," and "Willielmus le Gentylle," vel "Gentyll, miles," were returned to the parliament on the 8th of August. The writ de expensis for the attendance at parliament, from the return day until the feast of St. Dionysius, together with their charges coming and returning, is tested at London, on the 11th of October. It is remarkable, that an individual, named Thomas de Bethun, or Bethom, is also returned for Westmoreland in the same parliament; and it is highly probable, that the electors in some cases economized their expenses, by returning the same member to represent two counties. This parliament is remarkable for the desertion of its public duty, from a cause which strikingly indicates that ancient members of parliament had much less patience than their successors of the present day. So exhausted were the lords, the king's

* This parliament was held at Northampton, and the nature of the business there to be transacted is indicated in the following writ of summons to Thomas, earl of Lancaster:—

Rot. claus. 1 Edw. II. m. 19. d.

Writ docketed "De veniendo ad parlamentum Regis," addressed to "Thomas," earl of Lancaster and others.—"The King is desirous to hold a special 'Colloquium' with the Earl, the Prelates, and the Magnates of the Kingdom, concerning the celebration of the funeral of the late King his father, and also the solemnization of his own espousals and coronation. The Earl is therefore commanded, 'in fide et dilectione,' to be in person at Northampton, on the *Quintaine* of *St. Michael*, 13 Oct. in order to treat and advise on the said affairs with the King, and with the Prelates and Magnates of the Kingdom."—The writ contains the Premunientes clause for the clergy of the diocese.

Orig. in Turr. Lond.

counsel, the knights, and the burgesses, by their sitting of nine weeks, that most of them departed from parliament without license, as the writs and summons attest, and the remainder petitioned the king to adjourn, and thus obtained license to return to their homes.

The original writ for the county of Lancaster, in the parliament of August, 1312, returns "Henricus de Trafforde, miles," and "Ricardus le Molineaux de Croseley, miles." No enrolment of writ de expensis appears on the rolls, but the entries of such writs are incomplete.

"Dominus Willielmus de Bradeschagh, miles," and "Dominus Edmundus de Daere, miles," are returned in the original writ of March 18, 1313. In the writ of July 8, in the same year, "Radulphus de Bykerstathe, miles," and "Willielmus de Slene, miles," are returned. No manucaptors were found by these knights. To the parliament of the 23d of September, in the same year, "Henricus de Feghirby vel Fegherby, miles," and "Thomas de Thornton vel Thorneton, miles," are returned. The writ de expensis for "Henricus de Fegherby," and "Thomas de Thorneton," for attendance at parliament, from the return day, (September 23), until Thursday next after the feast of St. Michael (November 15) amounts to £21. 12s. at the rate of four shillings each per diem, together with their charges coming and returning.

In the parliament of September, 1314, "Thomas Banastr', miles," and "Willielmus de Slene, miles," appear in the original writ, as well as in the writ de expensis.

"Willielmus de Bradeshagh, miles," and "Adam de Halghton, miles," are returned, 1395, and £19. 4s., at the rate of four shillings each per diem, as awarded to them by the writ de expensis.

In the following year, "Johannes de Lancastrie," and "Willielmus de Walton," are returned on the 27th of January.

"Rogerus de Pilketon, miles," and "Johannes de Pilketon, miles," are returned by the original writ of 29th July, in the same year, and their charges allowed at the usual rate in the writ de expensis.

"Edmundus de Nevill, miles," and "Johannes de Horneby, miles," are returned by the original writ of 1318, on which it is observed, that no manucaptors were found by these knights. At this period an advance took place in the wages allowed to the county members for their services in parliament, and the allowance in the writ de expensis is five shillings each per diem, instead of four, as hitherto.

In the following year, "Willielmus de Walton, miles," and "Willielmus de Slene, miles," are returned in the original writ for the county; but it is much torn and defaced, and rendered almost illegible. From some cause, the members' wages were again reduced to four shillings each per diem.

“Gilbertus de Haydok, miles,” and “Thomas de Thornton, miles,” appear in the original writ, and in the writ de expensis; but it was alleged, that they were returned by Willielmus le Gentil, the sheriff, on his own authority, and without the assent of the county.

No original writ for this county is found for the parliament of 1321, but the names of “Johannes de Horneby, junior,” and “Gilbertus de Heydok,” are inserted in the writ de expensis, tested at Westminster on the 22d of August.

“Edmundus de Nevill, miles,” and “Johannes de Lancastria, miles,” were returned to the parliament of 1322. By this writ, the sum of one hundred and seven shillings and fourpence is awarded to the two knights for seventeen days’ attendance in parliament at York, and six days coming and returning; Edmundus de Neville receiving sixty-nine shillings, at the rate of three shillings per diem, and Johannes de Lancastria thirty-eight shillings, at the rate of twenty pence per diem; but why the latter received lower wages than the former for his parliamentary services is not stated. It may be presumed, however, that the surplus fourpence which remained after this inequitable division was made, was allotted to Johannes de Lancastria.

In the original writs of election and proclamation for this county, in the parliament summoned to meet at Ripon on the 14th of November, 1322, (altered afterwards to York,) “Richard de Hoghton, miles,” and “Gilbertus de Singilton’ vel Sengilton, miles,” were returned. From the writ de expensis it appears, that the original rate of wages was re-established, and the sum of £8. 8s. for fifteen days’ attendance in parliament, and three days coming, and three days returning, was awarded to the knights.

In 1324, the original writ for this county returns the names of “Edmundus de Nevill, miles,” and “Gilbertus de Haidok, miles.” The names of “Edmundus de Nevyll” and “Thomas de Lathum,” p. iii dies, are entered on the original pawn or docket, as knights appearing for this county. The writ de expensis directs, that sixteen marks for twenty days’ attendance at parliament, and four days coming, and four days returning, at the rate of three shillings and fourpence each per diem, should be paid to the knights. No reason is assigned for the substitution of the name of “Thomas de Lathum” for that of Gilbert de Haidok.

“Willielmus de Slene, miles,” and “Nicholaus le Norrays vel Norreys, miles,” appear in the original writ for this county, returned by Gilbertus de [Sothe]worth, sheriff. No manucaptors were found by these knights. In the writ de expensis, £7. 15s. is awarded to the members for twenty-one days’ attendance in parliament, and five days coming, and five days returning, at the rate of two shillings and sixpence each per diem. There is a peculiarity in this original writ. Usually the

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citizens and burgesses of the county are required to send members ; but in this case, the summons is confined to knights of the shire.

In 1325, “Willielmus de Bradeshaghe, miles,” and “Johannes de Horneby vel Hornby,” are returned. No manucaptors were found by these knights. In the writ de expensis, £7. 14s. is awarded for twenty-two days’ attendance in parliament, including coming and returning ; “Willielmus de Bradeshaghe” to be paid at the rate of four shillings per diem, a knight’s wages, and “Johannes de Horneby,” at the rate of three shillings per diem, an inferior rate of wages.

In 1326-7, “Edmundus de Nevyl, miles,” and “Ricardus de Hoghton, miles,” appear in the writ of expenses, the original writ not being found. The sum awarded to the two knights is £28. 8s. for seventy-one days attendance in parliament, coming and returning, at the rate of four shillings each per diem.

Lanca-
shire bo-
rough re-
turns in
this reign.

During this reign, four returns are made for the borough of Lancaster, and two for the borough of Preston, but none for either Liverpool or Wigan. The rate of wages paid to the borough members appears to have been fixed at two shillings each per diem.

The high
sheriff of
Lanca-
shire as-
sumes the
power to
elect
members.

By an assumption of power which is scarcely to be credited, the high sheriff of the county, in 17 Edward II., arrogated to himself, as we have already seen, the right of superseding the privileges of the electors, and returning members for the county by his own appointment. The presentation made to the grand jury of the hundred of West Derby, against this ostentatious and arbitrary sheriff, has already been referred to, but it may not be unacceptable to have the document entire :—

Rot. Plac.
cor. R.
17 Ed. II.
m. 72.

LANCASTER.

“The Grand Jury of the Wapentake of West Derby, present, That ‘*Willielmus le Gentil*,’ at the time when he was Sheriff, and when he held his Town in the said Wapentake, ought to have remained no longer in the Wapentake than three nights with three or four horses, whereas he remained

Present-
ment
against
the high
sheriff.

there at least nine days with eight horses, to the oppression of the people ; and that he quartered himself one night at the house of ‘*Dñs de Turbat*,’ and another night at the house of one ‘*Robertus de Bold*,’ another at the house of ‘*Robertus de Grentay*,’ and elsewhere, according to his will, at the cost of the men of the Wapentake.

“They also present, that the said ‘*Willielmus*’ allowed one ‘*Henricus fil. Roberti le Mercer*,’ indicted of a notorious theft, to be let out upon manucaption ; whereas he was not mainpernable according to the law ; in consequence of which

the men of the Wapentake avoided making presentments of notorious thieves; and that ‘*Henricus de Malton*’ did the same when he was sheriff.

“That the said ‘*Willielmus*’ and ‘*Henricus*’ returned certain persons on inquests and juries, without giving them warning.

“That the said ‘*Willielmus le Gentil*,’ when sheriff, had returned ‘*Gilbertus de Haydok*,’ and ‘*Thomas de Thornton*,’ knights of the shire, (14 Edward II.) without the assent of the County, whereas they ought to have been elected by the County;—and had levied twenty pounds for their expenses; whereas the County could, by their own election, have found two good and sufficient men, who would have gone to Parliament for ten marks or ten pounds, and the sheriff’s bailiffs levied as much for their own use as they had levied for the knights.

“Also, that ‘*Henricus de Malton*,’ when he was sheriff, had returned ‘*Willielmus de Slene*,’ and ‘*Willielmus de Walton*,’ as knights, (12 Edward II.) in the same manner.

“The said ‘*Willielmus Gentil*’ is enlarged, upon the manucaption of four mancaptors.”

EDWARD III.

In the first parliament of Edward III. “Michael de Haverington,” and “Willus Lawrence,” were returned knights of the shire for the county of Lancaster.

“Nichus le Norreys” and “Henricus de Haydock,” were elected in the following year, and were succeeded by “Thomas de Thornton,” and “John de Hornby,” who were succeeded in the same year by “Willus de Bradshaigh,” and “Edrus de Nevill.”

Lanca-
shire
members
in the
reign of
Edward
III.

In the following year, “Nicholaus de Norreys,” and “Henry de Haydok,” attended the adjourned parliament, and were succeeded by “Willus de Bradeshawe,” and “Johes de Lancastria.”

“Willus de Saperton,” and “Henry de Haydok,” were their successors in the year 1330. At the election of these members the sheriff, by order of the king, proclaimed that if any person in the county had suffered wrong from any of the servants of the crown, they were to come to the next parliament, and make known their complaints.

“Willus de Bradshawe,” and “Oliverus de Stanesfield,” were returned in 1331.

“Robertus de Dalton,” and “Johes de Horneby,” were elected in 1332, and in the same year “Adam Banastre,” and “Robertus de Dalton,” were returned.

In 1333, "Edos de Nevill," and "Johannes de Horneby," were elected; and in the writs de expensis it appears, that the wages of the knights were then four shillings per diem.

"Robertus de Radecluf," and "Henricus de Haydock," were returned in the following year, and they were succeeded in the same year by "Edmundus de Nevill," and "Robertus de Dalton."

"In 1335, "Robertus de Shirburn," and "Edmundus de Nevill," were elected.

In 1336, "Johannes de Horneby," and "Henricus de Haydok," were returned; and in the same year "Johannes de Shirburn," and "Henricus de Haydok."

In the following year, "Robertus de Irland," and "Henricus de Haydok," were returned, and they were succeeded in the same year by "Ricis de Hoghton," and "Edmundus de Nevill."

The changes made in the county members seem at this period to have been very frequent, but whether that arose from the fickleness of the constituents, from the inadequate payments made to the knights of the shire, or from the unproductive nature of parliamentary influence, and the very diminutive size of the pension list, does not appear.

The return to the writ of summons, in the year 1338, contained the names of "Johannes de Hornby," and "Johannes de Clyderhowe," as knights of the shire, to whom, by the writ de expensis, dated at Northampton, on the 2d of August, the sum of £7. 4s. was awarded for coming to, remaining in parliament, and returning to their houses, being a payment of four shillings each per diem for eighteen days.

The writ for 1339, was issued by the guardian of the kingdom, and the king's council, in his majesty's absence; and the knights returned to parliament for the county of Lancaster were "Robertus de Clyderhowe," and "Henricus de Bikerstath." In the same year, "Nichus de Hulm," and "Robertus de Prestecote," were returned.

"Robertus de Dalton," and "Johannes de Dalton," were returned in 1340; and in the same year "Johannes de Radecliffe," and "Robertus de Radecliff," were elected, and returned to parliament, with the usual allowance of four shillings per diem.

During the remainder of this reign, the parliaments continued to be held almost every year; and it is clear, from the continually varying names returned for the county of Lancaster, that each session was a new, and not an adjourned parliament. It is equally clear, that no argument in favour of any precise duration of parliament can be founded upon the practice of these early times, seeing that there was fre-

quently more than one parliament in the year; and that at other times, the assembling of parliament was intermitted for two, three, or four years.

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In the 4th of Edward III. it was enacted, that parliaments should be held once a year, and oftener, if necessary. The 36 Edward VI. requires a parliament to be held every year. By 16 Charles II. it is enacted, that parliaments shall be triennial; confirmed by 6 William and Mary; but by 1 George I. the time of their continuance, if considered necessary by the king and his advisers, was rendered septennial. So that our parliamentary history affords all the precedents from three parliaments in the year to one parliament in seven years.

The following is a list of the members for the county of Lancaster during the remainder of the reign of Edward III., with the date of the parliaments in which they sat, and the amount of wages they received from the county:—

MEMBERS, (KNIGHTS.)	PARLIAMENT AT	WAGES.
Johes de Haverington, Johes Ungton,	{ Westminster, Monday, 15 } { days of Easter. }	£13. 12s. for 34 days.
	<i>Claus. 17 E. III. P. 1. m. 1. dorso.</i>	
Nichus le Botiller, Willus fil. Rob. de Radecliff,	{ Westminster, Monday after } { Octaves of Holy Trinity. }	£12. 16s. for 32 days.
	<i>Claus. 18 E. III. P. 2. m. 26.</i>	
Jobes de Cliderhowe, Adam de Bredekirk,	{ Westminster, Monday after } { Feast of Nat. Blessed Mary. }	£7. 4s. for 18 days.
	<i>Claus. 20 E. III. P. 2. m. 14. d.</i>	
Robt. de Plesyngton, Robt. de Prestcote,	{ Westminster, Monday after } { Dominic. day Middle Quad- } { ragesima. }	£9. 4s. for 23 days.
	<i>Claus. 22 E. III. P. 1. m. 24. d.</i>	
Adam de Hoghton, Johes Cokayn,	{ Westminster, Morrow of St. } { Hillary. }	£15. 4s. for 38 days.
	<i>Claus. 22 E. III. P. 1. m. 33. dorso.</i>	
Otto de Halsale, Willus de Radeclif.	{ Westminster, Octaves of the } { Purification. }	£13. 4s. for 33 days.
	<i>Claus. 25 E. III. Pars unica m. 27. dorso.</i>	
No writ found.	{ Westminster, Tuesday, Feast } { St. Hillary. }	
	<i>26 E. III.</i>	

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	Johes de Haveryngton,	{ Westminster, Morrow* of the Assumption. }	£4. 4s. for 21 days. <i>Claus. 26 E. III. m. 10. d.</i>
	Willus Careles, ("Duchy of Lanc.")	{ Westminster, Monday after St. Matthi. Apost. }	£6. for 30 days. <i>Claus. 27 E. III. m. 5. d.</i>
	Willus Careles, Ricus Nowell,	{ Westminster, Monday after St. Mark Evang. }	£13. 12s. for 34 days. <i>Claus. 28 E. III. m. 21. d.</i>
	Rog. de Farndon. Robt. de Horneby,	{ Westminster, Monday after St. Edmund, Martyr. }	£7. 12s. for 19 days. <i>Claus. 29 E. III. Pars unica, m. 3. d.</i>
	John de Haverington, Robt. de Singleton,	{ Westminster, Monday seven weeks after Easter. }	£7. 12s. for John for 38 days, and for Robt. £6. 4s. for 31 days. <i>Claus. 31 E. III. m. 19. d.</i>
	(Addressed to the Duke.)		

Writs addressed to the duke of Lancaster.

The writs de expensis for the knights of the shire for the county of Lancaster are directed, not to the sheriff, but to the duke of Lancaster himself.

The knights for the counties generally had two distinct writs, some of them for six, others for seven, and one for eight days' expenses; but the writs for Lancashire were issued to the duke of Lancaster himself, by the title of Duke and Duchy of Lancaster:—

	MEMBERS, (KNIGHTS.)	PARLIAMENT, AT	WAGES.
	Roger de Faryngdon, Robert de Horneby,	{ Westminster, Monday after Purification B. M. }	£13. 12s. for 34 days. <i>Claus. 32 E. III. m. 31. d.</i>
	Willus de Radeely, Ricus de Tounley,	{ Westminster, Sunday after Conversion of St. Paul. }	£15. 4s. for 38 days. <i>Claus. 35 E. III. m. 38 d.</i>
	No Writ for Lancashire in Prynne.	{ Westminster, 15 days of St. Michael. }	<i>36 E. III.</i>

* This was called the "Great Council" for "settling the Staple" or manufacture of the kingdom, to which Lancashire sent only one member for the county, and none for its boroughs; but were such a council to be held in the present day, it is highly probable that this county would return, at least, its full complement of members.

At this period, a singular piece of presumption was practised in the return to parliament of members for the county of Lancaster. The deputy sheriffs, instead of returning the members elected by the county, returned themselves, concealing the writ, and levying the expenses, which they appropriated to their own use. Upon complaint made to the king, he issued two writs: the first to the sheriff of Lancashire, and the second to the justices of the peace of the county, directing them to examine into the merits of the election, and to certify the facts to him in chancery; in the mean time, the levying of the expenses was suspended till further orders upon these “unparalleled writs,” as they are called by Pryme.

In the writ to the sheriff, that officer is informed, that the greatest agitation exists in Lancashire respecting the election of the knights for that county in the last parliament; and his majesty, wishing to be more fully informed about the election, commands the sheriff to assemble the knights and other good men of the commons of the said county, and to make inquiry, whether “Edrus Laurence” and “Matthew Risheton,” who have been returned in the writ to parliament as knights of the said county, or other persons, were duly elected; and if, upon deliberation and information, he should find them to have been elected by the common assent of the county, then to cause the said Edrus and Matthew to have £18. 16s. for their expenses incurred in coming to the parliament, remaining there, and then returning; that is to say, for forty-seven days, each of the aforesaid Edrus and Laurence receiving four shillings per diem; but if other persons have been elected knights of the said county, then the sheriff is to render information of their names under his seal, into the king’s chancery, and to remit the writ to his majesty, conformably to the directions already given.*

* “Rex vic. Lancastr. Salutem Quia super electione facta de Militibus pro Communitate Com. prædicti pro ultimo Parlamento nostro in Comprædicto venientibus maxima altercatio facta existit, Nos ea de causa volentes super electione prædicta plenius certiorari, tibi precipimus, quod habita in pleno Com. tuo super electione prædicta cum Militibus et aliis probis hominibus de Communitate dicti Com. deliberatione et informatione diligentibus utrum, viz. *Edrus Laurence & Mattheus de Risheton*, qui in Brevi nostro de Parlamento prædicto tibi directo retornati fuerunt, pro Militibus dicti Com. electi fuerint, an alii; et si per deliberationem et informationem hujusmodi inveneris ipsos de communi assensu totius Com. præd. pro Milit. dicti Com. electos fuisse tunc hab. fac. eisdem *Edro et Matthæo* decem et octo lib. sexdecim solidos pro Expensis suis veniendo ad Parlamentum prædictum, ibidem morando et exinde ad propria redeundo, videlicet, pro quadraginta et septem diebus; utroque prædictorum *Edri et Laurentii** capiente per diem quatuor solidos: et si alii pro Militibus ejusdem Com. electi fuerint, tunc Nos de nominibus illorum sub sigillo tuo in Cancellaria nostra reddas certiores, hoc breve nobis remittens. Teste Rege, apud Westm. 17 Nov.

Cl. 36.
E. 111. m.
2. & 3.
dorso.

“Per ipsum Regem.”

* An error, for *Matthæi*.

CHAP.
VIII.

The king's writ to the justices is addressed to his beloved and faithful Godefr. Folciambe, and his fellow-justices of the peace, in the county of Lancaster, on the 5th of February following; and it states roundly, that the said Edus and Matthew, who are the sheriff's lieutenants, have made a false and deceptive return; in consequence of which, the jurors are required to call before them, at their next session, the knights and other good men of the same county, and take diligent information and inquisition on the above premises, and to return the same into the king's chancery; the sheriff of Lancashire being at the same time commanded to supersede the levy of the wages, until he shall have further directions from the king in his mandate respecting them. The result was, that the election was declared void, and the sheriff's lieutenants were unseated by the king's authority.

The king,
and not
the com-
mons, de-
cided upon
disputed
elections.

The proceedings under these memorable writs, which were the first of the kind that were issued, serve to shew that the king in these early times, and not the commons house of parliament, examined and determined on disputed elections; and that the king, by special writ issued to the sheriff, or to the justices of the peace, caused the merits of the elections to be inquired into, and certificate to be made of their legality or illegality.

But, to resume the returns of the list of members for the county:—

KNIGHTS.	PARLIAMENT AT	WAGES.
Adam de Hoghton, Roger de Pylkyngton,	{ Westm. Octaves of St. Hil- lary. }	£17. 4s. for 43 days. <i>Cl. 39 E. III. m. 31 d.</i>
Joh. le Botiller, Will. fil. Robti de Radecluf,	{ Westm. Monday, the mor- row of the Invention of the Cross. }	£8. 16s. for 22 days. <i>Cl. 40 E. III. m. 23 d.</i>
Rog. de Pylkynton, Rog. de Radecluf, sen.	{ Westm. 1st of May. }	£14. for 35 days. <i>Cl. 42 E. III. m. 14 d.</i>
Johes de Dalton, Johes de Ipre,	{ Westm. Octaves of Trinity. }	£8. 16s. for 22 days. <i>Cl. 43 E. III. m. 13 d.</i>
Johes de Ipre, Ricis de Tounley,	{ Westm. Monday, Feast of St. Michael. }	£19. 12s. for 51 days. <i>Cl. 45 E. III. m. 34 d.</i>
Johes de Ipre,	{ Wynton, Monday in Octaves of Trinity. }	£4. 4s. for 21 days. <i>Cl. 45 E. III. m. 22 d.</i>

KNIGHTS.	PARLIAMENT AT	WAGES.	CHAP VIII.
Nich. de Haverynton,	{ Westm. Morrow of All Souls. }	£6. 12s. for 33 days.	
		<i>Cl. 46 E. III. m. 4 d.</i>	
Willus de Atherton, Johes de Holcroft,	{ Westm. Morrow of St. Ed- mund. }	£12. 8s. for 31 days.	
		<i>Cl. 47 E. III. m. 1 d.</i>	
Johes Bottiler, <i>Chivaler</i> , Rog. de Brokhols,	{ Westm. Monday after St. Gregory. }	£34. 8s. for 86 days.	
		<i>Cl. 50 E. III. P. 2. m. 23 d.</i>	
Johes Botiller, Rog. Pilkington,	{ Westm. in fifteen days of St. Hillary. }	£18. 16s. for 47 days.	
		<i>Cl. 51 E. III. m. 12 d.</i>	

In the 20 Edward III. the number of the temporal peers summoned to the parliament held at Westminster, at the head of whom stood Henry, duke of Lancaster, amounted only to fifty-four, from which it may be inferred, that the hundred and fifty barons in parliament of 47 Henry III. mentioned by Selden, included the minor barons, at that time the only representatives of the commonality of the land; and that not by delegation, but by a common interest. The fixed number of abbots and priors to be summoned to parliament was determined in the reign of Edward III. but it will be seen by the following list, that of the twenty-six religious houses to which this privilege was adjudged, none of the Lancashire monasteries are included:—

Peers of
parlia-
ment, tem-
poral and
spiritual.

1. St. Albans,	8. Evesham,	15. Shrewsbury,	22. Malmesbury,
2. Glastonbury,	9. Winchelcomb,	16. Gloucester,	23. Cirencester,
3. St. Austin's, Cant.	10. Crowland,	17. Bardney,	24. St. Mary, York,
4. Westminster,	11. Battell,	18. Bènet in Holm,	25. Selby,
5. St. Edmondsbury,	12. Reading,	19. Thorney,	26. Prior of St. John
6. Peterborough,	13. Abingdon,	20. Ramsey,	of Jerusalem, first
7. Colchester,	14. Waltham,	21. Hide,	baron of England.

Although the boroughs of Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan, all returned burgesses to represent them in parliament in the reign of Edward I., only the two former of these places sent members in the reign of the second Edward, and so early as the ninth year of Edward III. we find the return made by the sheriff of the county, in answer to the parliamentary writ of summons, states that, There is not any city or borough in his bailiwick [or county]. Non est aliqua civitas neque

The bo-
roughs of
Lanca-
shire
cease to
return
members.

CHAP.
VIII.

burgus in Balliva mea. It is to be observed, that the writs do not particularize the boroughs that are to return members, but merely require the sheriff to return two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for each borough, within his county.

In the 36 of Edward III. the sheriff, in his return, writes upon the writ, There is not any city or borough in his county from which citizens or burgesses ought, or are accustomed, to come as this writ requires.—*Et non est aliqua civitas nec aliquis Burgus infra Com: prædict unde Cives seu Burgenses venire debent seu solent prout breve istud requirit.*

The reason assigned.

In the 38th of Edward III. the reason for this negative return is rendered—There are not any cities or boroughs (in Lancashire) that ought, or are wont, to come to the said parliament, on account of their debility or poverty.—*Et non sunt aliqui Civitates seu Burgi infra Com: de quibus aliqui Cives seu Burgenses ad dictum Parliamentum venire debent seu solent, propter eorum debilitatem seu paupertatem.*

In the following year the case is still more strongly put—There is not any city or borough from which any citizens or burgesses are able, or accustomed, to come, according to the tenure of the writ, by reason of their debility and poverty.—*Et non est aliqua Civitas seu aliquod Burgum de quibus aliqui Cives seu Burgenses venire possunt seu solent secundum tenorem brevis, propter eorum debilitatem & paupertatem.*

In the 2nd of Richard II., when the parliamentary writs were addressed to the duke of Lancaster, this plea of debility is not confined to the county, but is extended to the whole duchy; and it is stated, that there are not any burgesses in the duchy of Lancaster who were accustomed to come to our lord the king's parliament, through their poverty.—*Et non sunt aliqui Cives seu Burgenses in Ducatu prædict. qui ad aliquod Parliamentum venire solebant, propter eorum paupertatem.*

On the payment of the wages of members of parliament.

In the last year of this king's reign, the plea of poverty is again reduced within the limits of the county, and it is said—That there are not any citizens or burgesses within the county of Lancaster, who have been accustomed in times past to come to any parliaments. Our ancestors, so far from aspiring to an increase in their boroughs, were anxious, in the language of modern legislation, to merge those they had in schedule A., conceiving the cost of their borough members, though limited to the very moderate sum of two shillings a day during parliaments of comparatively short duration, not sufficiently repaid by the support of their local interests. On the subject of the payment of wages to the members of parliament, considerable light is shed by a petition presented to the king in 8 Henry VI. by the commons, and which is expressed in these words—"The Commons pray, that all cities, boroughs, towns, and hamlets, and the residents within them, except the lords spiritual and temporal coming to parliament, and the ecclesiastics, and those cities and boroughs

Rot. Parl.
8 Hen. VI.

which find citizens or burgesses for parliament, shall henceforth for ever contribute to the expenses of the knights elected, or to be elected, to parliaments."

For two hundred and fifty years, that is, from the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, about one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty, cities and boroughs in England, returned members pretty constantly to parliament; and about thirty others returned them only occasionally, amongst which were the Lancashire boroughs, the sheriffs having taken upon themselves to dispense with the attendance of members for those boroughs, for the reasons stated in the writs.

The following petition, presented by the commons to the king in the same year, shews that the very moderate remuneration of the members was withheld, to their impoverishment, and to the detriment of the state :—

" Whereas the Citizens and Burgesses elected to Parliament, have, from antient time, been accustomed to have of right, for wages and expenses each day during the sitting of parliament, two shillings; and for which wages, each of them had from antient time, and of right ought to have, their writ to the sheriffs of the county where such cities or boroughs are, for them to levy and deliver to them the said wages, in the same manner as the knights of shires have had and used. And whereas these wages are now withheld, and divers notable and wise persons, elected to Parliament, cannot attend without their utter ruin, and the national loss; the Commons of this present Parliament pray the king to grant them the said wages, of two shillings each, every day, during the Session of Parliament."

Prynne has preserved a register of the time allowed to members of parliament for travelling from Lancashire to certain places, when the parliaments were held in those cities; from which it appears, that two, and sometimes three days, were allowed for travelling to York, four days to Coventry, and five or six to London, in ordinary seasons; but in a snow or "foul weather" eight days was the *maximum* allowance for travelling from hence to a parliament sitting at Westminster. It may be presumed, that these honourable and right honourable gentlemen had not, in those days, to legislate upon bills for the construction of railways.

In the 7th of Henry VI. it is asserted in the sheriff's return, notwithstanding the fact to the contrary, that there is not any city or borough within the county of Lancaster, which was accustomed in times past to send any citizens or burgesses to parliament, on account of their poverty and want of means, and therefore no mention is made of citizens and burgesses, as appears in the indenture annexed to the writ. Similar language is held in all the returns from Lancashire till

CHAP.
VIII.

1 Edward VI., when Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan, resumed their elective franchise; and in 1 Elizabeth, Newton and Clitheroe were added to the boroughs of the county. During the Commonwealth two returns were made by Manchester, but that town ceased to return members at the Restoration.

RICHARD II.

Returns
in the
reign of
Richard
II.

In the first year of the reign of Richard II. the king, in his writ of summons for the duchy of Lancaster, addressed to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and king of Castile and Leon, after announcing that Charles of France had overrun Flanders, and was meditating an attack upon the English city of Calais, informed his beloved uncle, that, for the better defence of his kingdom, and of the Anglican church, and to afford succour to his allies, he designed to embark for the continent; and for the good government of the kingdom while he was absent, the duke was commanded to send from his duchy two knights from the county palatine of Lancaster, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough, within the same, to parliament, having full power, from the commons of the duchy, to take the necessary measures therein. This writ is preserved in the archives of the duchy of Lancaster, and the following copy is derived from that source:—

Writs of
summons,
addressed
not to the
sheriff, but
to John of
Gaunt,
duke of
Lancaster.

D. venire faciend
ad plamentū.

“ Anno Regalitatis Johannis Regis Castelle et Legionis
Ducis Lanc^e Comⁱ sui palatini sexto incipiente.

“ R. carissimo Avunculo suo Johi Regi Castell^e et legionis
Duci Lancastr^e vel ejus Cancellar in Ducatu p^{re}dicto saltm

Quia referente fama publica ad n^{ost}rum pvenit c^{on}tinentalit^{er} intellectum qd Karolus ad^{ver}sar n^{ost}ri Franc^e principalis subjugata sibi maxima parte Fland^{ie} que de amicitia n^{ost}ra existebat ad obsidend jam villam n^{ost}ram Cales^{ie} et alia mala dampna et g^{ra}vamina nob^{is} et regno n^{ost}ro Ang^{lie} undiq^{ue} inferend et fieri pcurand totis virib^{us} se festinat omⁿi^{um}q^{ue} diligencia machinat^{ur} nos malicie d^ei ad^{ver}sarij n^{ost}ri resiste et hujusmodi obsidionem sique ibidem quod absit fieret in eventu favente d^eno removee necnon circa recupa^{ci}oem juris n^{ost}ri qd ad coronam et regnū Franc^e notorie optinem^{us} ac circa defensionem d^ei regni n^{ost}ri et ecclⁱe Anglicane meliorem laborare et intendere relevamenq^{ue} et succursum amicis et fidelib^{us} n^{ost}ris circumqua^{que} face et p^{ro}bere cupientes de concilio et assensu q^{ui}mplurim^{orum} prelato^{rum} p^{ro}curum magnatu^{um} duor^{um} militū Burgensiū et n^{ost}ricato^{rum} d^ei regni n^{ost}ri ad Consiliū n^{ost}rum ex hac causa evocato^{rum} sumus in p^{ro}posito in p^{ro}pria psona n^{ost}ra ad partes t^{er}re mar cum comitua p^{ro}dum magnatum et nobilū plurimor^{um} manu fort^{is}

volent dño pficisti Et ut hujusmodi ppositum nrm filicem sorciat esseñ ac nob in remotis agentibz p expediēti e necessario regimine dci regni nri debite pvideat e inñmi tam inimicis nris Ispañū qm alijs quibuscunq; siqui regem nrm pñem hostilit invadere psumpseunt fortit e virilit ut oportet e put maxime invidet cordi nro resiat dispoim⁹ de consilio e assensu pñcis die lune in tēcia septimana quadra- gesime pñ futur quoddam plamentu nrm apud Westñi tenere e cum Prelatis pñibz dñis e cōitate dci regni nri sup pñmissis e alijs urgentibz causis nos statum regnū e honorem nra concūentibz colloquū here e tractatum vob igit⁹ in fide e dilectōe quibz nob tenemum mandamus qd de ducatu pñico duos milites gladijs cinctos magis idoneos e discretos de qualibet civitate Ducatus illius duos cjues e de quolibet Burgo duos Burgenses de discreciōibz e magis sufficientibz eligi e eos ad dñōs diem e locum venire fae Ita qd ijdem milites plenam e sufficientem potestatem p se e Cōitate Ducatus illius e dci Cjues e Burgenses p se e cōitatibz cunctatū e Burgor pñcor diuisum ad ipis heant ad faciend e consenciend lijs que tunc ibidem de eor consilio regni nri favente dnō contig⁹it ordinari sup negocijs antedcīs sic qd p defectu potes- tatis hujusmodi seu ppt improvidam electoem militū ciūm aut Burgensiu pñcor deā negocia infecta non remaneant quouis modo Et heatis ibi nōiā pñcor militum ciūm e Burgensiu e hoc brē T R. apud Westm vij die Januar Anno sexto.”

Extract from Roll A. 6.—16th membrane Duchy Records.

The members returned to parliament as knights of the shire for the county of Lancaster, in virtue of the writ, were “Johes Boteler” and “Nich. de Haver- yngton,” who, after a session of sixty-six days, received a writ de expensis to the amount of £26. 8s.; but no citizens or burgesses were returned from any city or borough of the duchy or county of Lancaster. In the 2d year of Richard II. “Johes Botiller, Chivaler,” and “Radus de Ipre,” were returned for the county of Lancaster, as appears from the Roll, Cl. 2 Rich. II. m. 22 d. on which Prymme observes, that the writ in this roll was issued to the duke of Lancaster, and to his vicegerent, for the knights of the duchy; that in the writ to the duke, this clause, *tam infra libertates quam extra*, is omitted, and this clause of exception, (inserted in all other writs for knights’ expenses in other counties,) *Civitatibus et Burgis de quibus Cives & Burgenses ad Parliamentum nostrum apud, &c. venerunt, duntaxat Exceptes*, because the sheriffs of Lancashire then and before returned, *Non est aliqua Civitas vel aliquis Burgus infra Ball. de quibus aliqui Cives vel Burgenses ad dictum Parliamentum venire debent, seu solent, propter eorum debilitatem seu pauper- tam*. And in this very year made this return, *Et non sunt aliqui cives vel Bur- genses in Ducatu prædicto, qui ad aliquod Parliamentum venire solebant, propter eorum paupertatem & debilitatem*.

The other knights of the shire returned for the county of Lancaster, during the reign of Richard II. are enumerated in the following list:—

KNIGHTS.	PARLIAMENT AT	WAGES.
Johes Botiller, Chivaler, Thos. Setheworth, Chivaler,	{ Westminster, Monday after } { St. Hillary. }	£24. for 60 days. <i>Cl. 3 R. II. m. 18 d.</i>
Johi Botiller, Chivaler, Thos. de Suthworth, Chivaler,	{ Northampton, Monday after } { All Saints. }	£19. 12s. for 49 days. <i>Cl. 4 R. II. m. 20 d.</i>
Will. de Athirton, Robt. de Urcewyk,	{ Westminster, Morrow of All } { Saints. }	£38. 8s. for 96 days. <i>Cl. 5 R. II. m. 22 d.</i>
Roger de Pylkynton, Chivaler, Robt. de Clifton,	{ Westminster, Morrow of St. } { John. }	£10. for 25 days. <i>Cl. 5 R. II. m. 5 d.</i>
Johes Assheton, Robt. Usewick,	{ Westminster, Monday, Oc- } { taves of St. Michael. }	£10. 16s. for 27 days. <i>Cl. 6 R. II. p. 1. m. 17 d.</i>
Ricus de Hoghton, Robt. de Clifton,	{ Westminster, Monday, three } { weeks of Quadragesima. }	£10. 8s. for 36 days. <i>Cl. 6 R. II. p. 2. m. 13 d.</i>
John Holcroft, (Name obliterated.)	{ Westminster, Monday before } { All Saints. }	£8. 16s. for 40 days. <i>Cl. 7 R. II. m. 23 d.</i>
Roger de Pilkington, Thos. Gerard,	{ New Sarum, Friday after } { St. Mark. }	£16. for 40 days. <i>Cl. 7 R. II. m. 1 d.</i>
Robt. Ursewick, Chivaler, Will. de Tunstall, Chivaler,	{ Westminster, Morrow of } { St. Martin. }	£18. for 45 days. <i>Cl. 8 R. II. m. 27 d.</i>
Robt. Ursewyk, Chivaler, Thos. de Radecliff,	{ Westminster, Friday after } { St. Luke. }	£23. 4s. for 58 days. <i>Cl. 9 R. II. m. 22 d.</i>
Nic. de Haveryngton, Chivaler Robt. de Workesley,	{ Westminster, 1st October. }	£28. for 71 days. <i>Cl. 10 R. II. m. 16 d.</i>
Joh. le Botiller de Weryng ton, Chivaler, Thos. Gerard,	{ Westminster, Morrow of the } { Purification, B. Mary. }	£46. for 115 days.

KNIGHTS.	PARLIAMENT AT	WAGES.	CHAP. VIII.
Joh. de Asheton, } Chiva- Joh. de Crofts, } lers,	{ Cantebrigge, Morrow of Nat. B. Mary.	{ £18. 8s. for 46 days.	
		<i>Cl. 12 R. II. m. 14 d.</i>	
Rad. de Ipres, } Chiva- Joh. de Asheton, } lers,	{ Westminster, Monday after St. Hillary.	{ £22. for 56 days.	
		<i>Cl. 13 R. II. p. 2. m. 7 d.</i>	
Joh. de Ursewyk, Chivaler, Joh. de Croft, Chivaler,	{ Westminster, Morrow of St. Martin.	{ £30. 12s. for 34 days.	
		<i>Cl. 14 R. II. m. 30 d.</i>	
Robt. de Ursewike, Chivaler, Robt. de Workesley,	{ Westminster, Morrow of All Souls.	{ £17. for 40 days.	
		<i>Cl. 15 R. II. m. 26 d.</i>	
Robt. de Ursewik, Chivaler, Rad. de Ipse, Chivaler,	{ Wynton, Oetaves of St. Hillary.	{ £23. for 38 days.	
		<i>Cl. 16 R. II. m. 19 d.</i>	
Robt. de Ursewyke, Chivaler, Thos. Gerard, Chivaler,	{ Westminster, five days of St. Hillary.	{ £21. for 71 days.	
		<i>Cl. 17 R. II. m. 9 d.</i>	
Robt. de Ursewike, Chivaler, Thos. de Radecliff,	{ Westminster, five days of St. Hillary.	{ £12. 16s. for 32 days.	
		<i>Cl. 18 R. II. m. 6 d.</i>	
Robt. de Ursewyke, Chivaler, Ric. Molyneux,	{ Westminster, Feast of St. Vineent.	{ £30. 12s. for 34 days.	
		<i>Cl. 20 R. II. p. 2. m. 2 d.</i>	
Joh. Botiller de Weryngton, Chivaler,	{ Westminster, Monday after Exalt. of Cross, and ad- journd to Salop.	{ £16. 8s. for 41 days.	
Rad. de Radecliff,		<i>Cl. 21 R. II. p. 2. m. 9 d.</i>	

HENRY IV.

The duchy of Lancaster being now united with the crown, by the duke having become king of England, the parliamentary writs of summons, in the first and second years of the reign of Henry IV. were addressed to the sheriff of Lancaster, and not to the duke. The members for the county returned in this reign were:—

Members
for the
county in
the reign
of Henry
IV.

KNIGHTS.	PARLIAMENT AT	WAGES.
Robt. de Ursewyk, } Chiva- Hen. de Hoghton, } lers.	{ Westminster, Morrow of St. Michael, summoned by Richard II.	{ £26. 16s. for 71 days.

Claus. 1 Hen. IV. P. 1. m. 21. d.

CHAP. VIII.	KNIGHTS.	PARLIAMENT AT	WAGES.
	Robt. de Ursewyks, } Chiva- Nich. de Atherton, } lers. {	Westminster, five days of } St. Hillary. }	£31. 16s. for 66 days. <i>Claus. 2 II. IV. P. 1. m 3. d.</i>
	Rich. de Hoghton, } Chiva- Niede Haverington, } lers. {	Westminster, Morrow of St. } Michael. }	£27. for 69 days. <i>Claus. 4 II. IV. m. 34. d.</i>
	Rad. de Radeelyff, Chivaler, { Robt. Lawrence, {	Westminster, Morrow of St. } Hillary. }	£31. 12s. for 69 days. <i>Claus. 5 II. IV. P. m. 10. d.</i>
	Jac. Harryngton, } Chiva- Rad. Staneley, } lers. {	Coventry, 6th of October.	£8. 8s. for 46 days <i>Claus. 6 II. IV. m. 5. d.</i>
	Will. Botiller, Robt. Lawrence,	{ Westminster, 1st of March. Adjoined to 16th April. Adjoined to 19th June. Adjoined to 25th Oct. Adjoined to 22d Decr. }	£71. 12s. for 189 days. <i>Claus. 8 II. IV. m. 7. d.</i>
	Henr. Hoghton, } Chiva- Rad. de Staveley, } lers. {	Gloucester, 20th October.	£21. 12s. for 54 days. <i>Claus. 9 II. IV. m. 8. d.</i>

The lack-
learning
parlia-
ment.

To the parliament held at Coventry in the 6th year of this monarch's reign, the sheriffs were commanded by the king not to return any lawyers—persons learned in the law; and hence this parliament was called, "The Lack-learning Parliament."—*Parliamentum Indoctum*.

HENRY V.

Lanca-
shire
members
in the
reign of
Henry V.

The first return made in this reign, of the knights of the shire for Lancashire, transmits the names of "Joh. Assheton and Joh. de Stanley, chivalers." By a striking singularity, the indenture mentions only the name of Sir John Stanley, and entirely omits that of his colleague, stating, that Nich. Longford, knight, and all others named in the indenture after him, with unanimous consent and agreement, have made a free election, and given to John Stanley, the younger, full power to become a knight in the parliament to be held at Westminster, to answer for them-

selves, and all theirs, and for all the commons in the county of Lancaster, in those matters which, under favour of the king, shall happen to be ordained in parliament.*

CHAP.
VIII.

The corresponding indenture is lost.

In the next parliament, “Rad. de Radcliff” and “Nich. Blundell,” are returned as knights of the shire for this county.

Cl. 2 H. V.
m. 10. d.

2 Henry V. Johannes de Stanley, Robertus Lawrence, *per indent.*

8 Henry V. Henry de Hoghton, Radug de Sanley.

HENRY VI.

The members returned to represent the county of Lancaster in this reign were :—

Members
in the
reign of
Henry
VI.

7 Henry VI. Jofies Byron, Robertus fil. Roberti Laurence, knights, *per indent.*

25 Henry VI. Thomas Stanley, kn^t. Thomas Harrington, Esq. *per indent.*

27 Henry VI. The same persons.

28 Henry VI. Thomas Stanley, Jofies Butler, knights, *per indent.*

29 Henry VI. Thomas Stanley, Thomas Harrington, knights, *per indent.*

33 Henry VI. Thomas Stanley, Alexander Radcliff, knights.

38 Henry VI. (At Leicester.) Richus Harrington, knight, Henry Halsall, *per indent.*

39 Henry VI. 1460. Richd. Haryngton, knt., and Henry Halsall.

In the 7th year of this king's reign, the qualification of electors for counties, which had hitherto been undefined, was fixed by an act of parliament, which ordains that “the knights shall be chosen in every county by people dwelling and residing in the same county, whereof every one of them shall have land or tenement of the value of forty shillings by the year, at the least, over and above all charges,” which is explained, by an act of the 10th of the same king, to mean, freeholds of that value, within the county for which the election is to be made. Hitherto all the freeholders, without exception, had claimed the right of voting for county members,

Qualifi-
cation of
electors
for the
knights of
the shire,
fixed.

* I HENRY V.

“Hæc Indentura testatur, inter Radum de Stanley V.C. Lanc. ex una parte, et Nicum Longford Chlrs. et omnes alios post se infra istas indenturas nominat. Quiquidem Nicus et omnes alii post se unanimi concessu et assensu eligi fecerunt liberam electionem, dant Johi de Stanley, juniori, plenam potestatem pro seipsis et omnibus suis essend. Militem in Parlamento Domini Regis prox. tenend apud Westm. die lunæ, &c. ad respondend. pro seipsis et omnibus suis et pro omnibus communitatibus Com. Lanc. ad ea quæ in dicto Parlamento favente domino ordinari contingeret. In cujus rei testimonium sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt.”

CHAP.
VIII.

in consequence of which, it is alleged, great outrages had arisen, “whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the said counties, shall very likely arise and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided in this behalf.” From the reign of Henry VI. to the present time, no change has been judged necessary in this qualification, though the value of money has in the mean time increased tenfold.

The agitation of the kingdom at this period, arising out of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, seems to have given rise to a violent stretch of the royal prerogative,—the king having, of his own authority, summoned members to parliament; and hence an act of indemnity was passed 23 Henry VI., which provides, “that all such knights of any county, as are returned to the parliament by virtue of the king’s letters, without any other election, shall be good, and that no sheriff, for returning them, do incur the pains therefore provided.”*

EDWARD IV.

The members returned for the county of Lancaster in this reign were :—

7 Ed. IV. 1467. James Haryngton, knt., and William Haryngton, knt.

12 Ed. IV. 1472. Robert Harynton and John Asshton.

17 Ed. IV. 1477. George Stanley, knt., and James Haryngton, knt.

From the 17th of Edward IV. to 33 Henry VIII. all the returns are lost; and in the latter year, though a parliament was held, no return for this county appears amongst the records. From that period to the 16th of Charles I. the writs are regular, and the following are the members returned as knights of the shire for this county :—

County
members
in the
reign of
Edw. IV.

County
members
from
1 Ed. VI.
to 16
Char. II.

1 Edw. VI.	1547.	Thurst Tyldesley, Esq.—John Kechyn, Esq.
7 ...	1552-3.	Richard Houghton, (in whose place Robert Worsley, Knt.) Tho. Butler, Esq.
1 Mary.	1553.	Rob. Sherborne, Knt.—John Rygmayden, Esq.
1 ...	1554.	Tho. Stanley, Knt.—Tho. Langton, Knt.
1 & 2 Philip & Mary.	1554.	Tho. Stanley, Knt.—John Holcroft, Knt.
2 & 3 ...	1555.	Tho. Stanley, Knt.—Will. Stanley, Knt.
4 & 5 ...	1557.	Tho. Talbot, Knt.—John Holcroft, senr. Knt.
1 Elizabeth.	1558-9.	John Atherton, Knt.—Rob. Worsley, Knt.
5 ...	1563.	Tho. Gerard, Knt.—John Southworth, Knt.
13 ...	1571.	Tho. Butler—John Radcliffe, Esq.

* Sir Robert Cotton’s Abridgment, p. 664.

14 Elizabeth	1572.	John Radcliff, Esq.—Edm. Trafford, Esq.	CHAP. VIII.
27 ...	1585.	Gilbert Gerard, Knt.—Rich. Molineux.	
28 ...	1586.	John Atherton, Esq.—Rich. Holland, Esq.	
31 ...	1588.	Tho. Gerard, son of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knt.—Tho. Walmsley, sergeant at law.	
35 ..	1592.	Tho. Molineux, Knt.—Tho. Gerard, jun. Knt.	
39 ...	1597.	Ric. Houghton, Knt.—Tho. Gerrard, Knt.	
43 ...	1601.	Rich. Houghton, Knt.—Tho. Hesketh, attorney of the Court of Wards.	
1 James I.	1603.	Rich. Molineux, Knt.—Rich. Houghton, Knt.	
12 ...	1614.	Gilbert Houghton, Knt.—John Radcliff, Knt.	
18 ...	1620.	John Radcliff, Knt.—Gilbert Houghton, Knt.	
21 ...	1623.	John Radcliff, Knt.—Tho. Walmisley, Knt.	
1 Charles I.	1625.	Rich. Molineux, Bart.—John Radcliff, Knt.	
1 ...	1625.	Rob. Stanley, Esq.—Gilbert Houghton.	
3 ...	1628.	Rich. Molineux, Knt. and Bart.—Alex. Radcliff, Knight of the Bath.	
15 ...	1640.	Gilbert Houghton, Knt. and Bart.—Will. Farrington, Esq.	
16 ...	1640.	Ralph Ashton, Esq.—Roger Kirby, Esq.—Rich. Houghton, Bart.	

In 15th of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More, then chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, held the office of speaker of the house of commons. The learned chancellor's connexion with the duchy has led to the mistake that he represented the county of Lancashire in parliament, and consequently that this county has had the honour to supply a member to the speaker's chair; but this is an error.

Sir Thos. More, member for Lancashire, and speaker of the house of commons.

In the 1st of Edward VI. writs of parliamentary summons were re-issued to Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan; and each of these places at that period resumed, by royal authority, the elective franchise. Queen Elizabeth, in the first year of her majesty's reign, made a further accession to the Lancashire boroughs, by the addition of Newton and Clitheroe; and all these six boroughs have ever since that time regularly returned members to parliament.

The ancient Lancashire boroughs resume the exercise of their elective franchise.

New boroughs.

It appears that nomination boroughs were perfectly familiar so early as the reign of Elizabeth; and it is probable, that both Newton and Clitheroe have always partaken of this character: but the most flagrant instance of the kind upon record in these early times, is to be found in a bundle of returns of parliamentary writs in the 14th of Queen Elizabeth, which, though unconnected with the county of Lancaster, may not inaptly be introduced in this place. The document is in the chapel of the rolls, and is expressed in the following terms:—

Nomination boroughs in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

CHAP.
VIII.

Dame
Packington's
nominees.

“ To all Christian people to whom this present Writing shall come. I, Dame
“ *Dorothy Packington*, widow, late wife of *Sir John Packington*, Kt., Lord
“ and Owner of the Town of *Aylesbury*, send greeting. Know ye, Me, the said
“ Dame *Dorothy Packington*, to have chosen, named, and appointed my trusty
“ and well-beloved *Thomas Lichfield* and *George Burden*, Esqrs. to be my
“ Burgesses of my said town of *Aylsbury*. And whatsoever the said *Thomas*
“ and *George*, Burgesses, shall do in the Service of the Queen’s Highness
“ in that present Parliament, to be holden at Westminster the Eighth Day of
“ *May* next ensuing the Date hereof, I the same *Dorothy Packington*, do
“ ratify and approve to be my own Act, as fully and wholly as if I were or
“ might be present there. In WITNESS whereof to these presents, I have
“ set my Seal this Fourth Day of *May*, in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of
“ our Sovereign Lady *Elizabeth*, by the Grace of God of *England, France,*
“ and *Ireland*, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c.”

The chan-
cellor of
the duchy
of Lancaster
claims the
right to
nominate
members
for the
borough
of Leicester

In the 26th year of this queen’s reign, a very extraordinary claim was set up to parliamentary nomination by Sir Ralph Sadler, “*eques notæ virtutis*,” in virtue of his office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, which was no less than the right to nominate both the members to represent the borough of Leicester in parliament. The account given in the archives of the borough, of this claim, and of the manner in which it was disposed of, is as follows:—

“ NOV. 12, 26 ELIZ.—At a common hall, the sheriff’s precept being read, and after that sir Ralph Sadler’s letter for nomination of both our burgesses, and other letters; it is agreed, that sir Ralph Sadler, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, shall have the nomination of one of the burgesses; who thereupon nominated Henry Skipwith, esq.; and the other chosen was Thomas Johnson, one of her majesty’s serjeants at arms; and either of them promised to bear their own charges.”

On what authority the chancellor grounded his pretensions to nominate members for this borough, except that it is within the duchy of Lancaster, does not appear, nor does it appear that any similar claim was ever made by any other chancellor, either before or since. It may be inferred from the corporation record, that members began about this time to serve without wages; and, it is probable, that the practice was gradually discontinued, till at length it wholly ceased.

COMMONWEALTH.

The following are the names of the members for the county of Lancaster, elected during the Commonwealth:—

1653. Will. West, John Sawry, Rob. Cunliss.

[The name of "PRAISE GOD BAREBONE," occurs in this parliament in the list of London members.]

1654. Rich. Holland, Gilbert Ireland, Rich. Standish, Will. Ashurst.

1656. Sir Rich. Houghton, bart. Col. Gilbert Ireland, Col. Rich. Holland, Col. Rich. Sandish.

1658-9. George Book, bart. Alex. Rigby, esq.

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VIII.

11 CHARLES II.* TO 2 WILLIAM IV.

The parliament of 1653 was a packed parliament, returned by Cromwell, the lord protector, and consisted only of one hundred and twenty-one members, of whom one hundred and ten were for England, five each for Scotland and Ireland, and one for Wales. In 1654, the right of election was again partially restored, the number of members being augmented to four hundred, of whom two hundred and seventy were chosen by the counties; the remainder were elected by London and other considerable corporations and towns, Manchester and Leeds being amongst the number. To the parliament of 1653, neither Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, Wigan, or Clitheroe, sent any members, but the county returned three; to those of 1654 and 1656, Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan, sent each one member, and the county four. To the parliament of 1658-9, Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, Wigan, and Newton, sent two members each, and the county two; but no return was made for Clitheroe during the whole period of the Commonwealth. Though the government professed to be popular, the elective franchise was very much abridged during this period, and an estate of two hundred pounds value was necessary to confer the right of voting. In other respects, the elections were unobjectionable, except that all those who had carried arms against the parliament, as well as their sons, were prohibited from voting at the elections.

Repre-
sentation
of Lanca-
shire dur-
ing the
Common-
wealth.

List of the knights of the shire for the county of Lancaster, from the Restoration to the present time:—

11 Charles II.	1660.	Sir Roger Bradshaw—Edward Stanley.
12 Charles II.	1661.	The same. The same.
29 Charles II.	1678.	Peter Bold—Charles Gerrard.
32 Charles II.	1681.	Sir Charles Houghton—The same.
36 Charles II.	1685.	Sir Roger Bradshaw—James Holt.
3 James II.	1688.	Lord Brandon—Sir Charles Houghton.

* The reign of Charles II. is dated from the death of his royal father, in 1649, in the calendars; and that chronology is adopted in this list, though his reign did not commence *de facto* till 1660.

CHAP. VIII.	1 William & Mary	1690.	James Stanley,	Ralph Ashton.
	7 William III.	1695.	The same,	The same.
	10 . . .	1698.	The same,	Fitton Garrerd.
	13 . . .	1701.	The same,	Robert Bold.
	14 . . .	1702.	The same,	The same.
	3 Anne	1705.	The same,	Richard Shuttleworth.
	6 . . .	1708.	The same,	The same.
	8 . . .	1710.	The same,	The same.
	11 . . .	1713.	Sir John Bland,	The same.
	12 . . .	1714.	The same,	The same.
	8 George I.	1722.	The same,	The same.
	13 . . .	1727.	Sir Edward Stanley,	The same.
	7 George II.	1734.	The same,	The same.
	14 . . .	1741.	Lord Strange,	The same.
	20 . . .	1747.	The same,	The same.
	27 . . .	1754.	The same,	Peter Bold.
	1 George III.	1761.	The same,	James Shuttleworth.
	2 . . .	1762.	J. Smith, (Lord Strange),	James Shuttleworth, Esq.
	8 . . .	1768.	The same,	Lord Arch. Hamilton.
			Richard L. V. Molyneux,	Sir Thos. Egerton, Bart.
	14 . . .	1774.	E. Smith, (Lord Stanley,) Hon. Thomas Stanley. Thomas Stanley, Esq.	The same.
	20 . . .	1780.	The same,	Sir Thomas Egerton, Bart.
	24 . . .	1784.	The same,	John Blackburn, Esq.
	30 . . .	1790.	The same,	The same.
	36 . . .	1796.	The same,	The same.
	41 . . .	1801.	The same,	The same.
	42 . .	1802.	The same,	The same.
	46 . . .	1806.	The same,	The same.
	47 . . .	1807.	The same,	The same.
	53 . . .	1812.	Lord Stanley,	The same.
	59 . . .	1819.	The same,	The same.
	1 George IV.	1820.	The same,	The same.
	7 . . .	1826.	The same,	The same.
	1 William IV.	1830.	The same,	John Wilson Patten, Esq.
	1 . . .	1831.	The same,	Benjamin Heywood, Esq.

Of all the Lancashire boroughs, Liverpool alone has risen into eminence; and for this distinction it seems indebted rather to the local advantages of its marine situation, than to its chartered privileges. Preston has at all times occupied a high station amongst the towns of the county; but for several centuries it was perfectly

stationary in its wealth and population ; and it was not till its corporate restrictions were materially relaxed, that it began to increase in either. The other boroughs of the county have not undergone any material changes in the lapse of ages, while a number of the other towns of Lancashire have been increasing within the last century in a ratio altogether unexampled.

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VIII.

For many years, and, indeed, for some ages, the political character of the county representation had displayed itself in a division of the return of members between the Stanley family, as the head of the Whig party, and the Tory interest, of which John Blackburne, esq., the venerable proprietor of Hale Hall, was the organ ; but at the general election in 1831, the disposition of the county in favour of the then pending Reform Bill, (of which the most conspicuous features were its disfranchising the decayed boroughs, and conferring the elective franchise on many of the populous unrepresented towns of the country,) was so strong, that this tacit arrangement was no longer acted upon, but two members were returned, both of them in favour of the new system.

Political
character
of the re-
presenta-
tion of
Lanca-
shire.

The alteration made by the Reform Act, in the representation of the county of Lancaster in parliament, is more considerable than in any other county in the kingdom ; the principle of the elective franchise being property and population, and both property and population having increased more in this than in any other county since the representative system was first settled in the reign of Edward I. That "poverty and debility" which for so long a period induced the inhabitants of all the parliamentary boroughs in the county of Lancaster to suffer their elective rights to sink into abeyance, now no longer exist, but have given place to an amount of wealth and population, which fully entitles most of those boroughs, and several other towns in the county, to send their representatives to the national councils. By the provisions of this memorable act, entitled, "An Act to amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales," and the act "To settle and describe the Divisions of the Counties, and the Limits of Cities and Boroughs," consequent upon it, the privilege of sending four members to parliament as knights of the shire, instead of two, is conferred upon the county of Lancaster. For the convenience of the electors, the county is separated into two parts—the northern and the southern:—for the northern division, consisting of the whole of the hundreds of Lonsdale, Amounderness, Leyland, and Blackburn, the election is to be held in the borough of Lancaster ; and for the southern division, consisting of the whole of the hundreds of Salford and West Derby, the election is to be held in the town of Newton.

Alteration
in the re-
presenta-
tion of the
county
and bo-
roughs of
Lanca-
shire by
the par-
liamentary
Reform
Act of
1832.

Passed
June 7,
1832.

Passed
July 11,
1832.

By schedule A, of the Reform Act, the borough of Newton, in this county, is disfranchised ; and by schedule B, the borough of Clitheroe, instead of sending two

members to parliament, is allowed only to return one. By schedule C, Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn, and Oldham, are erected into boroughs, with the privilege of sending two members each to parliament; and by schedule D, Ashton-under-Lyne, Bury, Rochdale, Salford, and Warrington, are also created boroughs, with the privilege of sending one member each.

The number of members sent by Lancaster, Liverpool, Preston, and Wigan, remains unaltered, so that an actual increase of two members is made to the knights of the shire, and ten members to the borough representation of the county.

The Boroughs in the NORTHERN DIVISION are—

BLACKBURN—which sends	Two Members.
CLITHEROE	One Member.
LANCASTER	Two Members.
PRESTON	Two Members.

The Boroughs of the SOUTHERN DIVISION are—

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE—which sends	One Member.
BOLTON-LE-MOORS	Two Members.
BURY	One Member.
LIVERPOOL	Two Members.
MANCHESTER	Two Members.
OLDHAM	Two Members.
ROCHDALE	One Member.
SALFORD	One Member.
WARRINGTON	One Member.
WIGAN	Two Members.*

In the early periods of the representative history of this county, the members returned for the boroughs were chosen out of the respective communities which they were sent to represent, namely, the merchants and other principal inhabitants; and one great object of the recent changes in the constitution of the lower house of parliament, has been to revive this system in large, commercial, and manufacturing towns, though it is probable that the principle will not be carried, in those places, to the extent of the entire exclusion of men of eminent talent and worth, who may possess no claim on the ground of local connexion.

* The boundary of each borough of the county, as defined in the act 2 and 3 William IV. cap. 64. will be inserted in the history of that borough.

Chap. II.

Important period in Lancashire history.—Royal clemency towards the adherents of Thomas, earl of Lancaster—Attainder reversed.—Battle-roll of Boroughbridge.—Scotch invasion.—Lancashire banditti.—Redress of public grievances.—Levies in the county.—Cattle removed into the south.—The invaders punished.—Subsidy in Lancashire on the marriage of the king's sister.—Talliares in the county, shewing the relative importance of the principal towns.—Statute of Winton enforced in Lancashire.—Consequences in the county of renewed wars.—Splendid naval victory.—Fresh levies in the county.—Flocks and herds again driven.—Signal overthrow of the Scots.—Their king made prisoner.—Pestilence.—Creation of the first duke of Lancaster.—On the origin of the title of Duke.—Heavy imposts on the people of the duchy.—Impressment of ships.—Maximum of agricultural wages.—Death of the first duke of Lancaster—His will—His possessions.—Administration of the first duke, from the rolls of the Duchy.—Renewal of the dukedom in the person of John of Gaunt.—Papal bull.—Levy of ships at Liverpool.—Non-exportation from thence.—Renewed alarm of invasion.—Parish tax.—Exchange of Richmondshire for other possessions.—The franchise of *jura regalia* confirmed, and extended in favour of the duke of Lancaster.—Letters of protection to Lancashire men.—No restrictions on the importation of grain in these early times.—Continuance of the royal bounty to the house of Lancaster.



NE of the most spirit-stirring periods in the early annals of Lancashire, is that comprehended in the long reign of Edward III., at which, in the order of our history, we have now arrived. In this reign, the estates of the house of Lancaster, forfeited by the defection of the head of that house, were restored and augmented; the ducal dignity was conferred upon Henry, the first duke of Lancaster, and the second duke created in England; the county was erected into a palatinate jurisdiction, with *jura regalia*, and John

of Gaunt, the distinguished ornament of the ducal house, flourished in princely splendour in the exercise of regal functions. To add to the interest of this portion of our history the public records of the kingdom abound with authentic materials; and our difficulty has arisen, not from the deficiency, but from the redundancy of those materials, which, being too copious to be published in detail, can only be

CHAP.
IX.

Important
period in
Lancashire his-
tory.

CHAP.
IX.

presented in selection, and often by close abridgment. An ordinary-sized volume would scarcely contain all the interesting documents belonging to the history of Lancashire in this reign; and in the researches of that rich depository, the office of the duchy of Lancaster, we have found extreme difficulty, as will be perceived in the course of the present chapter, in keeping within those bounds which the limits of this work necessarily prescribe.

Royal clemency towards the adherents of Thomas earl of Lancaster.

One of the first acts of Edward III., on ascending the throne, was to relax the severity of those decrees, under which Thomas earl of Lancaster, by the advice of the vindictive Despensers, had been doomed to the block, and the estates of the earl, as well as of his followers, to confiscation. Edmund de Nevill, by petition laid before the king in council, humbly represented, that at the command of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in whose service he was, he had arrayed certain persons to arrest Hugh le Despenser, and others of the counsellors of the late king, for which offence he had been fined one hundred marks; of this fine he had paid thirty marks into the exchequer, which he prayed might be accepted in discharge of his fine, and which request the king was pleased graciously to grant.*

Another petition was presented by the wardens of the temporalities of the bishop of Hereford, who alleged, that in the quarrel of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, the venerable father had adhered to Roger de Mortimer, of Wygmore, and sent certain men at arms to assist in that quarrel, for which his lands had been declared forfeited, but that he now repented of his errors, and prayed that his possessions might be restored; which prayer was also granted.†

An order from his majesty in council, to the sheriff of Lancashire, issued this year, directs, that the lands of Richard de Holand, who had been engaged in the quarrel of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, against the Despensers, should be restored, and delivered into his hands; and the king, by the assent of parliament, ordered writs to be directed to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, for releasing from fines and confiscation, those who had joined Thomas, earl of Lancaster, against his majesty's deceased father, in the battle of Boroughbridge.‡

Reversal of the attainder.

But the consummation of all this clemency was in the reversal of the attainder, and the cessation of all proceedings against Thomas, earl of Lancaster, on the petition of his brother and heir, Henry, the now earl, to whom all the estates, forfeited by his deceased brother, were restored by a special act of grace, dated the 3d of March, 1328. The order of restoration of the lands, profits, castle, and honor

* 1 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 21. Turr. Lond.

† Ibid. m. 13.

‡ The roll of the battle of Boroughbridge, in possession of C. W. W. Wynn, Esq., published in Division II. of the Parliamentary Writs, and Writs of Summons, (Append. 188.) serves to shew the extent of this rebellion, and the quality of the rebels. No fewer than three hundred and

of Lancaster, to Henry, earl of Lancaster, is directed to John de Lancaster, warden or keeper of the honor of Lancaster; Geoffrey de Werburton, sheriff of Lancaster; Edmund de Assheby, keeper of the fees of the honor of Lancaster; and to the various other officers of that honor.*

As if it had been intended to propitiate the manes of the deceased earl, a brief was issued from York, to Robert de Werington, clerk, enabling him to collect alms in various parts of the kingdom, to defray the cost of the erection of a chapel, to be built on the site where Thomas, earl of Lancaster, had been recently beheaded.

fifty barons and knights had arrayed themselves under the banners of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, in this memorable insurrection, of whom the following were killed or taken prisoners, exclusive of a great number of knights of somewhat inferior note, who were captured, and their lands confiscated by Edward II., but principally restored by his successor :—

“ Les nouns des g^{ra}untz mortz a Borghbrigge le Marsdy ¶ le *Mekerdy* apres la feste *Saint Gregoire* l'an du regne le Roi EDWARD fiz. au Roi EDWARD *quinzisme* ‘ ¶ furent cotr le Roy.’

“ Le Comte de *Hereford*.

“ Sire *William de Suleye*.

“ Sire *Rog. de Beresfeld*.

“ Sire *Hug. Lovel*, e treis Esquyers.

“ ‘ Si^r *Rauf de Elington*.’

“ Sir *Rog. Dammory*, fust mort un poy devaunt a ‘ *Tottebury*.’

“ Banneretz priz a Borghbrigge ¶ aillours ‘ en memes el temps.’

“ Le Counte de *Lancastre* fust de ‘ *colec*.’

“ Sire *John de Wylington*,

“ Sire *Gilb^t. Taillebot*,

“ Sire *Phelip Davey*,

“ Sire *Robt. de Wadeville*,

“ Sire *Ad^l de Swylintoñ*,

“ Sire *Rog. de Clifford*,

“ Sire *Will. Touchet*,

“ Sire *Henr Tyey*s,

“ Si^r *John Giffard*.

“ Sire *Barth de Bedlesm^e*.

“ Sire *John de Moubray*,

“ Sire *Waryn del Idle*,

“ Sire *Thom. Maudyut*,

“ ‘ Sir *Wille fiz Will^e*. le fiz.’ ”

Iceux furent treynez ¶ penduz
‘ de Banerez.’ ”

* 2 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 18. Turr. Lond.

CHAP.
IX.

Incur-
sions of
the Scotch
into the
northern
counties
signally
punished.

The war with Scotland still continued, and the incursions of the Scots exposed the inhabitants of the northern counties of England to the most severe suffering. The young king, anxious to avenge the wrongs committed upon his subjects, placed himself at the head of his army; to increase which, he directed his mandate to the commissioners of array of cavalry and infantry, in the county of Lancaster, announcing that the Scots were preparing to invade the kingdom, and ordering them to prepare with arms all the men in the county, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, to join the king at Durham.* The effect of this expedition was to free the country from the invaders, by the overthrow of the Scots army; and the death of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, which occurred on the 7th of June, 1329, prevented any further active hostility between the two countries for some years.

Lanca-
shire
banditti.

At this time the county of Lancaster was much disturbed; large bodies of armed men assembled in the hundreds of Salford and West Derby, to the alarm of the peaceable inhabitants, and the insecurity of their property and lives. To put an end to this state of things, the king addressed his warrant to the sheriff of Lancashire, commanding him to make public proclamation, that whoever should in future assemble in this way, would be subject to imprisonment and the loss of their arms.†

This measure does not appear to have had the desired effect. It was found necessary in the following year to appoint a commission, consisting of John de Haryngton, Thomas de Lathom, Richard de Houghton, Richard de Kigheley, and Gilbert de Warburton, as guardians of the public peace. In the proclamation by which this commission was accompanied, it is stated, that great multitudes of vagabonds and others assemble illegally together, by day and by night, watching the passes through woods and other places, both public and private, and that these banditti way-lay travellers, beating, wounding, and abusing them; killing some of them, maiming others, and robbing all of them of their property. The functions of the guardians of the peace were very extensive; they were no less than the powers of inquiring into offences, and of correcting and punishing the offenders at their own discretion.

Procla-
mation for
the redress
of public
wrongs.

While the government were punishing the outrages of the lawless, they were not unmindful of the oppressions and delinquencies practised by their own servants; and hence we find that, in the following year, a writ was issued by the king's authority to the sheriff of Lancashire, reciting, that in consequence of the representation that divers oppressions and hardships had been inflicted on the inhabitants by men in authority, he was to make proclamation, that whoever had suffered oppression and injustice, contrary to the laws and usages of the realm, should make

* Rot. Scot. I Edw. III. m. 4. Turr. Lond.

† Claus. 2 Edw. III. m. 20 d. Turr. Lond.

known their grievances to the next parliament, through the two knights of the shire, to be sent from this county to that parliament.*

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The county was now threatened with a fresh war. The regency, by which the Scotch nation was governed during the minority of the prince, declined to recognize the claims of Edward Baliol, whose cause the English king had espoused, and taillage was levied of a fifteenth, to enable him to carry on the war, of which William de Denum, Thomas de Banenburgh, and Robert de Tughole, were appointed the assessors in the northern counties of Lancashire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; while Henry de Percy was appointed warden of the marches. The demands upon Lancashire were not confined to money; a levy of four hundred archers and one hundred *hobelers*, very strong and able-bodied men, fully accoutred, were required from this county, and John de Denum, Edward Nevil, and Robert de Shireburn, were appointed to array the levy.† At the same time, a writ of summons was addressed to Henry, earl of Lancaster, directing him to join the king at New-castle-upon-Tyne, on the Feast of the Holy Trinity.

Fresh
levies in
Lanca-
shire.

In the mean time, the Scots forces had penetrated into the northern counties, and spread so much alarm by their homicides and devastations, that a writ was issued to the sheriff of Lancashire, announcing that the king, for the protection of the inhabitants, permitted them to withdraw themselves, with their goods and cattle, out of the county into the southern parts of the kingdom, and there to remain wherever they chose in the king's woods, forests, and pastures, during their pleasure, and to graze their cattle in the same without making any payment for so doing. It was also announced that similar commands had been given to the bishop of Durham, and to the sheriffs of Northumberland, Nottingham, and Derby.‡

Removal
of cattle,
&c. out of
the county
into the
south.

Signal and speedy vengeance was inflicted upon the Scots for this violation of the English territory. The king, who was then at Pontefract, at the head of a powerful army, on his way to the north, marched forward to Berwick, in which garrison the regent Douglas had fortified himself. After a protracted siege, a general battle ensued, in which Douglas was killed, and nearly thirty thousand of the Scotch troops fell in the action, in which, according to Knyghton, the loss of the English amounted only to one knight, one squire, and thirteen private soldiers!—a loss, as the historian Hume observes, so small as almost to be incredible.

The in-
vaders
again
punished.

The taillage, or tallage, collected in this reign, as mentioned above, was a kind of occasional property-tax. In the 11 Henry III. a taillage was made in Lancashire, which serves as a barometer by which to measure the relative importance of the

Taillage
in Lanca-
shire,
shewing
the rela-
tive im-
portance
of its
powerful
towns.

* Claus. 4 Edw. III. m. 18 d. Turr. Lond.

† Pat. 6 Edw. III. p. 3. m. 18. Turr. Lond.

‡ Claus. 7 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 18. Turr. Lond.

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principal towns of the county, in the thirteenth century. The impost was assessed by "Master Alexander de Dorsete and Simon de Hal," and the payments were for—

	Marks.	s.	d.
The town of Lancaster	xij.		
The town of Liverpool	xj.	vij.	viii.
The town of West Derby	vij.	iiii.	iiij.
The town of Preston	xv.	—	vj.

The tenants in theinage paid x marks to have respite, that they might not be tailliged.* It is remarkable that neither Manchester nor Salford are mentioned in this early return to his majesty's exchequer, and that Wigau, though one of the ancient boroughs of the county, is also omitted.

Subsidy
raised in
the county
on the
marriage
of the
king's sis-
ter.

On the marriage of the king's sister Alionora to the earl of Gerl', an order was issued to the abbot of Furness, and to the priors of Burscough, Up-Holland, and Hornby, as well as to the abbot of Whalley and to the priors of Kertmell and Coningshead, requiring them to levy the subsidy on their respective houses, towards the maritagium, an impost of early times, which ceased with the feudal system.† This order the priests were slow to obey, in consequence of which another letter was issued by the king from Pontefract, reminding them of their neglect, and ordering them to communicate their intention to the proper authority. No further documents appear on the subject; and it may be presumed that this second application produced the desired effect. The abbot of Peterborough, in order to shew his attachment to the king, and to secure the favour of the noble family whose influence at this time prevailed in his majesty's councils, presented Edward with a splendid service of plate, amongst which was a silver gilt cup with a *seuchon*, on which was engraved the arms of "Lancaster."

Service of
plate—
"Lancas-
ter arms."

Statute of
Winton
enforced
in Lanca-
shire.

The danger of invasion from the Scotch, which prevailed so frequently during the reign of Edward III., induced that monarch to issue an order to Robert de Shireburn and Edmund de Neville, directing them to enforce, in the county of Lancaster, the statute of Winton, for arming and arraying the inhabitants according to their respective estates in land. ‡

* "Tallagium per Magistrum Alexandrum de Dorsete & Simonem de Hal. Villata de Lankastre r. c. de xij marcis de eodem. Villata de Liverpool r. c. de xj marcis & vijs. & viijd de eodem. Villata de Westderby r. c. de vij marcis & vij s. & viijd de eodem. Tenentes in Theinnagio (debent) x marcas, pro habenda respectu ne talientur. Villata de Preston r. c. de xv marcis & vjd de eodem (taillagio,) with several other towns." *Mag. Rot. 11 H. III. Rot. 1. a. Lankastre.*

† Claus. 7 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 23. Turr. Lond.

‡ The statute of Winton, passed 13 Edward I. requires that persons possessing fifteen pounds in land or upwards, and chattels of the value of forty marks, shall provide themselves with a halbert

Renewed
wars, and
their con-
sequence
in Lanca-
shire ;
fresh
taxes.

England being again involved in war with France, the king determined to embark for the continent, partly to direct its operations, but principally to animate by his presence, that extensive confederacy which he had organized against Philip, the French king. This intention was announced in Lancashire by a writ, directed to John de Haryngton, Edmund de Nevill, and Richard de Houghton, knights, by which they were directed, along with other knights, to be in their proper persons “present before the king in council at Westminster, the day after Easter, to hear what he had to expound to them for their conduct, during his absence on most urgent business, in parts across the sea,” and with the further purpose of receiving instructions, to preserve the peace inviolate during his absence.* Although parliaments had then been only very recently instituted upon the model of popular representation, the royal influence began already to exert itself, to obtain the return of such members to the house of commons as would best secure the king’s purpose, by granting him large supplies out of the public revenue ; and this appears to have been the object of Edward, in summoning these knights by the authority of his own writ. The parliament which was convened on the recommendation of this council, made a grant for two years of the ninth sheaf of corn, and the ninth lamb and fleece, on their estates ; and from the burgesses, of a ninth of their moveables, at the true value. The same parliament also granted a duty of forty shillings on each sack of wool exported, on each three hundred woolfells, and on each last of leather, for the same term, declaring, however, that this grant was not to be drawn into a precedent. But in order to facilitate the supply, and to meet the king’s urgent necessities, they agreed that he should be allowed twenty thousand sacks of wool, the amount to be deducted from the moveables when they were levied. Local treasuries became necessary, as deposits for the sums collected in the respective counties, and the abbot of Furness accordingly received a command to provide a suitable house in his abbey, for “the custody of the king’s pence.” A writ of summons was at the same time directed to the sheriff of Lancashire, ordering him to arrest the ships in the ports, and to man and equip them for action.† With the fleet, consisting of two

(haberjonem), an iron cap, a sword, a cultel, and a horse ; of ten pounds in land, and chattels value twenty marks, a halbert, sword, and cultel ; of one hundred shillings in land, a purpoint iron cap, sword, and cultel ; of forty shillings in land, and more up to a hundred shillings, a sword, a bow, arrows, and cultel ; and he who had less than forty shillings in land, to be sworn. Persons to have arms and armour in their houses, according to the quality of their lands and goods. This statute also provides, that the people of every hundred shall be answerable to the sufferers for the robberies and other offences committed in their respective hundreds.

* Claus. 12 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 37. d. Turr. Lond.

† Rot. Aleman. 12 Edw. III. p. 1. m. 23. Turr. Lond.

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IX.Splendid
naval vic-
tory.Fresh le-
vies in
Lanca-
shire.

hundred and forty sail, principally collected in this way, the splendid victory of Sluisse was obtained by Edward over the navy of France, in which two hundred and thirty French ships were taken, and thirty thousand Frenchmen killed, along with their two admirals, while the loss of the English was comparatively inconsiderable.*

Although this signal victory had given to the navy of England a superiority which it has never since lost, the alarm of invasion spread very generally, and, amongst other preparations made to repel the invaders, it was ordered, that fifty men at arms, three hundred armed men, and three hundred archers, should be raised in this county, of which number, twenty-five men at arms, and one hundred and twenty archers, were to be contributed by the following gentlemen :†—

Monſr Johan de Haryngton, pur lui & son pier	} X hoñies d' armes & XL archrs.
Robt de Radeclif,	V hoñies d' armes & XL archrs.
Henry de Trafford,	X hoñies d' armes & XL archrs.

The warlike spirit of the king had involved him in hostilities both with Scotland and France; and in the following year a writ of military summons was issued to Gilbert de Clyderowe and to Robert de Radeclif, ordering them to assemble the men at arms, and archers, under their command, to meet the king at Carlisle, by Quadragesima Sunday, to repel the invasion of the Scots.‡ At the same time, John de Helleker, the king's receiver for Lancashire, was ordered to send money to Carlisle, towards repairing the fortresses of that city, and the abbot of Furness was commanded to provide a suitable house in his abbey for the custody of the king's pence. To the joy of the people, a proclamation was this year received in Lancashire, and in the other counties of England, commanding the sheriff to publish a truce between the king and Philip de Valois, and between the English and the Scotch.

Little reliance, however, appears to have been placed upon the permanent restoration of tranquillity, for in the following year the sheriff of Lancashire was ordered to provide one hundred bows and one thousand sheaves of arrows, for the expedition into France.§ This was speedily followed by another order to the sheriff, directing

* Froissard, liv. i. chap. 51.

† Rot. Parl. 13 Edw. III. vol. ii. p. 110.

‡ Rolls of Parl. vol. ii. p. 110. 13 Edw. III. No. 33.

§ The price of bows is fixed in the government order at one shilling each, which sum is also to be allowed for a sheaf of arrows, except when they are guarded with steel (*aceratæ*), and then the charge is to be one shilling and twopence.

him to provide a thousand sheaves of steel-headed arrows, and a thousand bow-strings.

In the war with France, which was speedily renewed, Henry, earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, greatly distinguished himself;* and the events of this war, in which the French king was taken prisoner, shed an imperishable renown on the military character of England. For the prosecution of the contest, large levies were raised in all the counties of the kingdom; and an order was directed by the king to the sheriff of Lancashire, commanding him to make proclamation, that all barons, bannerets, knights, and esquires, in the county, within the age of sixteen and sixty, should be forthwith prepared with horses and arms, to attend the king across the sea, to enable him to put a speedy and successful termination to the war.† Not only the noble, but the ignoble also were embarked in this service, and the sheriff received soon after a writ of military service, commanding him to make public proclamation, that all persons in his county who had been found guilty of felonies, homicides, robberies, and other offences, and had been pardoned by the king's clemency, should provide themselves with arms and accoutrements, and march to join the royal army on its embarkation at Portsmouth for France.

The Scots, under David Bruce, availing themselves of the opportunity which the absence of the English forces afforded, prepared to invade the northern counties; on which a writ was addressed by the king to the sheriff of Lancashire, announcing the danger of the country, and ordering him to make proclamation, that all the men of the county should remove their live stock to the forest of Galtres, in the county of York, where they might be preserved in safety, and where the flocks and herds would enjoy pasturage free of charge.‡

The flocks and herds of the county again driven to seek protection.

The king of England being engaged in the French wars, aided by his son, the Black Prince, and by the earl of Derby, queen Philippa assembled a body of soldiers, to repel the Scotch invaders. This force, under the command of lord Percy, met at Neville's Cross, with the determination to revenge the insults which had been offered to the country, and to put an end to the violations which had been committed upon the property of the inhabitants. Animated, in that chivalrous age, to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the presence of the queen, who rode along their ranks previous to the battle, the English troops, though not numerically amounting to one-fourth of the number of the Scotch, fought like lions. The enemy was broken and driven off the field, and fifteen thousand of them were made to bite the dust, amongst whom was the earl marshal of Scotland. To crown this memorable victory, David Bruce, the Scotch king, was made prisoner, and conveyed to London, along

Signal overthrow of the Scotch army.

* See c. iv. p. 136.

† Rot. Franc. 19 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 12. Turr. Lond.

‡ Claus. 19 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 10. d. Turr. Lond.

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IX.David
Bruce
taken
prisoner.

with a number of his captive nobles, in triumph.* The number of prisoners taken in this battle was so large as to fill all the prisons of Lancashire. The inhabitants, in order to relieve themselves from the burden of the support of so many prisoners, liberated a number of them, in the hope that they would return to their own country, but instead of pursuing this course, they began to commit depredations; on which the government instituted a commission, consisting of Thomas de Latham, John de Haryngton the younger, and Nicholas le Botiller, to make inquisition into the alleged liberations, and to announce that the persons guilty of this offence against the public safety would be liable to the forfeiture of life and limbs.†

Impress-
ment of
ships in
Lanca-
shire.

In order to reinstate the English navy in its former strength, after the splendid victory of Suisse, a tax somewhat resembling that attempted to be imposed by Charles I. though unattended by its disastrous consequences, was levied in the sea-ports of Liverpool and Chester, under the authority of an order from the king, by which the collectors of the ship-money were directed to collect the subsidy of two shillings the sack on wool, and sixpence the pound on moveables, for sixty large ships of war (*grossis navibus de guerra*.) and to deliver the money so assessed to the admiral of the fleet of those ports. A contribution was also made in Lancashire, in favour of Edmund Baliol, king of Scotland, the nominee of Edward, king of England; and Richard Molineaux and his associates, collectors of the triennial tenths recently granted to the king, were ordered to transmit one hundred and eighty-four pounds, in two instalments, out of the sums collected for the king's exchequer.‡

Dreadful
pestilence
in the
county.

At this time a pestilence of the most fatal character raged in the county of Lancaster, and indeed in all the other counties of the kingdom; and so malignant were its effects, that one-third of the inhabitants became its victims. According to Stowe, the annalist, fifty thousand persons died of this plague in the city of Norwich, and an equal number were interred in one burial-ground in the city of London.

The first
dukedom
of Lancas-
ter, the re-
ward of
splendid
public
services.

The brilliant career pursued in France by Henry, earl of Lancaster and Derby, determined the king to confer upon him a signal mark of the royal favour, by creating him duke of Lancaster.§ The origin of this title is thus represented by the heralds :—

The first
creation of
dukes.

“ The first creation of the title of duke, as distinct from that of earl (for in the elder times they were oft synonymous with us) was in the eleventh year of Edward the Third, when in parliament he conferred upon his eldest son, being then earl of Chester, the title of duke of Cornwall. The investiture of this first duke was only by girding him with the sword, although some learned men, confounding, it seems,

* Froissard, liv. i. c. 139.

† Rot. Scot. 20 Edw. III. m. 4 d. Turr. Lond.

‡ 23 Edw. III.

§ 25 Edw. III. 1351.

the ceremonies of his being afterwards made prince of *Wales*, with this creation into the title of duke, say he was invested by a ring, a rod, and a coronet, all of which indeed together are mentioned in some patents of the following times, that seem to create the eldest sons dukes of *Cornwall*, as well as princes of *Wales*, and earls of *Chester*. The same investiture also, by the sword only, is mentioned in the creation of *Henry*, the first duke of *Lancaster*, about fourteen years after this first creation of the duke of *Cornwall*. He was created for life in parliament, and the clause of investiture, in the charter, is only *nomen ducis Lancastriae, imponimus & ipsum de nomine ducis dicti loci, per cincturam gladii praesentialiter investimus*; and the county of *Lancaster* as a county palatine, with reference to that of *Chester*, for example of jurisdiction, is given to him as the body of his duchy.* Afterward, in 36 Edw. III. on the last day of the parliament, *Lionel*, duke of *Clarence*, and *John*, duke of *Lancaster*, both sons to the king, were honoured with those titles, *Lionel* being then in *Ireland*; but the other being present, had investiture by the king's girding him with a sword, and his putting him on a cap of fur, *desus in cercle d'or & de peres*, as the roll says, that is, under a coronet of gold and stones."

Soon after the first establishment of the duchy of Lancaster, heavy complaints were made by the inhabitants, in consequence of the two-fold pressure of taxation; first, for the support of the state, and, next, for the maintenance of the institutions of the duchy. To alleviate their burdens, the king addressed a mandate to the duke of Lancaster, or to his lieutenant and chancellor, wherein it was directed, that all general inquisitions concerning felonies and trespasses in every part of the kingdom should cease, so long as the people remained peaceable, and particularly that the people in the duchy of Lancaster, who had been impeded in their business, and reduced to great poverty, by the inquisitions made in the duchy, should no longer be burdened in this way. The duke was therefore ordered to supersede all such proceedings within his duchy, and to administer the law in the same manner as in other parts of the kingdom.

Heavy
imposts on
the people
of the
duchy.

The same year the king addressed a proclamation to all admirals, their lieutenants and sheriffs, appointing Roger del Wych, John Syword, John Cruys, and William son of Adam de Lyverpol, to arrest as many ships in *Liverpool* and *Chester*, and other ports, as were necessary to convey *Thomas de Rocheby*, the king's justiciary of *Ireland*, into that country.

Further
impress-
ment of
ships in
the ports
of Lanca-
shire
and Che-
shire.

The difficulty of procuring labourers in husbandry after the country had been so much thinned of its population by the plague, disinclined the working classes to take the usual rate of wages for their labour, and an act was in consequence passed "to restrain the malice of servants," who insisted upon extravagant wages,

Maximum
of agricul-
tural
labour.

* See c. iv. p. 138.

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(*outrageous lowers.*) The standard of wages, fixed by this act, was that which had prevailed voluntarily before the plague broke out, when corn was tenpence a bushel, and wages fifteen pence a week. This law being in opposition to the general principle of trade, which causes the supply and the demand to regulate the price, failed in its object, and the labourers left their usual places of abode, to seek more profitable employment, which they easily found from home. The strong arm of the law was again called in, and it was enacted, that no servant should in summer go out of the town or parish where he usually dwelt in winter, if he could obtain employment there, with an exception in favour of the labourers in the counties of Lancaster, Stafford, and Derby, and in the districts of Craven and the marches of Wales, who were allowed to go in the month of August, the season of harvest, to work in other counties; and persons refusing to obey this proclamation were to be put in the stocks, by the lords and stewards, or, if that discipline did not prove sufficient, they were to be sent to the next prison, and there confined for three days.*

Death of
the duke
of Lan-
caster.

During the king's absence in France, Henry, duke of Lancaster, was summoned to attend the council, which duty he performed with his usual fidelity. This was amongst the last public acts of that venerable peer; for in the month of March, in the following year, 1361, he expired, without male heir, on which his honours and his princely possessions descended to his two daughters, Maud and Blanch, whose names, however, are not even mentioned in his will.

WILL OF HENRY, DUKE OF LANCASTER.

His will.
His pos-
sessions.

“ En le nom del Piere, del Fitz, et del Seint Espirit. Nous Henry, Due de Lancastre, Comte de Derby, de Nichol, et de Leicestr', Seneschal d'Engleterre, Seigneur de Bruggerak, et de Benfort, le xv jour del mois de Marz l'an de grace mill ecc. et lx a n're chastel de Leic' devisons et fasons n're testament en manere qe s'ensuit. Enprimes nous recommaundons et devisons n're alme a Dieu, et devisons n're corps a estre ensevellitz en l'eglise collegiale del annunciation n're Dame de Leicestr' dantrepart le antiere ou le corps n're seign'r et piere qe dieu assoile est enterrez. Et volons q' n're corps ne demeorge desenterrez outre troies symaynes apres le departir del alme. Et volons q' si nous devons a Leic' que n're corps soit porte a l'eglise parochiale le tiers jour devant l'enterrement, et q' illecoq's soient faites les divines services, tiels come appartient, ove xxiii torches, et qe les douze torches demoeigent a l'eglise et deux draps d'or; les cureez de la dite eglise aient n're melior chivall ou les pris en nom de principal, et q' n're corps soit porteez d'illoques tanqe a l'eglise collegial de n're Dame avant dite, et illoques enterrez come desus est

* Claus. 33 Edw. III. m. 5 d. Turr. Lond.

dit; issint q'il ny ait chose voine ne de bobaunce, come des homes armez, ne des chivals convertz, ny autres choses veines, nes une herce ove cynk cierges, chescune cierge de centz lb, et iiii grauntz mortiers, et c torches entour les corps. Et qe cynquante pources soient vestus, vint et cynk de blank et xxv de blew, portant les ditz torches. Et volons q' n're Seign'r le Roy et ma Dame le Reyne soient garniz de n're ent' rement, et Monsr' le Prince, et mes seign'rs ses freres, et madame Dame Isabell, et nos seors et nos freres lo'r seigneurs, et les autres grauntz de n're saunk. Et devisons cynqaunt linges por departir es pources bosoignouses en temps environ n're enterement en manere come nous avons charge de bouche les unz de nos executors, si tauntz des pources y soeint. Et ne volons una q' nulles costages soeint faitz le jour de n're enterement pour pestre les gentz del pais nes les coes de la ville, et volons q' religionses soient bien regardez. Et volons q' si nous devons aillors qu'a Leic' q'n're corps soit menez al eglise de n're dame collegial avaunt dite et illecoques ensterrez en manere come desus est dit. Et volons et devisons q' toute la cire et touz les drapes d'or demoergent a la dite eglise collegial, et devisons a la dite eglise entierement n're chapele ove touz les aournementz et touz nos reliques. Et devisons touz nos biens, vessell d'argent, et touz lez autres moebles a aquiter noz dettes et guerdoner noz pources servauntz, qe ne sount mie ungore guerdone, chescun solom lour dessert, et solom lour estat, a la disposicion de nos executors, et a perfaire la dite eglise collegial et touz les autres maisons devisez et ordeignez entour la dite eglise. Et volons qe si nos executours puissent estre enfourmes en verite qe nous tenoins terre qe fuist d'autrui, et qe nous ne avoins tiel estat qe nos heires puissent de bone foi le tenir, q'il persuent a nos heires de rendre les terres a ceux ou a cely a queux ou a qy eles devient ou doit estre de droit. Et auxint qe si nos executours puissent estre enforme qe nous eions euz d'antri a tort, q'ils facent gree en descharge de n're alme. E a toutes cestes choses pleniement perfaire et acumplir solom n're volunte et devys susditz, nous ordeignouns et fesonz nos executors le rev'rent piere en Dieu John evesq' de Nichol, le honorable home de seinte religion, William abbe de Leic', n're treschiere soer la Dame Wak, n're tres chiere cosyne de Walkynnton, Monsieur Rob't la Mare, Mons' John de Boke-londe, Sire John de Charnele, Sire Waut' Power, Sinkyn Simeon, et John de Neumarche; donaunt pleine poer a eux et a chescun de eux toutes les choses susdites pleniement perfaire et accomplir en la manere susdite. Et en cas qe nulle chose soit endoubte et nemye desclare en le dit testament, eient nos ditz executors pleine poer totes choses en mesme le testament desclarer solom ceo q'ils senterent qe soit plus a pleissance de Dieu, al profit de n're alme, accordaunt a n're volunte et a resoun. Item nous devisons touz noz biens qe remenant outre noz dettes et outre ceo qe serra donez pur reward a noz servauntz, et a perfaire n're dite eglise

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IX.

collegial de Leic' et en eide de performir et accomplir les maisons qe nous avoins ordeignez illoeqes, d'estre mys al profit de n're alme par l'avis et assent de noz ditz executors. En tesmoigne de queles choses nous avoins a cest n're testament mys n're seal ensemblement ove n're signet; escript le jour, lu, et an susditz.

“ Probatio dicti Testamenti, 3 Kal. April, A.D. 1361, in castro Leycestr' coram Johanne Lincoln Ep'o.

“ Alia probatio dict' Testamenti coram D'n'm Will' mum de Witleseye, Official' Cur' Cant'. Dat' London, 7 Idus Maii, A.D. 1361.

“ Regist' Islip. fol. 172. a. b. in the Archiepiscopal Registry at Lambeth.”

The extent and magnitude of the possessions of the first duke of Lancaster, forming as they do the principal part of the duchy, may be in some degree estimated from the following enumeration exhibited in the *Inquisition Post Mortem* in the records of the Tower of London, taken in 36 Edw. III.

INQUISITION POST MORTEM

OF THE POSSESSIONS OF THE FIRST DUKE OF LANCASTER.

“ *In the County of Lancaster.*—Lancastr' castrum & honor—Placita comitatus Lancastr'—Westderbyshire ballia—Lonesdale wapentac'—Lancastr' vill'—Lone aqua piscar' juxta Prestwait—Overton maner'—Slyne villa—Skerton terr', &c.—Quernemore parcus—Wiresdale vaccar'—Blesdale vaccar'—Caldre vaccar'—Grisdale vaccar'—Amunderness wapentac'—Preston—Singleton—Riggeby villa cum le Wray—Hydilparke—Cadilegh—Fulwode bosc'—Kylaneshalghe—Broughton—Mirestagh parcus—Wiggehalgh—Baggerburgh—Clyderhoo castr'—Blakebornshire wapentac'—Ighterhall maner'—Colne maner' cum membris—Woxton—Penhalton vill'—Chateburne vill'—Acrinton vill'—Huncotes—Haselingden vill'—Penhull chacea—Trogden chacea—Rossendale chacea—Totinton maner' & chacea—Hoddesden bosc'—Rachedale maner'—Penwortham maner'—Widnes maner'—Ulleswalton maner'—Eccleston vill'—Leylond vill'—Lyverpoll castr'—Westderby maner' & Salford maner' (ut de honore de Tuttebury)—Horneby castr' & maner'—Werington maner'—Laton maner'.

“ *In the County of Leicester.*—Leycestr' castr' & honor extent'—Frithe bosc'—Hynkeley maner' extent'—Schelton maner' extent'—Derford maner' extent'—Selby quinque visus franc' pleg'—Carleton quatuor visus franc' pleg'—Schulton duo visus franc' pleg'—Derford duo visus franc' pleg'—Hynkeley duo visus franc' pleg'.

" *In the County of Dorset.*—Kyngeston Lacy maner'—Winterborn Minster—Wimbourne Holt chacea—Bradbury hundred'—Shapwyk maner'—Maiden Newton hundred'.

" *In the County of Southampton.*—Kyngesomborne maner'—Pernholt bosc' & chacea—La Lond bosc'—Staunden—Earle—Elleden—Huld—Pernholt—Tymbrebury—Compton Houghton—Sumborne Parva—Upsomborne (ter, &c.)—Stockbrigg vill'—Langestoke maner'—Weston maner' juxta' Odiam—Herteley maner'.

" *In the County of Warwic.*'—Kenelworth castr' and maner' extent'—Asthull maner'—Wotton reddit'—Waddesley, Lapworth reddit'—Merslton Boteler—Brinkelowe (terr' & ten')—Ilmedon visus franc' pleg'.

" *In the County of Wiltes.*—Colingborne maner' extent'—Everlee maner' extent'—Lavyngton maner' extent'.

" *In the County of Berks.*'—Esgarston maner' extent'—Poghele—Hungerford—Sandon—& Kentebury (terr. &c.)

" *In the County of Derb.*'—Melborne castr' & maner'.

" *In the County of York.*—Pontefract castr' & honor cum membris viz'—Slaikeborne maner'—Bowland maner' cum foresta—Snaith villa cum soca—Pykering castr' vill' & honor—Scalby maner'—Hoby maner'—Esingwald maner'—Bradeford maner'—Almanby maner'—Ledes maner'—Berewyke maner'—Roundhaye maner'—Scoles maner'—Hypax maner'—Allerton maner'—Rothewell maner'—Altoftes maner'—Warnefield maner'—Ackworth maner'—Elmesdale maner'—Camesale maner'—Custon'—Tanshelfe maner'—Knottingleye maner'—Boghall maner'—cum libera curia de Pontefracto—Divers terr' et ten' &c. in Maningham Barnboghe—Woodhouse—Potterton—Hillum—Saxton—Roundhay—Secroft—Thornore—Scole—Muston—Kypax maner'—Ledeston—Allerton.—Ayer piscaria—Rothewell—Flete molend'—Wridelesford—Kildre piscaria. Divers' terr & ten, &c. Warnefeld—Crofton—Akeworth—Elmesle—Kerkeby Menstthrop—Suthelmsale—Coteyerd—Ellerker—Camesale—Balnehoke—Hargincrofte Bernesdale—Custon—Holnhirst—Carleton Castelford molend'—Hardewike—Knottingley—Beghale—Beghelker—Beghallund.

" *Omnia predicta pertinent honori de Pontefract.*'

" Slaykeborne in Bouland cum forest'—Bremund pastur'—Roudon—Up Aldington—Maukholes—Crombewell—Holme—Baxsterhay—Browesholme—Berkholme—Eghes—Latheringgrime Bernardseless—Nicolshey—Wardeslegh—Hogeking—Heighe—Crepingwarde—Benteley Close—Graistanley—Lekherst—Peinleghe—Coswayne—Chipping Crosdale—Newton—Hamerton Witton—Grinlington—Salley molend'—Bradeford in Bouland—Blakshelfe in Mitton—Witlukill—Smithecrofte—Cowyke villa pertin' socc de Snaythe—Roucliffe mora—Acre aqua

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piscar—Pikering castr' forest' &c. cum feodis pertin' viz'—Middleton—Levesham—Finhilwode—Gotherland—Aleintoftes—Thwaite—Lingthwaite—Rumbald—Haretoft—Folketon marisc'—Ednesmershe—Brampton—Scalby—Hoby—Esingwolde—Credeling maner.' *Divers reddit & repris exeunt de maner' predict'.*

“ *In the County of Northumberland.*—Dunstanburgh castr'—Staunford baronia cum membris suis vidlt, Emeldon—Dunstan—Burton—Warndam—Shipplay—Crauncestre—Fenton—Newton super Moram & Cartington.

“ *In the County of Huntingdon.*—Huntingdon reddit'—Gomecestre reddit'.

“ *In the County of Rutland.*—Tye due lete—Casterton Magna due lete.

“ *In the County of Northampton.*—Higham Ferrers—Raimdes vill'—Russcheden vill'—Irchestre vill'—Hegham hundr' ut de honore de Tuttebury—Davintre maner'—Esthaddon due lete—Helmington—Lylleborne—Dodeford due lete—Wedonbeck ut de honore de Leycestr'.

“ *In the County of Surrey.*—Erwell ten' vocat' Hertegrave.

“ *In the County of Middlesex.*—London' mess' vocat'—Savoye cum shop' & reddit pertin'.

“ *In the County of Lincoln.*—Lincoln' comitat 14 feod' in eodem pertin' castro de Lancast'—Retrecombe curia.

“ *In the County of Stafford.*—Novum Castrum subtus Lynam maner' castr' & burgus cum membris vidlt, Clayton vill'—Wolstanton—Shelton vill'—mere pasag'—Stoke advoc' ecclie—Cliff bosc'—Bradenef terr' & ten'.

“ *In the County of Hereford' & Marches of Wales.*—Monemouthe castr' vill' & domin'—Grossemont castr'—Skenfrithe terr' &c.—Album Castrum & domin'—Karakennyn castr'—Oggemore castr'—Ebbothe maner'—Iskenmin comot'—Kedwellye dominium—Carnwathlon dominium.

“ *In the County of Glouc' & Marches of Wales.*—Roddell maner'—Eccelowe—Minsterworthe maner'—Monemuthe castr'—Berton terr' &c.—Blakmorles pastur'—Kedwelly castr' vill' & dominium.

“ *In the Counties of Gloucester, Hereford, & Marches of Wales.*—Carnewathlan dominium—Lamanthir vill'—Kaerkennyn castr'—Iskenmin comot'—Oggemore castr' & dominium—Ebbothe maner'—Shen castr' cum Barton—Album castr' cum Barton—Tyburton maner'—Minstreworth maner'—Rodleye maner'—Monemouthe castr' & domin'—Grosmonde castr' & domin'—Whitecastell castr' & domin'—Kedwelly domin'—Carnwathlan domin'—Oggemore castr'—Ebbothe maner'.

FEODA.

“ *In the County of Bucks.*—Tappelowe—Chalfhant Sancti Petri—Saundesdron—Weston Turville—Broughton Parva—Penma.

“ *In the County of Bedford*.—Suthmulne—Middelton Erneys.

“ *In the County of Cambridge*.—Grauncete.

“ *In the County of Worcester*.—Bruites Morton.

“ *In the County of Lincoln*.—Duodecim feoda militum quorum quodlibet reddit’ p ann’ 10^s ad wardam castri de Lancast’.

“ *In the County of Somerset*.—Redene—North Overe.

“ *In the County of Dorset*.—Shapewike—Swinetolre—Mayden Nyweton—Upsydelinge.

“ *In the County of Kent*.—Strode—Godwineston—Clyve Hastingleghe—Bra-borne—Chelefeld maner’—Horton—Caulstoke Hasshe.

“ *In the County of Sussex*.—Scheffeld Parva—Kirstede—Kindale—Charlax-ton—Flecching—Chiffeld—Hothore—Est Grinstede—Hertefelde—Claverham—Erlington—Raketon—Torrenge—Westdene—Megham—Bethington—Telton—Cheleworth—Chiffeld maner’ in Flecching—Folyngton—Wennoke—Excete—Ratton.

“ *In the County of Oxon*.—Churchull—Clapwell—Dene—Chalkeford—Fyflhyde—Chadlyngton—Broughton—Nywenton—Lyllingeston—Bagerugg—Pyriton—Hasele—Thomele—Brightwell—Shupton super Charewell—Blechdon—Wight-hull—Lynham—Childeston & Sewell juxta Goldnorton.

“ *In the County of Berks*.—Fyfelhide—Kingeston—Southdenchesworth—Loking—Cherleton juxta Wantynge—Staunden—Hanrethe—Staunford—Westhil-desle—Wolhampton—Northstanden capella—Hungerford capella Sancti Johis.

“ *In the County of Wiltes*.—Choldrington dimid’ feod’—Chitterne dimid’ feod’—Elcomb dimid’ feod’—Merevedene un’ feod—Wrichford dimid’ feod’—Hordene-huuishie un’ feod’—Checkelowe un’ feod—Berewike maner’ un feod’.

“ *In the County of Southampton*.—Chalghton—Katerington—Erleston—Som-borne—Fyflhide juxta Andover—Schalden—Bellum Avenetum—Hertele—Lan-gestoke—Weston—Estden—Semborne.

“ *In the County of Devon*.—Hemly—Porthelleg—Shillingford—Ferdon—Ker-dogis—Iveleghe—Chilton—Coleton—Ralegh—Fursan—Whithem—Whiston—Hod-desworth—Maneton—Prank arswike—Southwyk—Sprayton—Woresleghe—Whit-nesleghe—Wollegh—Wrixston—Godelee—Kippingiscote—Uppecote—Witherige—Hole Meleford—Clompton—Clift Sancti Laurencij—Hordelisworth—Milleford—Deandon—Bourdouliston—Yowe—Hogeland & Heanis.

“ *In the Counties of Gloucester, Hereford, & Marches of Wales*.—Landingate—Longehope—Dounameney—Huntelege—Wisham—Walbykney—Parthir—Dile—Cunstone—Dixton—Novum Castrum—Cothitham—Monimouthe—Garthe—Rakenill—Holywell—Grose mound—Chesterton—Aspertion—Mayneston—Lanwar-

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thin—Lanknethin in dominio de Kedwelly—Penbray—Witewike—Hope Maloisell, Llanclthye ecclia, Sancti Ismaelis ecclia, Lanconar ecclia—In dominio de Ogmores feoda subscripta vidlt—Dourenen—Deynell—Pyncote—Lanforte—Colewinstone—Frogg Castell—Ewerdon—Puttes—Le Wike—Southdone & Sancta Brigitta.

“*In the County of Lancast’*.—Walton in Blakebornshire—Crointon—Apulton—Sutton—Eccleston—Rainhull—Knowseleghe—Torbok—Hyton—Maghull—Crosseby Parva—Kirkebye—Kirkedale—Northmeles—Argameles—Ulheswalden—Bretherton—Hoghton—Claiton—Whelton cum Heparge—Wytherhull cum Bothelesworthe—Hoton—Longeton—Leilond—Enkeston—Chenington—Chernoke—Walshewhithull—Warton in Amounderness—Prees—Neuton—Freckleton—Witingham—Etheleswike—Bura in Salfordshire—Middleton cum membris—Chatherton—Totinton—Milton Parva—Wiswall—Hapton—Townlay Coldecotes—Snoddeworthe—Twiseldon—Extwisell—Aghton—Merlaye—Lyvesay—Dommon Fobrigge—Merlaye Parva—Rossheton—Billington—Almethan—Clayton—Harewode—Crofton Horneby—Ulideston—Warton in Lonesdale—Gairstang cum membris—Thiselton—Prees—Kelgrimesarghe—Brininge—Merton Magna—Middleton in Lonesdale—Neuton—Makerfeld—Lanton—Keinan—Erbury—Goldeburne—Sefton—Thornton—Kerdon—Halghton—Burgh—Lee—Fishwicke—Dalton in Furness—Stayninge—Midhope—Chernoke.

“*Feoda subscripta tenentur de honore de Tuttebury*.—Hagh Parva—Bolton—Brightmet—Compton—Burghton—Childerwell—Barton in Salfordshire—Asphull—Brokholes—Dalton—Perbald—Withington—Lostok—Romworthe—Pilkinton—Worthington—Hoton subtus Herewiche—Tildeslegh—Sulthlithe—Rixton—Asteley Atherton—Sonky—Penkythe—Ives—Blundell—Barton—Halsale—Windehulle—Lydegate—Egergarthe—Lancast’ priorat’ advoc’—Sancti Michis super Wire ecclia—Preston ecclia—Marie Magdalene capella—Chypin ecclia—Ribcaster ecclia—Whalley abbay de.

“*PRO DECANO ET CAPITULO ECCLEIE MARIE DE LEICESTR’*. Preston advoc’ ecclie.

“*PRO ABBTE & CONVENTU DE WHALLEY*. Romesgrene in chacea de Bonland juxta Blakebone terr’ & ten’—Penhullon terr’ & ten’—Cliderhow ten’ vocat’ Standen—Hulcrofte & Grenelache—Standen faltag’ terr’ &c.—Cliderhoo maner’ terr’ &c. ut de castro de Lancast’.”

Adminis-
tration of
the duke
from the
rolls of the
duchy.

To this inquisition, we are enabled to add a condensed transcription, from the Rolls of the Duchy of Lancaster, (not before published,) extending through the whole period of the first ducal administration, and which, while it sheds much light

upon the early history, as well as upon the landed possessions in the county, serves to illustrate the nature of the *jura regalia* exercised by the dukes of Lancaster in this “kingdom within a kingdom :”—

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ANNO 1 DUCATUS, 26 Edward III.

(Office Reference AI.)

Intituled,	“ Plita apud Preston de tribus sessionibꝫ Justic dñi “ Ducis Lanc^o anno Ducat ejusd dñi Ducis nunc pmo. “ Berewyk.”
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This roll contains the essoigns taken at Preston, before Hugh de Berewyk, and his associates, justices of our lord the duke of Lancaster, Wednesday next before the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, in the year of his duchy the 1st. A.D.1352.

It contains pleadings of lands between parties, plaintiffs and defendants, pleadings of assize mortis ante cessoris, novel disseisin, pleas of debt, account, and trespass, and other claims to liberties, rights, &c., all as arising in the county palatine of Lancaster, with the judgments thereof given (*int. alia* as follows) :—

“ Johēs de Wynwyk psona ecclie de Wygan et Dns Burgi de Wygan po.
 “ so. lo. suo Robm de Prestecote vel Johēm de Lanfeld ad petand calumpni et
 “ psequend oīes libtates suas ville et Burgi de Wygan sedm formā carte dñi
 “ Regis sibi inde confecti.”

“ Lanc.”
 “ Wygan”

On the second portion of the roll, and on the first skin of such roll, after reciting the grant by king Edward III., in the 25th year of his reign, to Henry, duke of Lancaster, earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, and steward of England of his dukedom of Lancaster, as therein set forth are recorded, the letters patent to Hugh de Berewyk, and others, by the said Henry, appointing them justices of assize for his said duchy, and of pleas as well of the crown, as others within the said duchy, to hold, hear, and determine, according to the law and custom of the kingdom of England, saving to him amercements, &c. Tested at the Savoy, 7th March, in the first year of his said duchy.

In continuation of the roll are recorded a multiplicity of pleadings between various parties, to the following effect :—

Anglicized from the roll.

“ John Molynoux ags^t. John Blundell, of Crosseby, touching the lands upon marriage.

“ John Knody, of Cliderow, ags^t. William de Horneby, parson of the church of Ribchester, touching lands in Cliderowe.

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“John Blounte of Hazlewood, Robert Legh, and Thos. Strangewayes, came on their recognizance, at the suit of John Radelif, touching a tenement and lands in Salford. John Blounte answering that the premises were of the manor of Ordesale, and that Henry, late earl of Lancaster, father of Henry the duke, was seized of the lands, and granted the same by charter to the said John Blounte, as of the manor of Ordesale.”

And thus the pleadings are continued throughout the entire roll; and as evidences of that early period are applicable to the most considerable part of the places and manors in the county palatine of Lancaster, and the early possessors' rights and premises there.

A. 1. a.
36 Ed. 3d.

There is a second roll distinguished A. 1. a. and containing the essoigns, taken at Preston before William de Fynche, or Fyncheden, and his associates, justices of the said duke de Banco, in the 10th year of his dukedom, and in its nature similar to the preceding roll.

ANNO 2 AND 3 DUCATUS,

A. 2. Contains pleadings and essoigns, taken at Preston before Hugh de Berewyk and others, in the 2d year of the said duke, and of the same nature and effect as those of the preceding rolls, and is very copious, the proceedings in many cases being fully set out.

A. 2. a. Contains pleadings and essoigns of the like nature, as taken both at Lancaster and Preston, in the 4th year of the same duke.

A. 2. b. Is properly considered as a roll of fines, letters, close and patent, and as containing charters of the 4th year of Henry, duke of Lancaster, being the 29th year of the reign of king Edward III. And, the following outline comprises the general matters, or subjects, with several of the names of persons and places applicable thereto:—

Numbered on the Roll.	Principal Matters.	Persons.	Places.
1.	Proceedings before the Justices at Preston, as to Right of Fishing.	Richard Aghton ag st Roger Bondesson and John Stelle, the Defendants justifying in right of William de Heskayth, Thomas de Litherland, the Prior of Burseogh, the Abbot of Cockersand, and Richard de Aghton.	Merton Meer, Le Wyck, Northmeles.

Numbered on the Roll.	Principal Matters.	Persons.	Places.	CHAP. IX.
2.	Account of Fines paid to the Duke as Lord, for Writs of Assize. William Jerard and Wife.	John de Hatonshou. Richard Bradshagh.	Hamelton. Perbald. Asheton in Maker- field.	
	Peter Jerard and Wife.		{ Wyndhull Manor. { Raynhull Manor.	
	William Careles.		{ Torbok Manor. { Walshwittell Manor. { Dalton Manor. { Wrightynton, { Cophull.	
	William Lawrence.		{ Thorneton. { Laton Magna. { Laton Parva. { Ribleton Manor. { Asheton, near Pres- ton Manor. { Ditton.	
	Henry de Ditton.			
	William de Excestre, } Parson of Crofton } Church.		North Meyles.	
	John Culpeper.		Maincestre.	
3.	Grants by The Duke to William de Heghfield, in perpetuity, 28 Acres of Land, at 14s. Rent, and Tenants to do suit at the Lord's Mill.		Salford Waste.	

Several other grants were made to persons specified, but cancelled, as the premises became leased by the duke's charter to John de Radeclif.

4. A fine of 3s. 4d. to the duke as lord for a Writ of Pone, concerning an agreement—Cicilia Orulshagh and Hugh de Ines.
5. The duke to Richard de Walton, the duke's approver in the parts of Blackburnshire.

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“ Grant of a messuage and lands in Colne and Merclesden, held by the custom of the manor and castle of Clithero, and other premises in Trowden Mithum and Trowden Chace.

Fines to the Lord for Writs.

6. “ John de Radeclif, parson of the church of Bury, to the duke—Half a mark for lands in Asheton-under-Lime.

“ Robert de Legh and Matilda his wife to the Duke—13s. 4d. for the moiety of the manor of Flixton.

“ Clarissa de Bolton to the Duke—Half a mark for tenements in Newton in Makerfield and Walton in the Dale.

“ Robert de Legh and Matilda his wife to the Duke—13s. 4d. for the manor of Ordesdale.”

This course is pursued through thirteen other instances of fines of the like nature, paid by various persons in different places in the county palatine.

DE ANNO 4^{to} DUCATUS (IN DORSO.)

Recognizances of Debts.

Otho de Halsale and	John de Radeclif	
Richard de Rixton	John de Asheton ^{and ors}	100 marks.
John, son of Adam	Sir Adam de Hoghton,	
de Claxton	Knt.	17 marks.
Otho de Halsale	The Duke	100 marks.

Grants, &c.

The Duke to Geoffry de Langholt and Robert de Gikellswyk, of Tadecastre, for the Abbot and Convent of Sallay.

Licence to Alien in Mortmain Lands, in Bradeford in Bouland, held in socage by fealty and service, and as by inquisition taken by the Duke's command.

The Duke to Adam de Hoghton.

Acquittance of serving on juries, &c.

The Duke to John de Haverington of Farleton.

Lease of the Manor of Horneby and its demesnes, the Castle Deer and Chace of Rebrundale, (Advowsons, &c. excepted.)

The Duke to Matthew de Southeworth.

Pardon of a Debt owing to the Duke's Father, Henry, Earl of Lancaster.

The Duke to John de Dyneley and Heirs.

Grant of Dunham Manor by Homage and Fealty, and £12. 6s. 7d. per Ann. with 2s. for the Ward of Lancaster Castle.

The above are all tested at Preston.

The Duke to the King.

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Precept to John Cokayn and others to levy in the Duchy the remainder of Aid, granted by Parliament to King Edward III. to Knight, his eldest son, according to the King's Mandate, and also a Mandate of the Sheriff of Lancaster to assist therein.

As tested at Lancaster.

William de Stoklegh and Avisia de Bretargh.

Inrolment of a Deed of the Manor of Hyton.

Tested at Preston.

Pleadings at Lancaster of a similar nature to A. 2.

Other Grants, from the 4th to the 11th Henry, Duke of Lancaster, comprising 29th Edward III. 1356, and 36th Edward III. 1363.

The Duke to William de Heghfeld and his Heirs.

Grant of 23 Acres of Waste in Salford, at a Rent of 11^s 6^d reserved, and remainder to Thomas Strangwas.

As contained in the Close Roll.

Tested by Henry de Walton, Archdeacon of Richmond, Lieutenant of the Duchy of Lancaster.

A. 3 a.

The Duke to Richard de Dynesargh, of Liverpool, and his Heirs.

No. 2.

Grant of a Messuage and Appurtenances in Castle Street, Liverpool, which formerly belonged to Benedict le Stedemen, late Constable of Liverpool Castle, at 4^s Rent p ann., and by Services, as the other Tenants of that Town did for their Messuages.

The Duke to Henry le Norreys.

Grant of Free Warren in Speek.

The Duke to John del Monkes.

Grant of the Wardship and Lands of Henry de Croft.

Divers Fines to the Lord for Writs of Assize.

For Lands and Tenements in Hopton, Tildesley, Ditton near Torbok, and in Chorlegh.

The Duke to John de Perburn.

Letters of Protection while abroad with the Duke in the King's Service, and similar Letters of Protection to various other Persons.

Among numerous other entries on the Roll are various instruments by licence, warrant, writ, grant, or appointment, vidzt: For holding pleas and complaints; for keeping the statute of weights and measures; the statutes of servants, artificers, &c.,

and the record of various fines for writs of assize, &c., and therein the Writ de Conspiracione.

A Writ, *diem clausit extremum*, of the Lands of John de Rigmayden, in the Duchy of Lancaster.

An Exemplification of the Proceedings between Thomas de Abnay, of the High Peake, and Thurstan de Holand, of Salfordshire, returned in the Duke's Chancery, concerning the Manor of Denton under Downeshagh.

A Mandate to John Haverington and others, to equip the Men at Arms in the Duchy, with 300 Archers and others, to be dispatched to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to march with the King against the Scotch.

Another Mandate on behalf of the King, as to the Alienations and Possessions of Lancaster Priory, taken with other Alien Priors, by reason of the War with France.

Appointments to the Office of Escheator, inquiries of the conduct of Bailiffs of the Wapentakes, appointment of Justices to hear and determine Trespasses within the Duchy, and Mandates to the Sheriff to assist in all such Premises.

A Lease of the Herbage of Musbury Park.

Grant of the Hospital of St. Leonard's at Lancaster, to be annexed to the Priory of Seton, if the Burgesses of Lancaster consented.

The Appointments of Keeperships of Forests.

Pardon of a Suit by the Duke for an Assault committed.

Grant and Confirmation of the Advowson of Wygan Church, and Letters of Protection to various Persons, while staying with the Duke in the King's Service in the Parts of Brittany.

ANNO 7° DUCATUS.

Divers Fines for Writs of Assize of Lands and Tenements in Longtre, Hepay, and Dokesbury, Great Penhulton, Great Merley, Bury, Middleton, and Penhulton, in Salfordshire.

Grant of Land and Turbary in Salford, and divers Fines for Premises in West-legh, Flixton, Whitton, Weryngton, Sonckey, Penketh, Burtonwood and Laton, Great Merton, Bispham, Pynington, Bold, Lydiat, Thorneton near Sefton, Culcheth, Tildesley, Glasebrook, Bedeford, Halsale, Wyndhull, Ines near Crosby, and Ines Blundell, including the Writs *Post Dissesin forma Donationes*, *Dedimus Potestatem*, and the Writ de *Ingressu*.

A Mandate by the Duke for the King, to William de Horneby and Richard de Townley, to collect and levy the 10ths and 15ths within the Duchy of Lancaster.

A Pardon by the Duke of the Suit of Peace against Hugh le Machon, of Abingham, indicted for Housebreaking at Chorley.

ANNO 8^o DUCATUS.

The Duke's Mandate to Justices assigned to try certain Malefactors, agst whom the Parson of the Church of Wygan, and the Lord of the Town, had complained regarding the hindrance of his Bailiffs in the performance of their Duties, and his Mandate to the Sheriff of the Duchy to assist therein.

Divers Fines for Writs de Conventione, &c. concerning Lands in Culcheth, Mancestre Manor, and the Advowsons of the Churches of Mancestre and Assheton ; Lands in Chippyn, Eggeworth Manor ; Lands in Liverpool, Penhulton in Salfordshire, Culchith and Hyndeleghe Manors, Croxteth Park, Flixton Manor, Kenyan, and the Manor of Huyton.

A Grant of the Herbage of the Foss of Lancaster Castle, and of the place called Bernyard in Lancaster.

An Acquittance of serving the Office of Juror, Escheator, Coroner, or Bailiff.

A Release of Rent for Lands held by John Baret in Derby, Liverpool, Everton, and elsewhere within the Duchy.

A Pardon by the Duke to John de Etheleston, indicted for extorting money and other offences, and a Pardon to William del Twys, of Transgressions.

A Lease of the Fishery in the River Ribble at Penwortham, with the Meadows there.

Tested by the Duke at Preston.

ANNO 9^o DUCATUS.

Appointment of Justices in Eyre for Pleas of the Forests.

Precepts to the Sheriff to make a Proclamation for holding Sessions at Preston, and to summon Persons to attend before the Justices there.

Pardons for Trespasses of Vert and Venison in Duchy Forests, and other Trespasses.

Grant of Free Warren in Halsal and Ryneeres.

Lease of the Herbage called Veden and Mufden.

Grant of a Yearly Rent of 20^s to William de Liverpool, out of the Manor of West Derby.

Licence to take Gorse from Toxteth Park.

Pardons for Trespasses in the Duchy Forests, and in Toxteth Park.

Pardon upon Indictment for Offences against the Statutes of Servants and Labourers.

Divers Fines upon Writs for Lands in various places.

The Duke, in behalf of Roger La Warre. Commissioners appointed to inquire into the said Roger's Petition, shewing, that he held the Town of Mancestre as a Boro' and Market Town, and enjoyed certain Liberties there, and in the Manor and Hamlets, and that the Duke's Bailiffs had interfered to levy Amerciaments, &c.

A Licence to Alien in Mortmain Lands in Lancaster.

Grant of Lands in Salford to Thomas del Olers, and others.

Grant of a Messuage in Preston escheated to Henry, earl of Lancaster, by Felony.

A Mandate to the Escheator of the Duchy to interfere no further in a Chapel and Lands in Andreton, which had been seized into the Duke's hands by the late Escheator, it being found by Inquisition, that the Church of Standish was endowed therewith.

ANNO 10^{mo} DUCATUS.

The Duke to Adam de Skilyngcorn.

Licence to take with him a Body Guard within the Duchy of Lancaster, for the Defence and Protection of his Person.

Pardon to Agnes del Birches, for producing a forged Charter before the Justices, in an Action concerning Tenements in Astelegh.

Grant of Lands in Penhulton.

Mandate to the Escheator of the Duchy for Livery of Seizin of Lands held by an Outlaw for Felony in Chipyn, the Duke having had his Year, Day, and Waste.

Mandate to Collect and Levy within the Duchy the 10th and 15th, granted by Parliament, to defray the Expences of War.

Appointment of Bailiff of the Manor of Derby for Life, at two pence a day for his Wages.

Appointment of Keeper of Toxteth Park for Life, with the Grant of Skeryorde-rock within the Sea, to construct a Fishery there.

Mandate to the Duchy Escheator to interfere no further as to Land in Kirden, seized into the Duke's hands upon Felony.

Appointment of Keeper of Quernmore Park.

Mandate to the Duchy Escheator to deliver Lands which had been seized into the Duke's hands upon the Marriage of one of the Duke's Maidens, a legal Divorce having subsequently taken place.

A Pardon upon Indictment, for catching Fish at Heton Norres.

Fines for Lands in Hunersfeld and Stahnyn.

Grant of a Messuage and Lands in Salford, which came to the Duke's hands by the death of Richard de Tetlowe, who was a Bastard, and died without Heir—
Remainder to Thomas de Strangwas.

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IX.

Grant of Lands in Ingoll.

Grant of an Escheat in Salford.

Divers Fines for Writs de Attincta, Writs of Assize, and the Writ de Debito.

Grant of 20 Marks yearly, out of the Manor of West Derby.

Grant of Wardship and Marriage of William de Warton.

Appointment of Justices to try Malefactors for Trespasses in the Chases of Bowland, Penhull, Trowden, Rochdale, Rossendale, and Romesgrene.

Grant of the Wardship and Marriage of Thomas de Haverington.

Grant of Lands and Tenements in Gosenargh Escheated by Felony.

Lease for 20 Years of the Foreign Wood of Myerscough.

Mandate to the Duchy Escheator to interfere no further in Premises at Ribbleschester, seized into the Duke's Hands on the Felony of Roger de Allele.

An Indenture of Agreement concerning Tenements in Romesgrene and the Towns of Penhulton and Cliderowe, between the Duke and the Abbot and Convent of Whalley.

Grant of the Bailiwick of Derby Wapentake for Life.

Mandate to the Duchy Escheator not to interfere further as to Messuages and Lands in Asteley and Kyndeley, seized into the Duke's Hands by reason of the Felony of Richard de Atherton.

On the back and in continuation of this Roll to the following effect.

A. 3. a.
continued.

The Duke to Adam Skillincorn.

A Lease of a Place called Hoddlesdone for 12 Years, at £2. 6s. 8d. per Ann. Henry Le Norres, of Speek, and others, for the Duke.

Recognizance of Debts and divers other Recognizances of Debts.

A Lease by the Duke to William, son of Adam, of Lyverpull, and More de Lyverpull and others de Lyverpull, of the Town, with all the Mills of the same Town, together with the Rents and Services, and the Passage of the Water of Merese, with the Turbarry of Toxteth Park and the stallages as therein particularized.

No. 3.
as distin-
guished on
the back
of the
Roll.

The Instrument, as enrolled, is very obscure. It is Tested, Henry de Walton, Lieutenant of the Duchy, at Lancaster, 24th March, 11th Year of the said Duke.

Maudate to John Haverington and others, to raise Soldiers, Men at Arms, and Archers, in the Wapentakes of Amounderness, Fourneys, and Lonsdale, within the Duchy, to march against the Scotch. And like Mandates to others for Derbyshire,

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Salfordshire, Blakeburnshire, and Leylondshire Wapentakes, with a distinct Mandate to the Sheriff to assist.

Grant of a yearly Rent of £10 to Henry Ditton out of the Lands of Thomas Ditton.

Grant of Wardship and Lands and Marriage of William the Son of Robert de Prees.

The Duke's Pardon of Suit for Trespass and Hunting at Blakelegh Park.

Grant of Holtefeld in Salford.

Pardon of Peace to the Vicar of Kirkham Church for Mal-Administration in his Office of Dean of Amounderness.

Mandates to raise 300 Archers, to accompany the Duke to Brittany, from the various Wapentakes.

Grant of a Paviage for Preston, and for Customs on Merchandize in aid thereof.

Admissions of Attorneys to plead in the Duchy Courts.

Justices assigned for observing the Statute of Weights and Measures.

Permission to inquire of Lands in Hornelyve.

Grant of the Wardship of Lands of Adam de Mondesley.

Paviage for the Town of Lyverpull for 2 Years.

Mandate to the Duchy Escheator for Livery of Seizin of Lands in Radeclif, as forfeited by Felony, the Duke having had year, day, and waste.

Confirmation of a Grant of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, to William Norreys, of Lands in Derby.

Writ of the Disseisin of Dokesbury Manor.

The like of Lands in Chorley.

Mandate to the Escheator for Land in Penwortham, seized for withdrawing of the service of a Boat over the River Ribble.

Writ of the Disseisin for Lands in Ellale.

Grant of the Site of Ulmeswalton Manor to Richard de Hibernia, the Duke's Physician, with Liberty to be Toll free and Hoper free at the Duke's Mills.

Grant of Allowance to the Town of Overton to grind Corn at the Duke's Mill at Lone.

Grant of the Custody of St. Mary's Chapel at Syngleton.

Pardon for Trespasses in the Duchy Forests.

Pardon for Non-Appearance in Court.

Justices assigned to keep the Waters, in which Salmon are caught.

Justices to inquire of Stoppages in the Duchy Rivers, and chiefly the Ribble, to the injury of Penwortham Fishery.

Appointments of Stewardships.

Pardon of a Fine pro Licentia Concordandi, as to Tenements in Mancestre.

Inquisition and Letters Patent touching the Manor of Mancestre as a Market Town and Boro' with the Hamlets thereto.

The Duke to Thomas de Lathum and Wife.

Licence to hold Knouselegh Park.

Agreement touching the Wardship of Lands and the Marriage of Richard de Molynoux of Sefton.

Divers Letters of Protection for Persons serving the King abroad.

Confirmation of a Lease of the Manor of Aldeclif to the Prior of Lancaster.

Warrant to levy 520 Marks from the Freeholders of Quernemore Forest and the Natives of Lonsdale, as their portion of £1000 Fine for Trespasses against the Assize of the Forest.

Several Mandates to the Escheators concerning various Lands seized.

Divers Pardons for Trespasses and Assaults.

Exemplification of Proceedings touching the Intail of the Manor of Bury.

The like as to Lands in Harewode, the Water of Hyndeburne, and Clayton on the Mores.

The other Records of the Annals of the Duchy are marked A. 4. and A. 5., and are similar in their contents to A. 1. These Rolls terminate the Records of the first Duke, who died in the year 1361, without male issue.

So rich an inheritance as the dukedom of Lancaster could not remain long in abeyance. The marriage of John of Gaunt, the fourth son of the reigning monarch of England, to Lady Blanch, the youngest daughter of the deceased duke, produced the almost immediate revival of the title; and the subsequent death of lady Maude, without issue, invested duke John with the whole of those extensive possessions which the first duke had left to his children. The confidence reposed by the king in this, his favourite and most highly gifted son, conferred upon him every thing but sovereign power; and his second marriage with Constance, the eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, obtained for him the title of King of Castile and Leon. In this character he obtained the right to coin money, and several pieces were struck bearing his superscription. The wars in which he was engaged have already been adverted to,* and the history of this munificent duke shortly portrayed. His claim to the throne of Sicily, founded on no just pretension, produced a strong remonstrance on the part of his holiness, Pope Urban V., who issued on the occasion one of those

Revival of
the duke-
dom in the
person of
John of
Gaunt.

* See chap. iv. p. 145.

CHAP.
IX.

Bulls, at the bare name of which princes and kings were accustomed to tremble. This Bull is still preserved, though divested of its seal, and is couched in the following terms :—

BULLA URBANI V. PAPÆ.

Papal
bull.

A.D. 1367.
An. 41 Edw. III.
—
Ex orig.
In Thesaur. Cur.
Receipt. Scacc.
—

“ Urbanus episcopus, servus servorum DEI, carissimo, &c. salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

“ Insonuit, fili carissime, hīs diebus, rumor implacitus, incomitatu Provinciæ, ad carissimam in CHRISTO filiam nostram Johannam Reginam Siciliæ illustrem, pro regno Siciliæ nostram et ecclesiæ Romanæ vassalam, spectans, et jam usque ad nostram audientiam est perlatus, quòd, dilectus filius, nobilis vir, Johannes

dux Lancastriæ, natus tuus, intendit, comminatur, et parat se prædictum comitatum invadere :

“ De quo, nescientes quo jure vel titulo hoc agere valeat, miramur plurimum et dolemus, maximè quia, cùm olim de hoc aliqua suspicio præcessisset, quidam nuncius tuus, ex parte tuâ, litteras portans credentiæ, nobis retulit, quòd hoc nequaquam permetteret fieri regia celsitudo, nisi prius præcedente requisitione legitimâ, et in justitiæ defectu, quod nondùm noscitur esse factum.

“ Cùm itaque memorata Regina parata sit, super omnibus, quæ idem dux ab ea vellet petere, stare juri, quod etiam nos offerimus pro eadem, serenitatem tuam affectuosè rogamus, et obsecramus in Domino, quatenus hujusmodi invasionem, quæ omnes illas partes, DEO juvante pacificas conturbaret, multaque pericula, animarum et corporum ac rerum dispendia generaret indubiè, fieri non permittas, maximè quia præfatus dux, tenendo viam istam, rationabilem, justitiam suam, si quam habeat, faciliùs et honorabilius consequetur.

“ Super quibus, eidem serenitati plenius exponendis, dilectum filium, magistrum Johannem de Cabrespino, canonicum Narboneusem, decretorum doctorem, apostolicæ sedis nuncium, latorem presentium, ad tuam præsentiam destinamus, cui super hīs, quæ tibi de præmissis, ex parte nostra, narraverit, fidem velis credulam adhibere.

“ Dat. Viterbii, VII. kal. Augusti, pontificatûs nostri anno quinto.

“ BARTHOLOMÆUS.”

(*Sigillo avulso.*)

The inquiry upon what legitimate ground the duke of Lancaster founded his pretensions to the kingdom of Sicily, he was not able to answer to the pope's nuncio, and from that time this claim seems to have been abandoned.

The continental wars in which the English were engaged, did not prevent them from embarking on a crusade against Ireland, that unfortunate country, which has for so many centuries been the scene of oppression and misgovernment. In a writ, addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire by the king, the Irish people are characterized as “our enemies, and rebels;” and it is announced to the sheriff, that Lionel, duke of Clarence, the king’s son, is on his way to Ireland, to coerce the “rebels” into subjection, and the ports of Liverpool and Chester are required to send ships, properly manned, to support the expedition.* That the object of this armament was not very speedily accomplished, may be inferred from the fact, that, two years afterwards, a proclamation was issued by the king for seizing eighty ships, of thirty tons burden and upwards, wherever they could be found, on the western coast between Bristol, in Somersetshire, and Furness, in Lancashire, which ships were to be sent to Lyverpole, before the first of St. Peter ad Vincula, to assist prince Lionel in carrying on the war against Ireland. At that time, the exports of Liverpool were very subject to the restrictions of orders in council; in the year 1362 the bailiffs of Liverpool, and John, duke of Lancaster, both received orders from the government to prohibit the exportation of provisions of various kinds, as well as of dye wares and other commodities, which prohibition extended to cloths called “worstedes,” and to sea-coal, then recently discovered as an article of fuel; and similar interdicts, soon after issued, extended the prohibition to horses, linen, woollen yarns, jewels, and the precious metals. Liverpool was at that period rising, though slowly, into importance; and an order was issued by the king to the admiral on the station, as well as to the sheriff of the county, and the mayor and bailiffs of the borough, to rebuild (*de novo construere*) a bridge over the Mersey within their lordship.

Levy of
ships at
Liverpool
&c.
against
Ireland.

Non-ex-
portation
from Li-
verpool.

The alarm of invasion was again spread with great assiduity, and the royal proclamations of the year 1369 diligently propagated these apprehensions, in order to quicken the transmission of the public supplies. Adam de Hoghton, Roger de Pilkinton, William de Atherton, Richard de Radclyf, and Matthew de Rixton, commissioners of array for the county of Lancaster, were appointed, by royal mandate, to press and enrol four hundred archers in Lancashire, to accompany John, duke of Lancaster, to Aquitaine;† and the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, dukes, marquisses, earls, barons, and castellans, were informed, that the king had appointed his son, the duke of Lancaster, his captain and lieutenant in “Guynes and Caleys.” In the following month, the sheriff of Lancaster was commanded to array, by himself or his deputies, all men in the county capable of bearing arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, and to cause them to be in readiness, and properly

Renewed
alarm of
invasion
in Lanca-
shire.

* Pat. 35 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 24. Turr. Lond.
VOL. I.

† Rot. Vascon. 43 Edw. III. m. 5. Turr. Lond.
2 Z

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equipped, to resist the French, who threatened to invade England, to obstruct the passage of merchants and merchandise, and to abolish the English language!*

By a subsequent proclamation it was ordained, that the men at arms, *hobelers*, and archers, in the county of Lancaster, should be in complete readiness by Palm Sunday (1370), and William de Risseby, John Blake, clerk, Matthew de Rixton, and Richard ap Llewellyn Vaughan, had confided to them the power to arrest all ships, from twelve to forty tons burthen, in the ports of Lyverpull, and all other places from thence to Chester, that port included, and to send them to the ports of Southampton and Plymouth, by Sunday next before the feast of Pentecost, with a sufficient equipment of sailors for the passage, to embark in the expedition of John, duke of Lancaster, and others in his company, going to Gascony.†

Parish
tax.

To prosecute all these hostile operations, the king, this year, by the authority of parliament, levied upon the parishes of England a tax of fifty thousand pounds, each parish being required to pay five pounds fifteen shillings, the greater to help the less. From this return it appears, that there were then eight thousand six hundred and thirty-two parishes in England, and that the contribution of

Lancashire, for its 58 parishes, was		£336	8	0
Westmoreland, 32	.... . . . .	185	12	0
Cumberland, 96	.... . . . .	556	16	0
Middlesex, exclusive of London, 63 parishes		365	8	0
London, 110 parishes		638	0	0
Yorkshire, 540	.... . . . .	3132	0	0

Exchange
of Rich-
mond-
shire, &c.
for other
posses-
sions.

By an indenture, made in the following year, between the king and his son John, duke of Lancaster, king of Castile and Leon, the duke grants to his father the county, castle, town, and honor of Richmond, in exchange for the castle, manor, and honor of Tyklhill, castle and manor of High Peak, with knights' fees, together with the advowson of the churches of Steyndrop and Brannspath, the free chapels of Tyklhill and High Peak, the church and free chapel of Marsfeld, the free chapel of Pevenese, the priory of Wylmyngdon, the priory of Whitham, and the house of St. Robert of Knaresborough, with the castle, manor, and honor of Knaresborough, the hundred or wapentake of Stayncliff, in Yorkshire, and the manor of Gryngeley and Whetebury.‡ At the same time, an order was issued by the king to the freemen, and all other tenants on the exchanged possessions, ordering them to obey John, duke of Lancaster; and similar orders were given by the duke "to the venerable

* Rot. Vascon. 43 Edw. III. m. 3. Turr. Lond. † Rot. Franc. 44 Edw. III. m. 25. Turr. Lond.

‡ Rot. Pat. 1 Rich. II. p. 1. m. 11 per inspex. Turr. Lond.

fathers, all and singular his archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of churches, and to his earls, viscounts, barons, and others, holding of the castle, honor, and county of Richmond," announcing, that he had granted to his royal father and lord the county of Richmond, and commanding, that all vassals and feodatories should perform homage, fealty, and all other services and duties to the king.*

The prerogatives of *jura regalia* conferred upon John of Gaunt, in his duchy and county palatine of Lancaster, were greatly enlarged by the royal bounty, by which he was appointed the king's especial lieutenant and captain-general of "our kingdom of France," and in Aquitaine, and the parts beyond the sea.† This authority was still further enlarged by the memorable charter, granted to the duke in the early part of the reign of his royal uncle, of which charter the following is a free translation :—

The franchise of *jura regalia* conferred on John of Gaunt.

POWERS GIVEN TO THE DUKE OF LANCASTER.

"The king to all who shall see or hear these letters, health: Know that we, fully confiding in the understanding, loyalty, and wisdom of our dearest uncle John, by the grace of God, king of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, have made and ordained, and do make and ordain, him, as well on the sea as in our kingdom of France and our lordship of Aquitaine, and elsewhere in all parts beyond the sea, our lieutenant, principal chieftain, and general, as well of the constable and marshal as our admirals for the time being, counts, barons, captains, knights, esquires, men at arms and archers, and others, of what nation, tongue, or condition soever they may be, present and to come, sustaining and maintaining the war in our quarrel which we have with our adversary of France, his adherents, or allies,

In parts beyond the sea.

"Giving and committing to our said uncle and lieutenant, by the tenor of these presents, authority and plenary power of convoking and assembling the constable and marshal, admirals for the time being, counts, barons, captains, knights and esquires, men at arms, archers, and others howsoever denominated,

"And them to lead, together or in parts, and govern in all places, as well on the sea as by land, in whatsoever manner it shall seem good to him for the expedition of our wars,

Of correcting, chastising, and punishing those persons, or any of them, as well officers as others, of whatsoever estate or condition they may be, according to the excesses and deserts, and according to the quality of the fault and the rank of the persons, whether it be high treason, or any other crime or misdemeanor,

* Ex. origin. in Turr. Lond.

† Rot. Franc. 47 Edw. III. m. 19. Turr. Lond

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“ Of exercising, and causing to be exercised, all manners of jurisdiction, high, mean, and low, whether they be of marine or mixed empire, according to the laws used both by sea and land, in such manner as we should do, if we were there present (*si avant come Nous le purrons faire si nous feurons presentes,*)

“ Of likewise commanding, in all the places aforesaid, and of causing towns, cities, castles, and fortresses, to be well maintained, repaired, and kept in good condition, and those castles and fortresses to be razed and demolished, or others to be erected anew, if it shall seem for the advantage and peace of us and our subjects of the parts aforesaid,

“ And, moreover, of taking and receiving in our name and by our authority, into our peace, grace, obedience, and subjection, all the cities, towns, boroughs, castles, fortresses, and places of the aforesaid parts, and their inhabitants and residents, who wish to come or return to our peace, grace, obedience, and subjection, and to dismiss and pardon, in consequence of pity and mercy, all manner of misdeeds, trespasses, outrages, arsons, homicides, and all other manners of horrible crimes, or treasons, whether generally or specially done or committed, or for whatsoever cause,

“ And also of utterly taking away and repealing all banishments and exiles, which have been or are pronounced or published against them or any of them,

“ And to re-establish and restore to them all their property which they had or have forfeited on account of the banishments and forfeitures aforesaid,

“ And further, to remove the mark or note of their infamy or disgrace, and to restore them or any of them to their former estate and fame, and their possessions, places, and countries, and as entirely as they had in any time past, together with their antient privileges, such as they were accustomed to exercise reasonably in former times,

“ Of granting, in heritage, or for life, or for a term of years, to those who shall have well deserved, as shall seem fit to him, towns, castles, fortresses, lands, rents, or homages, nobilities, (noblesces,) jurisdictions, droits, and all their antient appurtenances,

“ Saving the droit of any one that belongs him by power of the ordinance made on the Conquest, and those cities, castles, fortresses, lands, rents, antiently belonging to our own Domain and royal patrimony,

“ Of granting and presenting suitable persons to dignities, and all benefices of the Holy Church vacant, or which shall hereafter be vacant, as well to Cathedral, collegiate Churches, as to other Churches, so that they shall pertain to us, and so to act for the good government of the benefices aforesaid, and for the maintenance of their rights, so that by defect of good government, the alms of the parishioners do not perish,

“ And of taking and receiving from our subjects of the parts beyond seas, homage and oath of fealty, such as it behoves them to perform,

“ And to establish seneschalls, constables, chancellors, treasurers, commanders over our castellans, captains, advocates, proctors, and all other officers and ministers, who are placed by us, or our authority, in all the places of the said parts, who shall seem to our said uncle to be profitable for the good government of the subjects of the parts aforesaid,

“ And the ministers, appointed by them, or by any others, (save by us or of our authority) placed and established, to remove and oust from their office, and to put and establish others in the place of them, or of the dead, if any should be, at the accustomed wages and fees,

“ And of causing and granting respect to the same the officers and ministers,

“ Of commanding our treasurer and receiver of those parts to make the payments with which our said uncle shall charge them as often as it shall please him,

“ Ordering and commanding all the auditors of our accompts, that they make due allowance of all the sums, which shall be paid by the letters or mandates of our uncle aforesaid,

“ And, moreover, of putting and imposing contributions and impositions for the support of the wars, and to demand and require subsidies and aids on account of the wars, of all the prelates, nobles, and commons of the cities and towns of the parts aforesaid,

“ And those subsidies, impositions, and contributions, to levy and collect,

“ Of coining, stamping, and making new money of gold and silver, and other metals, when and as often as shall seem good to him,

“ Of ennobling persons not noble,

“ And of legitimatizing, as to heritages and all other things, bastards and all others who are born out of true matrimony,

“ Of creating and making scribes and notaries, of a convenient number,

“ Of giving such letters of safe-conduct and guard, of our banners, penons, and standards, as shall seem good to him.

“ Of making truces, and treating of peace and accord with our enemies and rebels, their allies and adherents, of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree they may be,

“ And of conciliating and pacifying on all debates, contentions, and discords,

“ And to those truces, leagues, peaces, and treaties, to affirm and assent in our name, by oath, faith, obligations, and surties, to have before hand, on that treaty of peace, the accord and assent of us and our council,

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“ Of causing and granting, on all the remissions, pardons, restitutions, presentations, collations, donations, safe-conducts, safe-guards, privileges, and other things, to the prelates, nobles, and commonalties of the cities and towns, and other singular persons whosoever, privileges, charters, muniments, and letters under his seal, which we will, shall have as much vigour and force, as if they had been sealed with our own proper seal.

“ And, lastly, of doing and expediting all other things, necessary or suitable to the things aforesaid, as we should ourselves do, if we were present in our own proper person,

“ Ordering and commanding the said constable and marshals, admirals, all prelates, nobles, and commonalties of cities, towns, castles, fortresses, and places, and to all our ministers, officers, and others our subjects, of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree they may be, as well on the sea, as on the parts beyond sea aforesaid, on forfeiture of whatever they can forfeit to us, that they and each of them obey and diligently observe, as shall pertain to any of them, or as they shall be required, our said dearest uncle and his lieutenant, and his commissaries and deputies, in doing the things aforesaid, and any of them.

“ Given at Westminster, the 12th day of June, (1379.)

“ By the King himself.”

Letters of
protection
to Lanca-
shire men.

The persons embarked with the duke in his foreign expeditions, were privileged by royal authority, and letters of protection were granted by the king, directing, that all noblemen, and others attached to the expedition, should cross the sea without delay, so that none of them should be found in this country after the approaching feast of St. John the Baptist. Amongst others engaged in this expedition, and to whom letters of protection were addressed, we find the names of Robert, son of William de Clyfton, William de Barton, of Ridale, Adam del Darn, Henry Fitzhenry, son of Thomas de Alkeryngton, John de Ribelton, of Preston, in Amondernesse, Hugh de Tyldesley, John Redeman, and Adam, son of Adam de Lancaster.

Expedi-
tion to
Ireland
renewed.

Ireland was still treated as a conquered country, and each successive lord-lieutenant, instead of sailing for that island in the character of a messenger of peace, was armed with a strong naval and military force, as if embarking against a hostile state. Accordingly, we find an order from the king to the sheriffs, announcing, that he had appointed Simon Charwelton, clerk, and Walton de Eure, to arrest ships of from twenty to two hundred tons burthen, in Bristol, and the other western ports as far as Lyverpole, at which latter place they were to rendezvous, for the passage of William de Wyndesore, “ governor and warden of the land of Ireland.”*

* Pat. 47 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 24. Turr. Lond.

In these early days, amongst all the restrictions on commerce, we find no laws against the importation of grain, but there are frequent interdicts against the exportation of that article; and hence we have, in the year 1375, a precept to the sheriff of the county of Lancaster, directing him not to allow the exportation of wheat, barley, or other grain, from this county.

The reign of Edward III., though a period of war and military renown, terminated in peace. For the restoration of this blessing, the country was indebted to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who, in virtue of the powers with which he was invested, concluded a treaty of peace with Flanders, and also a truce with France, which, after having been prorogued from time to time, terminated finally in an adjustment of the differences between the two nations. In the last year of this king's reign, a grant, as we have already seen, of chancery in the county palatine of Lancaster was made to the duke of Lancaster,† and the reign concluded, as it had begun, with favours and privileges to the ducal house, which had long held the first station amongst the peers of the realm, and was speedily to be advanced to sovereign power.

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No restrictions on the importation of corn in the 14th century.

Royal bounty to the house of Lancas-

* See Chap. iv. p. 145.

Chap. ƒ.

Power of the duke of Lancaster—Lancashire men at the coronation of Richard II.—Courts of law closed by the insurrection of Wat Tyler.—State of public morals in Lancashire.—Invasions of the Scots.—Murder of Latimer, the accuser of the duke of Lancaster.—The duke's expedition to Spain.—Submission of award.—Renewed Scotch invasion.—Larger measure in Lancashire than any other part of the kingdom.—Ancient salmon fisheries of Lancashire.—Alleged claim to the throne made by John of Gaunt for his son.—Accusation of the duke against Sir Thomas Talbot.—Legitimation of the duke's children by Catherine Swinford.—Accession of the House of Lancaster to the throne.—Grant of the Isle of Man, first to Henry earl of Northumberland, and afterwards to Sir John Stanley, knight.—Annals of the duchy.—Charters of the duchy.—John of Gaunt's illustrious descent.—His children.—Hostility of France.—Contest for the papacy.—Will of Henry IV.—Henry V. ascends the throne.—The Lollards.—Union of the county of Hereford to the duchy of Lancaster.—Battle of Agincourt.—Commissions of array.—The crown jewels pledged to carry on the war.—Death of Henry V.—His bequest of the duchy of Lancaster.

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X.

Power of
the Duke
of Lancas-
ter.



JOHN of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, had now attained his meridian power, and the reign of Richard II. may not inaptly be called the regency and vice-royalty of the duke. Though the king swayed the sceptre, his noble uncle guided the arm that wielded it; and all the principal measures of his reign were supposed by the people, and not without cause, to emanate from the palace of the Savoy, or the castle of Lancaster. No subject of the realm had by any means equal power in this kingdom; and, as the representative of

the king in foreign countries, he exercised prerogatives seldom confided to a subject. The wealth of the duke was immense, but the splendour and state which he maintained absorbed, and even anticipated, his princely income. The arts were then slowly emerging from the night of the middle ages; the dogmas of the schools, and

the superstition of the monasteries were shaken by the rising spirit of inquiry; poetry, hitherto almost unknown in this island, except in the effusions of the Welsh bards, began to be cultivated; and “time-honoured Lancaster” was amongst the most munificent patrons of genius in his age and nation.

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In the “process and ceremony of the coronation” of Richard II., who was now but eleven years of age, we find the names of John, duke of Lancaster, Roger le Strange de Knokyn, John la Warre, Henry de Grey de Wilton, and Archibald de Greilly, all names connected with the county of Lancaster, and attached, for the purposes of this ceremony at least, to the king’s court. This “process” John, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancaster, and high steward of England, delivered with his own hand into the king’s court of chancery.* The high reputation of the duke pointed him out as the mediator of differences, whether of a national or a domestic kind; and after having settled the quarrel with France and with Belgium, we find him appointed a commissioner, to compose the ancient differences between the gallant earls of Northumberland and Douglas.†

Lanca-
shire men
at the co-
ronation.

In 1378 the prerogatives of *jura regalia* were renewed in favour of “King John,” duke of Lancaster, as he was called, on going abroad, and rendered as extensive as they were in the time of king Edward III. The privilege of coining money in the city of Bayonne, and other places, was at the same time renewed.‡ The following year, plenary power was given to the duke in the marches of Scotland. While clothed with these powers, the duke concluded a peace with Scotland, which was confirmed by the king, his nephew, at Northampton, and proclaimed in this county, under the designation of the “Great Truce,” by the sheriff of Lancaster, at the end of the year 1380.

The insurrection of Wat Tyler and his confederates, in which the house of the duke of Lancaster, situated in the Savoy in London, was destroyed,§ interrupted the proceedings of the court of justice at Westminster; on which occasion a proclamation was issued by the king to the duke of Lancaster, ordaining, that, on account of the unheard-of and horrible commotions and insurrections of the people in the kingdom of England, and for averting the dangers arising from the incursions of foreign enemies, as well as for other reasons, all the pleadings in the court of king’s bench stood adjourned; and all writs and mandates delivered to the duke, to his chancellors, justiciaries, sheriffs, or other ministers, within the county of Lancaster,

Courts of
law closed
by the in-
surrection
of Wat
Tyler.

* 1 Richard II. claus. I. m. 44.

† Scot. I Richard II. m. 7.

‡ 2 Richard II. Vasc. 3. R.

§ See chap. iv. 148. The Savoy palace was built by Peter, earl of Savoy and Richmond, on whose death it escheated to the crown; and Henry III. conferred it on his son, Edmund Crouchback, through whom it became a possession of the earls of Lancaster.

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should be returned on the octaves of St. Michael, instead of at the usual period.* The seditions which originated in the neighbourhood of London, spread into the provinces; and rumours were very extensively circulated, that these disturbances were fomented by the duke of Lancaster and other peers, in order to procure the deposition of the king, that they might usurp the royal authority. To these rumours it was judged proper to give the most positive and solemn contradiction; in consequence of which, a proclamation was issued by the king to all archbishops, prelates, and others, wherein it was announced, that a hateful rumour, which wounded and grieved the royal heart beyond measure, had been diffused throughout divers parts of the kingdom, representing, that the detestable disturbance in certain counties of England, against their allegiance to the king, and the public peace, had been instigated by John, duke of Lancaster, and certain others, prelates and faithful subjects; which rumours the proclamation denounced as wicked inventions, and declared, that the duke had always been faithful and zealous for the honour and safety of the country.† These sinister rumours, notwithstanding, at length became so prevalent as to endanger the personal safety of the duke; and a proclamation was in consequence issued to Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland, and to John, lord de Nevill, appointing them to raise a body-guard for the duke, with all possible despatch, both men at arms and archers, to protect him against the violence of his enemies. The duke was at the same time appointed the king's justiciary, to inquire, on oath, within the counties in his duchy, and the county palatine of Lancaster, into depredations, robberies, homicides, burnings, and rapes, with power to punish the offenders.

State of
public
morals.

That these crimes had attained to a frightful magnitude in Lancashire, may be inferred from a species of royal proclamation issued by the "king and duke" (king of Castile and duke of Lancaster) to the sheriff of the county of Lancaster, preserved in the archives of the duchy,‡ in which, after ordaining, that the "holy Anglican Mother Church" shall have all its liberties whole and unimpaired, and fully enjoy and use the same, and that the great charter and forest charter shall, according to the statute 6 Rich. II., be firmly observed, proceeds to say, that so licentious had become the public manners, that the female character was treated with the greatest disrespect, and "ladies, and other noble maids and women," were frequently violated by force, and that the resentment of the persons subject to these outrages was so slight, that numbers of them married their ravishers; for remedy of which it was ordained, that if, after such outrage, the parties contracted marriage, they should both of them be disabled, *ipso facto*, from maintaining any inheritance,

* Claus. 4 Richard II. m. 1.

† Pat. 5 Richard II. p. 1. m. 32.

‡ Roll A. 6, m. 16.

dowry, or conjoint feoffment, or from receiving any bequest from their ancestors. and that the inheritance should descend to the next in blood.*

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For the purpose of interposing a barrier against the progress of the Scots in their future attempts to invade the northern counties of England, a treaty was entered into and ratified between John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland, in which it was stipulated, that the freemen of the counties of Lancaster and Durham should be charged by the lord to assemble, and come with all their power, whenever proclamation was made by the earl of Northumberland that the Scots had laid siege to any castle in the allegiance of the king.† The stipulations of this treaty were soon brought into active operation. The Scots, aided by a body of French cavalry, renewed their incursions into Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, where they committed the most extensive outrages. On which the king of England, having assembled an army of 60,000 men, issued an order to the duke of Lancaster to meet him with horse and arms at Newcastle, on the 14th of July.‡ With this army the young king penetrated into Scotland, and, after having burnt the capital, and laid waste all the towns and villages through which he had to pass, advanced as far as Dundee. This signal act of retributive justice put an end to the invasions of the Scots, and restored peace to the two countries.

Invasions
of the
Scots.

Retribu-
tion.

* DE STATUTO PCLAMAND.

“ITEM, cont.^a malefcores & raptores dñar & filiar nobilem aliañqz mulier violentius & plus solito hijs diebz quasi in omni parte regni pdci invalescentes pordinatum est & statutū qđ ubicumqz & quandocumqz hujusmodi dñe filie & alie mulieres pdce decepto raptant^o & post hujusmodi raptum raptoribz hujusmodi consenserint qđ tam raptores sive rapientes qm rapte & eor quīt decepto inhabilitent^o & inhabiles sint ipō fco ad omēm hereditatem dotem sive conjunctū feoffamentū post mortem viroī & antecessor suor hēnd vel vendicand et qđ statim in hoc casu p̄ de sanguine eorūdem rapienciū & raptar cui hereditas dos seu conjunctum feoffamentum descendere reūti remanere vel accidere deberet post mortem rapientis vel rapte heat titulū in mediate statim scit post raptum intrandi sup rapientem vel raptam ac eor assigni & ire tenentes in eisdem hereditate dote seu conjuncto feoffamento & illa hereditar tenend & qđ viri hujusmodi mulier si viros fuerint vel si viros non fuerint supstites qđ tunc p̄res vel alij de sanguine ear p̄p̄nquiores decepto hēant sectam p̄sequendi & sequi polunt v^o sus eosdem malefcores & raptores in hac parte & illos inde quavis eodem mulieres post hujusmodi raptum dēis raptoribz consenserint de vita & membro convincendi Et ulius concordatum est qđ defendens in hoc casu ad duellum vadiand minime recipiat Immo rei v̄tas inde p̄ inquisicōem p̄rie triet salvis semp dño Regi & celis dñis regni pdci de raptoribz illis si fortassis inde convincant in omibz escaetis suis.”

† Scot. 7. Richard II. m. 1.

† Claus. 8. Richard II. m. 3. d.

CHAP.
X.

Murder of
Latimer,
the ac-
cuser of
the duke
of Lan-
caster.

A charge of high treason, in compassing the death of the king, and usurping his throne, was this year made, as we have already seen, by John Latimer, B.D. an Irish friar of the Franciscan order, against the duke of Lancaster, which charge the duke positively denied, and required to be confronted with his accuser; but on the eve of the trial, according to Kennett,* “ Lord John Holland and Sir Henry Green, two of the duke’s friends, entered the friar’s lodgings, and cruelly put him to death with their own hands, by hanging him up by the neck and privy members, and laying a great stone upon his breast, which broke his neck; and, as if they had perpetrated this enormity by public authority, they drew his dead body through the streets the next day, as being deservedly punished as a traitor. This cruel action brought upon the duke much dishonour, and, though it ridded him of a false accuser, as was thought till the friar was so illegally put to death, yet it rendered his innocence more suspicious than before; and many believed him really guilty, who before thought him falsely accused.” This, to be sure, was a monstrous infraction of law and justice, and might well subject the duke to suspicion, if the fact could have been established that he was a party to the murder, in which light the punishment of the friar must be viewed; but we do not find in the records of the day any evidence of this fact.

The
duke’s ex-
pedition to
Spain.

The war with Scotland being ended, and the duke of Lancaster feeling that his possessions in the duchy and county palatine were secure, he prepared to enforce his claim, in right of his wife, to his inheritance in Spain,† leaving his son Henry, earl of Derby, as his *locum tenens* in his absence. In this expedition, the most splendid of the age, he was accompanied by his chancellor, William de Ashton, esq. Thomas de Ashton, esq. John de Eccleston, of Lyverpole, esq. and Thomas Holcroft, esq. all of the county of Lancaster, to whom letters of protection were given by the king. Previous to his departure, the duke entered into an engagement with the king his nephew, that he would not make any treaty with the crown of Spain, unless upon the condition that the king of Spain should pay to the king of England 20,000 gold doubloons; and the duke further engaged that he would repay to the king 20,000 marks, which he had borrowed to defray the expenses incident to the fitting out of this expedition. Of this mission, the following account is given in an ancient manuscript chronicle in the Harleian collection, in the British Museum.‡

“ And in the xi zere of pe pegne of kynge Richapde II. Sr John of Gaunte, Duke of Lancastpe, wente ouep the see into Spayne to chalenge his ryghte pat he hap by his wyfes titell to the epowne of Spayne w^t a gpete oost of peple, of lordes, and

* Vol. i. p. 252.

† See chap. iv. p. 150.

‡ Harl. MSS. Cod. 266. fo. 98. b.

knýgtes, and squýepes, men of apmes and apchers, and hadde the duches his wýfe and his ij doughtepen ouþe the see with hým in Spayne and pe^r pei wepen a gnete whyle tyll at laste the kýnge of Spayne gan tpete with the duke of Lancastpe, and as thei wepe accorded to gethepe porogh heþ sope counsaillies p^t the kýnge of Spayne shulde and wedde the dukes doughter of Lancastpe pat was hipe to Spayne and the kyng of Spayne gaf to the duke of Lancastpe of golde and sýlueþ that wepe caste into gnete ýngotts as moche as viij charietes mýgt capýe and manýe ope^e puche jewelles and gýttes and euþy zere after, dupýng the lýfe of the duke of Lancastpe and of the duches his wýfe x. m^t mapke of gold and pat by her owne aventupe, costages and chages thei of Spayne shulde bpýngt thes x m^t mapke eueþy zere zerely into Bayone to the dukes assignes by supete made. And the duke of Lancastpe wedded anop^e doughter of his vnto the kýnge of Portýngale well and worthely, and lefte p^e his ij doughters with her lordes her husbondes, and come hým home agen into Engelande with the gode lady his wyffe Duchesse of Lancastpe.”

During the duke's absence in Spain, “a submission of award” was entered into between the honourable “Prince, King, and Duke,” as he is designated in this document,* on the one part, and William Pargrave and Igden Slingsby, esq. on the other part, relating to the manors of Scotton, Breareton, and Thonge, in the county of York, to determine how far the latter parties, in right of their wives, the daughters of William de Westfield, were entitled to certain privileges in these manors; the award to be made by twenty knights and esquires, the most sufficient that could be found near to the manors in litigation.

Submis-
sion of
award.

In the year 1388, the alarm of Scotch invasion was again very prevalent in this country, on which the king issued a proclamation to the duke of Lancaster, or his chancellor, announcing that the Scots and their adherents had assembled a great army, and had hastily invaded the kingdom of England, burning, destroying, and horribly slaying men, women, and children, and had almost advanced to the gates of York. To repel this cruel invasion, the duke was required to make proclamation in all cities, boroughs, and market towns, and other places in the county and duchy of Lancaster, that all lords, knights, esquires, and others competent to bear arms, should repair with all speed to join the king's army.† Before the return of the duke from Spain, in 1389, the Scots were driven into their own country, but the public mind still continued agitated in the extreme by the intrigues of the duke of Gloucester and his adherents, who sought to usurp the royal prerogatives, and to use them for their own aggrandizement. The presence of the duke of Lancaster served

Renewed
Scotch
invasion.

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 266. fo. 50.

† Claus. 12 Rich. II. m. 42.

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X.

to check the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his brother of Gloucester, and to restore tranquillity to the state.

Establish-
ment of a
standard
of weights
and mea-
sures.

Although by Magna Charta it was declared that uniform weights and measures should be used throughout the whole kingdom, to guard against those impositions to which the people were exposed from the arts of fraudulent dealers, the provisions of the charter had hitherto not been enforced; but it was now ordained by the authority of the king, on petition of the commons, that a standard measure and weight should be established for the whole kingdom; and that any person convicted of using any other should not only make satisfaction to the aggrieved parties, but should also be imprisoned for six months without bail. The county of Lancaster was, however, exempt from this enactment, "because," as the king says in his answer to the commons, "there has always been a larger measure used in Lancashire than in any other part of the kingdom."*

Exempt
in Lanca-
shire.

Ancient
salmon
fisheries
of Lanca-
shire.

The earliest enactments in the statutes of the realm for regulating the salmon fisheries of this kingdom, relate to the Lancashire rivers of the Lune, the Wyre, the Mersey, and the Ribble: and by a statute, 13 Richard II. c. 19. it is enacted, "That no young salmon be taken or destroyed by nets, at mills, dams, or other places, from the middle of April till the Nativity of St. John Baptist;" and "it is ordained and assented, that the waters of Lon, Wyre, Mersee, Ribbyl, and all other waters in the county of Lancaster, be put in defence, as to the taking of salmons, from Michaelmas Day to the Purification of our Lady, and in no other time of the year, because that salmons be not seasonable in the said waters in the time aforesaid; and in the parts where such rivers be, there shall be assigned and sworn good and sufficient conservators of this statute." This act was amended by the 17 Richard II. c. 9. which enacts, "that the justices of the peace shall be conservators of the recited statute, with under conservators appointed by them, and that the said justices shall inquire into the due execution of the law at their sessions;" and further amended by 1 Eliz. c. 17. which, amongst other things, provides that the meshes of the nets used in taking salmon shall be two inches and a half broad, and that the fish shall not be taken by any other means.†

Alleged
claim of
John of
Gaunt to
the throne
for his
son.

The history of these times presents many rumours, but no well-authenticated facts, tending to shew that John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was inflamed by that ambition which points to the throne, and is little scrupulous of the means of gratifying the thirst for regal power. These rumours impute to the duke a desire also to place the crown of England upon the head of his son, Henry of Bolingbroke; and

* Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 270.

† The subsequent statutes for the regulation of these fisheries are 4 and 5 of Anne, c. 21. 1 George I. stat. ii. c. 18. 23 George II. c. 26. 43 George III. c. 61.

the venerable Leland asserts, that “ in a parliament held at London 19 Rich. II. the duke moved that his son Henry might be adjudged heir to the kingdom of England, as being the son of Blanch, daughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster, grandson of Edmund, first earl of Lancaster, who, he pretended, was eldest brother to king Edward I. but put by the crown by king Henry III. because of the deformity of a broken back, and therefore named Cronchback: which argument of his was contradicted by Roger Mortimer, earl of March, who made it appear to the contrary, and alleged that it belonged to him as son of Philippa, only daughter and heir of Lionell, duke of Clarence, second surviving son of Edward III. who, not allowing Henry’s pretended succession from an eldest son of Henry III. was to be preferred before the son of John, duke of Lancaster, being younger than Lionell. It was this spark which his son Henry of Bolingbroke afterwards blew into a flame, which continued burning in the royal families of Lancaster and York, till, having well nigh consumed both, it became quenched with the effusion of much princely blood.”*

From what source this information is derived, we are at a loss to conjecture; certain it is, that no English parliament was held in London, or elsewhere, in 19 Richard II.; nor does it appear, either from the rolls of parliament, or from the records in the Tower, that any such claim was advanced for his son by John of Gaunt, though, in the speech made by Henry IV. to his parliament on ascending the throne, he evidently alludes to the tradition upon which this story is fabricated.†

Two years before this, “ John, duke of Lancaster, son of the king of England, duke of Guienne, earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, and steward of England,” as he is styled in the parliamentary records, and Thomas, duke of Gloucester, constable of England, “ complained to the king that sir Thomas Talbot, knight, with others his adherents, conspired the deaths of the said dukes in divers parts of Cheshire, as the same was confessed and well known; and the dukes prayed that parliament might judge of the fault. Whereupon the king and the lords in parliament adjudged the said Thomas Talbot guilty of high treason, and awarded two writs, the one to the sheriffs of York, and the other to the sheriffs of Derby, to take the body of the said sir Thomas, returnable in the King’s Bench, in the month of Easter then ensuing: and open proclamation was made in Westminster Hall, that upon the sheriffs’ return at the next coming in of the said sir Thomas, he should be convicted of treason, and incur the loss and penalty of the same.”‡

Accusa-
tion
against sir
Thomas
Talbot.

Notwithstanding all these court intrigues, the honours and privileges of the duke of Lancaster continued to accumulate; and by an act of royal favour, he was allowed to hold Aquitaine in liege homage of the king; and all prelates, earls,

* Sandford’s Genealogical History, book 4. c. 1.

† See chap. v. p. 165

‡ Sir Robert Cotton’s Coll. p. 354. 17 Rich. II.

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X.

viscounts, and others, were commanded to pay homage to the duke. The vicerealty of Picardy was soon after conferred upon him, at which time the privilege was conceded to him of importing sixty casks of wine, duty free, for the use of his household.*

Legitima-
tion of
the duke's
children
by Catherine
Swinford.

The scandal raised at court by the marriage of John of Gaunt, the king's uncle, to his mistress, Catherine Swinford,† was somewhat abated by the king's patent, which legitimatized her four children by the duke. These children were surnamed Beauford, from the place of their birth; and the patent of legitimation, which bears date on the 10th of February, 1397,‡ may be thus rendered:—

“Be it remembered, That on Tuesday the fifteenth day of Parliament, the Chancellor, by the King's command, declared how our Holy Father the Pope had, in reverence of the most excellent person of the King, and of his honourable uncle the Duke of Guyenne and of Lancaster, and of his blood, enabled [*habliez*] and legitimatized Sir John de Beauford, his brothers and his sister, and that therefore our Lord the King, as entire Sovereign [*entier* Emperor] of his Realm of England, for the honour of his blood, wills, and hath of his full royal power enabled, and of his own proper authority made, the said John, his said brothers and sisters, *muliers*,§ and also pronounced and published the ability [*l'abilite*] and legitimatization, according to the form of the King's charter thereof made. The which charter was read in full Parliament, and delivered to the said duke, father of the said John, and his said brothers and sister, the tenor of which charter ensueth:—Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to our most dear cousins the noblemen, John the Knight, Henry the Clerk, Thomas ‘Domicello,’ and to our beloved the noble woman Joan Beauford ‘Domicelle,’ the most dear relatives of our uncle the noble John Duke of Lancaster, born our lieges, greeting, and the favour of our royal majesty. Whilst internally considering how incessantly, and with what honours we are graced by the very useful and sincere affection of our aforesaid uncle, and by the wisdom of his counsel, we think it proper and fit, that, for the sake of his merits, and in contemplation of his favours, we should enrich you (who are endowed by nature with great probity and honesty of life and behaviour, and are begotten of royal blood, and by the divine gift are adorned with many virtues) with the strength of our royal prerogative of favour and grace. Hence it is, that, yielding to the entreaties of our said uncle, your father, we do, in the fullness of our royal power, and by the assent of Parliament, by the tenor of these presents,

* The duty on wine at this time was 3s. per cask, with an ad valorem duty of 5 per cent. upon its introduction into the port of London.

† See chap. iv. p. 151.

‡ Rot. Parl. vol. iii. p. 343.

§ *Mulier*—A son born in wedlock of a mother, who had borne a former son to the father before marriage. When compared, they are designated thus—“Bastard eigne et Mulier puisne.”

empower you, who, as it is asserted, suffer from the want of birthright, (notwithstanding such defect, which, and the qualities thereof, we take to be in these presents sufficiently expressed,) to be raised, promoted, elected, assume, and be admitted to all honours, dignities, [*except to the royal dignity**] preeminences, estates, degrees, and offices, public and private whatsoever, as well perpetual as temporal, and feudal and noble, by whatsoever names they may be designated, whether they be Duchies, Principalities, Earldoms, Baronies, or other fees, and whether they depend, or are holden of us mediately or immediately, and to receive, retain, bear, and exercise the same as freely and lawfully as if ye were born in lawful matrimony, and you and every of you do restore and legitimize: any statutes or customs of our realm of England to the contrary thereof, made or observed (which we consider to be herein fully expressed) in anywise notwithstanding.

“Witnessed by the King at Westminster, the 10th day of February.”

In the following year, the quarrel between Henry of Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, and Thomas Mowbray, first duke of Norfolk, which terminated in the banishment of both these knights, took place.† The death of the illustrious and venerable duke of Lancaster was precipitated by this event;‡ and the deposition of Richard II.

———— “unking’d by Bolingbroke,”

speedily followed.§ On the death of his father, the duke of Hereford returned to England, ostensibly to claim his paternal inheritance of the duchy of Lancaster, but really, through the public power, and his own daring, to assume the still higher possession of the throne.

Amongst the most powerful of the adherents of the duke of Lancaster, was Henry de Percy, earl of Northumberland, and his son, Henry Hotspur, to whose services he was essentially indebted for his elevation:

“Northumberland, thou ladder, by the which
“Bolingbroke ascends the throne;”

and one of the first acts of the new king’s reign was, to present that nobleman with a grant of the Isle of Man, to be held by the feudal service of bearing the *curtana*, called the “LANCASTER SWORD,” on the day of the coronation,|| at the left shoulder of the king and his heirs, which sword had been borne by John of Gaunt at the coronation of Richard II. This grant is represented, in the document by

Isle of
Man
granted
to the
Earl of
Northum-
berland.

* The words “*excepta dignitate regali*” are not in the original grant, but have been interpolated in the copy on the Patent Rolls, 20 Rich. II. p. 2. m. 6.

† See chap. v. p. 160.

‡ p. 152.

§ p. 165.

|| Pat. 1 Hen. IV. p. 5. m. 35.

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X.

which it is made, as the inadequate reward of the earl's magnificent and faithful services to the state. The island, castle, peel, and lordship of Man, the possession of William le Scroop, earl of Wiltshire, had been seized by the king, on the execution of the earl, for misgoverning the kingdom in the time of Richard II.; and the whole of these possessions, together with the regalia, royal jurisdictions, franchises, liberties, and the patronage of the bishoprick, as well as the goods and chattels of the unfortunate earl, were conferred upon the earl of Northumberland in perpetuity. The restless spirit of Northumberland, who thought himself inadequately rewarded by the Isle of Man, while he had secured for his sovereign the kingdom of England, urged him on to acts of rebellion against king Henry, as he had before rebelled against his predecessor. Less fortunate in his second than in his first revolt, the reward of his perfidy to Richard overtook him, and he lost, in the sequel, his son young Hotspur, his possessions, and his life.

Subsequently, to
Sir John
Stanley.

By the attainder of the earl of Northumberland, the Isle of Man, after six years, again fell into the possession of the crown, and was seized for the king's use by Sir William and Sir John Stanley;* on which the king, by letters patent, of his especial grace and favour, granted to Sir John Stanley the island, castle, peel, and lordship of the Isle of Man, and all the islands and lordships thereto belonging, together with regalia, regalities, franchises, and liberties, and all other profits and commodities annexed thereto, to have and to hold for the term of his life.†

DE INSULA MANNIÆ CONCESSA.

A.D. 1105.
7 H. IV.

“ REX, dilecto & fideli suo, *Willielmo Stanley*, Chivaler, vel ejus Locumtenenti in Insula de Man, Salutem.

“ Licet nuper, per Literas nostras Patentes, commiserimus vobis, ac, dilecto & fideli nostro, *Johanni Stanley*, Chivaler, Insulam, Castrum, Pelam, & Dominium de Man, ac omnia Insulas & Dominia eidem Insule de Man pertinentia, unâ cum Regaliis, Regalitatibus, Franchesiis, & Libertatibus, ac omnibus aliis Proficiis & Commoditatibus, in dictis Literis nostris specificatis, ad opus nostrum salvo & securè, quamdiu nobis placuerit, Custodienda,

“ Quia tamen postmodùm, per alias Literas nostras de Gratia nostra speciali, Concessimus eidem *Johanni* Insulam, Castrum, Pelam, & Dominium prædicta, ac omnia Insulas & Dominia eidem Insule de Man pertinentia, unâ cum Regaliis, Regalitatibus, Franchesiis, & Libertatibus, ac omnibus aliis Proficiis & Commoditatibus, eidem Insule, Castro, Pelæ & Dominio qualitercumque spectantibus

* Writs dated Pountney Castle, 3 July, 6 Hen. IV.

† Claus. 7 Henry IV. m. 42.

sive pertinentibus, Habenda pro Termino Vitæ suæ, prout in dictis ultimis Literis nostris, eidem Johanni factis, plenius continetur,

CHAP
X.

“ Vobis, sub Fide & Ligeantia vestris, districtius quo possumus, Injungimus & Mandamus quòd eidem Johanni, aut ejus in hac parte Attornato, Insulam, Casttrum, Pelam & Dominium prædicta, ac Insulas & Dominia eidem Insulæ de Man pertinentia, unà cum Regaliis, Regalitatibus, Franchesüs, & Libertatibus, ac omnibus aliis Proficiis & Commoditatibus prædictis, liberetis, & ipsum illa habere permittatis, juxta Tenorem dictarum ultimarum Literarum nostrarum, sibi sic indè confectarum; vos indè, contra Tenorem eorundem, nullatenus intro-mittentes;

“ Volumus enim vos indè erga Nos exonerari.

Teste Rege apud———, Quarto die Octobris.”

“ *Per ipsum Regem.*”

On the 6th of April, in the following year, the king so far extended his bounty as to grant the Isle of Man to Sir John Stanley in perpetuity, in as full and ample a manner as it had been held by any former lord of the crown of England, *per homagium legium*, but altering the tenure, which was now, instead of bearing the Lancaster sword at the coronation, to pay to the king a cast of falcons at the coronation, after homage made in lieu of all demands and customs.

To return from this digression. The annals of the duchy, during the whole period of the life of John of Gaunt, will at all times rank amongst the most interesting records in the early history of the county palatine of Lancaster; but though they are all before us, they are much too voluminous to be inserted in detail, and can only be given in summary, with such references as may enable those who wish to consult particular documents to find them with facility. These annals being resumed from the period of the death of the first duke of Lancaster, and brought down to the demise of the last subject duke, comprehend the whole period of the history of the duchy, from its creation to the time when it merged in the crown, not indeed by absolute union, for the duchy of Lancaster has always been considered a separate inheritance, but by actual possession—the kings of England and the dukes of Lancaster having been the same persons ever since the time when Henry of Bolingbroke ascended the throne, to the present day.

Annals of
the
Duchy.

EXTRACT FROM CLOSE ROLL A. 6.

JOHN DUKE OF LANCASTER—viz^t 1377, 51 Edw. III. to 1389, 12 Rich. II.*From the Duchy Records in the Office of the Duchy of Lancaster.*

PERSONS.

MATTERS.

Extract
from Close
Roll A. 6.

The two introductory instruments are as follows:—

51 Edw. III.

John the Duke to Thomas de
Thelwall.Also, the Duke to the Sheriff
of the County.1. John Hodelleston and Wife to the
Duke.

Nicholas de Syngleton to the Duke.

*Appointment of Chancellor of the Duchy
and County Palatine, and delivery of
the Great Seal of the Royalty.

Proclamation of Pleadings of Assize, &c.

Fine for Writ of Assize de Nov. Dis. 20s.
paid to the Hanaper.

Fine of 10s. for a Writ de Conventione.

* APPOINTMENT OF CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY AND COUNTY
PALATINE, &c.

..... “cimo septimo die Aprilis, Anno Regni Regis E. ſcij a conquestu Angl^t quinquagesimo primo apud le Westm Johēs Rex Castelle & Legionis Dux Lancast^r in p^sencia Robti de Wylyngton Militis Thome de Hung^tford Militis & alio^r de Familia ipⁱus Regis ibidē p^senciu^m vidēl^t in capella infra Mansū dēi loci constructa constituit Thomā de Thelwall eticūm Cancellariū suū infra Ducatū & Comitātū Lancastrie & capto Sac^o suo idem Rex magnū Sigillū suū p^r regimine Regalitatis Comitatus Palatini ibidem ordinatū manu sua p^pria p^rfato Thome libavit juxta Officij sui debitū custodiend^o.

“Et postmodū p^rfatus Cancellar^r recepto eodem sigillo consignavit vidēl^t vicesimo die Aprilⁱ extunc p^r sequente quoddam brē quod irrotulat sub hac forma.

D^r Procla-
mando.

“Johēs dei grā Rex Castelle & Legionis Dux Lancast^r viē Lan^c Saltū Scias qđ assignavim⁹ dīcōs & fideles n^os Willm de Skipwyth Rog^o de Fulthorp & Willm de Nessefeld Justicⁱ n^os ad omīa p^rlita n^{ra} tam Corone qm̄ t^re assisar^r juratar^r & c^tificacōnū & omīoda p^rlita in Co^m p^rdeo qualiteuq^{ue} en^ggencia & ad Comitē Palatinū spectancia tenend^o & eisd^e Justicⁱ die Lune p^r post festū Ascencionis Dñi p^r futū ad Sessiones suas apud Lancastre hīs oc^cōnibz incipiend^o de avisamento Consilij n^{ri} duxim⁹ p^rfigend^o. Et ideo tibi p^rcipim⁹ qđ in pleno Co^m tuo & alijs locis n^uscatorijs ubi expedire videris publice pelamari fac^o qđ omēs & singlⁱ negocia vel p^rlita sua corā eisdem Justicⁱ p^rsequi volentes ibidem int^rsint ad diem illū & ul^tius venire fac^o tunc ibidem xxiiij de discrecōribz legalioribz & p^rioribz hōibz ejuslibet wapentachij sive Hund^ri deō Co^m ad faciendū ul^tius quod ex p^rte n^{ra} p^r p^ratos Justicⁱ n^os hūint in Mandatis. Et heas ibi noīa p^rdeō^r xxiiij & hoc brē. T. meipō apud Lancast^r xx die Aprilⁱ anno Regalitatis n^{ri} Comitatus Palatini primo.”

PERSONS.	MATTERS.	CHAP. X.
2. The King and Duke for Robert, son of Sir John de Harryngton, knt.	Mandate to Roger de Brokholes, the Duke's Escheator, for delivery of Lands formerly held in Capite.	Extract from Close Roll A. 6. continued.
3. The King and Duke for Henry de Ferrarijs.	Mandate to the Escheator to deliver Lands formerly held in Capite.	
4. The King and Duke for Walter Pedwardyne and others.	Like Mandate for Advowsons of Churches, &c. Conyngshead Priory and Wharton Church.	
5. The King and Duke for William de Brottrieux Ellalle, Scotforde, Assheton, and others.	The like for delivery of a Moiety of Knights' Fee and Appurtenances in Right of Thomas de Thweng.	
6. The King and Duke for the Duke : Adam de Hoghton, Keeper of Quernemore Forest.	Warrant to cut Timber for Repairs of Lancaster Castle.	
7. The King and Duke for the Duke.	Preecept to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Lancaster, and other Persons, to proclaim prohibition against Persons congregating with an armed power to impede the Sessions at Lancaster.	
8. Various Fines paid for Writs.		
9. The King and Duke for the Duke.	Writ to the Escheator to seize the Lands of Nicholas de Prestwyche.	
10. The King and Duke for John Boteler and Nicholas de Haveryngton.	Precept to the Sheriff for paying them £26. 8s. as Knights elect for the Commonalty of the Duchy, for Expences in coming to the King's Parliament.	
11. The King and Duke for King Richard.	Precept for Proclamation that all Foreign Mendicant Friars within the Duchy quit the Realm, according to the King's Mandate.	
12. The King and Duke for the Prior and Convent of St. Mary's, Leicester.	Precept to the Escheator not to interfere in the Manors and Possessions of the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, during the avoidance of the Abbot's death.	

Here ends the first Year of the Royalty on the 1st side of the Roll.

CHAP. X.	PERSONS.	MATTERS.
Extract from Close Roll A. 6. continued.	13. John, King of Castile, &c. for the Abbot of Furnes.	Precept to the Sheriff, commanding the Executors of John Raton to pay £55. to the Abbot.
	14. Fines paid to the Duke for various Writs, and attested by the Custos Regalitatis, William Wetherley, Vicar of Blakeburn Church.	
	15. The King and Duke for the Abbot of Evesham.	Mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer concerning the Fishery of Hoghwyk, in the River Ribble, claimed by the Abbot, and seized by the Deputy Ste- ward of the Manor of Penwortham.
	16. The same for the King and Duke.	Mandate to the Sheriff to Levy Aid, according to the Statute, to make his eldest Son a Knight.
	17. The same for the Duke and other Magnates of his Retinue going abroad in the King's service.	Letters to the Abbots of Furneys, Whal- ley, Cockersand, and other Abbots, Priors, Archdeacons, and Proctors, to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, for the success of the Expedition.
	18. The same for the Duke.	Mandate to the Duke's Escheator, to seize the Lands, &c. of Otho de Hal- sale.
	19. The same for Richard de Townelay Sheriff.	Mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer to pay his Account of Charges for Parchment, &c.
	20. The same for John Boteler and Ralph de Ypre.	Precept to the Sheriff to pay the Knights elected for the Commonalty of the Duchy £16. for their Expences in coming to Parliament at Gloucester.
	This ends the 2d Year of the Royalty.	
	21. 2 Rich. II. The King and Duke for Alan Wilkeson and Wife.	Mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer to enquire of a Messuage and Lands seized into the Duke's Hands, for the Felony of John de Leyland at Kirkeby, in Derbyshire.
	22. Various Fines paid to the Duke for Writs.	

PERSONS.	MATTERS.	CHAP. X.
23. The King and Duke for the Duke.	Mandate to the Justices to adjourn Sessions.	Extract from Close Roli A. 6. continued.
24. The same for the Abbot of Whalley.	Mandate to the Barons to inquire of Tithes seized by the Escheator, as belonging to William Talbot, an Outlaw, touching the Tithes of the Church of All Saints of Whalley, at Alnetham.	
25. The same for the King.	Precept to the Sheriff to proclaim within the Duchy the Ordinance made as to the Goldsmith's mark.	
26. The same for Nicholas de Haryngton and Robert de Wiswyk.	Precept to the Sheriff to pay the Knights of the Commonalty their Expences to Parliament at Westminster.	
27. The same for the Duke.	Precept to the Sheriff to elect a Coroner in the room of Thomas de Fasakereley.	
28. The same for the Duke.	Precept to elect Verderors for Derbyshire, Amounderness, and Lonsdale.	
29. The King and Duke, for John de Eccleston.	Precept to the Sheriff to give Seizin of a Messuage and Lands taken by the Duke for the Felony of Robert de Raynhull.	
30. The same for the Abbot of Evesham Monastery.	Mandate to the Escheator to deliver Temporalities to Roger de Yatton, Abbot elect.	
31. The same, for the same.	Mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer, to surcease demands upon the Abbot, and to answer for the Issues according to the Award of the Great Council.	
32. The same for the Duke.	Mandate to the Escheator, to seize the Lands, &c. of Sir Thomas Bannastre, Knt.	

The end of the 3rd Year of the Royalty.

33. 3 Rich. II. The King and Duke, for the Duke.	Precept to the Sheriff for election of a Coroner.
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CHAP.
X.

PERSONS.

MATTERS.

Close Roll
A. 6. con-
tinued.34. The same, for John de Boteler and
Thomas de Southworth.Precept to the Sheriff to pay them as
knights for the Commonalty, £24. for
Expences in coming to Parliament at
Westminster.*Anno Quarto Regalitatis John Duke of Lancaster.*

3 Ric. II.

35. Fines paid to the Lord for Writs.

36. The King and Duke for John de
Haydock.Precept to the Escheator, to give seizin
of the Lands of Will^m. Botiller in
Laton Magna, Laton Parva, Bispham
Warthebrek, and Great Merton; and
Rents in Atherton, Westlegh, Py-
myngton, Bolde, Lydegate, Thornton,
Culcheth, Egergarth, Tildeslegh,
Glassebroke, Bedford, Halsall, Ives,
and Wyndhull; Great Sonkey Manor
and Werington Manor.

37. The same, for John Botiller.

Precept to give seizin of Lands and Mill
in Burtonwood, and the Manor of
Weryngton, with Advowson of the
Church.

38. The same, for the Duke.

Precept to seize the Lands of William
Botiller.

The like of John Byron.

The like of Richard Radclif.

39. The same, for Gilbert de Gorford-
syche.Writ of Re-Disseisin as to the Turbary
in Scaresbrek.40. The like, for the Tenants of Worston
Township.Mandate to the Barons of the Exche-
quer, relating to the Tenants of Wor-
ston, and Pasturage of Common and
the Inclosure by William Nowel.41. The same, for John Botiller and
Thomas de Southworth.Precept to the Sheriffs to pay Knights
for the Commonalty of the Duchy,
£19. 12s., their Expences in coming
to Parliam^t. at Northampton.

PERSONS.	MATTERS.	CHAP. X.
42. The King and Duke, for the Duke.	Mandate to the Escheator, to seize the Lands and Tenements of Peter Gerard. The like of Ellen de Birewayth. The like of W ^m . de Bradshagh of Hagh. The like of Rich ^d . de Caterall. The like of Gilbert de Kyghley. The like of Isabella de Eton.	Close Roll A. 6. con- tinued.
43. The same, for John Radeclif.	Mandate to give Seizin of the Manor of Urdesale, 3 parts of Moiety of the Town of Flixton, Tenements in Le Hope, Shoresworth, Le Holynhed, in Tokholes, Salford, the Bailiwick of Rochdale, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of moiety of the Town of Flixton.	
44. The same, for Isabella Bradeshagh.	Mandate to assign Dower of Lands seized into the Duke's Hands, by reason of the minority of Thomas Bradeshagh.	

Writs of Diem Clausit Extremum.

45. The King and Duke, for the Duke.	Mandate to the Escheator, to take the Lands of John de Skerton. And the like Mandate for several others upon deaths.
46. The same, for Sir Roger Pilkington, Knt.	Writ of Post Disseisin to the Sheriff for a Tenement in Rediche.
47. The King and Duke, for the Abbot of Cokersand.	Mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer to enquire of Rent of Lands in Mel- lyng, held by Henry Chaderton, as seized for Debt.
48. Fines paid for various Writs to the Horneby, Clerk of the Hanaper.	Duke, as acknowledged by William
49. The King and Duke, for the King.	Precept to the Sheriff to take William Grenhil, an Outlaw in the King's Court within the Duchy, according to the King's Mandate therein recited.

CHAP.
X.

PERSONS.

MATTERS.

Close Roll
A. 6. con-
tinued.

50. The same, for same.

Precept to the Mayor and Bailiffs of
Liverpool to proclaim the King's Man-
date, prohibiting Exportation of Corn.*Anno Sexto Regalitis.*51. The King and Duke, for John de
Warren.Mandate to the Escheator, to give Seizin
of Wood Plumpton Manor, as in Fee,
by Sir John Davenport, Knt. to Robert
de Eton.52. The same, for William de Atherton
and Robert de Urcewyk.Precept to the Sheriff to pay the Knights
of the Commonalty of the Duchy, for
their Expences to Parliament at West-
minster.

53. The King and Duke, for the King.

Precept to the Mayor and Bailiffs of
Liverpool, to proclaim the King's Man-
date touching the Exportation of Corn.54. The King and Duke, for the King
of Scotland.Precept to the Sheriff, to distrain Per-
sons in Liverpool possessing several
Casks of Wine taken in the Port of
Inchgalle by some Persons in the
County of Chester, contrary to the
Truce with Scotland, and to pay 10
Marks for each Cask.

55. The same, for the King of England

Precept to the Sheriff, to publish the
King's Proclamation within the Du-
chy, relative to Charters of Pardon by
the King's Subjects, (except certain
Persons named, and the Men of the
City of Canterbury, of the Towns of
Cambridge, Bridgwater, St. Edmund's,
Beverley, and Scarboro).56. The same, for Sir Roger de Pilking-
ton, Kn^t. and Robert de Clifton.Precept to pay the Knights elected for
the Duchy Commonalty £10. for their
Expences to Parliament at Westmin-
ster.

57. Fines to the King and Duke for Writs.

PERSONS.	MATTERS.	CHAP. X.
58. The King and Duke, for the King of England.	Precept to Liverpool, as to Exportation of Corn.	Close Roll A. 6. continued.
Writs of Diem Clausit Extremum.		
59. The King and Duke, for the Duke.	Mandate to the Escheator, to take the Lands of Edward Lawrence, and the Land of Thomas Latham.	
60. The King and Duke, for the King of England.	Precept to Liverpool as before.	
61. The same, for the Poor Fishermen in the Duchy.	Precept to the Sheriff, to publish the King's Prohibition against preventing the Fishermen from setting their Nets in the Sea, and catching Fish for their Livelihood.	
62. The same, for Matilda Waryng.	Writ of Re-Disseisin to the Sheriff, of a Messuage and Lands in Chippyn.	
63. The same, for Thomas de Knoll.	Mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer, to inquire of Lands in Chippendale, seized into the Duke's hands on the Felony of John de Knoll, as purchased after the King's Charter of Pardon.	
64. The King of England, for the King.	Writ addressed to the King of Castile and Duke of Lancaster, to cause to be elected, and to come to Parliament, 2 Knights for the Commonalty of the Duchy, and of every City 2 Citizens, and of every Boro' two Burgesses. Witness the King at Westminster, 7th January, 6 Ric. II.	
65. The King and Duke, for the King.	Precept to the Sheriff, to make Proclamation of the Statutes and Ordinances made in the Parliamt. of the 6 th Year of King Richard, as recited in the King's Mandate addressed to the Duke of Lancaster, or his Lieutenant. Witness the King at Lancaster, 8 th Febry.	

CHAP.
X.

PERSONS.

MATTERS.

Close Roll
A. 6. con-
tinued.66. The King and Duke, for Margery
Bannastre.67. The same, for the Owners of the
Ship called Carrak, wrecked on
the Duchy Coast.Writ of Post Disseisin, as to Dower of
Lands in Walton in le Dale.Precept to the Sheriff to make Proclama-
tion, that all the Duke's Officers, Mi-
nisters, and Tenants of the Duchy, ab-
stain from taking the Goods of the said
Ship, the Crew having escaped alive.*Anno Septimo Regalitis.*

68. The King and Duke, for the Duke.

69. The same, for same.

70. The same, for same.

Writ of Diem Clausit Extremum, upon
the death of John de Kirkby, Chivaler.

The like, upon death of David de Irland.

Precept to the Sheriff to elect a Verdurer
for Amounderness, instead of Adam
Bradkirk.

71. The like.

The like for Derbyshire, vice Richard de
Aynscough.

72. The like.

D°. to elect a Coroner for the County,
vice Adam de Skylicorne.73. The same, for the Abbot of Cocker-
sand.D°. to give Seizin of Lands in Billynge,
seized by King Edward for the Felony
of William de Falyngge.

74. Fines to the King and Duke for Writs.

75. The King and Duke, for Richard de
Bareweford and Agnes, his Wife.Writ of Re-Disseizin concerning Lands
at Chorlegh.

76. Fines to the King and Duke for Writs.

77. The King and Duke, for the Duke.

Writ of Diem Clausit, &c. directed to
Robert de Ursewyk, on the death of
Hugh de Bradshagh.78. The King and Duke, for John Pil-
kington and Wife.Writ de Dote Assignando directed to the
Escheator, for Margaret de Bradshagh.

79. The same, for same.

Writ of Diem Clausit Extremum, upon
the death of Hugh de Dacre.

D°. on the death of Thomas de Rigmayden.

D°. of Thomas de Lathum.

D°. of Richard de Balderston.

80. Fines paid to the Duke for Writs.

PERSONS.

MATTERS.

CHAP.
X.*Anno Octavo Regalitatis.*Close Roll
A. 5. con-
tinued.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 81. The King and Duke, for the Duke. | Precept to the Sheriff for Proclamation, that all the Men of the Duke's retinue meet him at Newcastle upon Tyne, to march into Scotland. |
| 82. The same, for Adam de Prestall, of Salfordshire. | Precept to the Sheriff not to put the said Adam on Juries, &c., he being deaf. |
| 83. The same, for Johanna Rignayden. | Writ de Dote Assignanda, addressed to the Escheator. |
| 84. The King and Duke, for the Duke. | Writ of Diem Clausit Extremum, on the death of Matthew de Twisilton.
—— of John Kekwyk, of Derby.
—— of William Barton. |
| 85. Fines paid to the King and Duke for | Writs. |
| 86. The King and Duke, for the Duke. | Mandamus to the Escheator, upon the death of Thomas de Rignayden.
—— of Thomas Banaster.
—— of Edward Banastre. |
| 87. The same, for John Daunport. | Mandate to William de Horneby, Receiver of the County of Lancaster, to pay the secondary Justice in the Duchy 20 Marks, for his Fee of 20s. for his Clerk for two last Sessions. |
| 88. Fines paid to the King and Duke for | Writs. |
| 89. The King and Duke, for the King of England. | Precept to the Sheriff to get ready the Men at Arms and Bowmen within the Duchy, to march ags' the Scotch, according to the King's Mandate. |
| 90. The same, for the Abbot of Cocker-sand. | Precept to give Seizin of Lands in Bilyng, as seized into King Edward's Hands for the Felony of William de Falyng. |
| 91. The King and Duke, for Isabella Lathum. | Writ de Dote Assignanda, out of Lathum Manor. |
| 92. Fines paid to the King and Duke for | Writs. |

CHAP. X.	PERSONS.	MATTERS.
Close Roll A. con- tinued.	93. The King and Duke, for Roger de Fazackrelegh and Wife.	Writ de Procedendo in an Assize of Novel Disseizin before the Justices, as to Tenements in Knowselegh, Childwall, Roby, and Anlasargh.
	94. The same, for Johanna Kekewyk.	Writ de Dote Assignanda.
	95. The same, for the Duke.	Mandamus to the Escheator, upon the death of Thomas de Lathum.
<i>Hic incipit Annus Nonus Regalitatis.</i>		
	96. The King and Duke, for the King and Duke.	Writ of Diem Clausit, &c. on the death of Henry de Dyncley. —— Geoffrey Workesley. —— Adam de Hoghton.
	97. The same, for the Duke.	Precept to elect a Coroner for the County of Lancaster, vice John Skilicorn, deceased.
	98. Fines paid to the Lord for Writs.	
	99. The King and Duke, for John de Pilkyngham, Parson of the Church of Bury.	Writ of Re-Disseizin as to the Manors of Le Lee, Grymsargh, Hoghton, Qyilton, Ravenemeles, and Whytyng-ham, and Messuages and Lands in Lee, Goosnargh, Assheton, Gryme-sargh, Qnytyngham, Frekilton, Cate-rall, Hoghton, Qyilton, Withenhall, Hephay, Lynesey, Plesyngton, Wrihtyngton, Ravenmeles, Gold-burn, Preston, Sourby, Whithill in the Wodes, Walshwhittill, Eccleston, Chernock Richard, and Ribchester; and Moieties of Chernok Richard Manor and Whittill in the Wodes; two parts of Asheton and Gosenargh Manors, and the 4 th part of Caterall and Wrihtynton Manors.
	100. The King and Duke, for the King.	Mandate to the Justices to adjourn Sessions.

PERSONS.	MATTERS.	CHAP. X.
101. The same, for the Duke.	Mandate to the Escheator to seize into the Hands of the King and Duke, the Lands of Thomas Banastre in Ethelswyk, Freculton, Claughton in Amound ^s . Billesburgh, Halghton, Syngleton Parvā, Thornton le Holmes, Sowerby, Hamylton, Stalmyn, Crofton, Farryngton, Thorpe, and Brethirton. Like Mandate for the Lands of Edmond Banastre in Dilworth, Broghton, Preston in Amomderness, Wodeplumpton, with the More Hall and Goscnargh.	Close Roll A. 6. continued.
102. Fines paid to the Lord for Writs. 103. The King and Duke, for Isabella Lathum.	Precept to the Sheriff to give Seizin of Tenements in Lathum Manor, viz ^t . Horskarre, Demedowe near Rughford, Robynfeld de Horskarre, Calverhay, Watton, Ryding, and 8 Marks Rent of Freehold ^s in Newburgh.	
104. Fines paid to the Lord for Writs. 105. John de Radclif to the Duke.	Recognizance for Rent of Lands in Oldan, Chatherton, and Wytton, near Plesyngton.	
106. The King and Duke, for Margaret de Ines.	Writ of Assignment of Dower to Margaret Bradeshagh, of a Water Mill in Westlegh, in the Duke's Hands by Minority of the Heir.	
107. The same, for Jas. Botiller, Earl of Ormond.	Precept to the Escheator for Seizin of Rent of the Manor of Wetherton, notwithstanding no Process as to proof of Age, nor his being called on the Inquisition taken.	
108. The same, for Roger Fazackerlegh.	Mandate to the Justices of the Bench, to proceed on Novel Disseizin as to Tenements of Sir Thomas Lathum, Kn ^t . in Knowslegh, Childwall, Roby, and	

CHAP. X.	PERSONS.	MATTERS.
Extract from Close Roll A. 6. continued.	108. Continued.	Anhlesargh, and on no Acco ^t to give Judgm ^t witho ^t the Duke's advice.
<i>Anno Decimo Regalitatis.</i>		
	109. Fines paid to the King and Duke.	
	110. The King and Duke for Margaret de Radclif.	Precept to the Receiver of the Duchy to pay a yearly Rent for Lands in Oldom, Chatherton, and Witton, near Ples- ington.
	111. The same for Robert de Barton.	Writ of Re-disseizin for Messuages and Lands in Lathum.
	112. Fines paid to the King and Duke.	
	113. The King and Duke for the Duke.	Precept to the Sheriff to Levy £20. of the Lands of John de Radclif in Oldom, Chatherton, and Wytton, for Arrears. Witnessed by Henry, Earl of Derby, Custos of the Duchy.

Anno Undecimo Regalitatis.

114. Fines paid to the King and Duke for Writs.	
115. The King and Duke for William Ward.	Writ to Walter de Urswyk, Keeper of Lancaster Forest, to accept Bail for the said William, detained in Lancaster Castle, for a Trespass on the Forest.
116. The King and Duke for the Duke.	Writ of Diem Clausit Extremum upon the death of Jno. de Wareyn, Thomas Strangways, Thomas Sotheworth, Richard Torbock, Thomas Holand, William Tunstall, Petronilla Banastre, Thomas Molyneux, William Aghton.

PERSONS.	MATTERS.	CHAP. X.
117. The same, for same.	Precept to the Sheriff to elect a Coroner, vice Edward Frere.	Extract from Close Roll A. 6. continued.
	Do. vice Hugh de Ines, they being both incompetent to their Offices.	
118. The same, for same.	Precept to the Sheriff to elect a Verduror for Quernmore and Wyresdale, vice John Croft, made Steward of Lonsdale.	
	The like, vice Robt. Cauncefeld, he being in Spain with the Duke.	
119. Fines paid to the King and Duke for Writs.		
120. Ralph de Radclif, Sheriff of Lancaster, for the King and Duke.	Recognizance of Debt for the Sheriff to pay £80. for his Office for one Year.	
121. The same, for same.	Like Recognizance for a faithful Account of his Profits.	
122. The King and Duke, for John de Ines.	Precept to the Escheator to supersede the demand of £34. 14s. 4d. of Lands, &c. in Wythyngton and Harewode, and other Momies, till the next Sessions.	
<i>Anno Duodecimo Regalitatis.</i>		
123. Fines paid to the King and Duke for Writs.		
124. The King and Duke, for the Duke.	Mandate to the Justices to adjourn Sessions.	
125. The same, for same	Writs of Diem Clausit Extremum upon the death of Jno. de Haydok, _____ Alice de Legh, _____ John de Nevill.	
126. The same, for Milicent de Aghton.	Writ to the Escheator for Assignment of Dower.	
127. Fines paid to the King and Duke for Writs.		
128. The King and Duke for Ralph de Nevill.	Precept to the Escheator for Livery of seizin of the Advowson of Prescote Church, and for Payment of Relief and for Respite of Homage, till the Duke's return to England.	

DUCHY OF LANCASTER.

CONTINUATION OF ABSTRACT OF THE CLOSE ROLL A. 6. 1st TO 12th YEAR OF
THE ROYALTY OF JOHN OF GAUNT, DUKE OF LANCASTER;

THE INTERIOR PART OF THE ROLL HAVING BEEN ALREADY ABSTRACTED, THE
FOLLOWING ARE FROM THE SAME ROLL IN TERGO.

First Year.

	Grantors and others.	Grantees and others.	Matters and Premises.
A. 6. in Tergo.	No. 1. Edmund, son of dors. Alan de Folifayt.	Edmund Lorence, son of John Lawrence, of Assh- don.	Enrolment of the Deed of Release and Quit Claim of all Right to the Manor of Folifayt, near Tadcas- ter, 50 Ed. III. The like of Lands which Elizabeth Folifayt, widow, held in dower, 51 Ed. III. Other Deeds relative to the Manor.
	No. 2. John de Assheton- dors. under-Lime.	John de Kirkeby.	Recognizance of the Re- ceipt of £40. in part pay- ment of a Debt of 140 Marks, 1 Ric. II. Other Deeds relating thereto.
	No. 3. Thomas Lathum. dors.	Robert de Breton, Vicar of the Church of Huyton, and Thomas de Ryding, Chaplain.	Enrolment of Deed by Re- lease and Quit Claim at Crossechalle, in Lathum, and all other Lands grant- ed in Lancashire, 49 Ed. III.
	<i>Annus Secundus. In Tergo.</i>		
	No. 4. Robert de Was- dors. shington and others.	For William de Horneby, Parson of the Church of St. Michael-upon-Wyre.	Recognizance of Debt of £8. A ^o 2 ^{do} Regalitis.

Grantors and others.	Grantees and others.	Matters and Premises.	CHAP. X.
No. 5. Thomas de Lam- dors. plogh and others.	For Edmund Lorence.	Recognizance of Debt, £40.	A. 6. in Tergo, continued.
No. 6. Adam of Lancas- dors. ter.	For Thomas Mirreson, of Lancaster.	Recognizance of Debt, £10.	
No. 7. William de Heton. dors.	Ralph de Ipre and Peter de Bobrm.	Enrolment of Grant of Lands in Heton, Broune, Molebek, Urwike, and Lancaster. 51 Edw. III.	
No. 8. Richard de Massy, dors. Knt.	For John de la Pole, Jus- tice of Chester.	Recognizance of Debt of £5.—Witness, Henry, Earl of Derby, Custos of the Royalty.	
And various other Recognizances of Debts.			

Annus Tertius. In Tergo.

No. 9. John de Ples- dors. yngton.	Hugh de Dacre, Knt. Lord of Gillesland.	Enrolment of Grant of the Manors of Halton in Lonesdale, and Eccleston in Leylandshire, in Coñ Lanc, with all their Mem- bers and Appurtenances. 2 Rich. II.
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Release and Quit Claim by Feoffees.

Annus Quartus. In Tergo.

No. 10. Various Recognizances of Debt. dors.

Annus Quintus. In Tergo.

No. 11. John Botiller, Knt. dors.	Henry de Bispham and Richard de Carleton, Chaplains.	Enrolment of the Grant of the Manor of Great Laton, Little Laton, Bisp- ham, and Wardebrek, Lands in Great Merton, and the whole Lordship of Merton Town. 4 Rich. II.
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CHAP. X.	Grantors and others.	Grantees and others.	Matters and Premises.
A. 6. in Tergo, continued.	No. 12. Henry de Bisp- dors. ham and Rich- ard de Carleton.	John Botiller, Knt. and Alice his wife.	Enrolment of Grant of the above Manors, Lands, and Lordship, in Fee Tail special. 4 Ric. II.
	<i>Annus Sextus. In Tergo.</i>		
	No. 13. Recognizances of Debts. dors.		
	No. 14. Robert de Was- dors. shyngton,	For William de Hornby, Parson of St. Michael- upon-Wyre, and William le Dncton.	Enrolment of Grant of Lands, &c. in Carleton in Amounderness, for a Rose Rent per Ann. 8 Years, and increased Rent £20 per Ann. 5 Ric. II.
	No. 15. Roger de Fasa- dors. creley.	Edward de Lathum, Henry de Scaresbreck and others.	Memorandum of Agree- ment as to Dower of Tene- ments in Wrightinton.
	No. 16. Adam de Hogh- dors. ton, Chiv ^r , Nicholas de Har- yngton, Chiv ^r , And Richard, son of Adam de Hoghton,	For the King and Duke.	Recognizance of Debt of 200 Marks, upon a sei- zure into the Duke's hands, on the death of James Botiller, Earl of Ormond.
	<i>Annus Octavus. In Tergo.</i>		
	No. 17. Richard de Hogh- dors. ton.	For William de Horneby, Parson of St. Michael- upon-Wire.	Enrolment of Grant of the Wardship of Lands of Henry de Kighley, Knt. in Lancashire and York- shire, and the Marriage of his Son. 7 Rich. II.
	No. 18. The King and dors. Duke.	For John Nowell.	Precept to the Sheriff to supersede taking the Body of John Nowell, to answer before the Justices of the Duchy for the death of John de Holden, upon Appeal of Murder.

Grantors and others.	Grantees and others.	Matters and Premises.	CHAP. X.
The like. The King and dors. Duke,	William de Rigmayden.	Precept to the Sheriff to supersede the Outlawry for Trespasses in the Duchy Chases.	A. 6. in Tergo, continued
No. 19. The King and dors. Duke,	For Hugh, son of John de Partington, of Irurlham.	Precept to the Sheriff to supersede an Outlawry, King Richard II. having granted him pardon. Similar Writs for William Crist and John de Ley- lond, Souter, of Wigan.	
No. 20. The King and dors. Duke,	For Adam de Hoghton and others.	Precept to the Escheator to supersede Levy of Rent of 100 Marks out of Wetheton Manor.	
No. 21. The King and dors. Duke,	For Thomas Smith Nayller, of Cholle.	Precept to the Sheriff, to supersede Outlawry, De- fendant having found Bail to appear at Sessions.	

Annus Novus. In Tergo.

Various Recognizances of Debts and Writs de Supersedendo, addressed to
the Sheriff.

Annus Decimus. In Tergo.

Recognizances of Debts, &c.

No. 22. John de Walton. dors.	Robert de Saureby and John de Birkeheved, Chaplains.	Enrolment of Grant of Lands, &c. in Lancaster, Bare, and Kertnell. 9 Ric. II.
No. 23. Robert de Saureby dors. and John de Birkeheved, Chaplains.	John de Walton and Rosa his Wife.	Grant of the above Lands, &c. in Fee Tail, special.

CHAP. X.	Grantors and others.	Grantees and others.	Matters and Premises.
A. 6. in Tergo, continued.	No. 24. Agnes Banasrte, dors.	For William de Horneby, Parson of the Church of St. Michael-upon-Wyre.	Recognizance of Debt of 500 Marks for Infeoffment of Lands, seized into the Duke's hands by the minority of Constance Banastre.

Annus Undecimus. In Tergo.

Recognizances of Debts and Writs de Supersedendo as to Debts.

No. 25. William de Dut- dors. ton,	For William Molon, Ro- bert Dyring, John de Cornay, and others, Chap- lains.	Enrolment of Grant of Lands, &c. of William de Dutton in Ribchesetr, Bispham, and Northe- brok, and all his Bur- gages and Lands and Tenements in Preston, in Amounderness. 11 Rich. II.
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Annus Duodecimus. In Tergo.

No. 26. Gilbert de Halsall dors. and others,	For the King and Duke.	Recognizance of Debt of £700 for payment to Wil- liam de Hornby, Re- ceiver of £237. 14s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. for his Account of the Time he was Sheriff. Witness, Henry, Earl of Derby, Custos of the Duchy. 12 Rich. II.
No. 27. Robert de Stan- dors. dyssh and others,	For the King and Duke.	Recognizance of Debt of £200 for the said Robert, to render Account of his Office of Sheriff.

“ From the 7th year of King Richard II. there are no Books nor Rolls extant to the 1st of Henry IV.”—*E Libro Great Ayloffé*, 1692 ; page 159, in *John of Gaunt's Chancery of the Duchy*.

In the "Originalia Memoranda," on the Lord Treasurer's side of the Exchequer, we find the following Records relating to the county and duchy of Lancaster, from the period when the ducal house first rose into distinction, to the time when the third duke of Lancaster ascended the throne, with the letters patent of Henry IV. and Henry V. CHAP.
X.
Lancas-
trian
charter.

LANCASTER.—The duke of Lancaster's charter, enrolled in Memoranda 9 Edw. I.; and Records of St. Hilary 19 Edw. II.

Chart. of Henry, E. of Lanc, enrolled, Rees. St. Hil. 6 Edw. III.—Roll.

D. of Lanc's liberty of replevying to the Morrow of Easter Term, in Co. York—Rees. St. Mich. 26 Edw. III. Roll.

Unjust claim of Henry, late E. of Lanc, duke of Lanc in Co. Derby—Rees. St. Hil. 26 Edw. III. Roll.

Charter of Duke of Lanc. respecting divers libertics granted to him in the city of London—Rees. Hil. 27 Edw. III. Roll.

Charter of the D. of Lanc. for receiving £40. under the Honor of the Earl of Derby and Lincoln, in equal parts, in Co. Leicester. Mich. Records 28 Edw. III. Roll.

Duke of Lancaster's claim, in Co. Leicester, Easter Rees. 28 Edw. III. Roll 1.

Charter of D. of Lanc. in Co. Leicester, enrolled Mich. Rees. 29 Edw. III. Roll.

Cognizance of Rich. Michel, sheriff of Not. and Derby, for the D. of Lanc. in Co. Derby, Hil. Rees. 32 Edw. III. Roll.

D. of Lanc's claim in Co. Linc. for working fines. Mich. Rees. 33 Edw. III. Roll.

Charter of John, D. of Lanc. Mich. Rees. 38 Edw. III. Roll 24.

Charter of John Duke of Lancaster. Mich. Rees. 38 Edw. III. 21.

Record sent to the King's chancellor in the county of Lancaster. Mich. Rees. 38 Edw. III. Roll.

Charter of J. D. of L. for libertics granted to him. Hil. Rees. 39 Edw. III. Roll 16.

D. of Lanc's claim of divers sums. Mich. Rees. 42 Edw. III. Roll 20.

D. of Lanc's Charter, 57 Edw. III. Roll.

Charters of John, Kg. of Cast. and Leon, D. of Lanc. enrolled Mich. Rees. 1 Ric. II. Roll 2.

Charter of John, D. of Aquitaine and Lanc. of libertics granted to him by the king. Mich. Rees. 21 Ric. II. Roll 13.

The Duke of Lancaster's claim of divers sums charged upon the sheriffs of the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Lincoln, and York. Mich. Rees. 21 Ric. II. Roll 20.

John Duke of Lancaster's claim of divers sums charged upon the sheriff of the County of Linc. Mich. Rees. 22 Ric. II. Roll 34.

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The claim of John D. of L. for divers sums. Mich. Recs. 21 Ric. II Roll 21.

The claim of John D. of Lanc. for divers sums upon the sheriff of Lincoln's accountant. Mich. 23 Rich. II. Roll 34.

The King's Letters Patent touching the Duchy of Lanc. enrolled Mich. Recs. 1 Hen. IV. Roll 14.

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Two Letters Patent, made to John Leventhorp, under the Seal of the Duchy of Lancaster, enrolled. Mich. Recs. 1 Henr. IV. Roll 15.

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Divers sums claimed by our Lord the King's Attorney Gen. of his Duchy of Lanc. to be placed to the same King as for his Duchy of Lanc. in Co. Derby and elsewhere. Trinity Records, 5 Henr. IV. Roll 16.

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The King's Letters under his privy seal of the Duchy of Lanc. enrolled Mich. Recs. 6 Hen. V. Roll 19.

The
duke's
illustrious
descent.

Of the illustrious John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, it has been observed, that he was the son of a king, the father of a king, and the uncle of a king, and could have said as much as Charles of Valois, had he been the brother of a king. His children were as follows:—

BY BLANCH, HIS FIRST WIFE—

His chil-
dren.HENRY of Lancaster, surnamed Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV. of England.
The first king of the Lancasterian line.

PHILIPPA of Lancaster, queen of Portugal.

ELIZABETH of Lancaster, duchess of Exeter.

BY CONSTANCE, HIS SECOND WIFE—

KATHERINE of Lancaster, queen of Castile and Leon.

BY CATHARINE SWINFORD, AFTERWARDS THIRD WIFE—

JOHN BEAUFORT, earl of Somerset.

HENRY BEAUFORT, cardinal of St. Eusebius, and bishop of Winchester.

THOMAS BEAUFORT, duke of Exeter and earl of Dorset.

JOAN BEAUFORT, countess of Westmoreland.

The reign of Henry IV. son of John of Gaunt, was short and agitated. The insurrection of the earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, was followed by an insurrection in Wales; and a royal proclamation, addressed to the "Chancellor of the King's County Palatine of Lancaster," announced that Owyn Glendourdy, and other rebels, had lately risen against the king in great numbers, to resist whom the chancellor was required to proclaim within his jurisdiction, that all knights and esquires able to bear arms in person, and archers who received annual fees from the

king, should repair to Worcester by the 1st of October, to join the other levies raised to put down this insurrection.* A long and sanguinary civil war ensued, in which Henry had by turns to fight against his English subjects, under the earl of Northumberland, who from being his friend had become his deadly enemy; the Welsh under their native princes, and the Scotch under Richard III. of that kingdom; but by his courage, skill, and prudence, he overcame his enemies, and established that throne by the power of the sword, which appeared at first to have been erected upon the affections of his people. The writ to raise troops in the county of Lancaster was followed by another, addressed to the chancellor of the duchy, commanding him to proclaim that William Adherton and Edmund de Dacre were appointed to collect the reasonable aid of twenty shillings for the marriage portion of Blanche of Lancaster, the king's eldest daughter, to the duke of Bavaria.†

The wounds inflicted upon the pride of France by the conquests made in that country by the Black Prince, and the earl of Derby, son of Henry earl of Lancaster, formed a never-ending source of hostility between the French and English nations; and the duke of Orleans did not fail to avail himself of the difficulties by which Henry IV. was surrounded. His attacks were directed against the English castles and fortresses, both in the south and north of France, at Bourdeaux and at Calais. To prevent these possessions from falling into the hands of the French, the king issued a proclamation to the chancellor of the duchy, and of the county palatine of Lancaster, as well as to the sheriffs of other counties, commanding him to proclaim in all proper places within his jurisdiction, that all knights, esquires, valets, and other persons competent for defence, having any fees or annuities, lands, tenements, gifts or grants, or other donations, held by gift of the king or his progenitors, should personally appear in the king's presence at London, within fifteen days from the date of the proclamation.‡ These demonstrations were of themselves sufficient to preserve the English possessions without striking a blow; and the contest between the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans, in which the king of England, in a proclamation to the chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster, inhibited the people of England from taking any part, so much engaged the French armies, that they would not prosecute their hostility against the English cities of France.§

Threat of
French
hostility.

That the commerce of this county, in its infant state, was at this period greatly injured and impeded by the depredations of the hostile powers by which England was assailed, may be inferred from a petition to the common house of parliament, from the inhabitants of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Cumberland, in which they

Hostile
depreda-
tions on
the coast
of Lanca-
shire, &c.

* Claus. 2 Henry IV. p. 2. m. 1. d.

† Fin. 3 Henry IV. m. 16.

‡ Claus. 8 Henry IV. m. 17. d.

§ Claus. 13 Henry IV. m. 22. d.

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X.

allege, that several robberies and depredations have been committed on their coast by their enemies of France and Scotland, and by the rebels of Wales, who have seized and taken their vessels, owing, as they allege, to no admiral or keeper of the seas being upon this station, to the great destruction, ruin, and oppression, of the said counties; for remedy whereof, they pray that protection may be afforded to them. To which petition the king replied, that an admiral should be appointed for the safeguard of the seas of the north-western coast.*

Contest
for the
papacy.

The contest for the papacy, which at this time agitated all christendom, was felt so strongly in England, that a proclamation was issued by the king to the sheriff of the county of Lancaster, and to other counties, wherein it was announced, that Peter de Luna, alias Benedict xij. and Angelo Corario, alias Gregory xij. were rashly contending for the papal chair, and both of them being pronounced and declared notorious heretics and schismatics by the definitive sentence of the holy and universal synod canonically congregated at Pisa, the most reverend father in Christ, the lord Petro de Candias, on account of his merits, was elected by the same authority to the pontificate, by the title of Alexander V., and the sheriff was commanded to make proclamation in all places within his jurisdiction, that the said Alexander V. was the true Roman pontifex.†

The life of king Henry IV., though only in the meridian of his years, was now drawing fast to a termination. The scenes through which he had passed in his way to the throne, and the disquietude with which he was assailed from so many quarters, while in the possession of that giddy eminence, preyed upon his constitution, and shortened his days. Had it been his fate to remain in the sufficiently elevated, but more humble station of duke of Lancaster, it is highly probable that his life would have been more happy, and his death less early.

“ Heaven knows, my son,
By what by-paths, and indirect crook'd ways,
I met this crown; and I myself know well,
How troublesome it sat upon my head:
To thee it shall descend with better quiet,
Better opinion, better confirmation,
For all the soil of the achievement goes
With me into the earth.”

SHAKESPEARE—Henry IV. 2d Part, Act 4. Scene 4.

By his will, which breathes a spirit of remorse, characteristic of the state of the royal mind, he bequeathed the duchy of Lancaster as an endowment to his consort the queen. This document forms a favourable specimen of the state of the English

* Rot. Parl. 11 Henry IV. item 52.

† Claus. 11 Henry IV. m. 31. dors.

language in the early part of the fifteenth century, and, being of unquestionable authority, may with propriety be inserted here :—

WILL OF HENRY IV.

“ IN the name of God, Fader, and Son, and Holy Gost, thre persons and on God. I Henry, sinful wretch, be the Grace of God, Kyng of England, and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, being in myne hole mynd, mak my testament in manere and forme that sayth : First, I bequeth to Almyghty God my sinful soul, the whiche had never be worthy to be man, but through hys mercy and hys grase, which lyffe I have mispendyd, whereof I put me whollily in his grase and his merey, with all myn herte. And what tyme hit liketh him of hys mercy for to tak me to hym, the body for to be beryed in the chirch of Caunterbury, after the discrecion of my cousin the Archbyshepp of Caunterbury. And also, I thanke all my lordis and trewe peple for the trewe servise that they have done to me, and y ask hem forgiveness if I have myssentreted hem in any wyse. And als far as they have offendyd me in wordis, or in dedis in any wyse, I prey God forgeve hem hit, and y do. Also y devys and ordeyn, that ther be a chauntre perpetually of twey preestis, for to sing and prey for my soul in the aforseyd chirch of Caunterbury, in soch a plase, and after soch ordinaunce, as it seemeth best to my aforseyd cousin of Caunterbury. Also y ordeyne and devise, that of my gooddis restitution be made to all hem that y have wrongfully grevyed, or any good had of theirs without just tittle. Also I will and ordeyne, that of my gooddis all my debtes be paied in all hast possible, and that my servants be rewardyd after their nede and desert of service, and in especyal Wilkin, John Warren, and William Thorpe, gromes of my chambre. Also y will, that all those that in eny wyse be bond in any debt that y owe in eny wise, or have undertake to any man for eny debt that y owe, or that they can dewlye shewe hit, that oll soche persons be kept harmlysse. Also I will, that all fees and wages that are not paied be paied, and in especiall to my servaunts of my household before eny oder. And also, that all myn annuities, fees and donacions, granted by me before this tyme, be my lettres patents, be kept and paid after the effect of the forseyd letters patents; and yn especiall to all hem that have bene trewe servants to me and toward me alway. Also, y will and prey my son that he have recommendyd Thomas de la Crois, that hath well and trewly servyed me, and also in the same wyse Jacob Raysh and Halley. Also, I will that the Quene bee endowyd of the Duche of Lancastre. Also, I will that all my officers, both of household and other, the which nedeth to have pardon of eny thing that touch here offices both of losse and oder thing, they have pardon therof in sembable manere, as

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X.

I of my grase have be wont to do befor this tym. And for to excent this testament well and truelich, for grete tryst that I have on my son the Prince, y ordeyne and mak him my executor of my testament foreseyd, kalling to him soche as him thiukyth in his discrecion, that can and will labour to the sonnest spede of my will, comprehended in this myn testament. And to fufill trewly all things foresaid, y charge my foresaid son upon my blessing. Wetnessyng my wel-belovyd cousins Thomas archbyshop of Caunterbury foreseyde, and Edward duke of Yorke. Thomas bishchop of Daresme, Richard the Lord Grey my chamberlayne, John Tiptoft myn treasurer of Englonde, John Prophete wardeine of my privie seal; Thomas Erpingham, John Norbery, Robert Waterton, and many oder being present.

“ In witnessyng whereof, my privy seele be my commandment is set to this my testament.

“ Iyeve at my manere of Greenwich, the XXI day of the moneth of Janver, in the year of Lord MCCCCVIII, and of our reigne the tenth.”

The reign of Henry V. the second British king of the Lancastrian line, presents one of the most splendid periods in the military annals of England. During this short but eventful reign, France was once more laid prostrate at the feet of her ancient rival, and the capital of that kingdom, as well as the power of its government, was held by the British monarch with a tenacity which was not relaxed even in the hour of death. At home all was tranquillity; the cabals of the court, which had embittered the last days of Henry IV. were hushed by the frank and fascinating character of his once profligate son, and the scenes of domestic discontent were confined altogether to the contests between the early reformers and the church of Rome.

The Lollards.

The first English martyr in the cause of the Lollards was William Sautré, rector of Osythes, in London, who was consigned to the flames in 1401, at the instance of the church, in virtue of a writ issued by Henry IV., whose father, John of Gaunt, had been the early patron and firm friend of John Wickliffe, the founder of the obnoxious sect in England. Henry V., more influenced probably by a wish to preserve the peace and harmony of his kingdom, than by any strong predilections, espoused the cause of the church of Rome; and it should appear from a royal proclamation, issued in the first year of his reign to the sheriff of the county palatine of Lancaster, that the new schismatics had spread into this county—“ Those who have turned the world upside down have come here also.” In this proclamation the king announced that certain preachers, not privileged by law, or licensed by the diocesan of the place, or permitted by the church, of the new sect of Lollards, preach in public places, contrary to the ordinances of the church, and, under colour of preaching the word of God,

foment and disseminate discord among the people, and the pestiferous seed of evil doctrine. For remedy of which, and to protect the catholic faith, the sheriff is commanded to make proclamation that no chaplain shall hold, dogmatize, preach, or defend this heresy and error, under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of goods; and if any persons shall be found publicly or privately infringing these orders, by holding conventicles, or congregations, or receiving the preachers of the obnoxious doctrines, or shall be really and vehemently suspected of so doing, they shall be committed to prison without delay, to remain there until they shall obey the mandates of the diocesan in whose diocese they have preached, to be certified by the diocesan himself.* The demand for reformation in the doctrine and the discipline of the church was far too loud and too widely extended to be silenced by proclamations; and hence we find from another royal mandate addressed to the chancellor of the county palatine of Lancaster in the following year, that divers of the liege subjects of the king, on the incitement and instigation “of a most cunning and subtle enemy,” sir John Oldecastle (lord Cobham), holding and teaching various opinions manifestly contrary and obnoxious to the catholic faith, and to sound doctrine, stood charged with wickedly imagining and conspiring the king’s death, because he and his counsellors would not assent to these doctrines. The accused parties, too conscientious to plead not guilty of an offence which they had actually committed, or under some other influence which it is now difficult to discover, confessed their guilt; and the king of his special grace pardoned all the offenders, except lord Cobham, sir Thomas Talbot, knight, and ten other persons of inferior station. This pardon the chancellor was required to proclaim through the whole of his jurisdiction; and the reformers, with the above exceptions, some of whom had taken refuge in the places of sanctuary—Manchester and Lancaster being of that number—were allowed to plead the royal pardon before the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist next ensuing.† A number of the Lollards forfeited their lives to the dictates of their consciences; for it is impossible to impute to the great mass of them any sinister motive; and lord Cobham, the most zealous and distinguished of their number, was hung up by the middle, upon a gallows erected in St. George’s Fields, where he was consumed alive in the fire, praising God with his last breath.

Lord Cobham.

These terrible examples checked for a time the spread of Lollardy; but the fires only smouldered; and, in the reign of Henry VIII. under sanction of the king, they burst forth with a force so irresistible, as to destroy the whole power of the “holy Anglican mother church.”

At this period a large accession of wealth and power was made to the duchy of

* Claus. 1 Hen. V.

† Claus. 2 Henry V. m. 24.

CHAP.
X.

Union of
the county
of Here-
ford to the
duchy of
Lancaster.

A.D. 1411,
2 Hen. V.

Lancaster, by the union of the rights and possessions of the county of Hereford to the duchy, under the sanction of the following royal ordinance:—

“ The king, by the assent of parliament, declares, grants, and ordains, that all the honors, castles, hundreds, manors, lands, tenements, reversions, rents, services, fees, advowsons, possessions, and lordships, as well within the kingdom of England as in parts of Wales and other places, within the king’s lordships, which have descended, or shall descend inheritably to the king, after the death of Dame Maria, one of the daughters and heirs of Humphrey de Bohun, formerly Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, and Constable of England, as to the son and heir of that Dame Mary; also, that all the rights, liberties, franchises, and frank customs, to the same inheritance appertaining or regarding, be severed from the crown of England, and adjoined, annexed, united, and incorporated, to and with the said king’s duchy of Lancaster, perpetually to remain to the same king, as being so adjoined, united, annexed, and incorporated; and further, that all the honors, castles, hundreds, wapentakes, manors, lands, tenements, and reversions aforesaid, and all other things to the said inheritance regarding, and the vassals and tenants to it appertaining, be also entirely enfranchised, and by the officers treated, guarded, and governed, in all respects, as possessions to the said duchy appertaining, and the vassals and tenants to the same duchy regarding, are enfranchised, treated, guarded, and governed, for ever; and this, according to the form, force, and effect of the words contained in a schedule passed in this parliament; and by the king, with the assent of the Lords aforesaid, and the authority aforesaid, fully affirmed.”

Then follows an enumeration of the possessions at great length.*

Scarcely had the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster proclaimed, by royal command, the truce between England and Castile and Leon, when the king of England embarked for France with an army of six thousand cavalry, and twenty-four thousand foot, principally archers. After carrying the garrison of Harfleur, and leaving a number of his troops to defend that fortress, Henry, at the head of his troops, marched for Calais, but on his way he was interrupted by a hostile army of fourteen thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry, under the command of the constable of France, and obliged to come to battle on the plains of Agincourt.

The battle
of Agin-
court.

* Rot. Parl. vol. iv. p. 46. While speaking of this act, Sir Edward Coke says—“ For the great roalties, liberties, privileges, immunities, quitances, and freedoms, which the duke of Lancaster had for him and his men and tenants, see Rot. Parl. die Lunæ post octav. Sancti Martini an. 2 Henry V. all which are established, ratified, and continued by authority of parliament, necessary to be known by such as have any of these possessions.” *Fourth Institute*, p. 210.

Here the glories of Cressy and Poitiers were renewed, and the cry of “a Derby” or “an Edward,” was not more piercing in the ears of the discomfited French army on those fields of English glory, than was the cry of “a Henry” on the field of Agincourt :—

CHAP.
X.

“ This note doth tell me of ten thousand French,
That in the field lie slain : of princes, in this number,
And nobles bearing banners, there lie dead
One hundred twenty six : added to these,
Of knights, esquires, and gallant gentlemen,
Eight thousand and four hundred ; of the which
Five hundred were but yesterday dubb'd knights :
So that, in these ten thousand they have lost,
There are but sixteen hundred mercenaries ;
The rest are—princes, barons, lords, knights, 'squires,
And gentlemen of blood and quality.”

SHAKSPEARE—King Henry V. Act 4. Scene 8.

The loss of the English in this memorable battle, which destroyed the military power of France, was incredibly small ; some of the contemporary authorities say, not exceeding forty men, amongst whom were Edward duke of York and the earl of Suffolk. That this number is much underrated cannot be doubted, and if the nature of the engagement did not establish that fact, it might be inferred from the proclamation to the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, issued by the king soon afterwards, for the purpose of recruiting his army, by which all knights, esquires, and valets, holding fees or annuities of the king for term of years, or for life, were required, under forfeiture of the same, to appear in their own persons at Southampton, to cross the seas to France, arrayed and furnished with supplies for three months.*

Before the departure of the king for France, he instituted commissions of array in this and the other counties of England, to take a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, and to divide them into companies, that they might be kept in readiness to resist an enemy. “ This,” says Mr. Hume, “ was the first commission of array which we meet with in English history.” How a writer of so much research should have fallen into the error of supposing that there had existed in England no commission of array till the time of Henry V. it is not easy to imagine ; commissions of this nature had been instituted two centuries before, and the number of them in operation in the reigns of the Edwards, in the county of Lancaster alone, it is difficult to estimate.

Commissions of array.

* Claus. 4 Hen. V. m. 21. d.

CHAP.
X.

The
crown
jewels
pledged,
to carry
on the
war.

The necessities of the state had plunged the king into great pecuniary difficulties ; and although the county of Hereford, with its land revenues, had recently been added to his hereditary possessions, he was obliged, before he could embark his troops for France, to raise supplies by pledging the crown jewels. The loans obtained in this way had been contracted for with so much precipitation, and the regalia had been so widely dispersed, that a proclamation was issued by the king to the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, wherein it was announced, that certain royal jewels, of no little value, had been committed and pledged, for the greater expedition of the king's voyage lately made to France, to certain of his liege subjects retained in the expedition, for the payment of their wages, which jewels it was now proper should be restored ; the chancellor was therefore commanded to proclaim, that all persons within his jurisdiction, who had received such pledged jewels, should present them in person at the public treasury, in order that they might be redeemed ; in default whereof, the offending parties were rendered liable to forfeit all their goods.*

Redeem-
ed.

Death of
Henry V.

The career of king Henry V. was as short as it was brilliant ; a mortal malady seized him at the age of thirty-four years, and consigned the conqueror of France to the tomb. His principal care in his last illness, was to provide for the secure possession of his French conquest, to his infant son, Henry VI., then but nine months old,—little suspecting, that this unfortunate child would not, in his mature years, be able to maintain even his English possessions, and that, in his person, the Lancaster line would be pushed from the throne of his fathers.

The Will of Henry V. bears date three years before his marriage to the princess Catharine, and four years before the birth of his only son. By that Will, the royal testator bequeaths his duchy of Lancaster to his two brothers, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey duke of Gloucester, in these terms :—

Royal
Will.

“ I wol and pray ye forsaid ffevez, yat first my dettes paiet, and plain and entiere execucion of my last wille daen, ye forsaid ffevez in ye forsaid castils and manoirs of Halton and Cliderhow, and in alle othir lordships, manoirs, landes, tenementz, rentes, services, and other possessions, in my forsaid lettres patentes, with ye forsaid castils of Halton and Clyderhow especifet, do departe as evenly as yai may in two parties egales ye same castils and lordships, manoirs, landes, tenementz, rentes, services, and other possessions, with ye said castils of Halton and Cliderhow, expreset in ye same my lettres patentes : And in as much as yai may godely, ye forsaid ffevez do assigne in ye toon of ye said two parties, castils, lordships, manores, landes, tenementz, rentes, services, and other possessions, in the South costees ; and

* Claus. 4 Henry V. m. 11. dors.

in ye tothir of ye said two parties, ye said ffevez do assigne castils, lordships, manoirs, landes, tenementz, rentes, services, and othir possessions in ye North costees of Yngland; and such departison maad by ye said ffevez, I wol and pray hem yet in alle ye said castils, manoirs, landes, tenementz, rentes, services, and other possessions, with alle yaire appurtenances yat shal in ye forme before said be assignet in said North costees of Yngland, ye said ffevez do enfeffe my brothir John duc of Beford, to have and to hold to hym and to his heirs mals of his body comyng :”

* * * * * “ And allso I wol and pray ye forsaid ffevez, yat in alle ye forsaid castils, lordships, manoirs, landes, tenementz, rentes, services, and other possessions, with alle yair appurtenances yat shal in ye forme aforesaid be assignet in ye said South costees of Yngland, ye said ffevez do enfeffe my brother Umfray duc of Gloucestre, to have and to hold to hym and to his heirs mals of his body comyng.”*

* * * * *

* This was the last Will of Henry V., but the subsequent birth of a son abrogated its principal bequests, and the whole duchy of Lancaster descended to Henry VI.

Chap. XX.

Scarcity of records for history during the Wars of the Roses.—Marriage of Henry VI.—Lancaster Herald.—Witchcraft.—The Lancashire alchemists, Sir Edmund Trafford and Sir Thomas Ashton.—Their patent.—Claims of the rival houses of York and Lancaster to the throne.—Their official pedigrees.—Wars of the Roses.—Letter from the earl of Marche and the earl of Rutland, sons of the duke of York, (with fac-simile.)—Badges of the house of Lancaster.—Declaration against Lord Stanley.—State of public morals.—Unsuccessful attempt to compromise the difference between the rival houses.—Henry VI. dethroned by Edward IV.—Henry seeks an asylum in Lancashire.—Taken by Sir John Talbot.—Sir John's grant for this service.—Catastrophe of the Lancastrian family.—Edward V. murdered in the Tower.—Coronation of Richard III.—Letters patent granted by him.—His warrant for seizing a rebel's land in Lancashire.—The king's jealousy towards the duke of Richmond, son-in-law of Lord Stanley, extends to his lordship.—Attainder of Lady Stanley, countess of Richmond.—Landing of the duke of Richmond in England.—Battle of Bosworth field.—Confiscation of Lancashire estates.—Union of the houses of York and Lancaster.—Sweating sickness.—Lambert Simnell and Perkin Warbeck, pretenders to the throne.—Fatal consequences of the civil wars to the duke of York's family, (note.)—Sir William Stanley accused of high treason.—Condemned and executed.—Henry VII.'s royal progress to Lancashire.—Letter of the countess of Derby and Richmond, (fac-simile.)—Execution of Edward, earl of Warwick, the last male of the Plantagenet line.—Death of Henry VII.

CHAP.
XI.

Deficiency of
public records
during the
wars of
the roses.



ALTHOUGH few periods in English history afford so many materials for the pen of the general and local historian, as that comprehended in the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., during which time the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster raged with so much fury; and that of the reign of Henry VII., when these intestine broils were happily composed by the union of the rival houses in the persons of Henry VII. and his queen; yet there is no time, from the reign of king Stephen, so destitute as this of authentic records. The savage and murderous contests of the court and of the people, appear so to have disorganized society, that the usual communications between the authorities in the provinces and the government were neglected; or if proclamations and edicts were issued in the several counties, they perished with

many of those to whom they were addressed, the usual depositories being found almost entirely destitute of these documents. This paucity of official information is the more extraordinary, seeing that the art of printing, that great engine of multiplication, was introduced into England by William Caxton, in 1471, during the wars of the roses.

CHAP.
XI.

Many of the conquests made in France by Henry V. were lost during the regency appointed for the government of England, in the nonage of his successor, who, in his twenty-third year, contracted marriage with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem. The commanding and masculine talents of his royal consort would, it was conceived, compensate for the weakness and effeminacy of the king; and though she brought no possessions, the French province of the Main, then a part of the English territory, was, by a secret treaty, ceded to Charles, her uncle, on the consummation of the royal marriage. By a singular coincidence, the king had, seven years before this event, changed the title of "*Anjou king of arms*," in the English heralds' college, to that of "*Lancaster king of arms*:" and in a list of new year's gifts presented by king Henry VI., in 1436, to the Lancaster herald, as well as to a person who was then created a pursuivant of arms, by the title of Collar, there is a silver bell each, but for what purpose it is difficult to comprehend. This list is preserved, with many others of a similar kind, in the Cottonian MSS.* in the British Museum, and the entry referred to is thus expressed:—

Marriage
of
Henry VI.

Herald's
title.

"ITEM, deliᵛd by your saide comaundenēt, the erles of Warewyke and Stafford, and your chamb'leyn beyng p'sent at that same tyme, that is to say, on Allehalowen-day laste, at Merton, whanne ye wer crowned,† ye gaf to an heraude kyng of armes afore that tyme called *Aungoye*, and thanne at that fest his name changed by yow and called *Lancastre*, j belle of sylver weyng xvj unċ, and an other belle of sylver at that tyme deliᵛed to oon that was made pursevant, and thanne called Coler, the which weyed viij unċ.

"W. PHELYP, Chaumblein."

No sooner had the queen arrived in the English court, than she entered into all the intrigues by which it was agitated. The duke of Gloucester, uncle to the king, having become obnoxious to the predominant party, at the head of which stood Cardinal Winchester and the dukes of Buckingham, Somerset, and Suffolk, he was marked out as their victim. The duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor, the daughter of

* Cleop. F. iv. fo. 103, (Orig.)

† *i. e.* wearing the crown.

CHAP.
XI.

The
duchess
of Glou-
cester
charged
with
witch-
craft.

Banished
to the Isle
of Man.

lord Cobham, a lady of haughty carriage and ambitious mind, being attached to the prevailing superstitions of the day, was accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was alleged against her and her associate, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and Margery Jourdain, the witch of Eye, that they had in their possession a wax figure of the king, which they melted by a magical device before a slow fire, with the intention of wasting away his force and vigour by insensible degrees. This story partakes of the nature of the kindred superstition which prevailed a century and a half afterwards, and of which Fernando, earl of Derby, was the subject, if not the victim: and as we have traced the popular Lancashire tradition of the eagle and child up to the time of Alfred, we now find that the wax figure in witchcraft takes its date at a period antecedent to the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster. The imbecile mind of Henry was sensibly affected by this wicked invention; and the duchess, on being brought to trial, and found guilty of the design to destroy the king and his ministers by the agency of witchcraft was sentenced to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment while her confederates were condemned to death, and executed. After enduring the ignominy of her public penance, rendered peculiarly severe by the exalted station from which she had fallen, the duchess was banished to the Isle of Man, where she was placed under the ward of Sir Thomas Stanley. On her way to the place of exile, she was confined for some time, first in Leeds castle, and afterwards in the castle of Liverpool.*—Events so congenial with the imagination of our great dramatic poet, could scarcely fail to find their way into his historical plays; and hence we find, in the second part of his Henry VI., a small stream of historical fact running through an ample meadow of poetic fiction, in which the duchess is exhibited and detected in the midst of these works of darkness.† After remaining in the Isle of Man some years, it would appear that this unfortunate lady was transferred to Calais, under the ward of Sir John Steward, or, as he describes himself, “Johannes Seneschallus, miles, filius Johannis Seneschalli, aliter dicti Scot Angli.” From the Will of this knight, it appears that he was a resident, and had an important command in Calais, in the mother church of which town he desires to be buried. He names John Roos as his confessor; bequeaths to his eldest son, Thomas, all his harness of war, and his ship, the Grace de Dieu, which his master, the duke of Bedford, had given him, together with his lands in the marches of Calais. To Sir Thomas Criel he leaves “*a ring with a diamond, which Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, gave me while she lived with me as my prisoner.*”

* *Wilhelmi Wyrcestrii Annales Rerum Anglicarum*, pp. 460, 461.

† Shakespeare, *Henry VI.* part ii. act 1. scene 4.

The duke of Gloucester, if possible, more unfortunate than his lady, was accused of high treason, in aspiring to the throne, and summoned to take his trial before the high court of parliament at Bury St. Edmond's; but, on the eve of the investigation, he was found dead in his bed, without marks of violence, though by no means without strong suspicion that he had fallen a victim to the cruel devices of his relentless persecutors.

CHAP.
XI.

The
duke's
fate.

While the duchess of Gloucester and sir Roger Bolingbroke were employed in the prosecution of their magical arts, two Lancashire knights at the head of the principal families in the county, were actively engaged in the equally delusive, though less criminal, science of alchymy, and transmutation of metals—that *ignis fatuus* which has conducted so many ingenious men to their ruin. The king had on a former occasion commissioned three philosophers to make the precious metals, without receiving any return from them in gold and silver: his credulity, however, like that of many wiser men, was unshaken by disappointment, and he issued a pompous grant in favour of three other alchymists, who boasted that they could not only transmute the inferior metals into gold and silver, but that they could also impart to man perpetual youth, with unimpaired powers of mind and body, by means of a specific, called—*The Mother and Queen of Medicines—The inestimable Glory—The Quintessence*, or, *The Elixir of Life*. In favour of these three “lovers of truth and haters of deception,” as they modestly styled themselves, Henry dispensed with the law passed by his royal grandfather,*—a very unnecessary law, against the undue multiplication of gold and silver, and empowered, not enabled, them to transmute the inferior into precious metals. This extraordinary commission had the sanction of parliament, and two out of the three commissioners were Sir Thomas Ashton, of Ashton-under-Line, and Sir Edmund Trafford, of Trafford; the latter of whom had assisted at the coronation of the king, and received the honour of Knight of the Bath on that occasion. These sages, imposing probably upon themselves as well as upon others, kept the king's expectations wound up to the highest pitch, and, in the following year, he actually informed his people, that the hour was approaching, when, by the means of the *stone*, he should be enabled to pay off all his debts! It is scarcely necessary to add, that this philosopher's stone never gave forth its expected virtues; and the king's debts must have remained unpaid, had his majesty not pawned the revenue of the duchy of Lancaster, to satisfy the demands of his clamorous creditors. The patent for transmuting the inferior metals into gold and silver was granted by the king to these two Lancashire alchymists in the 24th year of his reign, in which they were encouraged to prosecute their experiments, and by which all the king's servants and subjects were interdicted from giving them any molestation.

1458.

The Lan-
cashire
alchy-
mists.

* 5 Henry IV. c. 4.

“ PATENT TO SIR EDMUND TRAFFORD AND SIR THOMAS ASHTON,
Pat. 2. Num. 14. in Turr. Lon.

“ Rex omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem,—Sciatis quod cum dilecti & fideles nostri Edmundus de Trafford Miles & Thomas Ashton Miles nobis per quandam supplicationem monstraverint quod quamvis ipsi super certis metallis per artem sive scientiam Philosophiæ operari vellent, metalla imperfecta de suo proprio genere transferre, et tunc ea per dictam artem sive scientiam in aurum sive argentum perfectum transubstantiare ad omnimodas probationes & examinationes, sicut aliquod aurum sive argentum in aliqua minera creescens, expectandum, & indurandum, ut dicunt, nihilominus certæ personæ, illis malevolentes, & malignantes, supponunt ipsos per artem illicitam operari, & sic ipsos in probatione dictæ artis sive scientiæ impedire & perturbare possunt; nos, præmissa considerantes, & conclusionem dictæ operationis sive scientiæ scire volentes, de Gratia nostra speciali concessimus, & Licentiam dedimus eisdem Edmundo & Thomæ, & ipsorum servientibus quod ipsi artem sive scientiam prædictam operari, & probare possint licite & impune absque impetitione nostra vel Officiariorum nostrorum quorumcunque, aliqua Statuta, Acto, Ordinatione, sive Provisione in contrarium fact: ordinat: sive provis: non obstant: In cujus, &c.

“ Test: Rege apud West: 7 die Apr: 1446.”

The madness of party rage rendered the government of England indifferent to the retention of foreign possessions; and the whole province of Bayonne, which had been obtained three centuries before, at the price of so much blood and treasure, was ceded to France, with as little ceremony as in modern times a gold snuff-box would be presented to a plenipotentiary. The indifference of the court was not shared by the people. They beheld this curtailment of their ancient possessions with that disgust which it was so well calculated to excite. The embers of discontent were easily blown into a flame by the duke of York and his adherents. And the duke of Suffolk, the favourite of the king, and the reputed paramour of the queen, after having been impeached on a charge of ceding the province of the Main to Charles of Anjou, without authority, and surrendering the province of Bayonne without a struggle, was banished the kingdom. To prevent the duke, whose friends were numerous and powerful, from ever again resuming the helm of state, he was seized by a band of pirates, employed by his enemies on his voyage to the Continent, and his head struck off and thrown into the sea. The popular insurrection of Jack Cade was a part of the same system of hostility towards the house of Lancaster; and the duke of York at length openly advanced his claims to that sceptre which the feeble representative of the house of Lancaster was unable to wield.

The seeds of this contest, though apparently sown in the time of king Edward III., may, in fact, be traced back to the time of Henry III., who died a century before, leaving two sons, Edward I., and Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, the founder of that house, whose inheritance afterwards, in a fourth descent, fell on Blanch, married to John of Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III., who, in right of his wife, was duke of Lancaster; and whose son, Henry of Bolingbroke, afterwards Henry IV., dethroned Richard II., pretending, amongst other things, that Edmund Crouchback was the elder son of Henry III., and unjustly set aside from the crown, because he was crook-backed. The crown remained, as we have seen, in the house of Lancaster, for three descents, when Richard, duke of York, descended from Edmund Langley, younger brother of John of Gaunt, made claim to the crown, by title of his grandmother, who was heir of Lionell, duke of Clarence, elder brother of John of Gaunt. The pedigrees of these rival claimants have at all times formed matter of discussion in English history; and one of our best historians, Mr. Hume, has fallen into some errors on this subject; this is the more to be wondered at, as the descents are exhibited with great clearness and perspicuity in the Rolls of Parliament, 1 Edward IV., No. 8, from which the following is an extract:—

“ FORSOMOCH as it is notarie, openly and evydently knowen, that the right noble and worthy Prynce, Henry Kyng of England the thirde, had issue Edward his first gotten son, born at Westmyenster, the xv kalende of Juyll, in the Vigille of Seint Marce and Marcellian, the yere of oure Lord MCCXXXIX; and Edmund his secund gotten son, born on Saint Marcell’ day, the yere of oure Lord MCCXLV. The which Edward, after the deth of the seid Kyng Henry his Fader, entitled and called Kyng Edward the furst, had issue his furst gotten Son, entitled and called, after the deceesse of the same Edward the furst his Fader, Kyng Edward the secund; which had issue the right noble and honorable Prynce Kyng Edward the third, true and undouted Kyng of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland; which Edward the third, had issue Edward his furst gotten Son, Prynce of Wales, William Hatfeld, secund gotten Son, Leonell third gotten Son Duc of Clarence, John of Gaunt, fourth gotten Son Duc of Lancastr’, Edmund Langley the fift gotten Son Duc of York, Thomas Wodestoke the sixt gotten Son Duc of Gloucestr’, and William Wyndesore the viith gotten Son. And the seid Edward Prynce of Wales, which dyed in the lyf of the seid Kyng Edward the third his Fader, had issue Richard; which, after the deth of the same Kyng Edward the third, as Cousyn and heire to hym, that is to sey, Son to the seid Edward Prynce of Wales, Son unto the seid Kyng Edward the third, succeeded hym in Roiall estate and dignitee, lawfully entitled and called Kyng

CHAP.
XL.

Richard the second, and dyed withoute issue. William Hatfeld, the second gotten Son of the seid Kyng Edward the third, dyed without issue. The seid Leonell Due of Clarence, the third gotten Son of the same Kyng Edward, had issue Philip' his oonly Daughter, and dyed; and the same Philip', wedded unto Edmund Mortymer, Erle of Marche, had issue by the same Edmund, Roger Mortymer, Erle of Marche, hir son and heire; which Edmund and Philip' dyed; the same Roger Erle of Marche had issue Edmund Mortymer Erle of Marche, Roger, Anne, and Alianore, and dyed; and also the same Edmund and Roger, Sommes of the forseid Roger, and the said Alianore, dyed withoute issue; and the same Anne wedded unto Richard Erle of Cambrigge, the Son of the seid Edmund Langley, the fift gotten Son of the seid Kyng Edward the third, as it is afore specified, had issue that right noble and famous Prynce, of full worthie memorie, Richard Plantagenet Due of York."

This official pedigree proceeds to say, that the succession to the throne remained undisturbed till the time that Henry of Bolingbroke, late earl of Derby, "Son of the seid John of Gaunt, the fourth gotten Son of the seid Kyng Edward the third, and yonger brother of the seid Leonell, temerously agenst rightwitness and justice, by force and armes, agenst his faith and Liegeaunce, rered were at Flynte in Wales, agenst the seid Kyng Richard, hym take and enprisoned in the Toure of London of grete violence; and the same Kyng Richard soo beyng in Prison and lyving, usurped and intruded upon the Roiall Power, Estate, Dignitie, Preemynence, Possessions and Lordship aforeseid, takyng upon hym usurpously the Coroune and name of Kyng and Lord of the same Reame and Lordship; and not therwith satisfied or content, but more grevous thynge' attemptyng, wykidly of unnaturall, unmanly, and cruell tyranny, the same Kyng Richard, Kyng' enoynted, coroned, and consecrate, and his Liege and moost high Lord in the erth, agenst Godds Lawe, Mannes Liegeaunce, and oth of fidelite, with uttermost punicion attormentyng, mured and destroyed, with moost vyle, heynous, and lamentable deth; wherof the heavy exclamation in the dome of every Cristen Man soundeth into Godds heying in heaven, not forgotten in the erth, specially in this Reame of England, which therefore hath suffred the charge of intolerable persecution, punicion, and tribulation. wherof the lyke hath not been seen or herde in any other Cristen Reame, by any memorie or recorde; then beyng on lyve, the seid Edmund Mortymer Erle of Marche, Son and heire of the seid Roger, Son and heire of the said Philip', Daughter and heire to the seid Leonell the third Son of the seid Kyng Edward the third. To the which Edmund, after the decesse of the seid Kyng Richard, the right and title of the same Coroune and Lordship then by law, custume, and conscience, descended and belonged."

Upon this ground, the duke of York founded his claim, by succession, to the throne of England, and was supported by a number of the most powerful nobles of the land.* Amongst his partisans, the duke had the fortune to number the earl of Warwick, a man of unbounded influence, combined with great decision of character, and whose future achievements in this memorable quarrel obtained for him the name of the “king maker.” The duke’s first demand was for a reform of abuses in the administration of public affairs. An alarming disease by which the king was attacked at this juncture, suggested the necessity of a regency; and the duke of York, by the authority of parliament, though in contravention of the wishes of the queen and her party, was appointed regent, under the designation of lieutenant of the kingdom.

* John Stowe, the annalist, has set up a replication against the claim of the house of York, and in favour of the house of Lancaster, which is not much known, and which is too curious to be withheld while treating on this subject. This document is contained in the Harl. MSS. Cod. 543, in the hand-writing of Stowe, and is as follows:—

Replication
agaynst the
Duke of Yorke.

“Here followeth the Replication made agaynst the title and clayme by the Duc of Yorke to the crowne and Realmes of england and fraunce, which that the sayd duke claymithe by the right and title of sir lionell the third sonne of Kynge Edward the third, and by Philipe dowghter and heire to the sayd sir Lionell, whiche clayme and tytyle so made may be no true nor right wyse clayme nor title duringe the lyfe of Kinge Henry the syxt and his heires lyvinge after hym as hereafter followinge, is more openly shewed and playnely declared.

Sir John Fortescue,
L Chiefe Justice
of england.

“Be it knowne to all well disposed people havyng will to vnderstond the truthe that though it so were the right of the crownes of england and of fraunce might descend vnto a woman as it may not, which is sufficiently proved in the trete there of made by the old knight exiled, and alls it shuld perteyne to the Kynge of Scotts, which descended of an elder stocke by a woman called seint Margaret dowghter of the Kynge of england, then any man now clayminge the crowne of england. but yet for the more declaration of truthe it is to be had in mynd that Edward now occupieng the crowne of england by a pretended title, sayinge he is descended there vnto by the right of a woman called dame Philipe dowghter as he saythe to sir lionell of Andewarpe elder brother to sir John of Gaunt, of whom is linially descended the very true christen prince kynge Henry the syxt. The whiche Edward hath no right to the sayd Crowne by the above sayd dame philipe. For it is playnly founde in the crownes of fraunce and of holand, that the sayd dame Philipe was conseved in addowtry, and gotten vpon the wyffe of the above sayd leonill, by one S^r James of Audley, knight, which was steward of the Hows-hold of the above sayd wyffe of S^r leonell. The whiche S^r Leonell beinge absent by the space of one yere and halfe from his wyffe before the byrthe of the sayde dame Philipe, which S^r James Audley afterward for that offence was beheded, and S^r leonell, duke of Clarence, devorsed by the law from the sayd dame Philipe his wyffe. And after was wedded to the dowghter of the duke of melayne and in that contrie dyed and in Pavy is buried not far from Melayne and sawe never his first wyfe dame Philipa after with his eyne. And also she was exiled into yrland with his sayd dowghter Philipe, which Philipe had never fote of land of the dutchy of Clarence nor bare the armes of England, ne none that

CHAP.
XI.

The duke
of York's
ambitious
projects.

On the recovery of the king, the duke of York was expelled from the regency, but his thirst for regal power, combined with a consciousness of the legitimacy of his hereditary claims, fixed his wavering purpose; and Shakspeare has happily expressed the cogitations of the ducal claimant, at this crisis of his destiny:—

“ *York.* Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts,
And change misdoubt to resolution;
Be that thou hop’st to be; or what thou art
Resign to death, it is not worth the enjoying;
Let pale-fac’d fear keep with the mean-born man,
And find no harbour in a royal heart.
Faster than spring-time showers, comes thought on thought;
And not a thought but thinks on dignity.
My brain, more busy than the labouring spider,
Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.

* * * * *

I will stir up in England some black storm,
Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell;
And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage
Until the golden circuit on my head,
Like to the glorious sun’s transparent beams,
Do calm the fury of this mad-bred flaw.”

First bat-
tle be-
tween the
houses of
York and
Lancaster,
1454.

Having levied an army in the north, the duke marched to St. Alban’s, where the first battle between the houses of York and Lancaster took place. In this battle, which was fought on the 12th of May, the Lancastrians suffered a severe defeat, and about five thousand of their troops remained dead upon the field, amongst whom were the duke of Somerset, the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, lord Clifford, and a number of other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the duke of York, who assumed the power of governing the state, but rather in the capacity of regent than of sovereign.

descended from hir, by theyre right as they shuld have done if she had bene the dowghter of the sayd leonell, which Sr leonell whan he was ded and the writts called *diem clausit extremū* were sent out into all the Shires of england, they were all returned that the sayd Sr leonell dyed without heire or yssue of his body lawfully begotten, where fore kynge Edward the third toke all the lands of Sir leonell into his own hands. And at a Parliament not long after declared this case above sayde vnto all his people. In the which Parliament by thadvyse of all the lords and Comons of england, he entayled the Crowne to his heires males. And for a perpetuall witnesse that his dowghters were agreed vnto the same they cam all into the open parliament in theyr mantles of estate embrowdered with tharmes of england and there openly dysclaymed and renounced from them and theyre heirs all the right and title that they had or might of possebylite have to the Crownes of england and of fraunce. In record whereof they let of all theyr mantles there and departed out of the parliament in their shirtes. So this is a sufficient declaration that thabove remembered Edward that now occupieth the crowne hath no right there to.

Fol. 163, b.

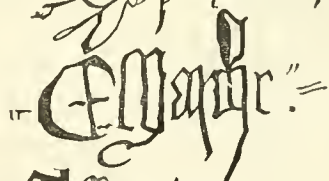
A letter written by the sons of the duke of York, the earl of March, afterwards Edward IV., and his brother Edmund, earl of Rutland, from Ludlow castle, serves to shew how deeply these young minds were already imbued with the spirit of the contest by which one of them was to be plunged into a premature grave, and the other exalted to a crown:—

CHAP.
XI.

Letter
from the
duke of
York.

“ RYGHTE HIEGH AND MYGHTY PRINCE,

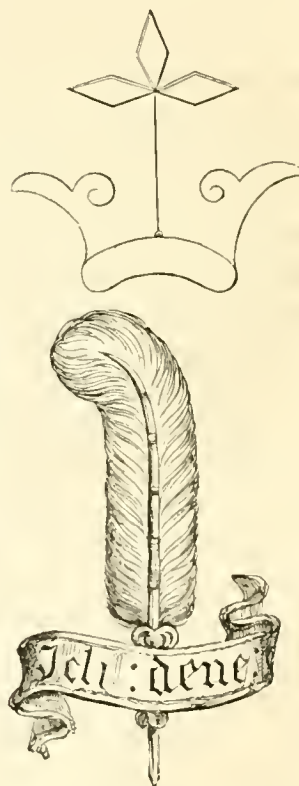
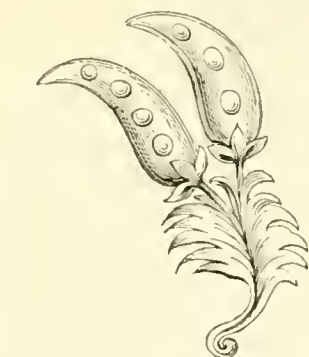
“ Our most worschipfull and gretely redoubted Lorde and Fader, in as lowly wyse as any sonnes can or may, we recomaunde us un to your good Lordschip. And plaese hit your hieghnesse to witte that we have receyved your worschipfull tres yesturday by your Sv^{nt} Will^m Cleton, beryng date at Yorke the xxix day of May, by the whiche Will^m & by the relacion of John Milewatier we conceyve your worschipful & victorious spede ageniest your enemyse to ther grete shame, and to us the most comfortable tydings that we desired to here. Where of we thanke almyghty God of his yeste Besechyng hym hertely to geve youe that g^{ce} & cotidian fortune here aftur to knowe your enemyse & to have the victory of them. And yef hit plaese your hieghnesse to knowe of our wilfare at the makynge of this tre We were in good helth of bodis thonked be God, Besechyng your good & g^{aciouse} faderhode of your daily blessing. And where ye comaunde us by your said tres to attende specially to our lernyng in our yong age that schulde cause us to growe to honor & worschip in our olde age, Plaese hit you hieghnesse to witte that we have attended our lernyng sith we come heder. And schall hereafter, by the whiche we trust to God your graciously Lordeschip and good fadurhode schall be plaesid. Also we beseche your good Lordeschip that it may plaese youe to sende us Harry Lovedeyne grome of your kechyñ whos Sv^{ice} is to us ryght agreable And we will sende youe John Boys to wayte on your good Lordschip. Rieght hiegh and myghty Prince our most worschipfull and gretely redoubted Lorde and Fader we beseche Almyghty God geve youe as good lyfe and long as your owne Princely hert can best desire. Writen at your Castill of Lodelowe the iij day of Juñ (1454).

Yours humble sonnes

 Edmund

“ To the right and mitie Prince our most worshippfull and gretely redoubted Lord
 & Father the Duke of Yorke pecto^r & defensor of England.”

CHAP.
XI.Badges of
the houses
of Lancas-
ter and
York.

The blood spilt in the battle of St. Alban's was the first that flowed in that fatal contest, which was not terminated in less than thirty years—which was signalized by thirteen pitched battles—and in which the nobility of the land suffered more than any other order in the state. The people, divided in their affections, or led by their superiors, took different symbols of party; the partisans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their badge, while those of York took the white rose as their mark of distinction; and the civil wars were known over Europe by the name of the quarrel between the two roses. In addition to the red rose, the house of Lancaster exhibited on state occasions a mound or sphere with the Lancaster arms emblazoned in the upper part of the circle; they had also a feather and scroll worn in the hats of the more elevated classes, and broom-pods by those of the inferior orders. The paper manufactured for their use in their communications with each other, and for their public documents, bore a peculiar water-mark, and it was only necessary to look through the sheet on which the Lancastrians wrote, to discover which side of the quarrel the writers had espoused.

Badges of
the House
of Lancas-
ter.The bal-
ance
still in
suspense.

The affairs of the conflicting parties had not yet proceeded to the last extremity; the nation was kept some time in suspense; the vigour and spirit of queen Margaret, supporting her small power, still proved a balance to the great authority of Richard.

which was impaired by his ill-defined objects; sometimes aspiring to the immediate and at other times to the reversionary possession of the crown on the death of the present king. The parliament again appointed the duke of York protector, owing to one of those relapses into mental indisposition to which Henry was subject; but the queen soon produced her husband before the house of lords, where he declared his intention to put an end to the protectorate, and to resume the government. The archbishop of Canterbury, in the discharge of his duty as a christian prelate, endeavoured to mediate in the differences between the two houses, and thus to prevent the further effusion of blood; but though these attempts were received by both parties with an appearance of cordiality, and though the duke of York passed in procession through the streets of London hand in hand with queen Margaret to the altar of St. Paul's, on which the existing animosities were all to be sacrificed, it soon became evident that the reconciliation was of the most transient kind, and a trifling difference between one of the king's retinue and another of the earl of Warwick's, which brought on a combat between their respective partisans, blew it all into air.

The duke of York, having joined his sons at Ludlow castle, was silently collecting forces to maintain his claims, when the earl of Salisbury, while on his march to join the duke, was overtaken at Bloreheath in the county of Stafford, by lord Audley, at the head of a superior force of the Lancastrians. The battle, which was fought on the 21st of September, was long and sanguinary, but victory at length declared in favour of the Yorkists, and the Lancastrians left two thousand four hundred men dead on the field, many of whom were from Lancashire and Cheshire; and amongst the slain was sir R. Molyneux, of Sefton, son-in-law of sir Thomas Stanley, the king's chamberlain. The duke of York had now openly declared his intention to expel the princes of the Lancastrian line, and this was the first battle avowedly fought for the crown.

Battle of
Blore-
heath.

1459.

The list of proscriptions which followed this battle, sufficiently indicates that the men of Lancashire were by no means unanimous in their support of the house of Lancaster. Parliament having assembled in six weeks after the battle was fought, attainders were exhibited against Richard, duke of York, and his adherents, and amongst the persons attainted of high treason for the part they took at Bloreheath, we find the names of Thomas Nevill, John Nevill, Thomas Haryngton, Thomas Parre, and William Stanley, to which list was added the name of Robert Boulde, the brother of Harry Boulde, knight, accused with others of having industriously circulated a report that the king was dead. It further appears, that the commons house of parliament charged Thomas, the first lord Stanley, with certain heavy offences, both of omission and commission, as set forth in the following declaration :*—

* Rot. Parl. 38 Hen. VI. vol. v. p. 369.

CHAP.
XI.

“ TO THE KING OUR SOVERAYNE LORD,

“ Shewen,

Decla-
ration
against
lord
Stanley.

“ The Commens in this present Parlement assembled. That where it pleased youre Highnes to send to the Lord Stanley, by the servaunt of the same Lord fro Notyngnam, chargyng hym that upon his feyth and legeaunce, he shuld come to youre Highnesse in all haste, with such felyshep as he myght make. The said Lord Stanley, notwithstandyng the said commaundement, come not to yeu ; but William Stanley his Brother went, with many of the seid Lordes Servauntz and Tenauntz, grete nombre of people, to the Erle of Salesbury, which were with the same Erle at the distressyng of youre true Liege people at Bloreheth.

“ Also where youre said Highnes gaffe in commaundement to youre first begoten somme Edward Prynce of Wales, to assemble youre people and his Tenauntz, to resiste the malice of youre Rebelles, and theruppon the same noble Prynce sent to the said Lord Stanley, to come to hym in all haste possible, with such felyship as he myght make. The said Lord Stanley, puttyng the seid mater in delay, feyntly excused hym, seying he was not than redy. Howe be it of his owen confession, he had before a commaundement fro youre Highnes, to be redy to come to the same with his said felyship, upon a day waruyng ; which delay and absence was a grete cause of the losse and distresse of your seid people, atte Bloreheth.

“ Also where the seid Lord had sent his servaunt to oure Soverayne Lady the Quene, and to the seid noble Prynce of Wales and Chestre, seying that he shuld come to theym in all haste ; and after that he sent to theym Richard Hokesley his servaunt, to Eggleshall, certifying them that he wold come to theyme in all haste ; and desired for asmoche as he understode that he was had in jelosye that he myght have the vaward asseyne the Erle of Salesbury, and his felyshep ; and the seid noble Prynce, be th’ advice of his Counsell, consideryng that the felyship of the said Lord Stanley was fewer in nombre than the felyship of the said Erle, willed and desired hym to come to the said noble Prynce and his felyship, that they beyng all togedyr, myght come to have assisted youre Highnes, which was promysed feithfully be his seid servaunt should be perfourmed in all haste ; which notwithstandyng was not perfourmed, but in defeaute therof, youre people were distressed at Bloreheth aforesaid, as is well knowen. Howe be hit that the seid Lord Stanley was within VI mile of the said Heth the same tyme, accompanied with II M. (2000) men, and rested hym with the same felyship, be the space of III dayes after at Newcastell, but VI myle out of Eggleshall, where the Quene and the Prynce then were ; and the said Lord Stanley, on the morne next after the distresse at Bloreheth, sent a letter for his excuse to oure Soverayne Lady the Quene, and the said noble Prynce ; which said letter, your said Highnes had sent to hym, commaundyng hym

by the same, to have come to youre said Highnes with his felyship in all haste : which came nethir to youre Highness, to the Quene, nor to the seid Prynce, but soo departed home agayne.

“ Also when the seid Erle of Salesbury and his felyship had distressed youre said people at Bloreheth, the said Lord Stanley sent a letter to the said Erle to Drayton, the same nyght, thankyng God of the good spede of the said Erle, rejoysing hym gretely of the same, trustyng to God that he should be with the same Erle in other place, to stond hym in as good stede, as he shuld have doon yef he had been with theym there ; which letter the seid Erle sent to Sir Thomas Haryngton, and he shewed hit openly, saying ; Sirres, be mery, for yet we have moo frendis.

“ Also where as a Squire of the said Erles, on the Monday next after the said distresse, told to a knyght of youres, which was taken prisoner by the felyship of the seid Erle at Bloreheth, that a man of the Lord Stanleys had been with the seid Erle at Drayton, in the mornyng of the same day, and brought hym word fro the seid Lord Stanley, that your Highnes had sent for hym, and that he wold ride to you with his felyship. And yef eny man wold resiste or lette the seid Erle to come to your high presence, for his excuse, accordyng to th’ entent of the said Erle ; that than the said Lord Stanley and his felyship should lyve and dye with the said Erle, agenst his resistours.

“ Also where the said noble Prynce, in fullfylling of your high commaundement, sent as wele for your people and his Tenauntez, in Werall Hundred, as in Maxfeld Hundred in Cheshire ; the said people and Tenauntez were lette by the seid Lord Stanley, so that they myght not come to youre Highnes, nor to ye presence of the said noble Prynce.

“ Also where a Servaunt and oon of the Cokys of the said Lorde Stanleys, was hurte atte Bloreheth, beyng with William Stanley, in the felyship of the said Erle of Salesbury, and left belynde at Drayton ; declared openly to dyvers Gentilmen of the felyship of Th’ erlez of Shrewsbury, that he was sent to the said Erle of Salesbury, in the name of the said Lord Stanley, with moo of his felyship.

“ Also where certayne persons beyng of the lyvere & clothyng of the said Lord Stanley, were take at the Forest of Morff in Shropshire ; the day afore theire deth confessed, that they were commaunded in the name and behalve of the seid Lord Stanley, to attend and awayte upon the seid William Stanley, to assiste the said Erle in such matier as he intended to execute.

“ Of all which matiers doon and commytted by the said Lord Stanley, we youre said Commens accuse and enpeche hym ; and pray youre moost high Regalie, that the same Lord be commytted to prison, there to abide after fourme of lawe.”

To this petition, the king returned a refusal in the courtly terms of “ Le Roy s’ advisera.”

CHAP.
XI.State of
public
morals.

It is remarkable, that although the battles fought between the houses of York and Lancaster for the crown were so numerous, the county of Lancaster was not the scene of any one of these contests, and hence the peaceable inhabitants of this county escaped many of the horrors that intestine wars never fail to inflict in the immediate scene of their operation. The contamination of public morals was, however, felt here, as well as in other parts of the kingdom. According to a solemn declaration of parliament, the complaints upon this subject were loudly made throughout every part of the kingdom, of robberies, ravishments, extortions, oppressions, riots, unlawful assemblies, and wrongful imprisonments. To aggravate these evils, the offenders were aided and abetted by persons of station in the country, whose badges or liveries they wore, and by whom the administration of justice was continually interrupted. Amongst the most notorious of the offenders, five-and-twenty are mentioned by name, and in this list we find “Robertus Pylkyngton, nuper de Bury in Com. Lanc’, Armiger,”* and other persons of equal respectability. These flagitious outrages originated with the civil wars, the greatest of all national curses, and continued till those wars were at an end, when the laws resumed their dominion.

Battle of
North-
ampton.July 10,
1610.

The defection of a large body of veteran troops brought over from Calais by the earl of Warwick, which deserted to the royal standard, along with their commander, sir Andrew Trollop, seemed for a time to extinguish the hopes of the Yorkists; but they speedily recovered, and met the king’s forces at Northampton. Here a desperate and sanguinary conflict took place, which was decided against the Lancastrians, owing to the treachery of lord Grey of Ruthin, who commanded king Henry’s van, and who deserted to the enemy. The loss on both sides amounted to ten thousand men, comprehending a large proportion of the nobility and gentry, against whom the earl of Warwick and the earl of Marche principally directed their hostility.

Unsuc-
cessful
attempt to
compro-
mise the
differ-
ences be-
tween the
rival
houses.

In the session of parliament which followed, a kind of compromise of the conflicting claims was adopted, under the sanction of the legislature, by which Henry, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Northampton, was to enjoy the crown of England and the duchy of Lancaster for life, but at his death they were to descend to the duke of York, or to his heirs, in perpetuity. The queen could ill brook an arrangement by which the title of her only son to the crown of England was extinguished. To support this title, she collected a numerous army from the counties of Lancaster and Chester, and took up her station in the neighbourhood of Wakefield, in the county of York. No sooner had the duke of York heard of this formidable array of hostile troops, than he marched to the north, and took possession of Sandal castle. Conceiving that his courage would be compromised if he refused

Battle of
Wake-
field.

* Rot. Parl. 38 Henry VI. vol. v. p. 368.

to meet a woman in battle, he quitted his strong station, and advanced into the plain, where the queen, aided by lord Clifford, had the skill to place his troops between two fires; and though the duke performed prodigies of valour, his army was completely routed, and he himself was numbered amongst the slain. The queen, proud of such a trophy, ordered the duke's head to be struck off, and placed upon the gates of York, adorned with a paper crown, to indicate the frailty of his claims,—

CHAP.
XI.

“ Off with his head, and set it on York gates,
So York may overlook the town of York.”

Lord Clifford, still more sanguinary than his royal mistress, plunged his sword, after the battle was over, into the breast of the earl of Rutland, the duke's youngest son, in revenge, as he alleged, for the death of his father, who fell in the battle of St. Alban's, while fighting against the Yorkists.

From this time the scabbard was cast aside, and the earl of Marche, now become duke of York, determined to avenge the death of his father and brother, and to obtain the crown, or to perish in the attempt. The battle of Mortimer's Cross, fought on the second of February, with the loss of four thousand men to the Lancastrians, seemed to open the way to the gratification of young Edward's ambition; but the second battle of St. Alban's, fought fifteen days afterwards, in which Margaret, attended by the king, held the command, and in which the earl of Warwick was worsted, changed the aspect of these ever-varying campaigns, though it did not prevent Edward from marching to London, and taking possession of the throne.

Battle of
Morti-
mer's
Cross.

Although Henry was dethroned, and Edward seated in his place, the civil wars were by no means at an end. Margaret having returned to her favourite county of York, assembled an army of sixty thousand men; and king Edward, with his celebrated general, the earl of Warwick, hastened into that county with forty thousand, to give her battle. The hostile armies met at Towton, near Tadcaster, on Palm Sunday. In this memorable battle, while the Yorkists were advancing to the charge, there happened a heavy fall of snow, accompanied by wind, which drove full in the faces of the Lancastrians. Lord Falconberg, who led the van of Edward's army, improved this event by a stratagem; he ordered a body of infantry to advance before the line, and, after having sent a volley of flight arrows among the enemy, immediately to retire. The Lancastrians, imagining that they had got within reach of the opposite army, discharged all their arrows, which fell short of the Yorkists. After their quivers were emptied, Edward advanced his line, and did execution with impunity on the dismayed Lancastrians. The bow was, however, soon laid aside, and the sword decided the combat, which ended in the total overthrow of king

Edw. 1V.
ascends
the
throne.

Battle of
Towton
Field,
March 29,
1461.

CHAP.
XI.

Henry's forces. Edward had issued orders, before the battle, to give no quarter, and the routed army was pursued with dreadful slaughter. The flying troops shaped their course to Tadcaster bridge, but, despairing of reaching it, they turned aside to a place where the Cock, a small rivulet, discharges itself into the Wharf. This was done with so much hurry and confusion, that the bed of the river was soon filled with dead bodies, which served as a bridge for the pursuers and the pursued to pass over. The slaughter at this point was tremendous. According to the historians of the period, thirty-six thousand seven hundred men fell in the battle and pursuit, and the waters of the Wharf were deeply crimsoned with the blood of the victims. The heralds who numbered the dead upon the field state the number of slain at twenty-eight thousand, and under the sign manual of king Edward, they give the following—

LIST OF THE NOBLEMEN AND KNIGHTS SLAIN IN THE BATTLE OF TOWTON.

NOBLEMEN.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland,
 Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire,
 William Beaumont, Viscount Beaumont,
 John Clifford, Lord Clifford,
 John Neville, Lord Neville,
 Lord Daere,
 Lord Henry Stafford, of Buckingham,
 Lionel Welles, Lord Welles,
 Anthony Rivers, Lord Scales,
 Richard Welles, Lord Willoughby,
 Sir Ralph Bigot, Knt. Lord de Malley

KNIGHTS.

Sir Ralph Gray,
 Sir Richard Jeney,
 Sir Harry Bellingham,
 Sir Andrew Trollop,
 With twenty-eight thousand num-
 bered by the Heralds.

Horrors of
civil war.

Scenes such as those portrayed by the poet after this battle, though creations of his own inventive fancy, must have frequently occurred during the Wars of the Roses:—

SCENE. *Towton Field.*

Enter a Father, who has killed his Son, with the Body in his Arms.

Fath. Thou that so stoutly hast resisted me,
 Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold;
 For I have bought it with a hundred blows.—
 But let me see:—is this our foeman's face?

Ah, no, no, no; it is mine only son!
 Ah, boy, if any life be left in thee,
 Throw up thine eye; see, see, what showers arise,
 Blown with the windy tempest of my heart,
 Upon thy wounds, that kill mine eye and heart.
 O, pity, God, this miserable age!—
 What stratagems, how fell, how butcherly,
 Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural,
 This deadly quarrel daily doth beget!—
 O boy, thy father gave thee life too soon,
 And hath bereft thee of thy life too late!

King Henry. Woe above woe! grief more than common grief!
 O that my death would stay these ruthful deeds!—
 O pity, pity, gentle heaven, pity!—
 The *red* rose and the *white* are on his face,
 The fatal colours of our striving houses:
 The one, his purple blood right well resembles;
 The other, his pale cheeks, methinks, present:
 Wither one rose, and let the other flourish!
 If you contend, a thousand lives must wither.”

The parliament, which met on the 4th of November, employed itself in the usual work of proscription, and “Henry of Derby, otherwise duke of Lancaster, and the heirs of his body coming, were utterly disabled from enjoying any inheritance, estate, or profits, within this realm or dominions of the same for ever.” A number of noblemen and gentlemen were attainted for the vague offence of being present at the death of the duke of York, slain in the battle of Wakefield, amongst whom were Richard Tunstall, Henry Bellingham, and Robert Wittingham, knights. By the same parliament it was enacted, that the attainder of Henry VI. should subject him to the forfeiture of all the lands and possessions belonging to the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster; and that king Edward and his queen should enjoy the duchy and liberties to the same belonging, separate from the crown; and that the tenants of the said duchy and county should enjoy all their liberties and franchises unimpaired. 1461.

The battle of Towton Field seemed decisive of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. Henry escaped into Scotland, while his more fortunate rival repaired to London to meet his parliament, by which his title was recognized, and he was declared king by right from the death of his father. Margaret, whose spirit and perseverance remained unsubdued, sailed for France, to supplicate the French monarch to grant her forces for the purpose of reasserting the claims of her house.

CHAP.
XI.Battle of
Hexham.April 25,
1161.Deplora-
ble condi-
tion of the
Lancaster
family.Henry VI.
takes
refuge in
Lanca-
shire.

With this request Lewis so far complied, as to place at her disposal two thousand troops, with which she embarked for England. Having marched to Hexham, where she was joined by a number of volunteers from Scotland, and from Lancashire, and the other northern counties of England, an engagement took place between the queen's troops, and the Yorkists, now become the royal army, under Montague, which issued in the total defeat of the Lancastrians, and the capture of the duke of Somerset and lords Roos and Hungerford, who were all three tried by a court martial, convicted of high treason, and immediately beheaded. "The fate of the unfortunate royal family of the Lancastrian house after this defeat," says Mr. Hume, "was singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost ignominy. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel amongst them; and while their attention was thus engaged, she took an opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest part of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword, and, finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced towards him; and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, 'Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son!' The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, struck with the singularity of the event, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him, and vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, when she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate, or so dexterous, in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed during a twelve-month; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower." The place of his concealment was Waddington Hall, in the parish of Mitton Magna, in the north-eastern part of the county; and the person by whom he was betrayed was sir John Talbot, who, as a reward for his perfidy, received a grant of twenty marks a year from Edward IV., confirmed by his successor, Richard III., and made payable out of the revenues of the county palatine of Lancaster.

ROYAL GRANT TO JOHN TALBOT FOR TAKING PRISONER KING HENRY VI.
AT SALESBURY.

CHAP.
XI.

“ Recardus Dei gracia Rex Anglie & Franciæ, & Dominus Hibernie, Omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, Salutem. Cum Dominus Edwardus, nuper Rex Anglie, Frater noster, in consideracione boni & fidelis servicii quod Johannes Talbot nuper de Salebury Armiger defunctus in captura magni Adversarii sui Henrici, nuper de facto non de jure Regis Anglie, per literas suas patentes concessit eidem Johanni quandem annuitatem sive annualem feodum viginti marcarum Habend: & percipiend: eidem Johanni & heredibus suis quousque sibi de terris vel tenementis ad valorem annuitatis predicti per ipsum Dominum Regem aut heredes suos recompensat: fuisset. Nos autem consideracione premisa, & pro bono & fidei servicio quod dilectus nobis Johannes Talbot de Salebury, Miles, filius & heres predicti Johannis, impendit & in futurum fideliter impendet, de gracia nostra speciali concessimus & per presentes concedimus eidem Johanni annuitatem sive annualem feodum viginti marcarum Habend: & percipiendum eidem Johanni & heredibus suis quousque sibi & heredibus suis de terris vel tenementis ad annum valorem annuitatis predictæ per nos aut heredes nostros recompensatus fuerit percipiend: annuitatem predictam annuatim de exitibus & revencionibus Comitatus nostri Palatini Lancaster: per manus Receptoris nostri Comitatus Palatini predicti pro tempore existentis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Dat: sub sigillo nostro Ducatus nostri Lancastri: apud Civitatem Ebor: vicesimo sexto die Junii anno regni nostri secundo, 1484.

“ Per literam sub signeto.” [*Seal much damaged.*]

Considering himself now securely seated on the throne, Edward threw the reins upon his inclinations, and surrendered himself up to those voluptuous pleasures, to which he was naturally so much inclined. His vices did not prevent him from meditating a marriage with Bona, the sister to the queen of France, and Warwick was sent to negotiate the alliance. While the earl was engaged in this mission, Edward became enamoured of the widow of sir John Gray, of Groby, whose husband fell in the second battle of St. Alban's, while engaged on the side of the house of Lancaster. Finding that the only way to the lady's chamber was through the church, he was privately married to her; and hence the remark “that he married his wife because she would not become his mistress, and took the wife of another man (Shore) as his mistress.” Warwick could not brook this insult; he complained loudly of the king's conduct towards him, and associated himself with such malcontents as seemed disposed to question and to overthrow the king's authority.

Edw. IV.
marriage.

Rupture
with War-
wick.

CHAP.
XI.

Attempt to
raise a
rebellion
in Lan-
cashire
against
the house
of York.

The earl being joined by the duke of Clarence, they collected a number of their adherents, and marched into Lancashire, where they importuned lord Stanley, who had married Eleonore, the earl of Warwick's sister, to embrace their cause. To this application lord Stanley returned a peremptory refusal, and the project of rising in arms to displace his royal master was for the present abandoned by the earl of Warwick. The "king-maker" was, however, of a spirit too intrepid to be diverted from his purpose by a disappointment of this nature; in the month of September, in the same year, the attempt was renewed, and the earl and the duke, availing themselves of the zeal of the Lancastrian party, and of the general discontent which Edward's extravagance and imprudence had excited, they raised the standard of revolt in the centre of the kingdom, supported by an army of 60,000 men. Edward, hastened to encounter this formidable enemy, and the two armies approached each other near Nottingham. On the eve of the battle, Edward was surprised in the night by the cry of "*War!*" when, supposing that all was lost, he fled into Norfolk, by the advice of his chamberlain, and from thence escaped with difficulty to Holland.

Flight of
Edward.

As a natural consequence of this royal panic and temporary abdication, Henry VI. was taken from the Tower, and again seated on his precarious throne, under the auspices of Clarence and Warwick, who did not fail to vest all the regal power in their own hands as regents. The adherents of the house of York followed the king's example; and his queen, who had just been delivered of prince Edward, was amongst the fugitives. Queen Margaret, who was still abroad, received the intelligence of the improved prospects of her house with rapture; but before the winds, inconstant as her own fortune, could waft her to the shores of England, the sun of the house of Lancaster had set, never more to rise in her family.

Restora-
tion of
Henry.

Edward's
return.

A supply of two thousand troops having been granted by the duke of Burgundy to Edward, he returned to England, and disembarked, as Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby and duke of Lancaster, had done, at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, declaring, as that duke had done, that his object was not to challenge the throne, but merely to obtain his paternal inheritance. By one of those unaccountable anomalies, which the absence of records and the vagueness of contemporary history disqualify us from explaining, Edward was allowed, by the regents, to present himself, without molestation, in considerable force before the gates of London, into which he was admitted without a struggle, and to re-ascend the throne, Henry having, very peaceably, retired to the Tower. The battle of Barnet, fought three days after the entrance of Edward into London, in which he commanded in person, terminated fatally for the house of Lancaster; and Warwick himself, after having performed prodigies of valour as a foot soldier, when he ought to

April 11,
1471.

Battle of
Barnet.

Death of
Warwick.

have been directing the operations of his army as a general, was numbered amongst the slain.

CHAP.
XI.

Queen Margaret reached the shores of England, accompanied by her son Edward, now eighteen years of age, just in time to hear of the death of Warwick, and the defeat of his army, but not in time to prevent that catastrophe. This lion-hearted woman seemed now to bow to her fate, and sought the privilege of sanctuary; but, being urged by Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and others of the adherents of her house, to make another effort for the throne, she marched through Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, to Tewkesbury, daily accumulating fresh forces on her route: here she was overtaken by king Edward, and, after a sanguinary battle, overthrown. The queen and her son fell into the hands of the victors; and, to consummate the disasters of the royal house, Edward of Lancaster was murdered, in cold blood, by Edward of York, and his sanguinary brothers, Gloucester and Clarence. His father, Henry VI., died *suddenly*, a few days after, in the Tower, to which place Margaret was committed as a state prisoner; and, after remaining six years in confinement, she was ransomed by Lewis, king of France, at the price of fifty thousand crowns. The queen survived her captivity four years, having spent the evening of her life in solitude and exile. The courage and energy of this extraordinary princess, were by no means inferior to those displayed, in the following century, by queen Elizabeth, whose character may not be unfitly compared to that of Margaret of Anjou: had the latter lived in happier days, unencumbered by a husband who was fitter for the cloister than for sovereign rule, she would have held a rank no way inferior to that sustained by the conqueror of the "invincible armada." The reign of Edward, after the overthrow of the house of Lancaster, presents no subjects connected with the history of this county—with the exception of a fruitless expedition into France, to regain the lost conquests of England, in which lord Stanley, and several Lancashire knights, were engaged; but which terminated in nothing better than an ostentatious display of military strength.

Battle of
Tewkes-
bury.

Catas-
trophe of
the Lan-
caster
family.

It has been supposed, by Mr. Nicholls, the editor of a "Collection of all the Royal Wills now known to exist," that Edward IV. died intestate; or, at least, that his Will was surreptitiously destroyed during the usurpation of his brother, the duke of Gloucester: this, however, is an error; a copy of this prince's Will, made by Rymer, is deposited in the Rolls chapel,* by which document, the king directs, "that all the revenues, issues, proffits, and commodities commyng and growing of oure countie palatine of Lancastre, and of alle oure castelles, lordshippes, manoirs, lands, tenements, rents, and services in the countie palatine and shire of Lancastre, parcell of oure said duchie of Lancastre, with their membres and appertenances," &c.

King Ed-
ward's
will.

* Excerpta Historica, p. 366.

CHAP. shall be applied “towards the marriages of our doughtres.” This will is of considerable length, and bears date the 20th day of June, 1475.

1482.

The use of
machinery.

In the last year of the reign of Edward IV., a petition was presented to parliament, which had been promoted in the south-eastern part of Lancashire, where the manufacture of hats has prevailed for many ages to a great extent. This document serves to date, with tolerable accuracy, the period when alarms from the consequences of improved machinery first began to manifest themselves in this county. The allegations of the petition are in these terms:—

“PRAYEN youre Highnes the Comons of this present Parliament assembled. That whereas Huers, Bonettes and Cappes, aswele sengle as double, were wonte truly to be made, wrought, fulled and thikked by the myght and strength of men, that is to sey, with hande and fote; and they that have so made, wrought, fulled and thikked such Huers, Bonettes, and Cappes, have well and honestly afore thys gotten their lyvyng therby, and therupon kept apprentices, servauntes, and good housholdes. It is so, that ther is a subtile mean founde nowe of late, by reason of a Fullyng Mille, wherby mo Cappes may be fulled and thikked in one day, than by the myght and strenghe of xx men by hand and fote may be fulled and thikked, in the same day: The which Huers, Bonettes and Cappes, so as it is aforesaid by the said Milles fulled and thikked, ben brosed, broken and deceyvably wrought, and may in no wise by the mean of eny Mille be truly made, to the grete hurt of your seid Highnesse, and of all your subjetts which daily use and occupie the same, and to the utter undoyng of suche your subjettes, as ben the Makers of the same Huers, Bonettes, and Cappes, and wolde and entende to lyve by the true making of the same; withoute youre most gracious helpe be shewed to them in this behalf.”

The petitioners conclude with a prayer, that parliament will interdict, for two years at least, the use of these fulling-mills; to which the reply is, “Le Roy le voet.” On the subject of improved machinery, by which manual labour is abridged, it may be observed, that the use of such machinery, when first introduced, is frequently an evil, and sometimes ruinous to those engaged in the operative part of that particular branch of manufacture to which the improvement is applied: but, viewed as a public question, involving the interests of the nation, these improvements are beneficial; and to them, combined with the capital and enterprise of the middle classes, and the skill and industry of the workmen engaged in these pursuits, the manufacturing and commercial greatness of this nation is to be attributed.

The intrigues of the court which followed on the death of Edward IV., were unbounded. The ancient nobility, with the duke of Gloucester as protector, at their

head, opposed, by every means in their power, the relations of the queen, who were considered as aspiring upstarts ; and earl Rivers, her brother, sir Richard Gray, one of her sons, and sir Thomas Vaughan, an officer in the king's household, were, by the authority of the duke, committed to Pontefract castle, for "setting variances amongst the states, to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the realm ;" on which vague charge they were executed. Their real offence, however, consisted in standing in the way of the duke's assumption of the crown, and no quantity of blood was thought too large to be shed, for the purpose of removing the impediments to his elevation. Lord-chamberlain Hastings shared the same fate, for venturing to doubt, whether the protector's arm, which had been withered from his birth, was diseased by the sorceries of his queen-sister and Shore's wife.

CHAP.
XI.

Sanguinary deeds perpetrated by the duke of Gloucester.

Hast. "If they have done this deed, my noble lord,—

Glo. If! thou protector of this damn'd strumpet,
Talk'st thou to me of ifs? Thou art a traitor—
Off with his head—now, by Saint Paul I swear,
I will not dine until I see the same—
Lovel and Catesby, look that it be done ;
The rest, that love me, rise, and follow me."

Lord Stanley escaped with difficulty, but not without a severe contusion ; a murderous blow being levelled at his head by the ruffians introduced into the council chamber, at Gloucester's bidding, to seize Hastings, and hurry him away to execution.* The duke had evidently fixed his eye upon the throne, and was determined to ascend it, at whatever price. To consummate his purpose, his two nephews, Edward V. and his brother, Richard, duke of York, were smothered in the Tower, whilst sleeping in their bed, by three assassins, of the name of Dighton, Forest, and Slater, under the direction of sir James Tyrrel, a creature of the duke's ; and thus was perpetrated, for the purposes of ambition,

Murder of the young princes.

"The most arch deed of piteous massacre
That ever yet the land was guilty of."

Having thus removed the obstacles in his way to power, the coronation, which appeared to be preparing for Edward V., was appropriated by the duke of Gloucester

* According to sir William Dugdale, quoting from Stow, this catastrophe might have been avoided, if lord Hastings had given heed to a dream of lord Stanley's, on the preceding night, in which his lordship beheld a boar, Gloucester's crest, goring with his tusks Hastings and Stanley, till the blood ran about their shoulders.

CHAP.
XI.Corona-
tion of
Rich. III.

to his own purpose, and that of his queen. The ceremony was of the most splendid kind, that the gorgeousness of the scene might conceal the blood which contaminated the track to the throne. Lord Stanley, who had just been liberated from the Tower, was placed in the humiliating situation of bearing the mace before the king, and the "Lady of Rychemond" bore the queen's train. The other Lancashire peers present were, lord Grey of Wilton, and lord Morley; and among the knights were, sir William Stanley, sir Edward Stanley, sir Charles Pilkington, sir Rafe Ashton, and sir William Norris.*

Letters
patent
granted by
Rich. III.

During the short reign of Richard III., a considerable number of letters patent were granted by the king. These documents, in Latin and in English, are preserved in what is styled "a very valuable book," belonging to the lord treasurer Burghley in the Harleian collection in the British Museum; and the following are their titles, so far as they relate to the county and duchy of Lancaster:—

HARL. MSS. Cod. 433. [Temp. Rich. III.]

ART.

- 14 To John Howard, knt., the Office of Chief Steward of the duchy of Lanc. South of Trent.
- 21 To Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham the offices of constable, steward, and receiver of the castle, manor, and town of Monmouth, in S. Wales, and of all the other castles, lordships, manors, towns, &c., which are parcels of the Duchy of Lanc. in S. Wales. The duke is also appointed keeper or head forester of the forest and chace of *Hodeuake*, and of all the other forests and chaces being parcels of the Duchy afores^d in S. Wales.
- 43 To Sir Rich^d Huddleston the office of receiver of the lord^{ps} manors lands & tenem^{ts} in Cumberl^d & Lancash^e which were formerly Tho^s Grey's (Marquis of Dorset.)
- 63 A Writ appoint^s Guy Fairfax knt, & Milo Metcalf Chief Justiciaries of Lanc.
- 70 Royal Letters for the advowson of the Parish church of Gayton, parcel of the Duchy of Lanc.
- 86 Letters Pat. to Tho^s Metcalfe the office of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lanc. & the custody of the seal for the same office.
- 87 Ditto.
- 92 To Guy Fairfax knighte th' office of chieff Juge of Lancastre.
- 93 To Miles Metcalfe the office of one of the Juges at Lancastre.
- 94 To Thomas Molineux the office of king's Serjeant and Attorney at Lawe, in all his courtes within the counte palatyne of L.

* Harl. MSS. 2115. f. 152.

- 99 To Henry Stafford, D. of Buck. the office of constable, stuarde, and receivour of the castles mannors & townes of Mounemouthie and Kydwelly, of all castles lordships townes &c. in Wales, and the Marches parcels of the Duchie of Lanc. & thoffice of Pananster ?* Forster and Maister of the Game in all the forests and chaces of Wales and Marches of the same, belonging to the said Duchie.
- 102 To John Howard D. of Norfolke the office of chief Steward of the Duchy of Lanc. South of Trent.
- 103 To Thomas Pylkyngtone knight, the office of Sheriff of the county of Lanc^r & the county Palatine.
- 106 To John Dudley Esq the office of Stew^d of the Duchy within the counties of Berks and Southampton.
- 107 To Sir John le Scrop—chamberlain of the Duchy.
- 113 To Sir Ric^d Huddleston receiver ut suprà.
- 116 To therle of Surry the Stewardsh^p of the Duchie.
- 130 To Thomas Kebell thoffice of Generall Attourney of the Duchie of Lanc. in Engl^d & Wales.
- 171 To W. Castby thoffice of Steward of Daventre Higham Ferys Paverells Fee, &c.
- 177 To Adam Nelsone th office of Messagere of the Duchie, and Ushere of the councele house ordeyned for the same.
- 178 To Ric^d Pottiere the Attorneyshp of the Duchie.
- 179 To therle of Surry ut suprà.
- 276 To John Fitz Herbert the Baillicff of the newe Franchesie of the Duchie of Lanc. in the countie of Derby.
- 327 “To John Duc of Norfolke thoffice of chieffe Steward,” as above in the Latin patent.
- 518 To Nicholas Gardyner thexecutor of John Gardyner License to found a chauntrie in our Ladie church of Lanc. & to mortize 12 b. of land there.
- 519 To Morgan Kidwelly the Stewardshp of all the lordships of the Duchy of Lanc. or otherwise belonging to the king in the co. of Dorset.
- 824 To Thom^s L^d Stanley Lord Strange many castles lordships and manoirs to hold by knights service whereof part of them belonged to Roger Tocot, Henry Stafford Duc of Buckingham, &c.
- 1628 “Comiission to the Lord Stanley constable of England to sease vnto the kinges use the Manoir of Brightmeed in the counte of Lancaster that late

* This word is thus marked with the (?) in the Harl. catalogue. There is no doubt of its accuracy, and that it is the name of the officer who superintended forest-panage.

was of Thomas Seint Legere his rebelle. Yeven at London the 16th day of Dec. an^o primo." Several other commissions to the same to seize upon lands belonging to the above sir Thomas S^r Leger and Henry Stafford D. of Buckingham, are found here.

2001 Warrant for the Maire &c. of Lanc. to reteigne 20 marks of the fee firme of their towne which the king hath geven unto them. Yeven at Stoney Stratforde y^e 6th of Nov^r a^o 2^{do}.

2210 Letter patent from Edw 5 to Tho^s Kebeece for the attorneyship of the Duchy.

2366 Fees & Wages of officers.

2377 Fees payable to officers in the Rape of Pevensey and parcel of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The following is the warrant, or commission, (numbered 1628,) from Richard III. to lord Stanley, to seize the lands of sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married Anne, the king's eldest sister; but who had revolted against his authority, and suffered the punishment of death, in 1483.

Commission for seizing the Lands of a Rebel, in Lancashire. [1 Rich. III.]

The Lord Stanley.	}	“ Ric^s. To o^r right trusty & right welbeloued Cousin & Counsellor the lord Stanley, Constable of England, greting. We wil and charge you and by these p^rsent^e yene you ful auctorite & power to sease into o^r hand^e the manoir or Lordship of Brightmede in o^r Countie of Lancastre that late was of Th. Seintleger our Rebelle and thissenes Rent^e and Renemies p^r of from Michelmesse last passed to take & p^rceyue to our vse & behav^e, yevening straitly in coⁿiaundement to the offi^ces and tenaunt^e of the said maner or lordship and to all others our offi^ces treue liegeaunces & subgett^e that vnto you and yo^r assignees in thexecucion of the p^rmisses they be attending aiding fauolⁱng & assisting as it appteineth. Yeven at London the xvj day of Dec^r A^r p^rmo.
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[Fol 134 b.]

[Ten other commissions follow the above; or, rather, ten memoranda of such commissions; addressed to “The Lord Stanley,” to seize lands and manors belonging to sir Thomas St. Leger and the duke of Buckingham, forfeited by rebellion, and situated in the counties of “Wilts, Warre Lecestre, Chester, Beds, Hertford, Som^s, Rutland, and Oxford.”]

A Warrant, or Commission. [2 Rich. III.]

The Lorde Stanley & Strange & S^r W^m Stanley. } “ A co^mission directed to al knight^e Squiers gentilmen and al op^d the king^e subjectt^e of the Counte of Chester. Shewyng that the king hath deputed the lord Stanley, the lord Straunge and S^r Willm Stanley to have the Rule and leding of al psones appointed to do the king^e suice when they be warned against the kyng^e Rebell^e Charging them þ^fore to pryde effectuel attendaunce. And if any Rebell^e arryue in thoos ptes pat than al pe power that they can make be redy tassist the saide lorde and knight, Vpon theire feithes and legeaunc^e e^e. Yeuen at Windesore the xiiij day of Januer A^o ij^{do}.

The same lorde. } “ A lyke Co^mission to the knight^e Squiers gentilmen e^e of the Countie of Lancastre to geve their attendaunce vpon the lorde Stanley e^e Straunge to doo the kinge grace suice ageinst his Rebell^e in whatsoeu^r place wⁱn this Royme thay fortune tarryue, Vpon the feithe e^e leigeaunces. Yeuen at Westmⁿ the xiiij day of Januer. A^o ij^{do}.

[Fol 201 b.]

Harl. MSS. Cod. 592.

The first article in this volume is headed “PRO DUCATU LANCASTRIE,” and consists of a patent, by which the king (supposed to be Edward IV., though it is not so expressed, the style being simply “*Edwardus Dei gratia*,” &c.) confirms to himself and heirs, being kings of England, in perpetuity, all the liberties, privileges, customs, &c. of the county palatine and duchy of Lancaster, previously granted by his ancestors, kings of England, by charters, which are here recited. This article is an *Inspeximus*, tested thus:—

“Teste R^x apud Westmⁿ quarto die Novembris:” Witness the king at Westminster, November 4.

No date of the dominical or regal year. It consists of twenty-four very large folio pages.

In order to reconcile lord Stanley to Richard's usurpation, he was constituted steward of his household, and constable of England, for life, being at the same time invested with the most noble order of the garter. All these acts of royal favour failed to extinguish the hatred which that nobleman bore to the tyrant, and to his sanguinary deeds. Of this, the king, whose suspicions never slumbered, was fully

CHAP.
XI.George
lord
Strange
detained
as a host-
age.Attainder
of the
countess
of Rich-
mond.

aware; and, that he might have the more secure hold on the allegiance of lord Stanley, and prevent him from exciting an insurrection in Lancashire and Cheshire, where his power and influence were almost unlimited, Richard insisted that George lord Strange, the son and heir of the house of Stanley, should remain in his hands as a hostage. These suspicions were increased by the circumstance of lord Stanley having married for his second wife Margaret, the widow of Edmund earl of Richmond; by whom she had issue, Henry earl of Richmond; the representative of the house of Lancaster.

Richard's displeasure was subsequently marked by an act of attainder against the countess of Richmond, in which it is set forth, that "Forasmuch as Margaret Countesse of Richmond, Mother to the Kyngs greate Rebelle & Traytour, Herry Erle of Richemond, hath of late conspired, confedered, & committed high Treason agenst oure Sovereigne Lorde the King Richard the Third, in dyvers & sundry wyses, & in especiall in sendyng messages, writyngs & tokens to the said Henry, desiryng, procuryng, & stirryng hym by the same, to come into this Roialme, & make Werre agenst oure said Sovereigne Lorde; to the whiche desyre, procuryng, & stirrynge the said Henry applied hym, as it appereth by experience by hym late shewed in that behalf. Also the said Countesse made chevisancez of greate somes of money, as well within the Citee of London, as in other places of this Roialme to be employed to the execution of the said Treason & malicious purpose; & also the said Countesse conspired, confedered & imagyned the destruction of oure said Sovereigne Lord, & was assentyng, knowyng & assistyng Henry, late Duke of Buckyngham."

The tyrant, of his grace and favour, as he alleges, but under the influence of his fears, as is more probable, and in consideration of the faithful services done and intended to be done by Thomas, lord Stanley, husband of the countess, remitted the great punishment of treason—public execution. But at the same time he declared all her property forfeited to the crown, whether in fee simple, fee tail, or otherwise; but not to the prejudice of Thomas, lord Stanley, or any other person or persons, with the exception of the countess of Richmond. How far the charges contained in this act of attainder were founded, it is difficult at this time to determine; but it is highly probable that a descendant of the house of Lancaster would not be an uninterested spectator of the claims of her son to the crown, in opposition to those of a prince, whose sanguinary crimes had rendered him universally obnoxious. It does not appear that the countess was ever removed from Lathom house for trial, though it was ordered that she should be kept in ward by her lord, in private apartments, and not suffered to hold any communication with the king's enemies. One of the first acts of the next reign was to annul this act of attainder, and fully to

reinstate the “ noble princess Margaret, countess of Richmond, in all her possessions.”*

CHAP.
XL.

Margaret, countess of Richmond, was the only daughter of John, first duke of Somerset, the grandson of John of Gaunt, and Catherine Swinford. This lady had married Edmund, earl of Richmond, and Henry, the present earl, was the only issue of that marriage. She had afterwards married sir Henry Stafford, and, at his death, espoused Thomas, lord Stanley. The present earl of Richmond had long been a source of disquietude to the reigning family of the house of York, who had spared no pains to obtain possession of his person, for the purpose of administering those murderous remedies for the cure of a disputed title, which they so well knew how to apply. But, by providential interposition, he survived all their machinations, and an alliance suggested by the marquis of Dorset, and the bishop of Ely, between the earl of Richmond and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., promised to effect an union between the red and the white roses, for which the nation had long panted with ardent desire. The first attempt to accomplish this object by the agency of the duke of Buckingham failed, and the duke and a number of his friends became the victims of the premature enterprise.†

Proposal
to unite
the Roses.

Before the duke embarked for England, he addressed a letter to his friends, couched in these terms:‡—

“ R^t trusty, worth, & Hon^{ble} good Freinds & our Allyes I greet you well. Being giuen to understand your good deuoir & intente to aduance me to y^e furtherance of my rightfull claime, due & lineall Inheritance of y^e Crowne. And for y^e just depriving of y^t Homicide & unnaturall Tyrant w^{ch} now unjustly bears Dominion ouer you, I giue you to understand y^t noe Christian heart can be more full of joye & gladnes, then y^e heart of me yo^r poore exiled Friend, who will upon y^e instance of your sure Aduertise what powers y^e will make ready, and what Captains & leaders you gett to conduct be prepared to pass ouer y^e Sea wth such forces as my Friends here are preparing for me. And if I haue such good speed and success as I wish according to your desire, I shall ever be most forward to remember, & wholly to

Temp.
Rich. III.

* Rot. Parl. 1 Henry VII. vol. vi. page 286.

† Amongst others, a gentleman of the name of William Colingbourne, who had been high sheriff of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, suffered death for having written the following whimsical *jeu d'esprit*, in allusion to the names of the two royal favourites, Ratcliffe and Catsby, and to the crest of Lovel, which was a dog, and that of Richard, which was a boar :—

“ The Rat, the Cat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under a Hog.”

‡ Har. MS. Cod. 787, fo. 2 b.

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 XI. our Signet, &c.

“I pray you giue credence to y^e Messenger of y^e he shall impart to you.”

Retarded in the attainment of his object by the failure of the duke Buckingham's enterprise, but by no means discouraged from pursuing it, the earl of Richmond,

“England's hope,”

Landing
 of the
 duke of
 Richmond
 in Eng-
 land.

embarked from Normandy with a small army of two thousand men, with which he landed at Milford Haven, where he was joined by sir Richard Rice ap Thomas, who had been entrusted with a command in Wales by the tyrant Richard. In his march into the interior of the country he was joined by the powerful family of Shrewsbury, as well as by sir Thomas Bourchier and sir Walter Hungerford, and a large number of persons of inferior note. Richard, aware of the storm by which he was menaced, had collected a well-appointed army in Nottinghamshire, and towards this point the earl of Richmond directed his course. Having arrived at Tamworth, he addressed his followers in terms, perhaps, less poetical, but not less inspiring, than the following :—

Rich. “Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,
 Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny,
 Thus far into the bowels of the land
 Have we march'd on without impediment ;
 And here receive we from our father Stanley
 Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
 The wretched, bloody, and usurping boar,
 That spoil'd your summer fields, and fruitful vines,
 Swills your warm blood like wash, and makes his trough
 In your embowell'd bosoms ; this foul swine
 Lies now even in the centre of this isle,
 Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn :
 From Tamworth thither is but one day's march.
 In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
 To reap the harvest of perpetual peace,
 By this one bloody trial of sharp war.”

Shakspeare's Rich. III. Act V. Scene II.

Richard, knowing that he had forfeited all claim to the confidence of his people, that the enormities he had committed for the attainment of the throne had withdrawn from him the flower of his nobility, and that those who feigned allegiance to his person and government, panted for an opportunity to betray

and desert him, became more suspicious of his friends than alarmed by his enemies. The persons of whom he entertained the greatest suspicion, and those who had the power more than any others to decide his fate, were lord Stanley, and his brother, sir William Stanley. By a policy that is only to be accounted for on the principle, that those princes whom Providence has marked out for ruin, he first infatuates, the king commissioned lord Stanley to raise an army in the counties of Lancaster and Chester. The number of soldiers under the command of the Stanleys was so considerable, that the decision of the approaching battle, on which a kingdom depended, was placed in their hands. The day before the battle commenced, Richard marched to Leicester at the head of his army, and entered that town with a countenance strongly characteristic of the gloomy state of his mind. He took up his quarters for the night at the principal inn,* and concentrated his outposts, in preparation for the approaching engagement.

The dawn of the day found the two hostile armies on Bosworth field; Richard in the command of twelve thousand men, and Richmond with about half that number.

* Richard slept at the Blue Boar Inn, and the bedstead whereon he is supposed to have lain is still preserved, and its history is thus handed down:—

“ In the year 1613, Mrs. Clark, keeper of that inn, was robbed by her servant maid and seven men, and the relation is thus given by sir Roger Twisden, who had it from persons of undoubted credit, who were not only inhabitants of Leicester, but saw the murderers executed: “ When king Richard III. marched into Leicestershire against Henry, earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., he lay at the Blue Boar Inn, in the town of Leicester, where was left a large wooden bedstead, gilded in some places, which, after his defeat and death in the battle of Bosworth, was left, either through haste, or as a thing of little value, (the bedding being all taken from it,) to the people of the house: thenceforward, this old bedstead, which was boarded at the bottom, (as the manner was in those days,) became a piece of standing furniture, and passed from tenant to tenant with the inn. In the reign of queen Elizabeth, this house was kept by one Mr. Clark, who put a bed on this bedstead; which his wife going to make hastily, and jumbling the bedstead, a piece of gold dropped out. This excited the woman’s curiosity; she narrowly examined this antiquated piece of furniture, and, finding it had a double bottom, took off the uppermost with a chisel, upon which she discovered the space between them filled with gold, part of it coined by Richard III. and the rest of it in earlier times. Mr. Clark (her husband) concealed this piece of good fortune, though by degrees, the effects of it made it known, for he became rich from a low condition, and, in the space of a few years, mayor of the town; and then the story of the bedstead came to be rumoured by the servants. At his death, he left his estate to his wife, who still continued to keep the inn, though she was known to be very rich; which put some wicked persons upon engaging the maid-servant to assist in robbing her. These folks, to the number of seven, lodged in her house, plundered it, and carried off some horse-loads of valuable things, and yet left a considerable quantity of valuables scattered about the floor. As for Mrs. Clark herself, who was very fat, she endeavoured to cry out for help, upon which her maid thrust her fingers down her throat, and choked her; for which fact she was burnt, and the seven men, who were her accomplices, were hanged at Leicester some time in the year 1613.”

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Aug. 22,
1485.

Battle of
Bosworth
Field.

lord Stanley had placed himself near the neighbouring village of Atherstone, six miles from the field of battle, with a force differently estimated by historians, but probably amounting to about five thousand men. Even now the determination which his lordship had taken was not generally known in the conflicting armies, though the commanders, no doubt, had sagacity enough to discover that he had abandoned Richard, and was determined to support his rival to the throne. The sword suspended over the neck of lord Strange, who was in Richard's camp as a hostage, hung only by a hair; but the policy of the king suffered it not to descend, that he might still retain some hold upon the conduct of the noble father of this gallant youth.

Addressing his soldiers, Richard exclaimed—"I hold the crown from you, and you must maintain it. Who is our adversary? An unknown Welshman; begotten by a father less known than himself; and commanding a force consisting of banished vagabonds, the very scum of the earth, and of beggarly Frenchmen, come here to plunder your goods, to ravish your wives, and to murder your children. When fighting with such an enemy, success is certain. When the victory is obtained, you, my followers, shall share the bounty of a generous prince. In the cause of your king, you will fight like Englishmen; and as for myself, I will never quit the field but as a conqueror."

Richmond, placing himself at the head of his camp, demanded of his soldiers if it was not for the public weal that the tyrant to whom they were opposed should be extirpated—a man who had destroyed his own house by the effusion of innocent blood, and defamed the mother who had given him birth, to smooth his way to the throne. "The hour of retribution," said he, "has now arrived; and God's judgment, though it has been deferred, will fall upon our adversary, who seeks, by the marriage of princess Elizabeth, to add incest to his other crimes. You ought not to be dismayed by the superior numbers of the enemy; divine justice is at our side; his own friends will desert the tyrant in the hour of his extremity; and already lord Stanley has determined, with the forces under his command, to support the righteous cause. If your efforts are crowned with victory, all the confiscated possessions of the enemy shall be distributed amongst you; but should you be defeated, you will fall into the hands of him, who, not having spared his own blood, would infallibly consign you to destruction. It is better to die with swords in your hands, than to become the victims of a relentless tyrant: of myself, I shall only say, that I am the descendant of the house of Lancaster, the glory of the kingdom they have ruled. All you can expect from a soldier, and from a commander, you shall find in me; and all I ask of you is, to follow my example in the hour of battle."

Richard, extending his troops as widely as possible, to intimidate his enemy by

an impression of the great strength of the army to which they were opposed, gave the command of the vanguard to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey; he himself led the centre, which was guarded on the flanks by the horse, and led on by the bowmen. Richmond having placed his bowmen in front, under the command of the earl of Oxford, gave the command of the right wing to sir Gilbert Talbot, and of the left to sir John Savage. The command of the horse he took upon himself, aided by his uncle, the earl of Pembroke. Richmond having, by a successful manœuvre, possessed himself of a path, which intersected a swamp, and thrown the glare of the sun in the face of the enemy, the battle commenced. The first shock of the two armies shewed sufficiently the different spirit by which they were animated. For a while, however, the contest hung in suspense; but the appearance of lord Stanley, the arbiter of the battle of Bosworth Field, who declared in favour of his son-in-law, decided the fate of the day. The king's forces fought without spirit, and seemed more anxious to secure their own safety than to obtain victory. In this emergency Richard was advised to quit the field, and a horse was provided for the purpose; but he had placed his all upon the issue, and he fought like a hero. His only remaining hope was now in the death of Richmond; and, in a desperate onset to accomplish that object, he slew sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, with his own hands, and, at the same moment, dismounted sir John Cheyney. The commanders of the two armies were now on the point of coming in personal collision, an event of which they both seemed ambitious; but at the moment when the combat was about to take place, sir William Stanley broke into the line with his troops, and surrounded Richard, who still continued to fight with all the courage and desperation of his nature; but at length, sinking under the superior force by which he was assailed, fell dead on the field, pierced with innumerable wounds, and covered with gore.

The number of the slain in the battle of Bosworth Field, like the numbers engaged in the contest, are differently estimated; some accounts rate them as low as a thousand, and others as high as four thousand. The loss, however, fell principally upon the Yorkists, as sir William Talbot, in an account written to his friends immediately after the battle, says that the number of slain on the part of the earl of Richmond did not exceed ten persons! The duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, sir Robert Ratcliffe, sir Robert Piercy, and sir Robert Brackenbury, were all numbered with the dead; and sir William Catesby, the ready instrument of all Richard's crimes, being taken prisoner, was beheaded with several others at Leicester two days afterwards. After the battle, sir William Stanley, who, with his brother, had contributed so much to the success of the day, took the crown from the tent of Richard, and, placing it upon the head of the earl of Richmond, crowned him on the field by the title of King Henry VII. A large portion of the spoils of the field fell

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into the hands of sir William Stanley, and were allowed by the king's permission to enrich that gallant knight. "Richard's body being stripped naked, all tugged and torn, and not so much as a clout left to cover his shame, was trussed behind a pursuivant at arms like a hog or a calf; his head and arms hung on one side the horse, and his legs on the other, all besprinkled with mire and blood, and was so carried to Leicester." "No king," says Mr. Hutton, "was ever so degraded a spectacle; humanity and decency ought not to have suffered it." Mr. Carte says, "they tied a rope about his neck, more to insult the helpless dead than to fasten him to the horse." After lying exposed to the inspection and insults of the populace, the tyrant's body, at the end of the second day, was taken to the church of the Grey Friars, and there buried in a stone coffin.*

An ancient manuscript in the British Museum relates with so much precision the part taken in those great events, by which the crown of England was finally transferred from the house of York to the house of Lancaster, by the Stanley family, and the men of Lancashire, that it cannot be omitted in a history of this county:—

Harl. MSS. Cod. 542. [In Stowe's writing.]

"Richard y^e third his deathe by y^e lord Stanley borowyd of Henry Savyll.

"when henrie erle of Richmond cam in at mylford haven, he sayd thes words, "O yngland, I am enteryd here to clayme myne heritage, Jhesu, y^t dyed on good friday, and mary his mothar, send me the love of y^e lord Stanley ho hathe married my mothar, it is longe sithe she saw me, I trust to Jesu, we shall mete, and our brothar syr william stanley." [let us leve henry, and speke of Richard in his dignitie, & y^e mysfortune y^t hym befell, a wicked cownsell drew hym nye.] The lord stanley, sterne & stowte he may be callyd flowre in his countrye, and y^t was well sene at barwicke, when all y^e lords of england let it be, y^t castle wightly cowlde he wine, than of kynge Richard toke he leve, & set good rule amonge y^e couwntie, but wicked cownsell drew Richard nye, thes was y^e words they sayd to him, 'we thinke yow worke unwitily, In england, yf ye wold contynew kynge, for bothe lord stanley, lord strange, and y^e chamberlayne the iij may bringe agaynst yow on a day, y^e no lords may in england far nor nere, & y^e soms of y^r mother y^t are banished may caws yow short tyme to were

* A monument was subsequently erected to his memory, with his "picture," as Sandford calls it, "in alabaster;" and, ten years afterwards, Henry VII., on his Lancashire progress, paid £10. 1s. to James Keyley for this erection, which perished with the dissolution of the monastery in the following reign.

y^e crowne.' Then K. Richard made owt mesengars far into y^e west countrie, to y^e lord stanley to repayr to hym w^t spede. Then y^e lord stanley bowned hym toward Kyng Rychard, but he fell sycke at manchester by y^e waye as was y^e wyll of god, to y^e lord strange then callyd he, and sayd thes wordes to hym, ' In goodly haste bowne must ye to wyt y^e will of Richard our kyng,' the this lord strange bownyd hym to ryde to kyng Richard. when he cam before hym & knelyd downe, Kyng Richard sayd, ' welcome, lord strange & kynsman neare, wher is any lord in england of aunsytry shuld be so trew to hys kyng.' ther was no more of this to say, but to ward cōmandyd was he, and messengars wer made into y^e west country, to y^e lord Stanley. thes wer y^e words they sayd to hym: ' yow must rayse vp vndar yowr bannar to mayntayn Rychard our kyng, for yondar comythe Richemond ovar y^e flode w^t many an alyaunt owt of far contry to chalendge y^e crowne of england, yow most reyse that vndar yowr bannar be, w^t y^e noble powere that yow may brynge, or els y^e lord strange yow moste nevar se, that is in dangar of our kyng.' In a studye still then y^t lord dyd stond, and sayd ' Jesu, how may this be, I take wittes of hym y^t shope both se & sande, I never delt w^t traytorie. Richard is y^e man y^t hathe no mercye, he wolde me & myne bondage bringe, therefor agaynst hym will I be.' Another messengar came to william stanley y^t noble knyght, & sayd. ' K. Richard warethe y^e to bring thy royall rowt, his hope is holy therin.' Then answeyrd y^t noble knyght, ' I marvayle of our kyng he hathe my neyveu, my brothar's heire, a trewar knyght is not in cristinte, he shall repent by enythyng y^t I can se, tell K. Richard this, for all y^e power y^t he can bringe, he shall eythar fight or fle, or lose his lyfe I make a vow, I shall give hym suche a brekefast on a day as nevar knyght gave kyng, therefor byde hym aray hym & his power for he shall ether fyght or fle or lose his lyfe.' Then y^e messengar rydes to y^e kyng, and saythe ' in y^e contry wher I have be, men so grevyd I nevar se, for y^e lord strange sake y^t in bale dothe lye, they say they will cawse yow to fight or flye or els to lose your lyfe,' kyng Richard smyled and swore by Jesu, when they be sembled all, I wold y^e gret turke was agaynst me w^t Pretor John, & y^e sowdan of Surre w^t all theyr powers for all theyr manhod I wold be kyng,' he swore by Jesu & hys mothar, y^t from y^e towne of lancastre to shrowsberye, knyght ne squire he wold leve none alyve, & he wold deale theyr lands to his knyghtes, from y^e holy heade to seynt david's land, wheras ar castells & towers lye. ' I shall make parkes & playne fields frithe & forest fre, they shall all repent y^t erar he rose agaynst his kyng.' Then he sent out messengars, bothe far & nyghe, to denke, earle, baron, knyght, & othar in ther degre. part of theyr names shall yow here y^t owne to Kyng Richard. The duke of northfolke, y^e erle of surrey his heyre, y^e erle of kent, y^e erle of shrowsbery,

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y^e erle of northumbarland, y^e erle of westmerland, Robert Rydyse, ser Robert owtrege, ser John Huntynghton, f John wilmi, f John smalby, f bryan of stepleton, ser william his cosen, y^e lord bartley, y^e heirs of bartley, y^e lord Fryn f Grey, y^e lord lovell chamberlayn of england, y^e lord hughe his cosyn, y^e lord scope of Yposall, y^e lord scope of bolton, y^e lord dakers rayssed y^e northcontrye, y^e lord owgle, y^e lord bower, y^e lorde graystoke, he browght a myghty many, ser John blekynson, f Raffe harchotley, f wyllium warde, syr archebald, w^t y^e good Rydley; syr nycholas nabogay was not awaye, f olyver of chaston, sir henry y^e hynd horsay, f John y^e gray, ser Thomas y^e mingumbre, f Roger Standfort, f Robart bracanberye, sir harry landringan, f Richard chowrlton, f Raffe Rolle, f Thomas marcomfild, f Rogar sandyll, f xpofer ward, f william beckfort, f John cowbrune, f Robart ploumton, f william gascoyne, f marmaduke constable, f william conyers, f martyn of y^e Fee, f Robart Gilbard, f Richar heaton, f John lothes, f william Ratelyff, f Thomas his brothar, f Willyam theyr brothar, f xpofer y^e mallyre, f John norton, f Thomas y^e mallyveray, f Raffe dakers of y^e northe, f xpofer y^e morys, f william musgrave, f alexander haymor, f george mortynfeild, f Thomas browghton, f xpofer Awayne, f Richard tempest out of y^e dale, sir willyam his cosyn, ser Raffe of ashton, f Roger long in arpenge, f John pudsay, f Robart of mydleton, ser Thomas stryckland, ser John nevill of bloodfullhye, f John adlyngton, f Rogar hearon, ser James harrington, ser Robart his brothar, ser Thomas pilkylton, all thes sware kyng Richard shuld were y^e crowne.

“ now shall I tell how henry of Richmond cam to y^e crowne, The lorde stanley from lathom castle upon a day bownyed he, w^t knyghts & esquiers in his company, w^t theyr bannars, fearce to fyght, to mayntayn henry to be theyr Kyng. To the new castell vnder lyne this lord toke y^e way w^t his noble men in companye, he told them wagys the noble powere y^t he dyd brynge. ser william stanley y^t noble knyght from y^e castell of y^e holt, to the Northwyche he rode, & told his men wagis, all y^e Northe Wayles y^e moste parte, & y^e flower of Chestar, w^t he dyd brynge earlye on a Sondag at morne, syr william of stanley removyd from y^e Northewiche to y^e towne of stone. by then was henry come to stafford, & a prevy messenge sent he to hym w^t a certayn parson, that noble knyght rod to stafford toward y^e kyng, when y^t he saw y^e prince in syght, he knelyd downe, & hent hym by y^e hand & sayd ‘ I am more glade of the then all y^e gold in crystentye, I trust to y^e lord my father and y^e that in england I shal be kyng.’ then the othar sayd, ‘ welcom soveraygne kyng henry, chalendge thye heritage & this land, loke thow fyght & nevar flye, Remembar another day who dothe for thee, yf thow be kyng, leve of y^e prince tane, he came agayne, by y^e lyght of y^e day, vnto y^e lytle towne of stone, early on a saturday. to lychfeld removyd old & yonge, at worsley bredge ther before, they

had a syght of henry y^t shuld be kynge. vnto lychefeld they ryde, a harrot of armes came to numbar y^e company y^t was w^t y^e knyght, it was a goodly syght. Gonnes in lychefyld craked, glad was all y^e chevalry, y^t was on henris party. throughe owt lychefyld rydes y^t knyght, & on y^e other syd taryes he, tyll a messege cam to hym, and sayd ‘lord stanley is his enemyes nye, they be but a lytle way a twyne, he will fight w^t in thes thre houres w^t Richard of england called kyng.’ ‘That wold I not, quod y^e knyght, for all y^e gold in cristentie,’ and toward tanworth he toke y^e way, he cam to adarstone ere nyght, wher y^e lord stanley lay in a dale, w^t trompets, & a goodly cōpany all that nyght they ther abode. vpon sonday they hard masse, and to a fayr field toke y^e way, the vaward lord stanley had, his brothar syr william in y^e rereward, his sonne Edward in a wyng. then came prince henry, it was agoodly syght to se y^e metynge of them, y^e lorde & y^e kynge, *vpon a bay conrsar was y^e kynge*, a lytle before y^e nyght. on y^e morrow when y^e larke gan synge, kynge henry askyd y^e waward, of y^e lord stanley whiche he grawnted, & lent to hym iiij knyghts to go w^t hym to y^e vaward, Gilbert Talbot, John Savage, ser hughe percivall & ser henri stanley. thes arayd them to y^e vaward w^t y^e kynge. The lord stanley y^e second battaile had syr willyam stanley he was y^e hyndermoste at y^e first setting. then they removyd to a hyghe mowntayne, and lookyng into a dale of v. myles compase they saw no syght for armyd men & trapped steds in iiij battayles. The dwke of norfolke avansyd his bannar so dyd yonge erle of shrisberye & *erle of Oxford*.^{*} the kyng Richard had vij score sargents y^t wer cheyned & lockyd in a row, & as many bumbards, & thowsands of morys pyks, hagge bushes, & oth. Kyng Richard lookyd into a mowntayne hye, & saw y^e bannar of y^e lord stanley, & sayd, ‘fetche y^e lord strange to me, or els he shall dye this day.’ They brought y^t lord vnto his syght & he sayd ‘for thy deathe make y^e redy.’ then answeyrd that noble knyght & sayde, ‘I cry god & y^e world mercy, Jhesus I take to witnes y^t I was nevar traytor to my kynge,’ Vpon a gentelman then called he lathome was his name, ‘and evar ye come into my contrie, grete well my gentellmen & yemen, they had a mastar, now have they none.’ then he drew a rynge of his fingar, & sayd ‘gyve this to my ladye. yf y^e fild be lost on owr partye, take my sonne y^t is myne heire, & fly into a far contrie.’ Then came a knyght to kynge Richard, and sayd, ‘it is highe tyme to loke about, loke how yowr vaward begynethe to fyght. when ye have y^e father & some & y^e yeman loke yow what deathe y^t they shall dye, ye may head all at yowr own will.’ w^t y^t fortunate worde they counteryd togethar full egarlye. whan y^e vaward began to fight kynge henry dyd full manfully, so dyd y^e erle of oxford, so dyd syr John Savage, ser Gilbert talbot dyd y^e lyke, ser hughe percivall also w^t many othar. Kynge Richard, in a

* “The erle of Oxford was on kyng Henry’s syde.”

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marris dyd stand nombred to xx. thousand Ʒ thre vndar his bannar. Syr william stanley remembringe y^e brekfast y^t he promysyd hym, downe at a bankē he hyed Ʒ set fiersly on y^e kynge, they counteryd togethar sadly y^e archers let theyr arrows flye, they shot of goomes, many a bannar began to show y^t was on Richards party, þ w^t grownde wepons they joyned, then dyed many a dowghty knyght. Then to Kynge Richard ther cam a knyght, and sayd, ‘ I hold it tyme for ye to flye, yondar stanlay his dynts be so sore agaynst them may no man stand, her is thy hors for to ryde, an othar day ye may worshiþe wyne.’ he sayd ‘ bryng me my battayll axe in my hand, and set y^e crowne of gold on my hed so hye, for by hym y^t shope bothe se and sand kynge of england this day will I dye. one foote away I will not fle whill brethe wyll hyde my^{re} brest w^t in.’ as he sayd so dyd he. he lost his lyffe. on his standard then fast they did lyght. they hewyd y^e crowne of gold from hys hed w^t dowtfull dents his deathe was dyght. the duke of norfolke dyd flye, y^e lord surrey w^t many othar mo, and boldly on here they dyd hym brynge and many a noble knyght then lost theyr lyffe w^t Richard theyr kynge. ther was slayn syr Richard Ratelyf, one of kyng Richards counsell, syr william conyers, ser Robart of brackanbery, syr Richard of Charrington. Amongst all othar, I remembar tow, sir william brand was y^e one of tho, kynge henrys standard he hevyd on hye, Ʒ vaunsyd it tyll w^t deaths dent he was stryken downe, syr Richard percivall, thurleball y^e othar hight, Kynge Richards standard he kept on hyghe tyll bothe his leggs wer cut hym fro yet to y^e grownd. he wold not let it goo whill brethe was in his brest. then they remoyd to a mountayn hyghe, withe a voyce they cryed ‘ Kynge Henry.’ the crowne of gold was delyveryd to y^e lord stanley, and vnto kynge henry then went he and delyveryd it as to y^e most worthe to were the crowne and be theyr kynge. They browght kynge Richard thethar that nyght as nakyd as evar he was borne, and in y^e newwarke was he layd that many a man might se Ʒ c^l.”

Fol. 31—33 a.

End of the
war be-
tween the
houses of
York and
Lancaster.

Conse-
quence of
the wars.

Thus ended the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, so far as the members of the house of York were concerned, in which from eighty to ninety thousand Englishmen were slain. Three kings, several princes of the blood, sixty-two nobles, one hundred and thirty-nine knights, four hundred and forty-one esquires, and six hundred and thirty-eight of the gentry of the kingdom, fell in these memorable wars.* The contest between the rival houses was not, however, an unmixed evil; probably it was more beneficial in its remote consequences than injurious in its

* “ In my remembrance,” says Philip de Comines, “ eighty princes of the blood royal of England perished in these convulsions. Those that were spared by the sword renewed their sufferings in foreign lands. I myself saw the duke of Exeter, the king’s brother-in-law, walking barefoot after the

immediate effects. Up to that time, the property, as well as the power of the nation, was chiefly divided amongst the king, the nobility, and the clergy. The great mass of the people of England were slaves, dependent upon the will, and the absolute property, of their lords, transferable like cattle, and held in nearly the same estimation. Such was their degradation, that the *honour* of hazarding their lives to settle a quarrel between the red and the white roses was too great for them to enjoy: but as every lord was obliged, by a kind of moral necessity, to take part in this widely extended contest, either on one side or the other, it became necessary for his own safety to seek the aid of his vassals; and before those vassals could be allowed to take the field, it was necessary that they should be emancipated. In this way, the feudal system, introduced before the Conquest, and consolidated by the Conqueror, was shaken to its centre; trade and commerce hastened its downfall; villanage was virtually at an end as early as the reign of Edward VI.; and in the twelfth year of Charles II. the name itself was erased from the statute books.

One of the first acts of king Henry VII. was to reverse the attainders passed against the adherents of the house of Lancaster;* this was followed by an act of confiscation against the property of the adherents of the tyrant Richard, amongst whom were sir Thomas Pilkington, sir Robert Harrington, and sir James Harrington, all of the county of Lancaster, whose estates were principally awarded to the Stanley family, for their services at the battle of Bosworth-field. As a further reward, his lordship was created earl of Derby, elected a member of his majesty's privy council, and appointed a commissioner for exercising the office of lord high steward of England. At the same time an arrangement was concluded between the earl and his wife, Margaret, countess of Richmond and Derby, the king's mother, in recompense of her jointure and dower, and ratified by the sanction of parliament.† A considerable augmentation was made to her possessions six years afterwards, by the grant of the lordships and manors of Ambursbury and Winterbourne, in the county of Wilts, and the manors of Henxstrigge and Charlton Canvile, in the county of Somerset, of which Henry VII. was seized, and which had been granted to Henry Beaufort, then cardinal Beaufort and bishop of Winchester.‡

First acts
of Henry
VII.

Confisca-
tion of
Lanca-
shire
estates.

27th Oct.

During the short reign of Edward V., a mandate was issued from the king to the sheriff of Lancaster, ordering him to proclaim within his bailiwick, that those who

Honour of
knight-
hood
forced on
men of
substance.

duke of Burgundy's train, and earning his bread by begging from door to door." Sir John Finn, in his preface to *Original Letters*, written during the reign of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III., says, that every individual of two generations of the families of Somerset and Warwick fell on the field, or on the scaffold, as victims of those bloody contests.

* Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VII. vol. vi. p. 273.

† Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. VII. vol. vi. p. 311.

‡ Rot. Parl. 7 Hen. VII. vol. vi. p. 446.

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held land or rents of the yearly value of £10, were to come into the king's presence to receive the order of knighthood; and the sheriff was further ordered diligently to inquire after the names of those who held possessions of this value, and to return them into chancery.

Final
union of
the roses.

Henry VII., in compliance with the wishes of his people, at length espoused the princess Elizabeth, and thus was accomplished the union so long wished for by an exhausted nation, between the houses of York and Lancaster.

Hen. VII. “We will unite the white rose with the red:—

Smile, heaven, upon this fair conjunction,
That long hath frown'd upon their enmity!—
What traitor hears me, and says not,—Amen?
England hath long been mad, and scarr'd herself;
The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,
The father rashly slaughter'd his own son,
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire;
All this divided York and Lancaster,
Divided, in their dire division.—
O, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royal house,
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together,
And let their heirs, (God, if thy will be so,)
Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced peace,
With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days!
Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
That would reduce these bloody days again,
And make poor England weep in streams of blood!
Let them not live to taste this land's increase,
That would with treason wound this fair land's peace!
Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives again;
That she may long live here, God say—*Amen!*”

Rich. III. Act I. Scene IV.

Sweating
sickness.

A disease hitherto unknown, which, from its symptoms, was called the “sweating sickness,” prevailed at this time in Lancashire, and in other parts of the kingdom.

1485.

Happily, the malady, which was most fatal, was of short duration, having made its appearance about the middle of September, and run its course before the end of

Symp-
toms.

October in the same year. “The complaint was a pestilent fever,” says lord Verulam, “attended by a malign vapour, which flew to the heart, and seized the

Remedies.

vital spirits; which stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. If the patient were kept in an equal temperature, both for clothes, fire, and drink,

moderately warm with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work were neither irritated by heat, nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered, and the danger was considered as past in twenty-four hours from the first attack. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendants were known. It was conceived not to be an epidemical disease, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered by the predisposition of seasons; and the speedy cessation declared as much." Fifteen years afterwards this county was visited by the plague, which spread extreme alarm through the country, and the king, to escape the danger of contagion, sailed with his family to Calais.

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Plague in
Lancashire.

This sweating sickness had so completely subsided in London, that the ceremony of the coronation, which had been fixed for the 30th. of October, took place according to appointment; on which occasion, only two elevations, and one new creation, were made in the peerage; and the parties so honoured were, Jasper earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, created earl of Derby; and Edward Covertney, created earl of Devon.

Creation
of peers.

The partiality in favour of the house of York was still felt in the north of England, and particularly in that city which gave its name to the party of the white rose. The king, to conciliate the affections of his subjects, determined to make a progress into the north of England. On his way thither, he learnt that viscount Lovel, with sir Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas his brother, had quitted the sanctuary at Colchester, in which they had taken refuge, and were again in the field, at the head of a body of insurgents. To meet the impending danger, a small force was immediately collected under the duke of Bedford, which lord Lovel, finding himself unable to resist, he dispersed his army, and fled into Lancashire, where he took up his residence in secret, under the roof of sir Thomas Broughton, of Broughton, in Furness. Having remained here for some time, and arranged a secret correspondence with the knight, he at length embarked for Flanders, the seat of all the intrigues against the existing English dynasty, carried on under the fostering care of the duchess of Burgundy, widow of Charles the Bold.

The king's
progress
to the
north.

Lovel's re-
bellion.

An opinion prevailed, propagated by the malcontents, that one of the sons of Edward IV., said to have been murdered in the Tower by order of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester, still survived; and that his murderers, smitten with remorse when they had despatched one of the children, suffered the other to escape. Richard Simon, a priest, living at Oxford, had as his pupil, the son of a baker, named Lambert Simnel, of the age of about fifteen years, a prepossessing youth, of princely presence, whom Simon concluded would fitly personate the young prince.* To aid

Lambert
Simnel, a
pretender
to the
throne.

* At one time he assumed the title of Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son of the late duke of Clarence; and at another, the title of Richard, duke of York, second son of Edward IV.

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Lands at
the Pile of
Fouldrey.

the enterprise, this juvenile pretender was sent over to Ireland, where he found many supporters of his claims, and where he was crowned as Edward VI. ; but his principal friend was the duchess of Burgundy, whose hatred to the house of Lancaster was implacable, and who, though possessed of many good qualities, seemed under the restraint of no moral principle, when engaged in the subversion of the throne of Henry VII. With the aid of the duchess, by whom Simmel was provided with two thousand troops, under the command of Martin Swart, he embarked for England in suitable vessels, commanded by captain Thomas Gerardine, and accompanied by a large number of Irish adventurers, who seemed well inclined to forget the danger to which they exposed themselves, when a crown was the prize to be gained by the successful party in the contest. Simmel and his followers landed at the Pile of Fouldrey, in the bay of Morecambe, in the county of Lancaster ; here he encamped on a common subsequently called Swart Moor, in Furness, where he drew together a number of adherents, charmed with the chivalrous character of the enterprise, and, amongst others, sir Thomas Broughton, the friend and correspondent of lord Lovel. On the breaking up of the camp, the insurgents, under John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, marched southward through Yorkshire into Nottinghamshire, where they were joined by lord Lovel, the devoted servant of the fallen tyrant, Richard III.

Battle of
Stoke-
field.

6th June,
1487.

The king, with his usual promptitude and decision, hastened to give the insurgents battle ; and having been reinforced by six thousand men, under the earl of Shrewsbury and lord Strange, accompanied by seventy knights and persons of distinction, the hostile army met at Stoke-field, near Newark. The battle, which was fought on the south side of the village, was fierce and obstinate, and continued for three hours, but at length victory declared in favour of the king. All the leaders in the rebel army were killed upon the field, including the earl of Lincoln, earl Kildare, Francis lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and sir Thomas Broughton. The number of the rebel troops slain amounted to four thousand, and of the king's forces to about half that number.* Amongst the prisoners was the pretended Edward

* It appears difficult to account for the death of so large a number as "eighty princes of blood," said by Comines to have fallen in the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, to which this battle may not inaptly be considered supplemental ; but that difficulty will be in a great measure removed, when the tragical history of the losses sustained in the person of one individual, Cecily, duchess of York, the widow of the first duke, who laid claim to the throne in the reign of Henry VI. is considered. This most unfortunate princess survived till 1487 ; and Brooke, in his "Observations illustrative of the accounts given by the ancient historical writers of the battle of Stoke-field," says, "her nephew, Humphrey, earl of Stafford, was slain at the first battle of St. Alban's, in 1455 ; his father, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who married her sister, Anne Neville, perished in 1460, at the battle of Northampton ; her husband, Richard Plantagenet, the great duke of York,

Plantagenet, alias Lambert Simnel, and the wily priest Simon, his tutor. The youth, beneath the resentment of Henry, found his level as an assistant-cook in the king's kitchen, more happy, probably, than if he had worn the king's crown; and as a reward for his merits, he was afterwards promoted to the office of one of his majesty's

when the crown of England was almost within his grasp, and her nephew, sir Thomas Neville, (son of her brother, Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury,) were slain in the same year, at the battle of Wakefield; her brother, the earl of Salisbury, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by martial law; and her second son, Edmund, earl of Rutland, was, at the same time, butchered in cold blood by lord Clifford; her half-nephews, sir John Neville, and Ralph Neville, earl of Westmoreland, perished in 1461, the former at the skirmish of Ferrybridge, or Dintingdale, and the latter at the battle of Towton; her nephew, sir Henry Neville, (son of her brother, George Neville, lord Latimer,) was made prisoner, and put to death, at the battle of Banbury, in 1469; John Tibtoft, earl of Worcester, who married her niece, Cecily, (the widow of Henry de Beauchamp, duke of Warwick,) was executed on Tower-hill, in 1470; her two nephews, Richard Neville, the great earl of Warwick, the "proud setter-up and puller-down of kings," and John Neville, marquis of Montague, were slain at the battle of Barnet, in 1471; Edward, prince of Wales, who married her great niece, Anne Neville, (daughter of her nephew, the earl of Warwick,) was most barbarously murdered, after the battle of Tewksbury, in the same year; her son George, duke of Clarence, was put to death in the Tower of London, in 1478, his wife, who was her great-niece, having previously died, as was supposed, by poison; her eldest son, king Edward IV., abandoned a warlike and active life for pleasure and excesses, which cut him off in the prime of manhood in 1483; William, lord Hastings, (the ancestor of the house of Hastings, earls of Huntingdon,) who married her niece, Katherine Neville, was, a few weeks after that event, beheaded, without even the form of a trial; her two grandsons, king Edward V. and Richard, duke of York, were murdered in the Tower of London soon afterwards; and her son-in-law, sir Thomas St. Ledger, who married her daughter, Anne Plantagenet, (by whom he had a daughter, Anne, the ancestress of the present family of Manners, dukes of Rutland,) was executed in the same year at Exeter, for treason, in joining the unsuccessful rebellion of the great duke of Buckingham; and the duke, who was her great nephew, being deserted by his forces, and the place of his retreat discovered, was about the same time taken and beheaded; her grandson, Edward, prince of Wales, (son of king Richard III. and Queen Anne, her niece, through whom she naturally expected the honour of being the ancestress of a long line of English monarchs,) died in 1484; and the childless queen, his mother, a few months afterwards, followed him to the tomb; her youngest son, king Richard III. an excellent monarch and valiant soldier, but an ambitious and wicked man, was slain at the battle of Bosworth, in 1485; and her grandson, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, perished in 1487, at the battle of Stoke. She died in 1495; after three princes of her body had succeeded to the crown of England, (without taking into account her grand-daughter, Elizabeth Plantagenet, queen of Henry VII.) and four had been murdered; and, by her death, was saved the additional affliction of the loss of her grandson, Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, the last male of the house of Plantagenet, who was doomed to imprisonment for life, and was, at length, inhumanly put to death, under the colour of a judicial proceeding, in 1499, by that cold, mean, and heartless usurper, Henry VII."

As to the historical facts contained in this interesting note, they are indubitable; but had Mr. Brooke lived in the fifteenth century, he would certainly have been a Yorkist, and a strong bias towards the princes and sovereigns of that house pervades his "Observations."

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falconers. As for Simon, he was committed to prison, and doomed to perpetual incarceration. The king rewarded the services of lord Strange by conferring upon his father, lord Stanley, the confiscated estates of sir Thomas Broughton.

Confisca-
tion of sir
Thomas
Brough-
ton's
estates.

“ Stout Broughton, that had stood
With York even from the first, there lastly gave his blood
To that well-foughten field.”

DRAYTON'S POLY-OLBION.

“ With this unhappy gentleman, the family of Broughton, which had flourished for many centuries, and had contracted alliances with most of the principal families in these parts, was extinguished in Furness ; for *Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*.”*

Punish-
ment of
the rebels.

After the battle of Stoke, the king made another journey into the northern counties, but it was rather an itinerant circuit of justice, to try and sentence the rebels, than a royal progress. Strict inquisition was made into the conduct of the offenders, whether they had been principals or abettors in the late rebellion. Many persons were sentenced to death, and executed, but the prevailing punishment was by fine and confiscation, which spared life, but raised money—at all times the distinguishing characteristic of king Henry's policy.

Confirma-
tion of
grant to
sir Wm.
Stanley.

In the reign of Richard III. sir William Stanley became seized of certain royal demesne lands, “ as a fee of the manors of Pykhill, Sessewyke, and Bedewall, the moite of the manors of Istoid, Hewlyngton, Cobham, Hem, Wrexham, Burton, Alyngton, Esclusham, Eglosecle, Ruyaban, Abynbury, Dynull, Morton Fabror', Minere, Osbaston, Sonford, Oseleston ; the moite of the castell, lordship and manor of Dynesbram ; castell, lordship and town of Lyone, otherwise called the Holte, the moite of the lordship, manors and lands of Hewelyngton, Bromfeld, Yale, Wrexham, and Ahmore, with the advowsons of the moite of the church of Grefford, in Wales, and marche of Wales, unto the countie of Shropshire adjoining.” This grant was made to the gallant knight, partly, no doubt, of the royal bounty, but not wholly so, as other manors and lands, as well as money, were given by him to the crown on the grant being ratified to sir William. After the change of the dynasty, it became a matter of doubt, whether the grant made by king Richard was of sufficient validity to confer an undisputed title ; and, for the purpose of removing all uncertainty on the subject, an act was passed in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VII. confirming the royal grant to sir William Stanley, and to his heirs for ever.†

Abduc-
tion.

The crime of abduction, rendered somewhat memorable in Lancashire in modern times, prevailed as early as the reign of Henry VII., and, by an act of that monarch,

* West's Furness, synopsis of families, p. 210.

† Rot. Parl. 4 Henry VII. vol. vi. p. 417.

the taking and carrying away of a woman forcibly and against her will (except female wards and bond-women) was made a capital offence ; parliament conceiving, that the obtaining of a woman by force, whatever assent might afterwards follow, was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.*

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The failure of the pretensions of Lambert Simnel served only to whet the invention of his noble patroness, the duchess of Burgundy, who, with an assiduity and malignity that belonged to her character, got up a new tragedy, in which Perkin Warbeck, an adroit youth, the son of a renegade Jew, was to act the principal part. The reputed father of this new pretender to the throne had, it appears, been in favour with Edward IV. and was supposed to have surrendered his wife to the embraces of that licentious prince; so that the extraordinary resemblance which it is said young Perkin bore to Edward, his godfather, was by no means miraculous. Having found this treasure, the duchess of Burgundy kept him under her tuition for a considerable time, polishing his manners up to the standard of court refinement, and instructing him in all the particulars that it concerned Richard Plantagenet to know, regarding both his royal parents and his elder brother, and his kinsfolk; with all which it was essential that he should be perfectly acquainted, for the due acting of his princely part. To stimulate his ambition, she set before him the glories of a crown; and assured him, that if he should even fail in his enterprise, he should at all times find an asylum in her court. That the less suspicion might attach to the "young prince," he was sent through Portugal to Ireland, and disembarked at Cork. Here he announced his claims to the throne of England, and, having paved his way, as he conceived, in that country, he embarked for France, where his court was attended by many of the leading persons in Paris. From thence he returned into Flanders, for the purpose, as he pretended, of paying a first visit to his aunt of Burgundy. The duchess affected never to have seen him before, and scrutinized his claims with great severity, in order to discover whether he was the real duke of York. The answers returned to her questions, which were asked in the presence of a number of persons of her court, seemed to astonish the inquirer. She feigned to be quite transported with joy and wonder at the miraculous deliverances of her nephew; and having given expression to her feelings, she conferred upon him the title of "*The White Rose of England*," appointing him a guard for his royal person. Attracted by the news of this regal star, which had risen on the continent, sir Robert Clifford embarked for Flanders, to ascertain the identity of the young prince; and, after having examined him with great minuteness, he wrote to England to say, that he knew Richard duke of York as well as he knew his own son, and this was unquestionably that prince. The king, though a silent, was by no

Perkin
Warbeck,
another
pretender.

* Lord Verulam's history, p. 65.

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means an inactive observer of the drama which was acting, and in which he had so deep an interest. His inquiries at home, and his emissaries abroad, convinced him that young Warbeck was an impostor; and he made an earnest representation to the archduke Philip, by a special embassy, requiring that Perkin might be dismissed from his court in the same manner as pirates and other impostors were treated, being accounted the common enemies of mankind. The reply to this application was, that the archduke had no control over the possessions of the duchess dowager, who was absolute in the lands of her dowry.

A number
of his
adherents
executed.

The king now determined to seize several of the persons in this country, by whose aid the young pretender was partly upheld and supported. Amongst a number of others, both of the laity and clergy, sir Simon Radcliffe, lord Fitzwater, sir Simon Mountford, sir Thomas Thwaites, and William Dawbigney, were all brought to trial; and being found guilty of conspiring to dethrone the king, they were sentenced to death, and beheaded. It was now ascertained that sir Robert Clifford had been induced to embark in the king's service as a state informer. On his return to England from Flanders, he sought an audience of the king in council, and, affecting great contrition, he fell down at his sovereign's feet, and besought his forgiveness—of which he had already been assured. As a return for the royal clemency, he declared his readiness to communicate all that he knew of the parties who had been in league with Warbeck, and, amongst others, he accused sir William Stanley, the king's chamberlain, who was at that moment in the royal presence.

Sir Wm.
Stanley
accused.

The king received this information with amazement!—that a man who had served him so nobly, who had rescued him from the most imminent peril in the hour of battle, and who had crowned him in the field; that a man who enjoyed by his favour so large a fortune, and such high elevation in the state, a man allied closely with his royal master by family connexion, and to whom he had entrusted his person, should prove a traitor,—was incredible. Clifford was requested to reconsider his charge, and warned of the consequences of repeating a false accusation: he persisted, however, in his assertions, and offered to justify his accusation, upon his soul and upon his life. The next day sir William was examined before the lords of the council; when he neither denied, or attempted to extenuate, his guilt. His reliance for pardon, it is said, rested principally upon his former services, and upon the intercession of his brother, the earl of Derby; but both these hopes failed him. In about six weeks from the time when the accusation was first preferred by sir Robert Clifford, sir William Stanley was arraigned of high treason, and, being found guilty, was condemned to suffer the utmost penalty of the law, and soon after beheaded. The specific crime charged against sir William Stanley has never been satisfactorily ascertained; but it is said, that, in a conversation with sir Robert Clifford, he

Found
guilty, and
executed,
15 Feb.
1495.

observed, "That if he were sure that Perkin Warbeck was king Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him." This the judges construed into conditional treason; and the preference that the expression implied, for the claims to the crown, of the house of York, over that of the house of Lancaster, stung Henry to the quick. The true cause, however, of the extreme severity towards sir William Stanley was probably his wealth, as he was one of the richest subjects in England, there having been found in his castle of Holt forty thousand marks, exclusive of plate, jewels, and other effects; to which is to be added, three thousand pounds a year in land. This was a temptation too alluring for a monarch of the king's disposition to resist; and the general opinion is, that sir William Stanley was quite as much the victim of Henry's cupidity, as of his own alleged treason. Some disquietude, it is said, lurked in the mind of sir William, whose ambition had prompted him to aspire to the vacant earldom of Chester, the ancient dignity of Rundle, viscount Bayeux, the Norman baron. This request having been refused, his allegiance is supposed to have been shaken; and the king, having become suspicious that his love was turned into hate, was glad of an occasion to remove from his court and person, one to whom he was under infinite obligation.

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It is by no means clear that sir Robert Clifford, the state informer, was not from the beginning an emissary of the king, who maintained a widely extended system of *espionage*, and that he did not go over to Flanders with his consent, and by his connivance. This supposition, Bacon (lord Verulam,) rejects, on the ground that sir Robert never afterwards received that degree of confidence with the king which he enjoyed before he left England; but this is a slender foundation on which to hazard the conjecture, seeing that spies and their employers must, in the nature of things, generally appear to stand in a state of alienation, if not of actual hostility. The parliament, which assembled in the same year, passed an act of attainder against sir William Stanley, by which all his honours, castles, manors, lordships, and other possessions, were confiscated, and forfeited to the king, and thus swept into the general mass of forfeitures which filled the royal coffers.*

Equivocal
character
of Clif-
ford.

In the midst of all the cares of state, Henry found sufficient leisure in the summer, after the execution of sir William Stanley, to visit his mother, for whom he always cherished the most affectionate regard, and his step-father, the earl of Derby, at Knowsley, and at Latham, in this county. So far was the earl from expressing any hostility towards the king on account of the recent execution of his brother, that he gave all possible effect to the royal progress, and entertained his guest with a sumptuous hospitality, such as has seldom been witnessed in these

The king's
visit to
Lanca-
shire.

* Rot. Parl. 11 Henry VII. vol. vi. p. 503.

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parts. To promote the king's accommodation, the noble lord built a bridge over the river Mersey at Warrington, for the passage of himself and his suite ; which bridge has been found of so much public utility, as to afford a perpetual monument of the visit of Henry VII. to Lancashire. The countess of Richmond and Derby not only returned her son's affection, but she extended also her love to the queen and her children ; and the following letter, written by her to Thomas Boteler, earl of Ormond, chamberlain to the queen, while he was on a foreign embassy, is strongly characteristic of her maternal affection :—

“ MY LORD CHAMBYRLAYN, ”

Letter of
the coun-
tess of
Rich-
mond

“ Y thanke you hertyly that ye lyste soo sone remēbyr me w^t my glovys the whyche wer ryght good save they wer to myche for my hand, y thynke the ladyes ȳ that partyes to gret ladyes aȝ, and acordyng to ther gret astate they have gret personagē, as for newes her y ame seure ye shaft have more seurte theñ y can send yow, blessed be god the kyng the quenīe and aȝ eur suet chyldryn be yn good hele, the quenīe hathe be a lytyl crased, but now she ys weȝ god be thankyd, her sykenes ys soo good as y wuld but y truste hastyly yt shaft w^t godd^e grasse whom y pray gyve yow good sped ȳ your gret maters and bryng you weȝ and soone hōme, wrety at Shene the xxv. day of aprell.

“ To my lord

“ The quenys chambyrlayn.”

The progress of the king on his northern tour to Lancashire commenced on the 20th of June, 1495, and terminated on the 3rd of October in the same year. In the account of the “ privy purse expenses of Henry VII.” the charges incurred on this journey are enumerated with great particularity, and the successive stages of the royal route, both going and coming, are marked with the king's accustomed precision, in the following terms :—

“ *June* 21. At Wicombe. 22. At Notley. 25. At Wodestok.

“ 28. For making the King's bonefuyr, 10^s.

“ *July* 1. At Cleping-norton.

“ 2. At Evesham. 3. At Tukesbury. 4. At Wours.

“ 5. To Brom riding to Northamptonshire and Ruteland with five lettres, 10^s

- “ 9. To a preste that was the King's scolemaster, £2.
- “ To a tumbler opon the rope in rewarde, 3^s. 4^d.
- “ 10. At Biewdeley. 12. At Ludlow. 15. At Skrewsbury.
- “ 16. At Cumbemere Abbey.
- “ To an archer of th' archeduc in rewarde, £4.
- “ 17. At Holte. 18. At Chester.
- “ To Topliff the Juge of Ireland, £2.
- “ 23. To John Reding for vitailing, waging of four shippis at Fowey and Plymouth, with 470 [men] for six weeks to be opon the sea, £350. 2^s. 9^d.
- “ For his costs riding theder with the money, £6. 13^s. 4^d.
- “ To Sir Geffrey for vitailing, hiring of shippes, hiring of horses, for his olde costs, & for his costs now, in grosse, £42. 17^s. 4^d.
- “ To the Pycard of Chester hired for a moneth, to carry men into Ireland, £4. 13^s. 2^d.
- “ To a Spanyard for carrying seventy men over into Irelande at one tyme, £10.
- “ To William Dampont for four tun of bere, with the carriage and empty pipes, £4. 11^s. 2^d.
- “ At Vaile Roiall Abbey.
- “ To one that leped at Chestre, 6^s. 8^d.
- “ For the wags of eleven pety captanes for fourteen days, every of them 9^d by day, £5. 15^s. 6^d.
- (Equal to about six shillings per day at the present time.)
- “ For their condyut money, £1. 9^s. 3^d.
- “ To the wags of 149 fotemen for fourteen days, every of them 6^d. by day, £101. 10^s. 6^d.
- “ To their condyt money, £26. 6^s. 8^d.
- “ For 142 jackets, at 1^s. 6^d. the pece, £13. 11^s.
- “ To fifty-five crosset men, every of them 1^s. £2. 15^s.
- “ *July* 28. At Whonwick (Winwick).
- “ 20. At Lathom.
- “ To Sir Richard Pole for 200 jacquetts, price of every pece 1^s. 6^d. £15.
- Husband of Margaret Plantagenet, daughter of George Duke of Clarence,
and afterwards Countess of Salisbury.
- “ For the wages of 100 horsemen for fourteen days, every of them 9^d by day, £52. 10^s.
- “ For their condyut for 3 days, every of them 9^d by day, £11. 5^s.
- “ For the wages of 100 fotemen for fourteen days, every of them 6^d. by day, £35.

To swell the King's retinue.

“ For their conduyt for four days, every of them 6^d. by day, £10.

“ For shipping, vitailing, and setting over the see the foresaid 200 men with an 100 horses, £13. 6^s. 8^d.

“ To the shirif awayting upon S^r Sampson for the safe conduyt of the forsaid souleours, £2.

“ *Aug.* 2. To Picard, a herrald of Fraunce, in rewarde, £6. 13^s. 4^d.

“ To the women that songe before the Kinge and the Quene in reward, 6^s. 8^d.

From which it appears that the King was accompanied in this progress by
the Queen.

“ 3. At Knowsley.

“ 4. At Warrington.

“ 5. At Manchestre.

“ 6. At Maxfeld. 8. At Newcastle. 10. At Strafford. 11. At Lychefeld.
12. At Burton. 13. At Derby. 28. At Lughburgh. 29. At Leye.

“ 31. To thenbassador of Scotland.

“ For charging and discharging, waching and attending upon the Kinges jewels from Shene to Nottingham, £20.

“ *Sep.* 1. At Walsted.

“ To the Erle of Kildare in reward, £6. 13^s. 4^d.

“ For the costs and charges of the Enbassador's horses at Nottingham and Leye, £8. 19^s. 1^d.

“ 4. At Colyweston. 11. At Rekyng.

“ 11. To James Keyley for King Richard [III.] tombe, £10. 1^s.

“ 12. At Northampton.

“ To David Malpas, for the reparacone done and made at Rokyngham Castell, £6. 19^s 9^d.

“ 16. At Banbury. 19. At Wodestok.

“ 19. For gloves and Lantory cheese, 4^s.

“ 25. To the Juge of Ireland in rewarde, £3. 6^s. 8^d.

“ 27. For five paire of gloves by Hugh Denes, 1^s. 8^d.

“ 29. At Newehne.

“ To Dr. Maye for finding of John Phelps at Oxon, £2.

“ 33. At Birsham. Oct. 1. At Windesor.

“ To the children for the Kings spowres, 4^s.

“ *Oct.* 3. At Shene. 16. At Westminster.”

During the king's residence at Latham, Perkin Warbeck having collected a considerable armament, attempted a landing on the coast of Kent; but this enterprise, like all the others in which he embarked, utterly failed. He next sailed for Scotland, where he was received with great favour by the Scotch king. Here he told his pathetic story with much effect, representing, that "one Henry Tudor, the son of Edmund Tudor, had usurped that throne, of which he had been deprived by his uncle, Richard of Gloucester. Henry, not content with displacing him from the throne, had laboured to compass his death and ruin; the justice of his cause, however, was so manifest to his most christian majesty Charles, king of France, and to the lady duchess of Burgundy, his dear aunt, that they not only acknowledged his title to the English crown, but were ready to assist him in obtaining it." The king so far supported the claims of his interesting young guest, that he allowed him to take to wife Lady Katherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a lady of great beauty, and of high accomplishments. The next step was to penetrate into England by the northern borders, and to erect his standard in Northumberland. Here Perkin issued a "royal proclamation,"* inviting all loyal subjects to repair to his standard, and holding out the most alluring promises to those who embraced his cause. All these blandishments failed of success. The people were insensible to the demand made upon their loyalty, and the expedition ended in a precipitate retreat, but not till the Scotch had plundered and laid waste the county of Northumberland.

His next and final attempt was upon the coast of Cornwall, where a recent insurrection, which terminated in the defeat of the rebels upon Blackheath, seemed to have prepared the people for his reception. The first appearance of Perkin was at Bodmin, where he was joined by about three thousand of the inhabitants of that town and the neighboring district. Thus encouraged, he marched to the city of Exeter, which he summoned to surrender in the name of "Richard IV., king of England." Instead of dismay, this invasion excited nothing but joy and derision in the king's court. Speaking of Perkin and his followers, who were many of them persons of decayed fortune, and a number of others absolute felons, Henry said, "The king of Rake-hells has landed in the west, and I hope I shall have the honour of an interview with him." The king lost not a moment in despatching the lord chamberlain, lord Brook, and sir Rice ap Thomas, with a light force, to Exeter, to relieve the city, charging them to announce that he was on his march in person, at the head of the royal army. All these preparations were rendered unnecessary by the gentry of the county having collected a force sufficient to alarm the invaders, who suddenly raised the siege of Exeter, and marched to Taunton. From this place Perkin Warbeck fled in the night, attended by about sixty horsemen, to Bewley, in the

* Sir Robert Cotton's MSS.

CHAP.
XI.

New Forest, where he shut himself up for safety in the sanctuary of that place, alleging, that he foresaw the carnage that would ensue, and he could not endure to see the blood of his subjects spilt! Lady Katherine Gordon, who had followed the fortunes of her husband, whom she tenderly loved, was captured at St. Michael's, in Cornwall, by the king's troops, and, being taken to court, she was treated by the queen with great kindness, and even affection. Her beauty was the theme of general admiration, and, being extremely fair, the title given to her husband by the duchess of Burgundy was transferred to his lady, who was henceforth called "*The White Rose*." The pretender, Perkin, on a promise of pardon from the king, surrendered himself into his hands. On being brought to London, he confessed the imposture, and became an object of scorn rather than of loyal regard. Having formed a conspiracy, as was alleged, with Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, the eldest son of the late duke of Clarence, who had been kept a prisoner in the Tower from his infancy, he was brought to trial for high treason, found guilty, and afterwards executed at Tyburn. The earl of Warwick, his accomplice, was also convicted, and beheaded on Tower Hill, in whom fell the last of the male line of the Plantagenets.*

Execution
of the last
male of the
Planta-
genets.

The king, no longer exposed to the danger of losing his throne, surrendered himself to that passion, which, when inordinately cherished, strengthens with age, and outlives all other vices.† The sums which flowed into the royal coffers from the arbitrary exactions of Epsom and Dudley were immense; and the strictness with which the account of the king's privy purse was kept is at once amusing and instructive. In these accounts, from the year 1491 to 1505, amongst an immense number of other items of expenditure, the following appear:—

The king's
privy
purse.

* Contemporary historians describe this young prince in their strong, but homely terms, as reduced to the most abject state of imbecility by his long confinement, and by his almost entire exclusion from human intercourse: "he was," says Holinshed, "a very innocent." Hall says, "being kept for fifteen years without company of men, or sight of beasts, he could not discern a goose from a capon."

† Among other modes of raising money, the king had frequently recourse to subsidies; a levy of this kind was made in 1496, when the persons appointed to be commissioners for Lancashire, along with the justices of the peace, were

Edmundus Trafford Mil',

Thomas Lawrence Arm'

Johies Talbot Mil',

Thomas Hesketh Arm'.

It is due to the king, however, to say, that he did from time to time award allowances from the revenues of the duchy of Lancaster for the relief of the public burdens, as appears by the following items in the acts of the first and eleventh years of his reign:—

1485,

First, of the General Receivour of the Duchie of Lancastre . . . mm. cccciii. xiiii. s. vi. ob.

1495,

First, of the Generall Receyvour of the Du . . . mm. cccciii. xiiii. s. vi. ob.

	£.	s.	d.	CHAP. XI.
Money given to Sir Wm. Stanley at his execution	10	0	0	
Paid for Sir William Stanley's buryall at Syon	15	19	0	
Paid to Simon Digby in full payment for the buriall of Sir Wm. Stanley	2	0	0	
Paid to Robert Suthewell for horses, sadells, and other neces- sarys bought for the conveyance of my Lady Kateryn Hunt-leye, (The White Rose)	7	13	4	
Paid to my Lord Strange in reward	40	0	0	
Paid to Sir Edward Stanley in reward	26	13	4	
Paid for making of the boncfuyr	2	0	0	
Paid to Sir Gilbert Talbot going on an embassade to Rome, for his costs	5	0	0	
&c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c.				

Towards the close of his reign, the king displayed great anxiety to bring a "celestial honour," as it was called, into the house of Lancaster. To accomplish this object, he sent an embassy to Rome, to importune the new pope Julius II. to canonize Henry VI.; but upon what ground, except that he had, when Henry VII. was a boy, predicted that he should one day fill the throne of England, it is difficult to conjecture. His holiness referred the matter to certain cardinals, to take the verification of the deceased monarch's holy acts and miracles; but these were not sufficiently obvious to entitle him to the dignity of the calendar, and the negotiation was abandoned in despair.

Failure of
an attempt
to obtain
celestial
honour
for the
house of
Lancaster.

A MS. in the Harleian Collection,* found amongst the papers of Fox the Martyrologist, entitled "*De Miraculis Beatissimi Militis Xpi Henrici Vj*," consisting of about 150 folio closely written pages, contains an account of a vast number of reputed miracles performed by this monarch, of which the following may be taken as specimens.

- "How Richard Whytby Priest of Mount St. Michaels was long ill of a Fever, & at last miraculously cured by journeying to the Tomb of Henry VI." [Folio 113 b.]
- "John called Robynson, who had been blind ten years, recovered his sight by visiting Henry's Tomb." [Folio 97 b.]
- "How Henry Lancaster, afflicted with Fever, was miraculously cured in three days by the appearance of that blessed Prince Henry VI. in the sky." [Folio 98.]
- "How a girl called Joan Knyght who was nearly killed with a bone sticking in her throat, and considered dead, on the by-standers invoking Henry VI. vomited the bone & was restored to health." [Folio 119 b.]

* Cod. 423.

CHAP.
XI.Reason-
able aids.

One of the last acts of the parliament of Henry VII. was to answer a demand for two “reasonable aids;” the one for making a knight of his eldest son Arthur, now deceased, and the other for the marriage of his eldest daughter (from which marriage sprang the Stuart dynasty in England) to the king of Scotland, and also for the “great and inestimable charges” which he had incurred for the defence of the realm. Parliament having duly considered these demands, and being fully aware of the difficulty and discontent which would arise from the aids being levied according to the ancient tenors of the kingdom, compounded for them by presenting the king with forty thousand pounds, towards which sum the contribution for Lancashire, and the commissioners employed in its collection, were as follow:—

Thomas Boteler, Knyght,	} cccxviii. iiſ. iiii. ob. ȝ.
John Bothe, Knyght,	
Pears Lee, Knyght,	
Richard Bold, Knyght,	
John Sowthworth, Knyght,	
Thomas Laurence, Knyght,	
William Thornborough, Esquyer,	
Cutberd Clyfton, Esquyer,	

Immense
wealth of
the king.

The death of the king put the usual termination to the accumulation of wealth. “He left,” says lord Verulam, “mostly in secret places, vnder his owne Key and keeping, at *Richmond*, treasure of store, that amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to have done) vnto the Summe of neare Eighteene hundred thousand pounds Sterling; a huge Masse of *Money*, even for these times.”

From the time of Henry VII. the distinction of the Roses, as a badge of party, fell entirely into disuse. The origin of this distinction may be traced back to the time of John of Gaunt, whose device was a *red* rose, and Edmund of Langley, whose device was a *white* rose. “These two factions,” says Selden, “afterwards, as for cognizance of their descent and inclinations, were by the same flowers distinguished,” till the white rose and the red were united, on the marriage of Henry VII. with the princess Elizabeth.

Chap. XXX.

The 16th century.—Henry VIII. ascends the throne.—Invasion of England by the Scots.—Battle of Flodden Field.—The king's letter of thanks to sir Edward Stanley, &c.—Lord-lieutenants first appointed.—Proclamation to the sheriff of Lancaster on menaced Scotch invasion.—The Reformation.—Religious persecution.—Visitation of the monasteries.—Deplorable ignorance of the clergy.—Report of the commissioners on the Lancashire monasteries.—Dissolution of the lesser monasteries.—Original certificate of the value of certain monasteries in Lancashire.—Progress of a suffragan in Lancashire.—Insurrections produced by the dissolution of the monasteries.—The pilgrimage of grace.—Letter from the king to the archbishop of York and lord Darcy.—Original warrants (*fac similes*) from the king to sir Roger Bradshawe and sir Thomas Langton, knights.—Dispersion of the rebel army.—Reassemble.—Final dispersion.—Letter from the earl of Derby to the king, on the taking of Whalley abbey.—First draught of Henry VIII.'s letter to the earl of Sussex, on the rebellion in the north, &c.—Renewed rebellion in the north.—Execution of the abbot of Whalley and others.—Dissolution of the larger monasteries.—First publication of the Bible in English.—Excommunication of the king.—List of Lancashire monasteries.—Their revenues administered by the duchy.—Aggregate value of the dissolved monasteries.—Bishopric of Chester, &c. erected.—List of chantries in Lancashire.—Decayed towns in Lancashire.—Privilege of sanctuary.—The king's death.



HE sixteenth century, during almost the whole of which period the throne of England was occupied by Henry VIII. and his children, affords abundant materials for both the general and the local history of the county of Lancaster. The reformation of the established church, by which so many of the religious institutions of the country were dissolved, and the erection of a new bishopric, in which this county was included, could not fail materially to affect our ecclesiastical institutions; while the persecutions on account

CHAP.
XII.

The 16th
century.

of the ever-varying religion of the state, created a degree of public excitement that has seldom had a parallel in British history. In the north, the impression produced by these memorable changes was deeper than in the south; and in Lancashire, where the recusants were more numerous than in any other county, both the clergy and the laity awaited the result of the contest of the rival churches of England and Rome with an anxiety fully commensurate with the important interests it involved. Nor

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XII.

were the military and naval events of this period less interesting. The battle of Flodden Field, the wars with France, the almost incessant contests with Ireland, and the menaced invasion of this country by Spain, which terminated in the destruction of the “invincible armada,” filled the whole nation with military ardour; and the ample official correspondence between the lieutenancy in the county of Lancaster and the successive ministers of state, shews that this county took its full share in the great events, by which the destiny of the nation was fixed, and its independence for ever secured.

Henry
VIII. as-
cends the
throne.

No prince ever ascended the throne of England under circumstances more auspicious than those which attended the elevation of Henry VIII. At peace with foreign nations, in the enjoyment of an undisputed title to the throne, with a treasury full almost to repletion, and in possession of the affections of his people, he had nothing to wish for, and nothing to dread, except the impetuosity of his own passions. His venerable grandmother, the countess of Richmond and Derby, had survived her son, Henry VII., and offered her valuable council and assistance in the formation of the young king’s cabinet, at the head of which stood the archbishop of Canterbury. The countess lived to see the hope of her old age married to Catherine of Arragon, the “virgin widow” of his deceased brother Arthur, and died soon after the consummation of that unhappy union.

Invasion
of Eng-
land by
the Scots.

A few years served to engage the king in a war with France, and to awaken the dormant feelings of hostility entertained towards England by the Scottish nation. To prosecute his operations with success, James IV., king of Scotland, passed the English frontier at the head of fifty thousand men,* and menaced the adjoining shores with his invading army. To repel this formidable invasion, large levies, principally of the tenantry of the great landed proprietors, were raised in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, York, and Westmoreland, which were placed, by the direction of the queen regent,† under the command of Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and which, with the addition of five thousand regular troops, swelled the amount of the English army to twenty-six thousand men. The earl having marched from Pontefract by the route of Bolton Castle, the two armies met on the field of Flodden, near the foot of the Cheviot Hills, on the margin of the vale of Tweed. The earl of Surrey, having divided his forces into two parts, confided the vanguard to the command of his son, lord Howard, the lord admiral; and the rear he headed himself. Sir Edmund Howard commanded

Battle of
Flodden
Field.
Sept. 9,
1513.

* The official account, written by the lord admiral, says eighty thousand; but numbers of these were, no doubt, the hangers-on of the army, who had accompanied their friends, to partake of their expected plunder.

† The king was at that time personally engaged in the wars in France, while Catherine, emulating the example of queen Philippa, (see chap. ix. p. 331.) was left to repel the Scotch invaders.

the right wing, and sir Edward Stanley the left wing of the English army. On leading his followers to the field, the earl exclaimed, "Now, good fellows, do like Englishmen this day!" The right wing of the vanguard, under sir Edmund Howard, overwhelmed by a large body of Scottish spearmen, commanded by lord Home, narrowly escaped annihilation by the timely arrival of the Bastard Heron, with a numerous body of outlaws, who maintained a dubious contest, till the lord Dacre, with a reserve of fifteen thousand horse, charged the spearmen, and put them to flight. The English vanguard, under the lord admiral, fought like heroes, and, after slaying the earls of Errol and Crawford, dispersed their forces in every direction. The commanders of the conflicting armies, the earl of Surrey, and the Scottish king, with the chosen warriors of their respective armies, were opposed to each other. James fought on foot, surrounded by thousands of his men, cased in armour, which resisted the arrows of the English archers: marching with a steady step towards the royal standard of England, he conceived this trophy of victory to be almost within his grasp, and was congratulating himself on the glories that awaited him, when sir Edward Stanley, leading the left wing of the English army, composed principally of the Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire levies, defeated the earls of Argyle and Lennox, and turned the fortune of the day. The Scotch ranks, harassed by the murderous discharges of the archers, and the tremendous blows of the bill-men, fell into disorder; when Stanley, seizing the moment of panic, chased them over the hill, and, wheeling to the right, led his followers against the rear of the main Scotch army under king James, and thus placed him between two fires. In vain did the gallant monarch endeavour to penetrate the hostile ranks by which he was environed; the moment of his destiny was at hand, and he fell a lifeless corpse upon the field, within a spear's length of the feet of the earl of Surrey. The battle, which began about five o'clock in the afternoon, terminated at night-fall, and the pursuit was continued for only four miles. On the part of the Scotch, ten thousand warriors were slain; amongst whom were not only the king, but his natural son, the archbishop of St. Andrews, with two other bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, five eldest sons of barons, and fifty other men of distinction.* Six thousand horses were taken, with the whole park of the Scotch artillery, and about eight thousand prisoners. The gallantry of the Lancashire men at the memorable battle of Flodden-field has, at all times, been a subject of exultation on the part of the inhabitants of this county. That their favourite leader, sir Edward Stanley, should have, by his skill and courage, contributed so essentially to turn the fate of the day, and that those other gallant knights, sir William Molineux of Sefton, sir Edward Norris of Speke, and sir Richard Asshton of Middleton, should have co-operated

* Lord Thomas Howard's official account.

so efficiently with their leader, will long be mentioned with praise, by those who cherish the memory of gallant deeds at arms, and combine with them the localities of the respective contingents.

The records of the day are full of the achievements of the heroes of Flodden-field, which are celebrated in prose and in rhyme; and an ancient MS. in the Harleian collection in the British Museum,† records these valiant deeds in a strain of eulogium, which it would be inexcusable wholly to omit. The poem is contained in nine fits, or cantos, occupying sixty-six closely written quarto pages, and opens with the following argument:—

“ Heare is the Famous historie or Songe called Floodan Field, and in it shal be
 “ declare how whyle King Henrie the Eight was in France, the King of Scoots
 “ called James, the Fowerth of that name, Invaied the Realme of England, And
 “ how hee was Incountred wth all att a place called Branton, on Floodan Hill, By the
 “ Earle of Surry Live Tennant Generall for the Kinge, wth his sonne Lord Thomas
 “ Haworth, the great Admirall of England wth the Helpe of dyvers Lords &
 “ Knights in the North Countrie, As the Lord Dakers of the North the Lord Scrope
 “ of Bolton, wth the most Corragious Knight S^r Edward Standley, whoe for his
 “ prowis and valliantnes shewed att the said Battell, was made Lord Mount Eagle
 “ as the Sequell declareth.”

“ Here followeth the first Fitt.”

“ Now will I cease, for to reeyte
 Kinge Henrie affayres, in France so wyde,
 And of domesticke warrs Ile writte
 W^{ch} in his abeence did betyd,
 A fearefull field, in verce to Fraunce,
 I meane if that to marke yee list
 O Floodan Mounte, thy fearefull name
 Doth sore affraye, my trimblinge Fist
 Almightye Mars, Thou me admitt
 For to discowrs, wth soundinge prayse
 This Bloodie Field, this Fearfull Fight,
 W^{ch} fought was in our fathers days.
 Yee Muses all,” &c.

* * * * *

“ Then for the *Earle of Surry* hee sente,
 And Regente of the North him made,
 And bad him if the Scoots were bente
 The Northern Borders to Invaied,

[Fol. 4.]

That he should Raise a Royall Band
 In Yorkshire, and in Bushoppricke,
 In Westmerland and Comberland,
 In Lancashire and Cheshire eake.
 And if thou need Northvmberland,
 Quoth hee theare is stronge men & stoute,
 W^{ch} will not sticke if need doc stand,
 To fight on Horsebacke and on foote.
 There is the doughtie Dakers, olde
 Wardor of the West Marche is hee.
 There is the Bowes of *Kendale* bolde
 W^{ch} ferce will feight, and never flee.
 There is S^r Edward Standley stowte
 For Marshall skill cleare wth out make,
 Of *Laytham Howse*, by Lyne came out
 Whose blood will never torne theire backe.
 All Lancashire will live and dy,
 Wth him, soe cheifly will Cheshire,
 For through his fathers force quoth hee,
 This kingdome first came to my Syre," &c.

“ The 5th Fitt followeth.”

[Fol. 34.]

“ Now lyke a Captayne bould hee brought
 A band of lustie ladds elecke,
 Whose curious Cootts commily wrought
 Wth dreedfull Dragons weare bedecte,
 From Pennigant to Pendle Hill,
 From Linton and long Addingham,
 And all that Craven Crofts did till;
 They with the lustie Clifford came,
 All Stamcliffe hundred went wth him,
 Wth striplings strong from wharledale,
 And all that Hawton hills did clim,
 Wth Longtrele eke and litle Dale,
 Whose Milk Seeds fellowes Fillish breed,
 Well band did sounding Bow vpe bend,
 All such as Horton Fells had seed,
 On Cliffords Banner did attend, &c.

[Fol. 37.]

Next whome S^r Willam Percy prowde,
 Whente wth the Earle Pearcie's power,
 From Lancashire of lustie blood,
 A Thousand Souldiers stiffe in stower.
 Then the Earle himselfe cann vndertake
 Of the reareguard the regimente
 Whom Barrons bold did bravely backe,
 And Southeren Souldiers seemly bente,

Next whome in place was nexed nere
 Lord Scroope of Bolton, sterne and stowte,
 On horsebaeke who had not his Peere,
 Nor Englisheman Scootts more did doubt,
 Wth him did weend all Wenstadale,
 From Morton vnto Moysdall More,
 All they that dweld by the bankes of Smale
 Wth him were bent in harnes store,
 From wensley warrlyke weights did weend,
 From Bushoppdale went bowmen bold,
 From Coverdale to Cotterend,
 And all to Bydstone Cawsey cold,
 From Mawlerstange and Midleham,
 And all from Maske and Mesonbie,
 And all that clim the Mountayne came,
 Whose growne from Frost is seldome free,
 Wth lustie ladds and large of length,
 W^{ch} dweld on Sommer water syde," &c.

* * * * *

[Fol. 39.]

“ S^r Edward Stanley stiff in stower,
 He is the man on whome I meene,
 Wth him did pass a mighty power,
 Of Soildiers seemely to be seene,
 Most liuer ladds on Lonsdale bred,
 Wth weapons of unwealdy weight,
 All such as Tatham Fells had fedd
 Went vnder Standleys streamer bright
 From Boland Billmen bold weare bound
 Wth such as Bretton bonkes did aide, &c.
 All Lancashire for the most pte
 The lusty Standley stout can lead.
 A stock of striplings stronge of heart
 Brought vp from babes wth beefe and bread,
 From Warton vnto Warrington,
 From Wiggen vnto Wiresdale,
 From Weddecon to Waddington,
 From Ribchester vnto Rachdale,
 From Poulton to Preston wth pikes,
 They wth y^e Standley howte forthe went,
 From Pemberton and Pillin Dikes
 For Battell Bilmen bould were bent
 Wth fellowes fearee and freshe for feight
 W^{ch} Halton feilds did turne in foores
 Wth lustie ladds liuer and light
 From Blackborne and Bolton in y^e Moores

[Fol. 40.]

Wth children chosen from Cheshire
 In armor bold for battle drest,
 And many a gentleman and squire
 Weare vnder Standley streamer prest," &c. &c.

CHAP.
 XII.

The poet then narrates the progress of the battle, and ends with celebrating the victory.

Another poem in the Harleian MSS.* of a less authentic character, concludes with the following singular invocation:—

" Nowe God that was in Bethelem borne,
 And for vs died vppon a Tree,
 Save oure noble prince that weres the Crowne,
 And shewe his mersyc on the Erle of Derby."

After the battle, the victorious army penetrated into Scotland; and Speke Hall, the seat of sir Edward Norris, has ever since been enriched with trophies of this memorable campaign, brought from the palace of the Scottish king. The English monarch, who was then in France,† accompanied by Henry, earl of Derby, and engaged in the great expedition in which Tournay was won, in the ardour of his gratitude, on his return to England, addressed a congratulatory letter to sir Edward Stanley, expressed in the following terms:—

" Trusty and well-beloved,

" We greet you well, and understand as well by the report of our right trusty cousin and counsellor, the duke of Norfolk, as otherwise, what acceptable service you amongst others lately did unto us by your valiant towardnesse in the assisting of our said cousin against our great enemy, the late king of Scots; and how courageously you, as a very hearty loving servant, acquitted yourself for the overthrow of the said king, and distressing of his malice and power, to our great honour and the advancing of your no little fame and praise: for which we have good cause to favour and thank you, and so we full heartily do, and assured may you be, that we shall in such effectual wise remember your said service in any your reasonable pursuits, as you shall have cause to think the same right well employed to your comfort and weal hereafter.

Letter
 from the
 king to sir
 Edward
 Stanley.

" Given under our signet at our castle at Windsor, the 27th of November."

* Cod. 395.

† The queen, in her letter to the king, announcing the victory of Flodden Field, says—" The victory has more honour than if he (the king) should win all the crown of France."—1 *Ellis's Original Letters*, p. 88.

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XII.

Similar letters, *mutatis mutandis*, were sent to sir William Molineux, sir Edward Norris, and sir Richard Ashton, and, as a still further mark of his majesty's gratitude, sir Edward Stanley, who was the fifth son of Thomas, earl of Derby, was created lord Monteagle, in allusion to the family crest. The earl of Surrey was restored to the family title of duke of Norfolk, while his son, lord Howard, was honoured with the title of the earl of Surrey. Wolsey, then the king's favourite minister, was created bishop of Lincoln; and lord Herbert obtained a step in the peerage as earl of Worcester.

Lords
lieutenants first
appointed.

About this period, the ancient commission of array, for levying and organizing troops in the different counties of the kingdom, to guard against foreign invasion and domestic tumult, began to be superseded by a new local authority, called the lieutenancy,* at the head of which, in this county, was placed the duke of Norfolk, who was succeeded in the office by the earl of Shrewsbury, and, subsequently, by Edward, earl of Derby; and although not an hereditary honour, the office of lord lieutenant of the county palatine of Lancaster has been filled almost ever since its institution by the head of the Stanley family.

Proclamation to
the sheriff
of Lancashire on
menaced
Scotch invasion.

The baneful connection formed by Scotland and France served again to embroil our northern neighbours in a fresh war with England, and preparations were made for invading the northern counties. To repel this invasion, a royal mandate was issued to the high sheriff of the county of Lancaster, commanding him to make proclamation in these words: "Forasmuche as the King's Highnes has learned of an intention to invade England at or before the beginning of September, formed by the Scots at the instigation of the French king; his grace, therefore, by advice of his counsel, charges all and singular his subjects, of whatsoever rank, &c. between the ages of 60 and 16, inhabitants within the county of Lancaster, that from henceforth they, uppon oon Houres Warnyng, be in arredynes defensiblic arrayed with Harnes and Wepyns apte & mete for the Warres, to attend the Earl of Shrewsbury, his Lieutent general of the North against Scotland," &c.†

The Scotch, sensible at length of the injustice of being so frequently called upon to sacrifice their own peace and prosperity to foreign interests, expressed their reluctance to advance into England; and Albany, the French general, under whose command the Scottish chiefs were to fight, observing this disinclination, concluded a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the English marches, which did not, however, prevent Scotland from being entered by the earl of Surrey, at the head of his army, who ravaged Merse and Teviotdale, and burnt the town of Jedburgh. From these

* 15 Rymer, 75.

† Pat. 14, Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 8. d.

terrible inflictions, the Scotch were glad to escape by an alliance with England instead of France, not without a remote expectation of a contract of marriage between lady Mary, heir presumptive to the throne of England, and the young Scotch monarch, at that time in his nonage.

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The seeds of the reformation, which had been sown in the time of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, cherished by the Lollards in succeeding ages, and occasionally moistened by their blood, attained to maturity in the time of Henry VIII. Martin Luther, a monk of the order of St. Augustine, and a professor in the university of Wittenberg, had raised the standard of reformation in Saxony, by preaching and writing against the indulgences granted, with so lavish a hand, by the church of Rome; and his works had attracted sufficient notice to induce the king of England to enter the polemical lists against him. Henry sent his answer in reply to Luther to Leo X., and his holiness was so much gratified by its perusal, either from the strength of the argument, or the dignity of the advocate, that he rewarded the royal controversialist with the appellation of “Defender of the Faith.”* The fickleness of the king’s affections induced him, soon afterwards, to put the friendship of the head of the church to a severe test. Doubts had been suggested, by the scrupulous, as to the legality of the king’s marriage with Catherine of Arragon, the widow of his brother; and it was held by them, that the degree of consanguinity was such as to vitiate the marriage. These scruples, as Henry alleged, began to disturb his own mind; and, to relieve himself from so great a burden, he applied to Rome for a divorce, which Clement VII., who now filled St. Peter’s chair, was inclined to grant, had not the fear of offending the emperor, Charles V., the nephew of Catherine, and who wished to espouse Mary, the queen’s daughter, restrained his inclinations. The impetuosity of Henry’s temper could ill brook the delay of episcopal hesitation, and the beauty of Anne Boleyn, a maid of honour to the queen, to whom he had made an offer of his hand, induced him to obtain, from his own complying parliament, a dissolution of the marriage with Catherine. His clergy, not less obedient to the royal wish than the laity, determined, in convocation, that an appeal to Rome was unnecessary. The parliament, when it next assembled, constituted the ‘Defender of the Faith’ the supreme head of the church, and thus dissolved the connexion between the church of England and the church of Rome. A number of the clergy,

The Re-
formation.

* King Henry’s jester, finding his royal master transported with unusual joy, asked him the cause of his hilarity; to which the king replied, that the pope had honoured him with a style more exalted than that of any of his ancestors—the title of “Defender of the Faith:” to which the fool replied, “O good Harry, let thou and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself.” The copy of Henry’s reply to Luther, sent by the king himself to the pope, with the royal autograph in the title-page, is preserved in the Library of the Vatican, and exhibited amongst its literary curiosities.

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and many of the laity, amongst whom there was probably a majority in the county of Lancaster, adhered to the faith of their fathers; but the great body of the nation were disposed to go much farther than the king: they acted upon principle; he was influenced by passion, and remained as much a friend to indulgences, after he had espoused the beautiful maid of honour, as he was when he first married her mistress. Neither the Catholics nor the Protestants satisfied him; in the plenitude of his power, and to gratify his sanguinary temper, he inflicted the punishment of death upon persons of both persuasions, and he promoted the reformation only so far as it could be made subservient to the gratification of his voluptuousness, and as it administered to the demands of his prodigality.

Religious
persecu-
tion.

A.D. 1534.

Such is the perverting influence of religious persecution, that sir Thomas More, the mild, equitable, and enlightened chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, on his elevation to the chancellorship of England, inflicted the torture upon James Bainham, a member of the Inner Temple, and finally consigned him to the flames in Smithfield, for no other offence, but because he followed the example of the court by favouring the doctrines of the reformation. More himself having, a few years after, refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy,—saying, that it was a two-edged sword: if he was in favour of that doctrine, it would confound his soul; and if he was against it, it would destroy his body—was, for this offence, brought to trial on a charge of high treason, and, being found guilty, was beheaded on Tower Hill.*

Visitation
of the mo-
nasteries.

In the twenty-sixth year of the king's reign, a royal commission was issued, to ascertain the value of all the ecclesiastical property, and the amount of all the benefices in the kingdom; the book containing the latter of these returns is called *Liber Regis*, and is a beautiful manuscript, transcribed, it is said, by a monk of Westminster, for the king's library. The office for the receipt of tenths, or first-fruits, was instituted upon the visitation of these commissioners, whereby the *Decimæ Decimorum* were appointed to be paid to the king of England, instead of being paid, as hitherto, to the Pope. The report of the commissioners forms a kind of ecclesiastical Domesday Book.†

* State Trials, I. 59.

† The state of the inferior clergy in the county of Lancaster, as well as in the other parts of the province of York, was at this time most deplorable, whether considered as to their acquirements, or their stipends. According to archbishop Lee, in a letter addressed to Cromwell, “their benefices were so exiguous, of £4. 5s. 6d. per annum, that no learned man would take them. Therefore they were fain to take such as were presented, so that they were of honest conversation, and could competently understand what they read, and minister sacraments. In all his diocese, he did not know twelve that could preach.” The Irish clergy at the same time were in a still lower condition; their new archbishop wrote of them to the lord privy seal—“as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say a mass, or to pronounce the words; they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue.” So in 1530, “a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country.”

The great visitation of monasteries was commenced in the autumn of 1535, when Cromwell, chancellor of the exchequer, and first secretary to the king, filled the office of vicegerent and vicar-general. The visitation of the Lancashire monasteries was made by Dr. Thomas Legh and Dr. Richard Layton, and their original reports are in the Record Office of the Court of Receipt at Westminster, under the custody of the lord treasurer. The resolution to dissolve the monasteries had already been taken. The spirit in which this visitation was made, clearly indicated that the reports were meant to form the ground-work for the dissolution of those institutions, and the consequent appropriation of their lands and revenues to the use of the crown. It cannot be denied that the monastic institutions were subject to great abuse; and that, under the specious appearance of devotion to God, some of the first duties to man were neglected or perverted; but it must also be admitted, that the collecting of ex-parte evidence by stipendiary emissaries, and the making of that evidence a ground for plundering the property of the church, was a proceeding full of injustice, and an example that no future age can imitate with impunity. The questions proposed by the royal commissioners on their Lancashire visitation were reduced to the following heads:—

Report of
the com-
mission-
ers on the
Lanca-
shire mo-
nasteries.

1. As to the incontinence of the heads of each monastery: 2. The name of the founder: 3. The estate of the convents: 4. The superstitions practised in them: 5. The debts they had incurred: And, 6. The names of the votaries who wished to be discharged from their vows.

On which the following report was made by the commissioners:—

FURNESS.

Incontinentia.	{	Rogerus Pele, abbas, cum duabus solutis.
		Johannis Gayna, cum soluta.
		Thomas Herneby, cum quinque fœminis.
		Thomas Settle, cum soluta.
Fundator, Dominus Rex.		
Redditus annuus, ix ^c li.		

CARTEMELL.

Incontinentia.	{	Willelmus Pavell, cum diversis fœminis, et sex habet proles.
		Richardus Bakehouse, cum conjugata.
		Fundator, Edwardus Gray, hæres Comitæ Canç.
		Redditus annuus, c ^{li} .
Superstitio.	{	Debet Domus XL ^{li} .
		Et hic habent portionem Sanctæ Crucis.

CONISHED.

Incontinentia.	{	Christopherus Peerson, cum sex fœminis.
		Georgius Cornefurth, cum decem fœminis.
		Thomas Backhouse, cum soluta.
		Georgius Hardy, cum duabus solutis.
		Thomas Heysham, cum una conjugata, et altera soluta.
Superstitio.	{	Nicholaus Willson, } petunt dissolvi à religione.
		Georgius Hardy, }
		Fundator, Willielmus Pennyngton.
		Redditus annuus, c XIII. ^h .
		Et hic cingulum habent beatæ Mariæ, prægnantibus (ut putatur) Salutare.

COKERSAND.

Fundator Incertus.
 Redditus annuus, c c ^h
 Debet Domus, c ^h

WHALLEY.

Fundator, Dominus Rex.
 Redditus annuus, c XLI ^h.

LYTEAM.

Fundator, dominus Rex.
 Redditus annuus, LV ^h.
 Debet domus, XL ^h.

HORNEBY.

Incontinentia.	Willielmus Halliday, prior, cum tribus solutis.
	Fundator, Dominus Montegle.
	Redditus annuus, XVI ^h .

PENWORTHAM.

Incontinentia.	Richardus Hawkesbury, prior, cum duabus fœminis.
	Fundator, Dominus Rex.
	Redditus annuus, XXVII ^h .

BRISTOWGH.

Incontinentia.	Hugo Wodhewer, cum una fœmina.
	Fundator, Comes Darby.
	Redditus annuus, LXXXX ^h .

UP-HOLLAND.

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Incontinentia. { Petrus Prestcoite, prior, cum fœminis.
 { Johannes Codlinge, cum soluta.
 Fundator, Comes Darby.
 Redditus annuus, LXV ^{li}.

KIRSALL CELLA.

Fundator, Dominus Rex.
 Redditus annuus, IX ^{li}.
 Debet domus XX marcas.

STANLOWE.

Fundator, Dominus Rex.
 Redditus annuus, X ^{li}.

Not in
Lanca-
shire.

COLLEGIUM MANCHESTRÆ.

Fundator, Thomas West, Dominus Delawer.
 Redditus annuus, CC ^{li}.

How far this deplorable picture of monastic life is faithful, we have not the means of discovering.* So far as the great monasteries are concerned, it is at variance with the declaration of an act of parliament passed in the following year, wherein it is said, “that in divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, religion is right well kept and observed.” The great monastery of Furness does not appear to have been entitled to this flattering character, if the report of the visitors is to be credited; and of Whalley, the particulars are so few, as to convey no information on this head. The returns of the commissioners served as an apology for dissolving the lesser monasteries, to which the king and his minister, the vicar-general, had a strong predisposition. In the following year, a bill was passed through parliament, with very little deliberation, for dissolving all monastic establishments in England, whose clear yearly income did not exceed £200; in the preamble to which bill it is said, that “forasmuch as manifest sin, vitious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily used and

Dissolu-
tion of the
lesser mo-
nasteries.

* It is alleged by the Roman Catholics, that young men were employed to corrupt and to defame the nuns. Fuller mentions a story, upon the authority of sir William Stanley, from which it appears that two young gentlemen, under the pretence of the royal permission to visit a convent, remained there three days and three nights, where they were received with that hospitality and decorum which ought to have inspired in them nothing but gratitude; but that, in return for these favours, they falsely accused the nuns of licentiousness; and in that way a pretence was obtained for dissolving the convents.—*Fuller's History of Abbeyes*, p. 315.

committed commonly in such little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the number of twelve, whereby the governors of such religious houses and their convent spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste, as well the churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, hereditaments, as the ornaments of the churches, and their goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the king's highness and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof. And, albeit, all attempts at amendment have failed; so that, without such small houses be utterly suppressed, and the religious therein committed to the great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for reformation of their lives, there can else be no redress or reformation on that behalf. In consideration whereof, the king's most royal majesty, daily studying and devising the increase, advancement, and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said church, to the only glory and honour of God, and the total extirpation and destruction of vice and sin, having knowledge that the premacies be true, as well by the compts of his late visitations, as by sundry credible informations; considering also, that divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep, have thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premises; whereupon the lords and commons, by a great deliberation, finally be resolved, that it is and shall be more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this his realm, that the possessions of all such religious houses, not being spent, spoiled, and wasted for increase of maintenance of sin, shall be used and converted to better uses, and the unthrifty religious persons so spending the same be compelled to reform their lives; be it therefore enacted, that his majesty shall have to himself and to his heirs for ever, all and singular monasteries, the yearly value of which do not amount to £200."

By this act, about three hundred and eighty communities were dissolved, and an addition of thirty-two thousand a year (of the value in our money of upwards of £160,000,) was made to the royal revenue, exclusive of £100,000 in money, plate, and jewels. According to Fuller, "ten thousand persons were, by this dissolution, sent to seek their fortunes in the wide world: some had twenty shillings given them at their ejection, and a new gown, which needed to be of strong cloth, to last till they got another. Most were exposed to want; and many a young nun proved an old beggar."

A Certificate of the ANNUAL VALUE, and other particulars, of a number of the RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN LANCASHIRE, as exhibited in a MS. in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. cod. 604, fol. 91.

COM. LANC³.—The Breyrate of the breiff Certificat vpon the new Survey of the Religious Houses within the Countie Palatyne of Lancaster³ given to the Kinge Higlines by Acte of P³liament, And within the case of Dissolucon.

	The firste Value.	Seconde Value.	Belle Lede & Goode.	Wodde Worthe to be solde.	Debte owynge by the house.	Religious Psones.	Servantte & other havynge Livyng ^e .	Th offer for the redempcon of the seid house, to be payd at Days
Cokersande	Clvij. ls. xiijs. ob.	^{xx} CCiiij. ls. vij. vij ^d . ob.	^{ls.} CCCCxiiij. xvij. ^{v^d} .	^{s.} xl.	^{ll.} Cvij. ix. vij. ^{s.} ^{d.}	xxij.	lvj.	^{ll.} ij. ij. ^{s.}
Cartmele	^{xx} ij. ij. s. d. ij. xj. vj. ij.	^{ll.} CCxij. xij. x. ob.	^{ll.} CClxxij. xij. ix. ob.	^{ll.} xvj.	^{ll.} lix. xij. vij. ^{s.} ^{d.}	x.	xxxvij.	^{ll.} ij. ij. ^{s.}
Conysshed	^{xx} ij. ij. s. d. ij. xvij. ij.	^{ll.} Cli. v. ix.	^{ll.} CCCCxxxij. vj. ij. ob.	^{ll.} xij.	^{xx} ij. ij. s. d. ij. vij. xvij. ij. ob.	vij.	xli.	^{ll.} ij. ij. ^{s.}
Burscough.	^{xx} ij. ij. s. d. ij. vij. vj.	^{ll.} Cxxij. v. vij.	^{ll.} CCCCCxxvij. x. x.	^{ll.} xxv.	^{xx} ij. ij. s. d. ij. vj. ij. vij.	v.	xliij.	^{ll.} ij. ij. ^{s.}
Hollande	^{ll.} Liij. ij. ij. d.	^{ll.} Lxxvij. xij. ix.	^{ll.} Cxxxij. ij. vij.	^{ll.} xl.	^{ll.} xvij. xvij. x.	v.	xxvj.	^{ll.} CC. ij. ^{s.}

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The following progress of a suffragan, entitled “*Progressus Dñi Suffraganij*,” indicates the order in which the visitation of the Lancashire monasteries, from the centre to the northern part of the county, was made. From the obscurity of the writing, and the manner in which the MS. is bound up with other papers in the Codex, the transcript has been made with considerable difficulty, and, probably, with some inaccuracy, on that account. The report is without date, but it appears to have been made about the year 1538, to Cromwell, the vicar-general, by one of the visitors.*

“ In Countie Lanchastre.

“ Walley] It to Walley in Lanckersscheer of y^e cystercyence out of one dyocesys vnder y^e byschope of schestr^l y^e wyche cōnēt was first fondyd in y^e covnte of schesther in a place called Stanlow by f^r Johen Lasey knyght & y^t was in y^e yeer of our lord a. m^oc^olxxij. But aft^r lord Henry Lasey y^e thyrd & laste yeerle off lynckollne off y^t name remouyd y^em w^t y^e bodyes off hys avneyterss Jhones & Roger Lasey knyghte Walley outo y^t was in y^e yeer of our lord m^o cc^o nonagesimo vj^o. Vmylysa p^ore.†

“ Kockersand] It to Kockersand chanonss off y^e p^omonstratence off y^e fūdacōn off a certeyn Heremyt namyd Hew garthe in Kyng Johne tyme. xxiiij myllys frō y^e other.

“ Lanchast^l] It to Lanchast^l to y^e Fryer p^ocheers off y^e fūdacōn off f^r Hew Haryngtone knyghte. v myllys frō y^e to^or.

“ Cartmelle] It to cartmelle chanonss off seynt austeyne order off y^e furst fūdacōn off lord Wyllyā Marchall yeerle of penbroke in y^e yeer off our lord a m^occ^o & ij^o befor hys dethe xvij zeer ij^o anno Regni Johis. x myllys of p^or.

“ Coninghevyshed] It to coninghevyshed chanons off seynt austene off y^e furst fūdacōn off gamele penyngton knyght whyche fūdyd y^er a place of iij or iiij chanons whyche whas in stryffe for a seasonne by reson y^t the byldyd a ponne y^e Grownd off lord Wyllyā lanchast^l barown of Kyrbykendall & ouerstonne but y^{is} furst fūdacōn was in y^e yeer off our lord A m^o lxxvij^o. frō y^e other v. myllys.

“ F^rnes] It to Furnees off y^e cystercience off y^e fūdacōn off lord Stephane y^{an} yeerle of bolonne befor he was kyng off yngland ix yeers & y^e xxvj yeer off y^e Reyne off Kyng Henry the furst—vt patz p hoc sequēs

Fournesiū fūdat hic Stephanus atq; fecūdat

Addens contenta membris cū vita intenta

Dat Laschastrum piscem pr—q; Wagium

Anno milleno terq; noneno.

iiij miliaria a p^ocedente.

* Harl. MSS. Codex 604.

+ That is, from Salley.

Coplād.] It to cowdre off y^e cysterencie off y^e furst fūdaçôn off lord Raynald mestchynne y^{an} lord off copland y^{at} was in y^e yeer off our lord a. m^{lo} c°xxxiiij° in Hemye y^e furst tyme. xix mylys frō y^e for sayd place. CHAP.
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Itē to seynt bees monkē off y^e order of seynt benet off y^e fūdaçôn off y^e for sayd lord mestchynne. V mylys frō y^e other.

Fol. 106.

[Notes at the End.]

“ In All theys we haue been in be syd dynersse other mo bothe in Durhā byschopryke & allso earlyell w^t many good townē & vyllagys as wele in my lordys grace lybert as in others & y^{us} Jhesu p^rfue your masterschippe.”

[In another hand.]

“ Theis notes belonge vnto me Tho: Lovell. 1592.”

Fol. 108.

The religious feelings, as well as the temporal interests, of a large body of men were deeply involved in the suppression of the lesser monasteries, which measure was considered, with much justice, as the precursor of a still more sweeping appropriation of church property. The families of distinction, whose ancestors had founded monasteries, or whose sons were provided for by spiritual offices, complained of being deprived of their patronage and emoluments; and the poor, for whom there was then no parochial provision in infancy or in old age, and whose wants had been supplied at the doors of the convents, were equally loud in their complaints; while persons under the influence of higher motives felt shocked and outraged by the spoliation and overthrow of the altars of their fathers. The discontents of the people first broke out in acts of open rebellion in Lincolnshire, where Dr. Mackrel, friar of Barlings, assuming the character of a mechanic, collected an army of twenty thousand men, of which he took the lead, under the assumed name of “The Captain Cobbler.” A proclamation of pardon from the king was found of sufficient force to disperse this irregular army; while the doctor himself, and a number of its other leaders, among whom was lord Hussey, were consigned to public execution.

Insurrections produced by the destruction of the monasteries.

A more formidable insurrection immediately afterwards sprung up in the northern counties, under the designation of the “*pilgrimage of grace*,” and Robert Aske, a gentleman of family, residing upon his patrimonial estate at Aughton, in the East Riding of the county of York, was placed at its head. The insurrectionary spirit spread far and wide, from the Tweed on the north, to the Humber and the Ribble

The pilgrimage of grace.

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on the east and the west. The insurgents rendezvoused in Yorkshire, and, to excite the enthusiasm of their followers, and to induce the people to join their ranks, a body of priests marched at their head with the banner of the cross, on which was depicted the figure of the Saviour, with the chalice and the host. Each of the soldiers wore on his sleeve, as the emblem of his holy cause, a representation of the five wounds of Christ, with the name "Jesus" marked in the centre. An oath or covenant was enjoined upon the pilgrims, by which they declared, "that they entered into this pilgrimage for the love of God, the preservation of the king's person and issue, the purifying the nobility, and driving away all base-born and ill councillors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do displeasure to any, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before them the cross of Christ, his faith, the restitution of the churches, and the suppression of hereticks and their opinions."

Letter
from
Henry to
the arch-
bishop of
York and
lord
Darcy.

Having carried the town of Hull and the city of York, their next operation was directed against the castle of Pontefract, which was in possession of Lee, the archbishop of York, and lord Darcy, whose slumbering loyalty the king attempted to awaken by the following letter written from Northampton:—

"By the King"

"Right trusty and wellbeloved we grete yone wel. And wheras It is comen to our knowlege ptely by yo^r adūisem^t and ptely otherwise that the multitude of the traito^rs and Rebelles assembled those pties haue been trayned in to their Rebellion be certain most false and vntrue surmyses reaport^e and suggestions noysed and set furth among^e them by diūse most devilyshe and detestable psonnes desiring no thing ells but a general spoyle w^t the destruction of the symple and honest people. The copie of whiche false reaport and most vntrue traiterous denises and invençons neuer by by vs or any of r counsail thought on moche lesste themne determynne we sende vnto yo^r herew^t. Albeit we haue in dede sent against them for their repression in suche terrible sorte as all the world (if t^e they shall remayn in this rebellion) may take example at their punish[ment]t suche mayne Armye furnished w^t ordeññice and all thing^e necessary as for that p^poseshalberequisite to require and pray yo^r and neuertheles to Coñmand yo^r emediatly vppon the sight herof to send vnto the said Rebelles and to declare vnto them that forasmoche as yo^r pceyve that this rebellion hath been attempted vppon most traiterous slaunderous false and vntrue reaport^e noysed setfurthe and bruted among^e them, Yō doo vppon yo^r hono^r and fidelitie toward^e God and the pill of yo^r soule assure them that all the said reaport^e conteyned in the said copie sent herw^t be vtterly false and vntrue neuer spoken nor thought on by vs or any of r counsail But forged and falsely contrived by diūse divilyshe and most detestable traito^rs w^tout any maner of grounde or occasion wherupon to buylde the same aswel

therfor Lamenting that vppon suche light and false runis they shuld be prone to
 arrayse and soe to offend god & vs their kinge, & comaunding in r name all those
 psones being on that assell purpose.”

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Indorsed.

“ To the Lord Dacre and the byshop of York touchinge the Rebellion
 in y^e Northe.”

[*Hart. MSS. Cod. 283. fol. 80.*

The reports here alluded to, and so strongly denounced by the king, were contained in a mandate issued by one of the rebel chiefs, assuming the name of “ the Earl of Poverty,” which alleged that the king and his heretical ministers had determined first, that no infant should be baptized without a tribute to be paid to the king; second, that no man, with an income of less than £20 a year should either eat bread made of wheat, or capons, or chickens, or goose, or pig, without paying a tribute; and, third, that for every plough land, the king would have a tribute.

The earl of Shrewsbury, then residing at Sheffield castle, animated by a zeal which outstripped the king’s commands, raised a force to resist the progress of the rebellion; and the earl of Derby, and other noblemen, followed his example. On arriving before Pontefract, the rebels summoned the castle; with this summons, the archbishop of York and lord Darcy readily complied, by surrendering the fortress without resistance. On the 2d of October, a herald arrived at Pontefract with a proclamation from the king. This messenger was received by Aske, seated on a kind of throne, with the archbishop of York on his right and lord Darcy on his left, attended by sir Robert Constable, sir Christopher Danby, and others; but the hopes of the rebel general were then too much elevated to warrant an expectation of that submission which the proclamation required. According to Wilfred Holme, a writer of that age, residing at Huntington, near York, the following lines were often recited by the pilgrims of grace, from the antiquated quiddities of Merlin:—

“ Foorth shall come a worme, an *Aske* with one eye,
 “ He shall be the chiefe of the mainye;
 “ He shall gather of chivalrie a full faire flock
 “ Halfe capon and halfe cocke
 “ The chicken shall the capon slay
 “ And after that shall be no May.”

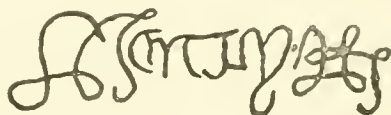
From Pontefract the rebel army marched to Scawsby Lees, near the left bank of
 the river Don, with the intention of fording the river, and taking the ancient town
 of Doncaster, then in possession of the duke of Norfolk, the leader of the vanguard
 in the battle of Flodden-field, on whom the king had conferred the command of the
 royal army.

Oct. 20.

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The ardour of the priests and their devoted followers, in this northern rebellion, was most striking. The abbots of Whalley, Salley, Jervaux, Furness, Fountain's, and Rivaulx, with all the persons they could influence, either joined the main army, or made diversions in its favour in their respective districts. In a word, the whole of the north of England was in a state of alarm and agitation. The king, in this emergency, issued warrants to his devoted followers in Lancashire, importuning them to join the earl of Derby in his endeavours to repress this wide-spreading rebellion.

The originals of two of these documents are preserved in the Harleian Collection,* and are expressed in the following terms:—



“ By the King.

“ Trusty and welbeloued we grete you well. And forasmuche as we be credibly aduertised how that most like a trew and feithfull subiect you haue assembled all your Force and Joyned the same w^t our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousin therle of Derbye for the rep^{ss}ion of certayne traitors and rebell^e in those pties, like as for the same we gyve vnto you our most hertie thank^e. Soo we thought as well cōuenient to requier you to psist and contynue in your faithfull towardnes in the company of our said cousin tyll the said traitors shalbe vtterly subdued, as to signifie that we shall not onely considre your charges therein, But likewise so remembre your fuice in the same as you shall haue cause to saye you haue well employed your labours paynes and trayvaille in that behalf. Yeu en vnder our signett at our castell of wyndsour the xxviijth day of octobre in the xxviijth yere of o^r reigne.

[Indorsed]

“ To o^r trusty and welbeloued fūnt
S^r Roger Bradshawe, knyght.”

[Fol. 258.

* MS. Cod. 283.

Another to Sir Thomas Langton.

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“ By the King.

“ Trustie and Welbeloued we grete you well. And Forasmuche as we haue been credeably adūised howe that lyke a moste true and faythfull Subject you haue assembled all your Force and Joyned the same w^t o^r Right trustye and Right welbeloued Cousyn Therle of Derbye for the Repressyon of certayne Traytours and Rebelles in those pte, lyke as we for the same gyve vnte you ovr moste hartly thanke, So we thought as well convenient to Require yoⁿ to psist and contynue in your faythfull towardnes in the company of o^r said Cousyn till the said Traytours shalbe vtterly Subdued. As to signifie vnto you that we shall not onely consider your charge therein But lykwise so Remēbre yo^r Sruice in the same as you shall haue cause to saye you haue well ymployed your labours paynes and travaille in that behalf. yeven vndre o^r Signet at o^r Castell of Windeso^r the xxvijth day of Octobre in the xxviij yere of o^r Regne.

Indorsed,

“ To o^r trusty and welbeloued serūnt
S^r Thomas Langton knyght.”

[Fol. 259.

[The above are of the same date and in the same writing, though they differ so materially in the orthography.]

The warmth of the king's thanks for the service rendered to the royal cause by sir Roger Bradshawe and sir Thomas Langton, and the solicitude expressed by him that they should continue their services, sufficiently indicate the sense he entertained of the danger attending this rebellion, not only to the peace and tranquillity of the county of Lancaster, but also to the stability of his throne. The scene of hostile operations in Lancashire was principally on the eastern boundary, adjoining to the county of York; and the earl of Cumberland, emulating the example of the earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, gallantly repulsed the rebels in an attack made upon Skipton castle.

The main army of the insurgents now prepared to advance to the south; and, with that view, they proposed to ford the Don at the point where the earl of Shrewsbury

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sion of the
rebel
army.

was posted by direction of the duke of Norfolk ; but a sudden rising of the waters of that river, though proceeding from causes purely natural, served to awaken the susceptible superstition of the followers of Aske, who, viewing this impediment as an evil omen, were prevailed upon to disperse, partly to repair the deficiency in their commissariat department, and partly to afford time to conduct a negociation between the government and the insurgent chiefs. The duke of Norfolk was placed in a situation of great difficulty. The impetuosity of the king's temper disinclined him to make any concessions to his subjects in arms; and the demands of the rebels were such as to preclude his compliance with them, without compromising the royal dignity. They claimed that a royal pardon should be granted, without exception of persons; that a parliament should be held at York, and courts of justice established there, so that no suitor on the north side of the Trent should be required to go to London upon any suit at law. They further demanded a repeal of several acts of parliament, specifying particularly those for the last subsidy, and the statute of uses, with the statute which made words without overt acts misprision of treason; and the statute requiring the clergy to pay their tenths and first-fruits to the king. They further desired that the princess Mary might be restored to her right of succession, the pope to his wonted jurisdiction, and the monks to their houses again; that the Lutherans might be punished; that Audley, the lord chancellor, and Cromwell, the lord privy seal, might be excluded from the next parliament; and that doctors Lee and Langton, who had visited the northern monasteries, might be imprisoned for bribery and extortion.

After an interval of a month, the pilgrims of grace again assembled in greater strength than before, and once more prepared to ford the Don; but again the waters rose suddenly, and a second time prevented that operation. The negociations were renewed under the management of sir Ralph Ellerker and sir Robert Bowas, on the side of the insurgents, and of the duke of Norfolk for the king. The duke was empowered to offer pardon to all the rebels, with the exception of ten; six of them to be named, and four unnamed; but this offer, from the uncertainty which it involved, was refused. It was next proposed by the duke, that a kind of congress should assemble at Doncaster, consisting of three hundred representatives chosen from the men of the different wapentakes, to negotiate with the duke and the lord admiral, who was a Fitzwilliam of Aldwark. For some time, the duke, by the direction of the privy council, insisted on the king exercising the right to except ten persons from the general amnesty; but, finding it impossible to obtain these terms, he at length agreed, that the royal clemency should be extended to the whole of the rebel army without exception. On these terms, the pilgrimage was dissolved; but the king, on the dispersion of the insurgents, read them a lecture, in a royal manifesto, of a nature

which would, in these days, rather have raised than suppressed a rebellion. In answer to that part of their petition which related to the removal of his ministers, who were charged with a design to subvert the religion of the state, and to enslave the people, the king says, “ And we, with our whole council, think it right strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our council : we will therefore bear no such meddling at your hands, it being inconsistent with the duty of good subjects to interfere in such matters.”

In the interval between the dispersion of the insurgent army of the north and their re-assembling, an attempt was made by the rebels to take the abbey of Whalley and Salley, which the earl of Derby was preparing to resist, when he received the king's command at Preston to disperse his forces. These orders he obeyed, but finding, on the re-assembling of the rebels, that the danger was imminent, he again collected his troops, and marched to Whalley, where he succeeded in securing the monastery, and in restoring the public tranquillity. The following despatch to the king from the earl was written on the first of November, four days after the repulse of the rebels from Skipton Castle, and details the operations with sufficient particularity.*

LETTER OF THE EARL OF DERBY TO THE KING HENRY VIII.,
ON THE TAKING OF WHALLEY ABBEY.

“ Pleas it your magestye to be adu^oty^sed That vpon Munday last past, I being at your town of preston in Lancashir their accompanyed and in other townes and villages nere thereabout^e w^t the moost part of your true & faithfull subiect^e of the same Shir was then in aredynes to haue avansed forward toward Salley to haue executed your grace cōmandment. And the said Munday at nyght I had appoynted to haue loged at the Abbey of Whalley whiche is but iiij myles from Salley. And about ix of clok of the same Munday came on Berwyke your Herald at armes vnto me. And hauing your Cote armure on his body delyu^oed me a lre dyrected vnto me frō my Lord the Erle of Shrewisbry your gēes lieutenant and my Lord of Rutland and my Lord of Huntynghdon. Theeffect of whiche lres w^a this (they certified me by the same y^t my Lord of Norfolk and they had stayd the cōmons of Yorkshir and that eu^y man was sparpoled and retyred home vnto their own howses. And that my said

Letter
from the
earl of
Derby to
the king.

* This despatch is deposited in the Chapter-house at Westminster, and forms part of the Codex entitled, “ Letters, Papers, &c. relating to the disturbances in the North of England.”

Lord of Norfolk was deputed to your Highnes. And that they were informed from the Lord Darcy that I w^t my retynne had appoynted to be on the said Munday at Whalley Abbey. And forsomoehe as all thinge was well stayd as they dyd write therfor they desired and prayd me and neuertheles in yo^r grace name charget me that I shuld sparple my said Cumpeny w^tout doing any hurt or molestacōn to the saides cōmons or any of theym. And that I shuld not fayle herof as I wold answar to your Highnes at my pill. And like charge your herald did giff vnto me in your grace name. And after the Receyt of the said £re & after Counsaill taken w^t the Lord Mountegle then present and w^t a gret number of the gentlemen of the same Shir and w^t their assente I and they thynkyng the said £re & cōmandment to be in effect as your cōmandment considering it cam from your said lieutenant dyd immediately sparple the said Cumpeny so assembled as is aforsaid and soo departed whomward. And the same Munday in the more the cōmons of the borders of Yorkeshir nere to Salley w^t sume of the borders of Lancashir nere to theym assembled theym together and w^t force they vnkowen to me sodenly toke the said Abbey of Whalley wher I had intended to haue loged that nyght. And when they herd and knew how y^t I had receyved such a £re or cōmandment as is aforsaid then they sparpoled their Cumpeny the same Daye. And truly all thoghe the ways and passages to whalley & Salley be vere cumberous strait full of myre impedimente by warters & otherwyse Yet I w^t the power of yo^r true subgett so assembled wold haue put all o^r bodyes in the aventure to haue executed your former cōmandment if the said £re had not cūmon to my hande. And w^t godde gñe I haue no dowt but in conclusion all thogh a great fray had therof inswed as it was lyke to haue byn venquyshed. And wher their hath byn lately an other insurrecōn and Rebellion in the borders of Westm^rland Cumisland and in that part of Lancashir northward from yo^r town of Lancaster and now sparpoled who had intended as it is to be suspected and as I do verely beleue to haue cūmen through this Shir if they had not byn affrayd of me and other your true subgett so assembled as is aforsaid at Preston. The circūstancē wherof I feare were to tedious for your grace here to put in w^ttyng of all that I haue herd and knowen therof w^t the fals and feaned £res & deuyses that hath byn feaned by that assemble and other whiche £res & deuyses they sparple abroad amonge your subiecte by setting them on Churchē Dores and otherwise. Therfor I haue made a byll of Artycles therof sunthing breifly made signed w^t my hand whiche I delyu^d to yo^r fūnt Henry Acres who was w^t me and eight persons w^t hym to haue fued your grace in my Cumpeny And can instruct yo^r grace therof. And in thise affairs and all other accordyng to my bonden dutye I shall always during my liff as yo^r true subget be redy w^t hert & hand to do you suche pore fues as lyeth in my power w^t asmoche obedyens as I can ymagyn. As o^r Lord god knoes who p^rfue your

magestye in high hono^r and excellencie. Written at my mano^r of Lathom on all
saincte Daye about iiiij of klok after none.

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“ Yo^r most obeyent seruante & subiet

“ EDWARD DERBYE.*

(In dorso)

“ To the Kinge Magestye.”

“ My Lord of Derbye to the Kinge highnes certifying the king in what redynes
he was wth Lancashire against the Rebelles in the North.”

The following documents cast still further light on these transactions, and serve
to shew to how great an extent the religious houses in Lancashire, and their heads,
were implicated in this rebellion, one object of which was, to repossess the monks of
the monasteries :—

“ Part of the first Draught of Henry VIIIth Letter to the Earl of Sussex, &c., con-
cerning the Rebellion in the North. [It seems to be of Thomas Cromwell’s
hand.—*Harl. Cat.*]”†

[The signature, under the erased endorsement, is precisely the same as that which
appears on papers which are unquestionably in Cromwell’s writing.]

“ Right trusty and wellbeloued Cousins and trusty and wellbeloued [counsellors]
we grete yoⁿ wel. And lating yoⁿ wit that having receyved yo^r sondry £res we doo
right wel pceyve by the contente of the same y^r circūspecte proceedinge and diligent
endeno^rs in the trial of our traito^rs and Rebelles of those pties and the trayning of
the rest of r affaires there to suche frame as maye be to r satisfaction for the whiche we
geve vnto yow r most harty thankē. And to make vnto yone pticuler answers to the
pticuler pointe of y^r said £res First forasmuche as by such examynaçōns as yoⁿ have
sent vnto vs It appereth that Thabbot of Furnes and diūse of his moncke have not
been of that truthe towardē vs that to their dienties apperteyned We desire and
pray yoⁿ w^t all the dexteritie yoⁿ canm to denise and excogitate to vse all the meanes
to yoⁿ possible to enserche and trye out the veray truth of their proceedinge and
w^t whom they or any of them have had any Intelligence, For we thinke veraylie that
yoⁿ shall fynde therby such matier as shall shewe the light of many thinge yet

The king’s
letter to
the earl of
Sussex.

* Considerable intimacy seems to have existed between the earl of Derby and the king, owing,
probably, to the family connection; for we find the following item in Henry’s privy purse expences :
“ Octobre iiij paid to henry webbe by the Kinge comaundment for to Cristene my lorde of derbye
sonne iiij li vj s viij d.”

† Harl. MSS. Cod. 283.

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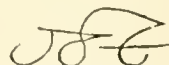
vnknown. And r pleasure is that yoⁿ shall vppen a further examynaçon Comytt the said Abbot and suche of his Monke as yoⁿ shall suspecte to have been offendo's to warde, their to remayn tyl yoⁿ shall vppen the signification vnto vs of such other thinge as by yo^r wisdoms yoⁿ shall trye out knowe further of r pleasure. Secunde we sende vnto yoⁿ herw^t certain £res according to yo^r desire for the bestowinge of the Monke w^t ij or iij Blanke to be directed to suche other houses as yoⁿ shall thinke mete, w^t other Monⁿ Neutheles we thinke it necessary that yoⁿ shall not only duely examyn them all befor yoⁿ shall dismisse any of that sorte that shall goo to other houses, as well for that we thinke some of the houses mentioned in yo^r bill of their names be not wel hable to receyve their nomber set vpon them as for that the house of Gervayse is in some daunger of suppression by like offence as hathe been comytted [at or in] Whalley; but also that yoⁿ shall retayne John Estgate who wold goo to Methe, tyl we may pceyve the cause whye he shuld desire to goo more to that place thenne to any other. And as touching the rest that desire capacities if yoⁿ shall thinke them men mete to be suffred to goo abrode, we be content yoⁿ shall give them their Bedding and chamber stuff w^t suche money as yoⁿ shall by yo^r wisdoms thinke mete, the capacities for whom we shall send vnto yoⁿ by the next messenger. Thirde wheras yoⁿ have sent vnto vs the copie of the £re writen from r cousin of Norff to the lord Darcy after his first dpture from Dancaſter Whiche yoⁿ found in the Vicar of Black Burnes chamber Forasmoche as by the same it appereth that there hathe been great Intelligence amonge such psonnes as were of that naughty inclinaçon entent and conspiracye, We desire and praye yoⁿ aswel by the straite examynaçon of the said Vicar as by all other meanes that yoⁿ canne possibly devise strongly to enserche howe the said copie was conveyed thether Who was the Messenger Who was of counsel and howe many £res or writinge of that sorte or any other weir in that tyme conveyed in to those pties to whom from whom and of what effect. For in the earnest folowing of this matier yoⁿ maye doo vnto vs as highe and as acceptable fuice as canne be denised. Finally we desire and pray yoⁿ to sende vppe in sauftie vnto vs Richard Estgate late Monke of Salleye. Our fuñt s^r Arthur Darcy hathe writen that he doubtethe not to declare suche matier against him at his repayr vnto vs as shall conueye some thinge to r knowleage whiche for r affaires shalbe very necessary to be knowen. Which thinge being ones conduced to some pfection we shall signifie r pleasure vnto yoⁿ touchinge the returne of r cousin of Sussex to r presence.”

[Indorsed]

“The Mynute of the £res to my Lord of Sussexe

xith Mareij xxvij yeare of H. 8.”

T. C.



[Fol. 76.]

"The Answer of to certain articles administered to him touching the same rebellion, temp. Hen. VIII."* *Harl. Cat.*

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XII.

"Fower artycles wherypon was to Answer vnto touchinge the Rebellyone in the yearre of H. 8.

"1. Firste whether yoⁿ wrott any tres to the Prior of Conishid or Cartemell or to any Religeous persone.

"2. Item. what motyon or at whose Requeste or interpellation yoⁿ wrott them.

"3. Item. of what tenor or forme such tres were that yoⁿ wrotte.

"4. Item. what daye or place yoⁿ wrott them.

"1. To the firste I graunte I wrott a letter to the priore of Cartemell as herafter shalbe declared but neuer to the prior of Conishid or any other Religeous pson touchinge any thinge of the insurrection in my life otherwise then is vnder-written.

"3. To the third I saye I Cannot perfectly remember the very tenor or forme of the saide letter, for I kepte no Coppye therof, but as farre as I canne now remember, it was of this effecte. That forasmuch as all religeouse psonnes in the North partes had entered their houses by puttynge in of the Comñones, and as I am enformed yoⁿ meanyng the Prior of Cartemell being required so to enter doe w^ddrawe y^rselfe. I thinke yoⁿ may safely enter and doe as other doe keepinge yo^rselfe quiete for the season and to praye for the Kinge. And at the nexte Parliamente then to doe as shalbe determyned, and I haue no doubte but so doinge yoⁿ may contynewe in the same wth the grace of god who keepinge yoⁿ &c. And if I sawe the origenall Letteres or a Coppie therof I would truly confesse my deede.

"2. To the Second I say I wrotte the sayd Letters to the Prior of Cartemell at the requeste and desire of one Collenes baylife of Kendall, w^{ch} Collenes at my beinge at pomfret shewed me that all the Chanones of Cartemell were entered the house excepte the foolishhe Prior who would not goe to them onlie for his owne profite desiringe me to write a letter to him to exhorte him to goe in likewise as his bretheren had done: And I graunted him to write the same tre when I Come to yorke w^{ch} was the morowe after the Conceptyon of our Ladye, and I deferred the tyme because I would hear howe the matteres proceeded in the Communication at Donkester the meane space after that Collines came to yorke eftesoones desiringe the same letter. At whose onlye mo^{co}n requeste and interpella^{co}n I wrot the same letter of suche effecte as is vnderwritten beinge the bouldere so to write for somuch as at my departyng from pomfret it was openly proclaymed as I hard saye and also

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 283.

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at yorke when I Came there it was voyced in euery manes mouth that the Abbeyes should stand in suche maner as they were put in vnto the nexte parleme[n]te and after my co[m]ing home to Kirkeby shortely after wthin sixe dayes as I remember M^r Robarte Bowes in the presence of S^r Henry Gascoine knight and other desired me to exhorte suche of the wiseste men as were Chammones of S^t Ageathes by Richemonde whom I knewe to be contente (leste they or the Country should thinke strange therat) to be put forth of their houses by the kinges Authoritie, And to be taken in againe by the same. And so to remaine vnto the determ[en]a[c]o[n] of the nexte parleme[n]te saing it was Concluded at the Communica[c]o[n] at Dauncaster it should so be. At whose de[sire] I spake to one Coke prior of the same howse to be contente wth the premisses and he promised to be for his parte, and to exhorte his bretheren to the same; And this manner of puttyng out and takyng in was comonly spoken of to be true after our retorne from Pomfret in all those partes aswell wth gentlemen as other vnto the Cominge of the Duke of Norfolke in these parts as farre as euer I hard of any man.

“4. To the fourthe I saye I wrot the said tres at yorke the Satordaye or Sondaye imediately followinge the Conceptyon of our lady w^{ch} was vpon a fridaye w^{ch} daye I departed from Pomfret homeward, one fortentyght before the publyca[c]o[n] of the pardon w^{ch} was published at Richemond iij myles from the place where I dwell on a market daye beinge Saturdaye the xxij day of December and not

as I remember a letter concerninge the insurrection I never wrot so ma ex[cepte] that the therof large w^{ch} was wthin of the firste beginninge of the Insurrectyon in Richemondsheire to the Abbot there M^r Siggeswicke M^r Witham gentlemen. And I all together wrotte letteres to the Abbotte of Fountaines and other preestes for a poste horses, and one other to S^r Christofer Danby knight to desire him to Subscribe his Name to his Letter, w^{ch} wee receaved from him, the Coppie of w^{ch} letteres doe remayne yet as I suppose in Jervaux abbaye aforesaid, and from the tyme of writyng the said letteres vnto the priore of Cartemell w^{ch} was wthin two dayes after the conceptyon of o^r Ladye as is aboue Expressed vnto this daye I never wrotte ne sente vnto him any letter or messuage for any thinge ne I haue hard any thinge by worde or writyng from him at any tyme sithen.”

[Fol. 85.]

These
blanks are
oblite-
rations in
the origi-
nal.

Renewed
rebellion
in the
north.

The rebel army of the north was dispersed, but the cause of their discontent was in no degree removed. Several of the monks and others, who had repossessed themselves of the religious houses during the time of the insurrection, were again ejected, and a fresh rebellion broke out on the northern extremity of Lancashire, under Musgrave and Tilley. The career of the insurgents was short and humiliating; and

their only military operation consisted in besieging the city of Carlisle, in which they entirely failed. The duke of Norfolk, having put their army to flight, made prisoners of all their officers, with the exception of Musgrave; seventy of them were brought to trial by martial law, and, being found guilty of treason and rebellion, they were all executed on the walls of Carlisle. Similar risings took place at Hull, and in some other places; and the king, in the heat of his indignation, seemed to consider these fresh revolts as a justification for the infraction of the act of amnesty granted by his authority at Doncaster, though many of the accused, who afterwards became sufferers, were not, and could not be, concerned in the latter rebellion. Aske, the leader of the pilgrimage of grace, was tried and executed; as were also sir Robert Constable, sir John Bulmer, sir John Percy, sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley; many others were thrown into prison, and most of them shared the fate of their leader. The plea of compulsion set up by lord Darcy for the surrender of Pontefract did not avail him, neither did his advanced age of eighty years, though many of them had been spent in the service of his country.* The inexorable monarch, after his condemnation, refused to extend to him the royal clemency, and he was executed on Tower Hill. "Being now satisfied with punishing the rebels, the king published anew," says lord Herbert, "a general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered; and he created a patent court of justice at York, for deciding on suits in the northern counties; a demand which had been made by the rebels." It appears, however, that the arm of justice was *not* yet stayed; for at the spring assizes at Lancaster, in 1537, John Paslew, D.D., abbot of Whalley, was sentenced to death for high treason, on account of the part he had taken in the northern rebellion, and 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 Castegate and William Haydocke, monks of Whalley. Adam Sudbury, abbot of Jervaux, with Ashbeed, a monk of that house, and William Wold, prior of Burlington, also suffered death for the same offence.

Execu-
tions.

* On being led to execution, lord Darcy accused the duke of Norfolk, the commander-in-chief of the king's forces, of having encouraged the rebellion of the north; but this charge was disregarded by the king, and seems to have had no better foundation than the anxiety of the duke to spare the lives of the rebels. Near the close of Henry's reign, the duke and his son, the earl of Surrey, fell into disgrace, owing to the intrigues of their enemies at court, and to the fickleness of the king's disposition. The accomplished and lamented son perished on the scaffold; and his father was indebted for his life rather to the death of the king than to the services he had rendered to his country, by his achievements on the ocean, his gallantry in the battle of Flodden, and his still more distinguished service in dispersing an army of 40,000 men without the effusion of blood.

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XII.Dissolu-
tion of the
larger mo-
nasteries.

The part taken by the monks in the rebellion of the north, and the encouragement they had given to their dependants and tenants to join in that insurrection, served as a reason for the dissolution of the larger monasteries, of which it had been declared by parliament, that "in divers of them religion was right well kept and observed." This character, however, did not save them from the rapacious grasp of the spoiler; and the sagacity which suggested that the dissolution of the smaller monasteries would soon be succeeded by the sequestration of the property of the larger establishments, was soon made manifest. A new commission, with the earl of Sussex at its head, was appointed, to investigate the conduct of the existing monasteries, and the commissioners spent nearly four years in going from house to house, by turns soliciting, and by turns compelling, the heads of those houses to surrender them, with their lands and revenues, into the hands of the king. Though these appropriations were so numerous in the reign of Henry VIII., only one original surrender of any religious house is to be found; and that is, the surrender of the abbey of Furness, in the county of Lancaster. This instrument is of the date of the 9th of April, in the last year of the king's reign, from which it appears that the annual value of the monastery was £960, and that thirty monks were attached to that house. The surrender of Furness abbey will serve as a specimen of the proceedings under this new commission.*

"All the members of the community, with the tenants and servants, were successively examined in private; and the result of a protracted inquiry was, that, though two monks were committed to Lancaster castle, nothing could be discovered to criminate either the abbot or the brotherhood. The commissioners proceeded to Whalley, and a new summons compelled the abbot of Furness to reappear before them. A second investigation was instituted, and the result was the same. In these circumstances, says the earl, in a letter to Henry, which is still extant, 'devising with myselfe, yf one way would not serve, how and by what means the said monks myght be ryd from the said abbey, and consequently how the same might be at your gracious pleasur, I determined to assay him as of myself, whether he would be contented to surrender giff and graunt unto (you) your heirs and assignans the sayd monastery; which thing so opened to the abbot farely, we found him of a very facile and ready mynde to follow my advice in that behalf.' A deed was accordingly offered him to sign, in which, having acknowledged 'the misorder and evil rule both unto God and the king of the brethren of the said abbey,' he, in discharge of his conscience, gave and surrendered to Henry all the title and interest which he possessed in the monastery of Furness, its lands and its revenues. Officers were immediately

* See original papers in the British Museum, Cleop. E. iv. 111, 244, 246. See also West's Furness, Appendix x. 4-7.

despatched, to take possession in the name of the king; the commissioners followed with the abbot in their company; and in a few days the whole community ratified the deed of its superior. The history of Furness is the history of Whalley, and of the other great abbeys in the north. They were visited under pretext of the late rebellion; and, by one expedient or other, were successively wrested from their possessors, and transferred to the crown.”*

As an inducement to their superiors to surrender their monasteries, tempting offers of a permanent provision were made to the brotherhood; and to such as withheld their consent, either no allowance whatever was granted, or that allowance so small as to leave them in a state of abject penury.†

The progress of the reformation kept pace with the dissolution of the papal institutions; and in the year 1538, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament were, for the first time, printed entire in English, under the sanction and authority of the government. Pope Clement, incensed by all these acts of disobedience to the Romish church, was at length induced to issue his celebrated bull of excommunication, by which the king of England was declared an apostate, the whole kingdom was put under an interdict, his subjects were required to rise up in arms against his authority, foreign potentates were charged to make war upon him, and he was expelled from the pale of the holy catholic church.

Publica-
tion of the
Bible in
English.

So far were the thunders of the Vatican from arresting the king in his sacrilegious career, that, in the following year, a bill was brought into the English parliament, vesting in the crown all the moveable and immoveable property of the monastic institutions, which either had already been, or should hereafter be, suppressed, abolished, or surrendered. The heads of the twenty-eight mitred abbeys, and the two priors of Coventry and St. John of Jerusalem, having been divested of their revenues, lost the seats which they had hitherto enjoyed in the house of peers; but the county of Lancaster did not in this way suffer any diminution of parliamentary influence, seeing that none of those highly-privileged houses were situated in this county. The abbots, masters, and priors of the religious orders in Lancashire, however, frequently received writs of summons to parliament; and it appears from

Excom-
munica-
tion of the
king.

1539.

* Lingard, IV. 256.

† The pensions to the superiors varied from £266 to £6 per annum. The priors of cells received generally £13. A few whose services had merited distinction obtained £20. To the other monks were allotted pensions of six, four, or two pounds, with a small sum each as a departure fee, to provide for his immediate wants. The pensions to nuns averaged about £4. “It should, however, be observed,” says Dr. Lingard, from whom we quote, “that these sums were not in reality so small as they appear, as money was, probably, at that period of *ten times* more value than it is now.” This, however, is an over-estimate, taking the price of wheat as the criterion.

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the Close Rolls, that from 49 Henry III. to 23 Edward IV. the heads of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Cockersand alone received upwards of one hundred of these parliamentary writs.

1510.

From the
Notitia
Monas-
tica.

From this period is to be dated the dissolution of all the monastic institutions in the county of Lancaster; and the following is a concise history of their original foundation, the religious orders to which they were attached, and their estimated income, according to Dugdale and to Speed, at the time of the visitations, which took place in the interval between 1534 and 1540:—

Lanca-
shire mo-
nasteries.

“ At BURSCOUGH was a Priory of Austin, or Black Canons, founded by Robert Fitz-Henry, Lord of Lathom, in the reign of Richard I. St. Nicholas was the tutelar saint of this house, which had a prior, and five religious, and forty servants, and was endowed at the dissolution with £80. 7s. 6d. per annum, according to Dugdale; according to a second valuation, £122. 5s. 7d.; according to Mr. Speed, with £129. 1s. 10d.

“ At COKERHAM there was a Priory.

“ At COCKERSAND, a Premonstratensian Abbey.* Here was first a hermitage, and then an hospital for several infirm brethren, under the government of a prior, dedicated to St. Mary, and subordinate to the Abbey of Leycestre, founded, or chiefly endowed, by William of Lancastre, in the time of Henry II.; but about the year 1190, it was changed into an Abbey of Premonstratensian Canons, to which there seems to have been united another abbey of the same order, which Theobald, brother to Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, some years after, built, or designed to build, at Pyling, to the honour of the blessed Virgin. The Abbey of Cockersand consisted, about the time of the dissolution, of twenty-two religious, and fifty-seven servants, and was then found to be worth £157. 14s. per annum, Dugd.; £228. 5s. 4d. Speed; £282. 7s. 7d. according to a second valuation. The site was granted, 35 Henry VIII., to John Kechin.

“ At CONISHED, a Priory of Austin Canons. Gabriel Pennington built, in the time of Henry II., upon the soil, and by the encouragement, of William of Lancastre, Baron of Kendale (who was a very great benefactor) an hospital and priory of Black Canons, to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary; which priory consisted of a prior, and seven religious, and forty-eight servants, and was valued at £124. 2s. 1d. per annum, Speed; £97. 0s. 2d. Dudg., which was the first valuation; but, upon a second valuation, £161. 5s. 9d.

Near
Preston.

“ At FURNES, a Cistercian Abbey. The monastery, begun at Tulket, A.D. 1124, for the monks of Savigny, in France, was, after three years, viz. A.D. 1127, removed to this valley, then called Bekangesgill. Stephen, the earl of Morton and Boloigne,

* This monastery, by favour of the king, outlived for a short time the general dissolution.

(afterward king of England) was the founder of this abbey, which was of the Cistercian order, and commended to the patronage of the blessed Virgin Mary. It was endowed at the dissolution with £805. 16s. 5d. per annum, Dugd.; £766. 7s. 10d. Speed.

“ At UP HOLLAND, a Benedictine Priory. Here was, in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, a college or chantry, consisting of a dean and twelve secular priests, who were changed, A. D. 1319, by Walter, lord bishop of Litchfield, at the petition of sir Robert Holland, then patron, and, as I conceive, original founder, into a prior and Benedictine monks. Here were, about the time of the suppression, five religious and twenty-six servants. This house was valued at £53. 3s. 4d. per annum, Dugd.; £61. 3s. 4. Speed; and at £78. 12s. according to a second valuation. It was granted 37 Henry VIII. to John Holcroft.

“ At HORNEBY, a Premonstratensian Cell.* An hospital or cell of a prior and three Premonstratensian canons to the abbey of Croxton, in Leicestershire, of the foundation of the ancestors of sir Thomas Stanley, lord Monteagle, to whom the site and domains of this priory (as parcel of Croxton) were granted, 36 Henry VIII. It was dedicated to St. Wilfred, and endowed with lands to the value of £26 per annum.

“ At KERSHALL or KYRKSHAW, a Cluniac Cell. King Henry II. granted, and King John, anno reg. I. confirmed, to the monastery of Nottinghamshire, the hermitage here, which thereupon became a small house of Cluniac monks, and a cell to that priory was granted 32 Henry VIII. to Baldwin Willoughby.

“ At KERTMEL or CARTMELE, a Priory of Austin's Canons, William Mareschall, the elder earl of Pembroke, founded here A. D. 1188, a priory of regular canons of the order of St. Austin, which was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and rated 26 Henry VIII. at £91. 6s. 3d. per annum, Dugd.; £124. 2s. 1d. Speed; £212. 11s. 10d. second valuation. Herein, about the time of the dissolution, were reckoned ten religious, and thirty-eight servants. The site of this monastery was granted 32 Henry VIII. to Thomas Holcroft.

“ At LANCASTER, (1) an Alien Priory, earl Roger, of Poitiers, gave, A. D. 1094, the church of St. Mary, with some other lands here, to the abbey of St. Martin de Sagio, or Sees, in Normandy, whereupon a prior and five Benedictine monks were placed here, who, with three priests, two clerks and servants, made up a small monastery, subordinate to that foreign house, which was endowed with the yearly revenue of about £80 sterling. After the dissolution of the alien priories, this, with the land thereunto belonging, was annexed by king Henry V. or his scoffees to the abbey of Syon, in Middlesex.

* This cell was resigned before the visitation in 1535.

“(2.) An hospital for a master chaplain and nine poor persons, whereof three to be lepers, was founded in this town by king John, while he was earl of Morton, which was afterward, by Henry duke of Lancaster, annexed to the nunnery of Seton, in Cumberland, about 30 Edward III. It was dedicated St. Leonard.

“(3.) A Priory for Black Friars. Here was a house of Dominican or Black Friars, founded about 44 Henry III. by sir Hugh Harrington, Knight, which was granted 32 Henry VIII. to Thomas Holcroft.

“(4.) A Friary for Grey Friars. A Franciscan Convent near the bridge.

“*Langrigh*, now Longridge. An ancient hospital under Longridge hills, of a master and brethren, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and our Holy Saviour.

“At Lythom or Lethum, Benedictine Cell. Richard Fitz-Roger, in the latter end of the reign of king Richard I. gave lands here to the church of Durham, with intent that a prior and Benedictine monks might be settled here, to the honour of St. Mary and St. Cuthbert. Its annual revenues at the suppression were worth £48. 19s. 6d. Dugd.; £53. 15s. 10d. Speed. The site, as parcel of Durham, was granted, 2 Mariæ, to sir Thomas Holcroft.

“At MANCHESTER. A College,* Thomas de la Ware, clerk, some time rector of the parish church here, (having the barony and estate of his brother, John Lord de la Ware, without heirs) obtained leave of the king, 9 Henry V., to make it collegiate, to consist of a warden and a certain number of priests. It was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, and endowed with revenues to the yearly value of £200, or, as they were returned into the first-fruits office, 26 Henry VIII. £226. 12s. 5d. in the whole, and £213. 10s. 11d. clear. This college was dissolved in 1547, by king Edward VI. but re-founded, first, by queen Mary, and afterwards by queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1578, and again by king Charles I. A.D. 1636, for a warden, four fellows, two chaplains, four singing men, and four choristers, being incorporated, as they were before by queen Elizabeth, by the name of ‘the Warden and Fellows of Christ Church, in Manchester.’

“At PENWORTHAM, a Benedictine Priory. Warine Bussel, having given the church and tithes of this place, with several other estates in this country, to the abbey of Evesham, in Worcestershire, in the time of William the Conqueror, here was shortly after a priory erected, and several Benedictine monks from Evesham, placed in it. This priory was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and rated 26 Henry VIII. at £29. 18s. 7d. per annum, as Dugdale in one place, and £99. 5s. 3d. as he saith in another; and at £114. 16s. 9d. per annum, as Speed. The site was granted 34 Henry VIII., to John Fleetwood.

* This college eesaped the general dissolution, or was speedily restored.

“ At PRESTON, (1.) an ancient Hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, occurs in the Lincoln taxation, A.D. 1291. The mastership was in the gift of the king.

“ (2.) A Friary, for Grey Friars. The original builder of the Grey Friars' College, on the north-west side of this town, was Edmund earl of Lancaster, son to king Henry III. The site of which was granted, 32 Henry VIII., to Thomas Holcroft.

“ At WARRINGTON, a Friary for Austin Friars. At the bridge end near this town, was a priory of Augustine Friars, founded before A.D. 1370, which, 32 Henry VIII., was granted to the often-mentioned Thomas Holcroft.

“ At WHALLEY, an Abbey for Cistercians. Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, having given the advowson of the parish to the White Monks of Stanlawe, in Cheshire, they procured the same to be appropriated to them, whereupon, A.D. 1296, they removed their abbey hither, and increased the number of their religions to sixty. There was another removal proposed to a place called Toestathe, by Thomas earl of Lancaster, A.D. 1316, but it seems not to have taken effect. Whalley was dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, and, at the suppression, had revenues to the yearly value of £321. 9s. 1d. Dugd.; £551. 4s. 6d. Speed. It was granted to Richard Ashton and John Braddyll, 7 Edward VI.

“ At WYERSDALE, a Cistercian Abbey. A colony of Cistercian monks from Furnes, for some time fixed here; but about A.D. 1188, they removed over into Ireland, and founded the abbey of Wythney.”

The lands and revenues of the monasteries of Furness, Cartmel, Conished, Burscough, and Up-Holland, were confided by parliament to the officers of the duchy of Lancaster, to be administered for the king's use.* The king also annexed to the duchy of Lancaster property of the yearly value of £796. 4s. 2½d., subject to an annual pension to chantry priests of £126. 2s. 4d. This appropriation was made through the medium of the court of augmentation, which court was established in the year 1535, for the purpose of ordering, surveying, selling, or letting, all manors, lands, tithes, and other property belonging to the monasteries.

The revenues administered by the duchy.

The number of monasteries suppressed in England and Wales amounted in the whole to six hundred and forty-five, exclusive of ninety-six colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals;† the value of which property has been variously estimated, but, according

Value of the dissolved monasteries.

* 32 Henry VIII. c. 20.

† Camden's Brit. i. cxcii.

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to the Liber Regis, it yielded annually £142,914. 12s. 9½d.,* which, taken at twenty years' purchase, would produce £2,858,290; worth in our money £28,582,900. The revenues of the church, before the dissolution of the monasteries, is said to have equalled about one-fourth of the whole landed income of the kingdom.† According to the records in the augmentation office,‡ the process pursued by the commissioners, on the dissolution of each of the monasteries, was as follows:—1st. The commissioners broke its seal, and assigned pensions to the members. 2nd. The plate and jewels were reserved for the king; the furniture and goods were sold, and the money was paid into the augmentation office. 3rd. The abbot's lodgings and the offices were left standing, for the convenience of the next occupant; the church, cloisters, and apartments for the monks, were stripped of the lead and every other saleable article, and then left to fall to ruins. 4th. The lands were by degrees alienated from the crown by gift, sale, or exchange.

A revenue so immense as that yielded by the monasteries might, under judicious application, have extinguished all the public burdens both for the support of the state and the relief of the poor, and expectations of this kind were held out to the people;§ but they were soon undeceived; pauperism became more extensive than ever, and, within one year from the period of the last appropriation, a subsidy of two-tenths, and another of two-fifteenths, were demanded by the king, and granted by parliament, to defray the expenses of reforming the religion of the state.¶ Henry VIII., like his predecessor, was rapacious,—with this difference, however, that the father collected money to save, while the son amassed wealth to supply the demands of a licentious profusion. Much of the church property was disposed of to the king's favourites, by grants or by indulgent sales, one of the conditions of which was, that the new proprietors of the abbey lands should keep up the ancient hospitality; but

* Annual revenue of all the monastic houses classed in the orders.

No. of Houses.	Orders.	Revenue.			No. of Houses.	Orders.	Revenue.		
		£.	s.	d.			£.	s.	d.
186 . . .	Benedictines . . .	65,877	14	0	3 . . .	Fontevraud Nuns	825	8	6½
20 . . .	Cluniaes . . .	4,972	9	2½	3 . . .	Minoreesses . . .	548	10	6
9 . . .	Carthusians . . .	2,947	15	4¼	1 . . .	Bridgetines . . .	1731	8	9¾
101 . . .	Cistercians . . .	18,691	12	6	2 . . .	Bonhommes . . .	859	5	11¾
173 . . .	Austins . . .	33,027	1	11		Knights Hospitallers	5,394	6	5¼
32 . . .	Premonstratensians	4,807	14	1		Friars . . .	809	11	8¼
25 . . .	Gilbertus . . .	2,421	13	9					

† Lord Herbert, p. 396.

‡ Burnet's Records, 1, 151.

§ Coke's Inst. iv. 44.

¶ Henry's enormous expenditure is easily accounted for by the fact, that his principal employment was gambling.—*Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* p. xxiii.

as this was in some degree voluntary, the practice soon fell into disuse. A portion of the monastic revenues was appropriated to the advancement of religion, though much less than the king originally intended. His first purpose, as appears from documents under his own hand, was to found eighteen new bishoprics, but the number declined from time to time, till it was at last reduced to six, viz. Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Gloucester, and Chester, in the last of which was included Lancashire and Richmondshire. Anciently there had been a bishop's see at Chester, but it had merged in the diocese of Lichfield. At the same time the king converted fourteen abbeys and priories into cathedral and collegiate churches, attaching to each a dean and a certain number of prebendaries, but none of these were in this county. That the endowments might not be too rich, each chapter had imposed upon its ecclesiastical revenue the obligation of contributing annually to the support of the resident poor, and to the repair of the highways.* The order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem, including the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers, after having existed for four hundred and thirty-six years, were doomed to suppression by legislative enactment; and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, happily for learning in future ages, escaped, though narrowly, the same fate.

The chantries, in the monasteries and churches of this county, were very numerous at the period of the reformation, as may be inferred from the following List of Chantries, which we find in the records of the office of the duchy of Lancaster :—

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Warton Ecclesia stipend, no date. 2. Kirkeby Ireloth. Cantaria. 3. Liverpool Capella. 4. Liverpool Capella. 5. Eccleston. Cantar. 6. Sefton. Cantar. 7. Croston. Cantar. 8. Manchester Colleg. Decimæ. 9. Manchester Decimæ in Moston, Norton, Kidemanhulme, Cromeshall. 10. Burscoughe Priory, the Manor. 11. Ormskirke. Cantar. 12. Eccles. Cantar. 13. St. Michael's super Wyram. Cantar. 14. Manchester, Beckwith's. Cantar. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Manchester Colleg. Decimæ de Trafford, Stratford and Chollerton. 16. Halsal Ecclesia. Cantar. 17. Yerleth. Parcel Monaster de Furnes. 18. Beamonde. Parcel Monaster de Furnes. 19. St. Michael's super Wyram. Cantar. 20. Manchester Colleg. Decimæ. Granor de Bradford, Ardewick, and Openshaw. 21. Ballie. Cantar. in Capell infra Poch. de Mitton. Ebor. 22. Cantaria, in Lancaster. 23. Hollingfare Capella, in Warrington. 24. Standish Ecclesia. Cantar. 25. Warrington Ecclesia. Butler's Cantar. 26. Halsall Ecclesia. Cantar. | Bundle U.
First por-
tion. |
|--|---|----------------------------------|

* Rymer, xv. 77.

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- | | |
|--|--|
| 27. Preston Ecclesia. Sæc Mariæ. Cantar.
28. Ribchester Ecclesia. Cantar.
52. Pickering Lythe pell. Maner in Com. Ebor.
Windell Capell in Prescot. Cantar.
53. Beckingshaw Capella in Croston et Tene-
ment in Preston, peell. possession Colleg.
novi opis Leicest. | 54. Silverdale, Boston, Hest peell. Monast. de
Cartmell.
55. Clitherow Capella, in Whalley Cantar.
56. Manchester Ecclesia, Trafford's Chappel.
Cantar.
57. Eccles Church Colleg. Jesu. |
|--|--|

Decayed
towns in
Lancas-
shire.

The condition of the people appears to have suffered with the suppression of the monastic institutions; no fewer than four separate statutes were passed between the years 1535 and 1544, setting forth lists of decayed cities and towns in different, and in almost all, parts of the kingdom, wherein it is declared—"That there hath been in times past many beautiful houses in those places which are now falling into ruin," and amongst the towns mentioned in the act of 1544, are, "Lancaster, Preston, Lyrepool, and Wigan, in Lancashire."

Privilege
of sanc-
tuary.

The privilege of *sanctuary* was one of the evils of the monastic system, though its date is anterior to the foundation of monasteries. In virtue of this privilege, certain places became cities of refuge—"seats of peace," as they were called; and the inviolability of these asylums in early times is sufficiently indicated by the answer of cardinal Boughier, when importuned by the creatures of the duke of Gloucester to bear away his ill-fated nephew, young Richard of York, from the sanctuary of Westminster:—

"God in heaven forbid
 We should infringe the holy privilege
 Of blessed *sanctuary*! not for all this land
 Would I be guilty of so deep a sin."

SHAKESPEARE'S *Rich. III.*, Act III, Scene 1.

"These sanctuaries were first instituted and designed for an asylum or place of safety to such malefactors as were not guilty of any notorious crimes; and were of great antiquity in Greece; whence they were derived to the Romans; and had perhaps their originals from those cities of refuge appointed by Moses, by the immediate command of God himself. There were many of them in this kingdom before the Conquest; and they became so numerous after, and so scandalous, (divers of them having obtained protection for those that were guilty of high-treason, murder, rape, felony, &c.) that, being complained of in parliament, 1540, immediately after the dissolution of the religious houses, the greatest part of them were suppressed, and those few that remained reduced to their first institution."* Manchester was one of the places of sanctuary in the county of Lancaster; Lancaster was another; and

* Burton's MSS.

Chester, then called West Chester, a third. When trade began to extend itself, the nuisance of a harbour for thieves and other delinquents became intolerable, and, by an act passed 38 Henry VIII., Manchester was allowed to forego its privilege, and to transport all the refugees within its jurisdiction to Chester.

The king survived the dissolution of the monasteries seven years, but no event occurred, in that period, of public interest in the history of Lancashire. During his last sickness, he revoked his former wills, and ordained that, after his death, his three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, should succeed him in the sovereign power, the son as male heir, and the daughters in the order of primogeniture.

Chap. XXX.

Lancashire in the reign of Edward VI.—In the reign of queen Mary.—Lancashire martyrs: John Rogers, John Bradford, George March.—Muster of soldiers in the county of Lancaster in Mary's reign.—Lancashire in the reign of Elizabeth.—General muster of soldiers in Lancashire, in 1559.—Ecclesiastical commission, consisting of the earl of Derby, the bishop of Chester, and others.—State of Lancashire on the appointment of the commission.—Catholic recusants.—Mary queen of Scots seeks an asylum in England—Placed in confinement.—Puritan recusants.—Rebellion in the north to re-establish the Catholic religion—Suppressed.—Certificates of the levies of troops in the county of Lancaster, with autographs of a number of the principal inhabitants.—Meetings of the lieutenancy.—Original letter of Edward, earl of Derby, to the queen.—Letter of the earl of Huntington to secretary Cecil, casting suspicion on the loyalty of the earl of Derby; proved to be ill founded.—Part taken by Lancashire gentlemen to liberate Mary queen of Scots.—Comparative military strength of the kingdom.—Muster of soldiers in Lancashire, in 1574.—Declaration of the ancient tenth and fifteenth within the county of Lancaster.—Queen Elizabeth's visit to Dr. Dee, the astrologer.—The Chaderton MSS. relating to the affairs of the county of Lancaster.—Original papers relating to the Lancashire recusants.—Lancashire contribution of oxen to queen Elizabeth's table.—Fac-simile.—MS. of the Lancashire lieutenancy.—Lancashire loyal association against Mary queen of Scots and her abettors.—Trial and execution of Mary queen of Scots.—The Spanish armada.—Letter from the queen to the earl of Derby thereon.—Preparations in Lancashire to resist—Destruction of.—Thanksgiving for national deliverance in Lancashire.—Memorable and fatal feud.—Atrocious abduction.—Levies of troops in Lancashire for Ireland.—Suppression of the rebellion there.—Death of queen Elizabeth.—Loyal address of Lancashire gentry to her successor James I. on his accession to the throne.

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XIII.

Edw. VI.



VERY year during the “infant reign” of Edward VI. the reformation continued to advance with a steady step; but no events of any distinguished public interest occurred within this period, connected with the county palatine of Lancaster. In the first year of this reign, Francis, earl of Shrewsbury, was constituted lord-lieutenant of the counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Derby, Stafford, Salop, and Nottingham, and, in the following year, he was made justice of the forests north of the Trent.* Under the inhibition of a proclamation,†

issued by the lord protector, Somerset, in the name of the king, all places of public worship belonging to dissenters, as well Protestant as Catholic, in this and the other counties of England, were closed; and any preacher, of whatsoever persuasion, who took upon himself to preach in an open audience, except such as were licensed by

* Lodge's Illustrations, I. p. xiv.

† Dated September 23, 1548.

the lord protector, or by the archbishop of York, became obnoxious to the royal displeasure. The avowed object of this intolerant proclamation was, "to produce an uniform order throughout the realm, and to put an end to all controversies in religion." At the same time there was a board of commission formed, for advancing the reformation, of which Edward, earl of Derby, was a commissioner.

This document was founded upon an act of parliament, by which the archbishop of Canterbury, "with other learned and discreet bishops and divines," was directed to draw up an order of divine worship, called a liturgy, or book of common prayer. This duty having been performed to the satisfaction of the king and his parliament, it was enacted, that from the feast of Whitsunday next, all divine offices should be performed according to the prescribed ritual, and that such of the clergy as should refuse to conform, or should continue to officiate in any other manner, should, upon conviction, be imprisoned six months, and forfeit a year's profit of their benefices; for the second offence, forfeit all church preferment, and suffer a year's imprisonment; and for the third offence, suffer imprisonment during life. And all that should write or print any thing against this liturgy, were to be fined, for the first offence ten pounds, for the second twenty pounds, and for the third, forfeit all their property, with imprisonment for life. Against this act, the earl of Derby, and eight of the bishops, entered their protest on the journals of the Lords.

The liturgy.

1548.

In the same arbitrary spirit, a law was made against vagabonds, which was covertly meant to apply to mendicant priests, by which it was enacted, that any persons who should be found, for three days together, loitering without work, or without offering themselves to work, or that should run away from work, and resolve to live idly, should be seized on; and whosoever should present them to a justice of peace, was to have them adjudged to be slaves for two years, and they were to be marked with the letter V imprinted with a hot iron on their breast. Two years afterwards, this cruel statute was repealed, and provisions were made for relieving the sick and the impotent, and for setting such of the poor as were able, to work; on which law the celebrated statute of the 43d Elizabeth was grounded.

Vagrancy.

First poor law.

That the earl of Derby, and several of the bishops, should have protested against the act of uniformity, and its impracticable provisions, which act presumptuously assumed "to be drawn up by the aid of the Holy Ghost," could not be matter of wonder; but why his lordship, and the earls of Rutland and Sussex, the viscount Hereford, and lords Monteagle, Sands, Wharton, and Evers,* should enter a pretest against an act passed prohibiting all simoniacal pactions for reservation of pensions out of benefices, and the granting of advowsons while the incumbent was yet alive, it is difficult to discover, unless upon the supposition, that his lordship headed an oppo-

Early parliamentary opposition.

* Journals of the Lords, 1552.

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sition alike hostile to all the measures of the existing administration, whether good or bad. The act for legalizing the marriage of the clergy passed in the same year, and was also protested against by the earl of Derby, by the earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Bath, and by the lords Abergavenny, Stourton, Monteagle, Sands, Wharton, and Evers.

Visitation
of chan-
tries.

Edward VI., or rather the regency by which his government was directed, imitating the example of his royal father, instituted a visitation, by which the chantries of Lancashire were inspected by two lay gentlemen appointed for that purpose, and by a civilian, a divine, and a register, in order to ascertain the state of the chantries, and to apply their revenues to the king's use, to be expended, as was alleged, in the endowment of schools, the maintenance of the poor, and the erection of colleges. These visitations became general throughout the provinces of Canterbury and York, and the suppression of chantries followed as a matter of course. Subsequently, lord Paget, the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was charged with having appropriated large sums out of the revenues of the suppressed chantries to his own use, and with other acts of malversation; of which charges he was convicted, on vague and unsatisfactory evidence, and fined in the enormous sum of six thousand pounds. Nor did the severity of his lordship's sentence end here; he was degraded from his rank as a knight of the order of the garter, because he was not a gentleman by descent, either from his father or his mother. His real offence, however, consisted in his steady adherence to the fallen protector, the duke of Somerset, by which he became obnoxious to his successful uncle, the duke of Northumberland.

Degrada-
tion of the
chancellor
of the
duchy.

Council of
the north.

"His Majesty's Council in the Northern Parts," an institution arising out of the demands of the Pilgrims of Grace, for the purpose of facilitating the administration of justice, without subjecting suitors in the north to the trouble and cost of repairing to the metropolis, was organized in this reign, and the earl of Shrewsbury was appointed to the office of lord president of the council. This court, which was in some degree vice-regal, consisted of a council, with the president at its head, assisted by Henry earl of Westmoreland, Henry earl of Cumberland, Cuthbert bishop of Durham, lord William Dacres of the north, John lord Conyers, Thomas lord Wharton, John Hind, knt., one of his majesty's justices of the common pleas, Edmund Moleneux, knt., sergeant-at-law, Henry Savel, knt., Robert Bowes, knt., Nicholas Fairfax, knt., George Conyers, knt., Leonard Becquith, knt., William Babthorp, knt., Anthony Nevill, knt., Thomas Gargrave, knt., Robert Memmell, sergeant-at-law, Anthony Bellasis, John Rokeby, doctor of law, Robert Chaloner, Richard Morton, and Thomas Eynis, esqrs. The sum of a thousand pounds a year was granted to the lord president, for the better entertainment of himself and his council, with divers

revenues to the stipendiary members, who were required to be in continual attendance upon the council, except at such times as a certificate of absence was granted to any of them by the lord president. The council was furnished with powers to decide cases between plaintiffs and defendants in their bill of complaint, without replication, rejoinder, or other plea of delay, with power and authority to punish such persons, as in any thing should neglect, contemn, or disobey their command, or the process of the council: and all other that should speak seditious words, invent rumours, or commit such like offences, (not being treason,) whereof any inconvenience might grow, by pillory, cutting the ears, wearing of papers, imprisonment, or otherwise, at their discretion; or to assess fines, of all persons who might be convicted of any riot; and to assess costs and damages, as well to the plaintiffs as to the defendants. And for the more certain and brief determination of causes, it was ordained, that the lord president and council should keep four general sessions or sittings in a year, each of them to continue by the space of one month, one at York, another at Hull, the third at Newcastle, and the fourth at Durham, within the limits whereof the matters arising there should be ordered and decreed.* In fixing upon these places for holding the periodical sessions of the council, the convenience of the eastern, rather than of the western counties of the north, seems to have been consulted; and it is difficult to say, why Lancaster was not fixed upon in making the arrangement, in preference to either Durham or Newcastle. That the suitors might not be oppressed with heavy bills of costs, it was directed, “that no attorney should take, in one sitting or sessions, above twelve pence, nor any counsellor more than twenty pence, for one matter.”

Amongst the most distinguished of the king's favourites was lord Strange, by whom it was suggested to Edward, that a marriage with lady Ann Seymour, third daughter of the duke of Somerset, would conduce to his happiness, and to the peaceful settlement of the crown; but this alliance was defeated by a counter-intrigue, the object of which was to obtain for the king the hand of Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the French king.

Proposed
marriage.

A fatal malady soon afterwards seized the young monarch, who, in his last sickness, was entrusted to the charms and medicines of a female empiric. On the 6th of July he expired, with the reputation of high talents for government, had time suffered them to be fully developed. He was succeeded, after an ineffectual effort in favour of the unfortunate lady Jane Grey, the victim of the ambition of others, by his sister, the lady Mary, only daughter of Catherine of Arragon.

Death of
the king.

The reign of queen Mary is known in the history of Lancashire, as it is in the other parts of the kingdom of England, more by the bloody persecution which

Queen
Mary.

* Bishop Burnet's Collection of Records, book i. p. ii. No. 56.

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stained it, than by any other circumstance. The reproach of the loss of Calais, the last remaining stronghold of England in France, is almost obliterated by the streams of blood which flowed to satiate an embittered mind, the abode of superstition, and the slave of priestly domination. A period of nearly three hundred years has scarcely been found sufficient to wash away these sanguinary stains from the religious community to whom they attach; though they were the crime of the age in which it was the destiny of this unhappy queen to live, and though her father and her sister, both of the reformed religion, shared her guilt in a mitigated degree.

Re-establishment of the Catholic religion.

Lancashire chantries.

One of the first acts of queen Mary was to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom as the religion of the state; and in furtherance of that measure, the abolished chantries were restored. The following list contains the names of the parish churches in Lancashire, whose chantries were restored in the first year of the queen's reign, with stipends allowed to the chantry priests, which were from £1. 10s. to £6. per annum:—Ashton-under-Line, Childwal, Croston, (St. John and St. Trinity,) Crofton, Goosnergh, Halsall, (St. Nicholas and St. Mary's,) Holme, Kirkby, Kirkham 2, Lancaster 2, Manchester collegiate church 7, Mawdline, St. Michael-on-Wyre, Ormskirk, Prestwich, Rufford, Blackburn, Tarleton, Standish 2, Tunstall, Thurland Castle, Ulverstone, Walton 2, Warrington 3, Warton, Wigan, and Winwick 2.

During the life of her father, Mary had written a penitential letter, expressing her contrition for not having submitted herself to his "most just and virtuous laws," in the matter of the reformation, and putting her conscience under his royal and paternal direction. The letter is preserved in the Harleian Collection.* The subsequent death of the king, and the possession of the royal power on the part of his daughter, obliterated the remembrance of these solemn protestations, and she became still more fixed than before in her attachment to the ancient faith. Her matrimonial alliance with Philip, king of Spain, strengthened her previous partialities; and the presence of cardinal Pole, legate of the pope, one of the most learned of the clergy, and one of the most devoted disciples of the church of Rome, conspired to fix this attachment.

Lancashire martyrs.

John Rogers.

An act for reviving the statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V., against heretics (the Lollards) was hurried through the parliament, and gave the sanction of law to the executions which speedily followed. The first martyr in this reign was John Rogers, one of the translators of the bible in the time of Henry VIII.;† a Lancashire man, educated at Cambridge, and one of the first theological scholars of the age. The offence with which he was charged was that of holding a meeting near

* Cod. 283. See also Cotton. Lib. Otho, C.X,

† In the dedicatory epistle of that bible, this divine signs himself Thomas Mathew.

Bow church, in London, where a minister of the name of Ross had administered the communion according to the rites of the English book of service, and had openly prayed, that God would either change the heart of the queen, or take her out of the world. The tribunal before which he was condemned sat on the 28th of January, 1555, and consisted of the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich, and Carlisle; and sentence was passed both upon Hooper, the silenced bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers; but the utmost severity of the law was only executed on the latter, the former having at that time been merely degraded from the order of the priesthood.

Seven days after the sentence of condemnation was passed, Rogers was called to make ready for Smithfield, where he was sentenced to be burnt at the stake for heresy. When brought to Bonner's, bishop of London, to be degraded, he asked permission to see his wife, in order that he might, through her, convey his dying blessing to his ten children; but the request was peremptorily refused, with the insulting taunt, that he was a priest, and could not possibly have a wife. When fastened to the stake, a pardon was brought, and offered to him, on the condition that he would recant; but, with an intrepidity which nothing but religious principle can inspire, he rejected the proffered clemency, and assumed the crown of martyrdom.

Feb. 4.

The next Lancashire martyr executed in Smithfield was John Bradford, born at Manchester, who had in early life been a man of the world, and filled the office of secretary to sir John Harrington, the treasurer of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. At a subsequent period, he became a divine of exemplary piety,* of mild and diffident manners, but of a character so decided, that he did not hesitate to lay down his life for the truth of that religion which he had embraced from strong conviction. To so high a pitch had religious hostility attained, that Bourn, a canon of St. Paul's, and afterwards bishop of Bath, while preaching a sermon in favour of the Catholic faith, had a dagger hurled at him by one of the congregation. From this violence he was happily rescued by Bradford, who assuaged the storm of popular tumult. But this was made a charge against him; and it was alleged, that his power to allay the storm proved that he could direct the elements of which it was composed. Though a prebendary of St. Paul's, he preached much in Lancashire, his native county, where his piety and his zeal rendered his ministry peculiarly acceptable. Being sent to the King's Bench prison, he was tried along with Dr. Taylor, for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and asserting that wicked men do not partake of Christ's body in that ordinance. In

John
Bradford.

* When he became religious, "he sold," says Simpson, his intimate friend, "his chains, rings, brockets, and jewels of gold, which before he used to wear, and did bestow the price of this his former vanity in the necessary relief of Christ's poor members."

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XIII.July,
1555.George
Marsh.

vain was his fear appealed to; he would admit of no tenets or practices but such as were contained in the holy scriptures; and being found “incorrigible,” he was deemed a heretic; first excommunicated, and then condemned. For some months he was confined in Newgate, in the hope that he would retract his “heretical errors;” but instead of abjuring, he employed himself in promulgating them, particularly amongst his friends in Lancashire; and the earl of Derby, in declaiming against him in the house of lords, informed their lordships, that Bradford had done more hurt by the letters he had written while he was in prison, than he could have done by preaching, had he been at large, and at liberty to preach.* “With Bradford,” says bishop Burnet, “one John Lease, an apprentice of nineteen, was led out to be burnt, who was also condemned upon his answers to the articles exhibited to him. When they came to the stake, they both fell down and prayed. Then Bradford took a faggot in his hands, and kissed it; and so likewise kissed the stake, expressing thereby the joy he had in his sufferings; and cried, “O England, *repent, repent, beware of idolatry and false antichrist!*” But the sheriff hindering him from speaking any more, he embraced his fellow-sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they should sup with Christ that night. His last words were, “*Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth into eternal life, and few there be that find it.*”

George Marsh, a native of the parish of Dean, was the third and last Lancashire martyr, who suffered in the reign of queen Mary. 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 of a curate added those of an instructor of youth. The obscurity of his station did not preserve him from persecution; he was charged with propagating heresy, and sowing 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. Here he underwent various

* These letters breathed the most ardent spirit of piety, combined with an invincible heroism; and, in one of them, addressed to the inhabitants of “Lancashire and Cheshire,” written from his prison a short time before his martyrdom, he thus expresses himself:—“Turn unto the Lord, yet once more, I heartily beseech thee, thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Line, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottrim, Stopport, Winsley, Eccles, Prestwich, Middleton, Radcliff, and thou city of West-Chester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts; turn unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you; he will say unto his angel, ‘It is enough, put up the sword.’ And that he do this, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah! good brethren, take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christ’s sake. Amen.”

examinations,* and several attempts were made to prevail upon him to espouse the Catholic faith, but, as they all proved unsuccessful, he was at length committed by his lordship to Lancaster castle, and confined in irons with common felons. While in this situation, endeavours were made to extract from him information, whereon to found charges against other persons in the county; but no motives of fear or reward could induce him to endanger the lives or liberties of his fellow-christians. After remaining some time in confinement at Lancaster, he was removed to Chester, and placed in the bishop's liberty. The bishop's (Dr. Cote's) endeavours to "reclaim" him having proved ineffectual, he was remanded back to prison, and, in a few days, summoned before the spiritual court, assembled in the cathedral church at Chester, where, in the presence of the mayor, the chancellor, and the principal inhabitants of the city, he was accused of having preached most heretically and blasphemously in the parishes of Dean, Bury, and Eccles, as well as in other parishes in the bishop's diocese, not only against the pope's authority, but against the church of Rome, the holy mass, the sacraments of the altar, and the articles of the Romish faith. To these charges he modestly answered, he had preached neither heresy nor blasphemy, and that the doctrines which he believed and had propagated were those sanctioned by royal authority in the reign of Edward VI. On the subject of the power of the pope, he did not hesitate to declare, that the bishop of Rome ought to exercise no more authority in England than the archbishop of Canterbury ought to exercise in Rome. This answer raised the bishop of Chester's indignation to the highest possible pitch, and the torrents of his indignation flowed out with so much fury, that he stigmatized his prisoner as "a most damnable, irreclaimable, and unpardonable heretic." After some further endeavour made by the chancellor to reclaim this "irreclaimable heretic," the bishop proceeded to pass sentence upon him, and he was consigned to the Northgate prison, where he remained till the 4th of April. On this memorable day, he was led to execution amidst a crowd of spectators, agitated by conflicting feelings. The scene of this horrible tragedy was a precinct called Spital Broughton, within the liberties of the city. After the exhibition of a conditional pardon, as was the prevailing practice, from the queen by the vice-chancellor, Mr. Vawdrey, and the refusal of the martyr to retract his faith, the people, roused to indignation by the barbarous scene that presented itself, attempted to rescue Marsh from the hands of his sanguinary murderers, and sheriff Cowper, sharing the public feeling, joined in the attempt; but he

1555.

* In the course of one of these examinations, Marsh gave the earl the following well-deserved reproof:—"It is strange that your lordship, being of the honourable council of the late king Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith towards God and religion, should so soon after consent to put poor men to a shameful death for embracing the same religion."

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was beaten off by the other sheriff and his retainers. The most composed man in the assembly was the victim, about to be sacrificed to his principles; he exhorted the multitude to remain strong in the faith, and the faggots being lighted around him, he surrendered his spirit into the hands of his Redeemer.

Effects of
persecu-
tion.

While these revolting scenes were acting in the north, the powers of persecution raged in the south with undiminished fury, and the distinguished martyr, Crammer, archbishop of Canterbury, shared the fate of so many of his order. The effect of these sanguinary persecutions was to spread the doctrines they were meant to destroy; and it may be fairly doubted whether ever so many converts were made to the Protestant faith in the same time as during those years, when the seeds of the church were thus watered by the blood of the saints.

In the early part of this reign, a muster of soldiers was made in the county palatine of Lancaster, from the respective hundreds, of which the following is the abridged record, from a MS. in the possession of Thomas Birch, the younger, armiger, of Birch, temp. Eliz.

LANCASHIRE Military Muster.—MARY, 1553.

“DERBY HUNDRED, to raise 430 men; these were the commanders of them:—

“Edward Earl of Derby, Sir Richard Molyneux, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Peers Legh, Sir John Holcroft, Sir John Atherton, Sir William Norris; Thomas Butler, of *Bewsey*, George Ireland, of *Hale*, William Tarbock, of *Turbock*, Lawrence Ireland, of *Lydiate*, Esquires.

“SALFORD HUNDRED—350 men.

“Sir Edmund Trafford, Sir Wm. Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Longley, Sir Thomas Holt, Sir Robert Worseley; Robert Barton, Edward Holland, Ralph Ashton, Esqs.

“LEYLAND HUNDRED—170 men.

“Sir Thomas Hesketh; Edward Standish, John Fleetwood, Roger Bradshaw, John Langtree, Peers Anderton, and John Wrightington, Esqs.

“AMOUNDERNESS HUNDRED—300 men.

“Sir Thomas Hesketh, Sir Richard Houghton; George Brown, John Kitchen, Richard Barton, William Wetbie, and Wm. Barton, Esqs.

“BLACKBURN HUNDRED—400 men.

“Sir Richard Shireburn, Sir Thomas Langton, Sir Thomas Talbot, Sir John Southworth; John Townley, Thomas Catterall, John Osbolston, John Talbot, Esqs.

“LONSDALE HUNDRED—350 men.

“The lord Monteagle, Sir Marmaduke Tunstall Thomas Carus, George Middleton, Thomas Bradley, Hugh Dicconson, and Oliver Middleton, Esqs.

“ HUNDRED OF WEST DERBY.

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The Parish of Ormskirk, men 28	The Parish of Sefton . . . 30	The Parish of Leigh . . . 36
The Parish of North Meols . 9	The Parish of Walton . . . 36	The Parish of Warrington . 25
The Parish of Aughton . . 12	The Parish of Wigan . . . 52	The Parish of Childwell . . 27
The Parish of Altcar . . . 9	The Parish of Prescott . . 67	The Parish of Huyton . . . 16
The Parish of Hallsall . . 28	The Parish of Winwick . . 34	

“ THE HUNDRED OF LEYLAND.

The Parishes of Leyland . 36	Brindle Parish, cum villa . 14	Parochia de Eccleston . . 19
The Parish of Croston . . 36	Parochia de Chorley et vill. 9	Penwortham Parish . . . 17

“ THE HUNDRED OF AMOUDERNES.

Warton 6	Pulton 3	Elston and Huddersall . . 5
Carleton 8	Weton 3	Goosenargh 7
Hardholme & Clifton . . 8	Threleye 6	Much Singleton 7
Much Eccleston 5	Houghton 5	Whittington 5
Clifton 6	Little Eccleston and Larbreke 6	Haughton 5
Bispham and Norbreke . 5	Upper Rawcliffe and Tornecard 1	Elson 2
Scalnew and Straynowe . 7	Little Singleton and Grange . 5	Fryswicke 3
Freckleton 5	Westbye and Plumbton . . 8	Grymsawre and Unkefall . 5
Thilston 8	Rigby and Wraye 8	Ribbleton 3
Warton 4	Elliswicke 5	Lea 3
Newton and Scales . . . 3	Kelmyne and Brininge . . 5	Plumpton 11
Ashton Inghill, and Cottom 3	Kirkham 3	Billesburghe 6
Out Rawcliffe 4	Wassed 1	Barton's Newisame . . . 2
Thorn' on 8	Lithum 5	Parish of Garstang . . . 45
Layto and Warbrick . . 8		

“ THE HUNDRED OF BLACKBURNE.

The Parish of Blackburn . 113	The Parish of Ribchester . 20	Rossendall Forest . . . 36
The Parish of Whalley . . 175	Pendle Forest 36	

“ THE HUNDRED OF LONSDALE.

Cock ram 8	Leisham 2	Carnford 3
Ellall 11	Overton 2	Marton 6
Wiersdale 6	Middleton 2	Silverdale 2
Wiremore 4	Hayton and Oxcliffe . . 4	Healand 4
Turnham 4	Halton and Aughton . . 5	Hutton 3
Ashton and Stodley . . . 2	Slime and Heste 2	Dalton 3
Scotford 7	Bolton 6	Gressingham 2
Buke and Alkelefe . . . 3	Nether Kellet 5	Whittington 5
Lancaster 7	Over Kellet 5	Newton 1
Skerton 2	Conpyne Wray 1	Docker 1
Taisholme, Pulton, and Bare 4	Barwicke 3	Tunstall 1

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	Barrow	3	Ditto of Colton	8	Torwarbboth	7
	Locke	2	Ditto of Grisdale	7	Hamlet of Cromston	4
	Irebie	1	Ditto of Smithwick	10	Doversdale Broughton	7
	Thatum	4	Ditto of Clayfe	7	Much Land	27
	Hornbye	7	Dalton in Furness	21	Broughton cum Membris, with Township of Cart-	
	Claughton	2	Bardsay	2	mall	16
	Caton	5	Kirkby Irelith	8	Cartmell, Holcar, and Alith-	
			Lanckewicke	5	waite	15
			Norland and Egton Ulverston	13		
	<i>Furness.</i>		Osmunderly	4		
	Bayliwicke of Hawshead	17				

“SALFORD HUNDRED, no particular returns.”

Four years afterwards, when England had become involved in that war which expelled her from the continent of Europe, a royal proclamation was issued by the king and queen to Nicholas, archbishop of York, chancellor of England, commanding him to cause commissions to be issued under the great seal to the justices of the peace and sheriffs of the counties of Lancaster, Suffolk, and Norfolk, with full powers to array, inspect, and exercise all men at arms, and men capable of bearing arms, as well archers as horse and foot men, so that from the present time, and in time to come, they might be arrayed in arms ready to serve their country.* All this preparation was unavailing; a siege of eight days, under the duke of Guise, rendered the French masters of Calais, a fortress which it had cost the conquerors of Cressy eleven months to acquire, and which, for two hundred years, had been held by this country as the key to the dominions of the French king.

Loss of
Calais.

Soon after the fall of Calais, the Scots, influenced by French councils, began once more to move on their borders, and to threaten the northern counties of England with invasion. At this juncture, the earl of Derby, as lord lieutenant of the counties palatine of Lancaster and of Chester, addressed a despatch to the earl of Shrewsbury, lord president of the north, apprising his lordship of the measures that had been taken to array the levies in Lancashire and in Cheshire against “the Scottish doings,” of the number of the forces, and of the captains by whom they were to be commanded. The despatch is of the date of the 29th of September, 1557, and the following are the—

Scotch
invasion.

“CAPTEYNS IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER.

“Sir Richard Molynexe, K. or his son & heire; a feeble man himself, cc

“Sr Thom's Gerrard, K. cc

* Pat. 3 and 4. Phil. and Mary, p. 5. m. 11 dors.

“ S ^r Thom [’] s Talbot, K.	CC	CHAP. XIII.
“ S ^r Richard Hoghton, K. not hable himself, but will furnish an hable Gent. to be Capteyn: Bycause he is not hable to goo himself doth furnishe but	C	
“ S ^r Thom [’] s Hesketh, & others with hym	C	
“ S ^r Thom [’] s Langton, L. S ^r Will [’] m Noresse, L. neyther of them hable, but will furnishe an hable Capteyn	C	
“ S ^r Will [’] m Radelif, or his son and heire Alex ^r , who is a hansome Gent. & S ^r John Atherton joined w ^t him	C	
“ Fraunc [’] s Tunstall, & others	C	
“ S ^r John Holcroft, or his son and heire—Richard Asheton of Mydd, & others	C	
“ It [’] m, The rest appoynted in Lancashier be of my retymme, “ EDW ^D . DERBY.”		

Disappointed in all her hopes, Mary’s spirits sunk under her accumulated disasters, and at the age of forty-two years she descended childless to the grave, leaving the throne to the possession of her sister Elizabeth, whose masculine habits and discriminating mind much better fitted her to wield a sceptre.

Death of
queen
Mary.

The death of queen Mary, on the 17th of November, 1558, found the lady Elizabeth, now become queen of England, at Hatfield; and a summons was immediately sent by the queen’s council to the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Derby, and other noblemen, requiring them to repair thither, to conduct the queen to London. Amongst the nobles assembled to perform this first act of loyal duty, were the duke of Norfolk, lords Audley and Merley, lord Dacres of the north, lord Monteagle, lord Vaux, lord Wharton, and many others. In parliament, the annunciation of Elizabeth by the archbishop of York was hailed with acclamation, and the general cry of “ God save queen Elizabeth,” not merely from the courtiers, but also from the patriots, gave promise that a new and more happy era had already commenced.

Elizabeth
ascends
the throne.

The state religion was soon destined to undergo another change; but instead of being rapid and violent, it was conducted with great prudence; and that the feelings of the Catholics might not be outraged by a sudden transition, the queen retained a number of her Catholic ministers, taking care to have a sufficient number of the reformed faith, to overrule their deliberations.

The state
religion
again
changed.

To further the great work of ecclesiastical reform, the queen set on foot a royal visitation throughout England, and appointed commissioners to visit each diocese, whose business it was to inquire into the late persecutions; to ascertain what wrongs

Royal
visitation.

CHAP.
XIII.June 24,
1559.Commis-
sioners for
the north.

had been done ; what blood had been shed ; and who were the persecutors. They were further directed to minister the oath of recognition, and to enjoin the new book of service, which was to come into general use on the festival of John the Baptist.

Another of their duties was, to examine such as were imprisoned and in bonds for religion, though they had already been condemned, and to liberate them from prison.

The commissioners for the north were, Francis earl of Shrewsbury, president of the council in the north, Edward earl of Derby, Thomas earl of Northumberland, lord warden of the East and Middle Marches, Thomas lord Evers, Henry Percy, Thomas Gargrave, James Crofts, Henry Gates, knts., Edwin Sandys, D.D., Henry Harvey, LL.D., Richard Bowes, George Brown, Christopher Escot, and Richard Kingsmel, esqrs.

The northern visitation commenced at St. Mary's, Nottingham, on the 22nd of August, and was continued throughout the dioceses of Lincoln, York, Chester, and Durham. The commissioners received the complaints of many clergymen, who had been ejected from their livings during the last reign for being married ; and in almost all cases they were restored. Dr. Sandys, one of the visitors for the northern parts, preached against the primacy of the pope ; he also endeavoured to prepare the clergy to take the oath of supremacy to the queen, which was required of them, and to which most of them conformed, though in Lancashire there were many who declined to take the oath, and who staunchly supported the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament.

The
queen's
dislike to
political
sermons.

In these times of religious and political excitement, the clergy were naturally prone to mix up secular subjects in their discourses, and to convey to the royal ear, when occasion presented itself, the views of the preachers on the administration of government. This species of preaching, a certain great man at court (probably Lord Burghley) writing to Dr. Chaderton, afterwards bishop of Chester, thought proper to rebuke. "The queenes majestie," saith he, "doeth mislike that those who preach before her should enter into matters properlie appertaining to matter of government : " they were therefore required to abstain from such preaching ; not that her majesty wished to close her ears against the advice of those who were moved to desire amendment in things properly belonging to herself, but, on the contrary, was willing to hear any that should, either by speech or writing, impart their sentiments, but she did not wish to be lectured in public, nor to have the affairs of government animadverted upon before the vulgar.*

Oath of
suprema-
cy.

It having been enacted, that the oath of supremacy should be taken to the queen, her majesty issued a proclamation to sir Ambrose Cave, knt., chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, dated at Westminster, on the 23rd of May, 1559, directing,

* Chaderton's MS. fo. 32 a. Peck's Desid. Cur. p. 83.

that this oath should be taken throughout his jurisdiction, both by the clergy and laity.* At the same time she directed, that all the chantries should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, and in that (though much of popish ceremony was retained) she forbade that the host should be elevated, and commanded that the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the gospels should be read in the vulgar tongue. In the following year, a number of new bishops were consecrated, amongst whom were Edward Scrambler, D.D., for Peterborough; and James Pilkington, B.D., both Lancashire men, and both firm adherents of the reformed religion. Soon after his inauguration, Dr. Pilkington preached before the queen, at Greenwich, on the mission of a fanatic, from the county of Lancaster, of the name of Ellys, calling himself Elias: the bishop of London had, however, so little regard for the northern prophet, and his "warning voice," that he ordered him three days afterwards to be put in the pillory in Cheapside, from whence he was committed to Bridewell, where he soon after died.†

The bishopric of Chester having become vacant, the queen issued her mandate to the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, announcing, that the dean and chapter, with her majesty's license, had elected William Downham to be their bishop and pastor, and commanding the chancellor to cause to be delivered up without delay, the temporalities belonging to the episcopal see within his bailiwick, together with the issues and profits thereof, from the feast of St. Michael the archangel.

3 Eliz.

New
bishop.

That the nation might be put in a posture of defence, a muster of troops was ordered in the several counties of the kingdom; and the following is the

General Muster, in Januarie 1559,‡

CERTIFYED WITHIN y^e COUNTY of Lanc^d.

BLACKEBURNE HUNDRED ^{c.}iiij. vij. harnised men,
vnharnised men ^{c.}iiij. vj.

AMOUNDERNES HUNDRED ^{c.}ij. xiiij. harnised,
vnharnised ^{c.}ij. lxix.

LONDESDALL HUNDRED ^{c.}ij. lvj harnised,
vnharnised cxiiij.

* Pat 1 Eliz. m. 32. dors.

+ Strype's Ann. of y^e Reformation. I. 506.

‡ Harl. MSS. Cod. 1926. fo. 4 b.

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LEYLONDE HUNDRED iiij^{xx} . harnised,
vnharnised xxij .

SALEFORDE HUNDRED ij^{c} . iiij^{xx} . xiiij . harnised,
vnharnised vj^{c} . xlix .

WEST DERBY iiij^{c} . lix . harnised,
vnharnised iiij^{c} . xiiij .

Suṃa Totfis of harnised men,

M. ix^{c} . xix .

Suṃa Totfis of vnharnised men,

M.M.^c lxxiiij .

Hollinsworth says, “there was a sore sicknesse” in Lancashire” in 1565, which was probably some remains of the plague contracted by the English army at Newhaven, in 1562; at which time, Stowe avers, that 17,404 persons died in London alone in one year.

Decline of
the re-
formed re-
ligion in
Lanca-
shire.

Ecclesi-
astical com-
mission.

1567.

Royal re-
proof to
the bish-
op.

Although the progress of the reformation was rapid in many parts of the kingdom, in the county of Lancaster it was retrograde. The Catholics multiplied; the mass was usually performed; priests were harboured; the book of common prayer, and the service of the church established by law, were laid aside; many of the churches were shut up; and the cures were unsupplied, unless by the ejected Catholic priests. This was thought the more extraordinary, as the queen had instituted an ecclesiastical commission, with the bishop of the diocese at its head, for the promotion of religion. To stimulate the zeal of the prelate, the queen addressed to him a letter of remonstrance, couched in her usual tone of decision, reminding him of his duty, and requiring of him its more vigilant performance. “We think it,” says the queen, “not unknown, how, for the good opinion we conceived of your former service, we admitted you to be bishop of the diocese, but now, upon credible reports of disorders and contempts, especially in the county of Lancaster, we find great lack in you. In which matter of late we write to you, and other our commissioners joined with you, to cause certain suspected persons to be apprehended, writing at the same time to our right trusty and well beloved the earl of Derby, for the aid of you in that behalf. Since which time, and before the delivery of the said letters to the earl of Derby, we be duly informed that the said earl hath, upon small motions made to him, caused such persons as have been required to be apprehended, and hath shewn himself therein, according to our assured expectation, very faithful and

careful of our service.”* In conclusion, the bishop is required to make personal visitation, by repairing to the most remote parts of his diocese, and especially into Lancashire, and to see to it, that the churches be provided with honest men and learned curates, and that there be no more cause to blame him for his inattention and neglect. At a subsequent period, the lords of the council wrote to the bishop, complaining that many persons in the counties of Lancaster and Chester absented themselves habitually from church, and from places of public prayer, and requesting that the bishop would take measures to enforce their attendance. To this intimation his lordship replied, that he had made diligent inquisition into the matter of complaint, that some of the gentry and others had promised to be more conformable in future, but that others had disregarded his admonitions, and that he had enclosed a list certifying the names of those who remained obstinate, and of those who promised to conform.†

The zeal of the earl of Derby in favour of the reformed faith, so warmly enlogized by the queen, was the zeal of a convert, and therefore perhaps the more lively. In the last reign, his lordship embraced the cause of popery, and the committal of the intrepid George Marsh to that dungeon from which he was liberated only to be conducted to the stake, serves to shew that sudden changes in religious faith were not confined to priests, but that they were extended to nobles, and to a certain extent pervaded the whole people. In the county of Lancaster there was more of consistency than in other parts of the kingdom ; and this is a principle which excites respect, even though it should be a consistency in error.

The queen’s admonitions to the bishop, as the head of the ecclesiastical commission, produced an immediate effect. The bishop entered upon his visitation with all convenient despatch ; many of the popish recusants, as they were called, were detected in plots to subvert the established religion, and to substitute their own in its stead ; and the county was engaged in a kind of religious warfare, which is described with considerable animation, and probably with as much accuracy as can be expected, by an author having a strong bias towards the Protestant cause :‡—

“ And first,” says our author, “ to give some account of the Bishop’s *Visitation*. Which proved thus, according to the Relation he made of it himself to the Secretary in a Letter to him, dated *Nov. 1, 1568*, ‘ That he had the last Summer visited his whole Diocess, which was of Length above six score Miles ; and had found the People very tractable ; and no where more than in the farthest Parts bordering upon *Scotland*. Where as he said, he had the most gentle Entertainment of the Worshipful to his great Comfort. That his Journey was very painful by reason of

Description of the state of Lancashire at this time.

* Pap. Office, Strype’s Ann. I. 544-5.

† Harl. MSS. Cod. 286. fo. 28

‡ Strype’s Ann. I. 546-552.

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the extreme heat ; and if he had not received great Courtesy of the Gentlemen, he must have left the most of his Horses by the way : Such Drought was never seen in those Parts.'

Commis-
sioners re-
port on the
state of
Lanca-
shire.

" The Bishop also now sent up, by one of his Servants, a true Copy of all such Orders as he, and the rest of his Associates, in the Queen's Commission Ecclesiastical, had taken with the Gentlemen of *Lancashire*. Who, (one only excepted, whose Name was *John Westby*.) with most humble Submissions and like Thanks unto the Queen's Majesty, and to her Honourable Council, received the same ; Promising, that from thenceforth they would live in such sort, that they would never hereafter give occasion of Offence in any thing concerning their bounden Duty, as well towards Religion, as their Allegiance towards their Prince. But notwithstanding their Promises, the Commissioners bound every of them in Recognizances in the sum of an Hundred Marks for their Appearances from time to time, as appeared in the abovesaid Orders. And certain Punishments inflicted upon some of them had done so much good in the Country, that the Bishop hoped he should never be troubled again with the like.

" *Norel*, Dean of S. Paul's, London, was a *Lancashire* man, and was now down in that Country. Who with his continual preaching in divers Places in the County, had brought many obstinate and wilful People unto Conformity and Obedience, and had gotten great Commendation and Praise (as he was most worthy) even of those that had been great Enemies to his Religion.

" But now to set down particularly what had been detected and discovered among these *Lancashire* Papists, and the Negligence, or Lothness of the Bishop, to prosecute them. Information was brought into the Bishop by one Mr. *Glasier*, a Commissioner, and another named *Edmund Ashton*, that great Confederacies were then in *Lancashire*. And that sundry Papists were there lurking, who had stirred divers Gentlemen to their Faction, and sworn them together, not to come to the Church in the Service time, now set forth by the Queen's Authority, nor to receive the Communion, nor to hear Sermons ; but to maintain the Mass and Papistry. And after this Information, *Glasier* advised the Bishop to go to the Earl of *Darby*, and to execute the Commission in *Lancashire* ; or else it could not be holpen but many Church Doors must be shut up, and the Curates hindered to serve as it was appointed to be used in the Church. And that this Confederacy was so great, that it would growe to a Commotion, or Rebellion. The Bishop hereupon sent for those Offenders by Precept, but declined to go yet to execute the Commission in *Lancashire*.

" Again, Sir *Edward Fytton* informed the Bishop, that Mr. *Edmund Trafford* spake of these Matters before to him as a Commissioner, for to have redress thereof.

Whereupon Mr. *Gerrard* said, that if the Bishop would not go to *Wygan* in *Lancashire*, or such like Place, and sit to execute the Commission, and move the Earl of *Darby* to be there, (who had assured them he would sit and assist,) he knew that a Commotion would ensue; and that he knew their Determination was thereunto. For that his Kinsman and Alliance to his Remembrance (naming Mr. *Westby*) had told him, *He would willingly lose his Blood in these Matters*. Also he said further, that from *Warrington* all along the Sea Coasts in *Lancashire*, the Gentlemen (except Mr. *Butler*) were of the Faction, and withdrew themselves from Religion; as Mr. *Ireland*, Sir *W^m. Norris*, and many others more. So that there was such a Likelihood of a Rebellion or Commotion speedily, that for his Part, if the Bishop would not go to execute the Commission in *Lancashire*, he would himself within twelve Days inform the Privy Council. And yet he had desired the Bishop to deliver the Commission unto him, and *Fytton* to execute: but the Bishop refused, saying, he would send for the Offenders. But afterward, the Bishop and *Gerrard* signed Precepts for divers Papistical Priests and some Gentlemen, to appear before the Commissioners concerning the Premises.

“ Again, one *Edmund Holme* made this Discovery; That there was a Letter written from Dr. *Saunders* [*Nicolas Saunders*] to Sir *Richard Molineux* and Sir *William Norris*; the Copy of which Letter was ready to be shewed. The Contents of it, as it seems, were, to exhort them to own the Pope supreme Head of the Church; and that they should swear his Supremacy, and Obedience to him, before some Priest or Priests appointed by his Authority; who should also absolve them that had taken any Oath to the Queen as supreme, or gone to Church and heard Common Prayer. Hereupon Sir *Richard Molineux* did make a vow unto one *Norrice*, otherwise called *Butcher*, otherwise called *Fisher*, of *Formeby*; and unto one *Peyle*, otherwise called *Pyck*, (who reported that he had the Pope’s Authority,) that he would do all things according to the Words of the said Letter. And so did receive Absolution at *Pyck*’s hand; And he did vow to the said *Pyck*, that he would take the Pope to be the supreme Head of the Church. And the said *Molineux*’s Daughters, *Jane*, *Alice*, and *Anne*, and his son *John*, made the like Vow as their Father had done. And then they took a Corporal Oath on a Book. And so did *John Mollin* of the *Wodde*, and *Robert Blundel* of *Inse*, and *Richard Blundel* of *Christby*, and Sir *Thomas Williamson*, and Sir *John Derroigne*, and *John Williamson*. These were some of those Popish Gentlemen of *Lancashire*; and these were their Doings. But the Commission Ecclesiastical, roundly managed, had pretty well reduced them, as we heard before.

“ In what Form the Submission ran, to which these Popish Gentlemen subscribed, before they made their Peace, I know not. But I find this Year one Form

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offered to Sir *John Southworth*, of these Parts, (who had entertained Priests, and absented from the Church,) by order of the Privy Council; which was as followeth :—

“ Whereas I, Sir *John Southworth*, Knt., forgetting my Duty towards God and the Queen's Majesty, in not considering my due Obedience for the Observation of the Ecclesiastical Laws and Orders of this Realm, had received into my House and Company, and there relieved certain Priests, who have not only refused the Ministry, but also in my hearing have spoken against the present State of Religion, established by her Majesty and the States of her Realm in Parliament, and have also otherwise misbehaved myself in not resorting to my Parish Church at Common Prayer, nor receiving the Holy Communion so often times as I ought to have done.

“ I do now, by these Presents, most humbly and unfeignedly submit myself to her Majesty, and am heartily sorry for mine Offence in this Behalf, both towards God and her Majesty. And do further promise to her Majesty from henceforth, to obey all her Majesty's Authority in all Matters of Religion and Orders Ecclesiastical; and to behave myself therein as becometh a good, humble, and obedient Subject; and shall not impugn any of the said Laws and Ordinances by any open Speech, or by Writing, or Act of mine own; nor willingly suffer any such in my Company to offend, whom I may reasonably let, or disallow: Nor shall assist, maintain, relieve, or comfort any Person living out of this Realm, being known to be an Offender against the said Laws and Orders now established for godly Religion, as is aforesaid. And in this doing, I firmly trust to have her Majesty my gracious and good Lady, as hitherto I, and all other her Subjects, have marvellously tasted of her Mercy and Goodness.”

“ But this knight refused to subscribe the submission, any further than in that point of maintaining no more those disordered persons.”

Mary,
queen of
Scots.

Mary, queen of Scots, having at this time been expelled from her throne by her subjects, under the authority of the earl of Murray, regent of the kingdom of Scotland, sought an asylum in England; but before she could be admitted to the court, it became necessary that she should justify herself from the charge of having been accessory to the murder of her husband. In this she failed; indeed, her agents refused to proceed with the investigation, when the evidence of her guilt became conclusive; and, instead of being admitted to the court of Elizabeth, she was ever after kept as her prisoner, first in Bolton castle, afterwards at the castle of Sheffield, then at Tutbury, and finally at the castle of Fotheringhay. Several of Mary's adherents now fled out of England from Lancashire, and other parts of the kingdom, and it was discovered in the course of this year, that sums of money were sent to them from hence, to promote the invasion of England, and to re-establish the ancient religion.

1568.

Commenda-
dam.

The recently created bishopric of Chester was amongst the lowest of the livings in the English church, not exceeding in value three hundred and fifty pounds a year; and yet such was the hospitality at this time kept up by the bishops, that Dr. Downham, in his application to the queen for the extension of his *commendam*, repre-

sented, that he supported every day, in virtue of his office, “ forty persons, yong and old, besides comers and goers.”*

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The bias of the queen’s mind was towards the ancient religion, with all its forms and ceremonies, so far as was consistent with that supremacy which she claimed as the head of the church ; and though the real presence was denied by the reformed church, she openly thanked one of her preachers for a sermon he had preached in favour of that doctrine.† Celibacy in the ministers of religion was always viewed by her with favour ; and all the influence of her favourite minister, Cecil, was necessary, to prevent her from interdicting the marriage of the clergy. While this was the disposition of the queen, several of her ministers conceived that the reform in the religion of the state was by no means sufficiently radical ; and not only Cecil, but Leicester, Knolles, Bedford, and Walsingham, favoured the Puritans, who derived their origin from those exiled ministers that, during the reign of queen Mary, had imbibed the opinions of Calvin, the reformer of Geneva. Their historian‡ describes the Puritans as objecting to the assumed *supremacy* of the bishops, and the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court ; to the frequent repetition of the Lord’s prayer in the liturgy, to the responses of the people, and to the reading of the apocryphal lessons ; to the sign of the cross, in the administration of baptism ; and to the ring, and the terms of the contract, in marriage ; to the observance of the festivals in the calendar, the chaunt of the psalms, and the use of musical instruments in the cathedral services ; and, above all, to the habits, “ the very livery of the beast,” enjoined to be worn by the ministers during the celebration of divine services.

The
queen’s
bias.

The Puri-
tans.

Dean Nowell, one of the queen’s chaplains, so celebrated for his preaching in Lancashire, his native county, was understood to favour the puritanical doctrines, which was probably one of the causes of his popularity in this county ; and when, in a sermon preached before his royal mistress, he spoke disparagingly of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him in the congregation, and ordered him “ to quit that ungodly discussion, and to return to his text.”

From this period, through a succession of ages, the county of Lancaster continued much divided on subjects of religion and politics ; the Catholics assuming the high church, and the monarchical principles, and the Puritans the low church, and democratic principles, while the established church held the balance between the two, by turns favouring the former or the latter, as best accorded with the objects and views of the existing government ; and not unfrequently restraining, and even persecuting both. In no county in the kingdom have the distinctions been so marked as

Lasting
divisions
in the
county of
Lancaster
in religion
and poli-
tics.

* Bishop Downham’s Letter to the Secretary of State, 1568.

† Heylem, p. 124.

‡ Neal’s History of the Puritans, c. iv. v.

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in the
north.

in Lancashire, and in none will this observation be found so unerring an index whereby to account for the local feuds, and for the party animosities.

Several of the leading families of the north, anxious to re-establish the Catholic religion, and to place Mary, queen of Scots, on the throne of England, entered into a conspiracy for this purpose, at the head of which stood the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. One of their first objects was to liberate Mary from her confinement in Tutbury castle, and sir Thomas and sir Edward Stanley, sons of the earl of Derby, along with sir Thomas Gerrard, and other Lancashire gentlemen, favoured the enterprise. In furtherance of this object, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland put forth the following proclamation:—

“THE DECLARAÇON OF THE EARLES AT Y^E RISING IN Y^E NORTH.

“Wee Thomas Earle of Northumberland, & Charles Earle of Westm^rland, y^e Queenes true & faithfull sub^{ts}, to all y^t came of y^e old & Catholiqu³ Religion, know ye y^t wee wth many other well disposed persons as well of y^e Nobilitie as others, have promised our Faith to y^e Furtherance of this our good meaning, Forasmuch as diuers disordered & euill disposed persons about the Qu^e Ma^{tye} haue by theyr subtill & crafty dealings to aduance themselues, ouercome in this Realme y^e true & Catholicke Religion towards God, & by the same abused y^e Queene, disordered y^e Realme, and now lastly seeke and procure the destrueçon of y^e Nobility: Wee therefore haue gathered our selues together to resist by force, & the rather by the helpe of God & you good people, to see redress of these things amiss, wth y^e restoring of all aneyent customs & libertyes to Gods Church, and this noble Realme; least if wee should not doe it our selues, wee might bee reformed by strangers, to y^e great hazard of y^e state of this our country, wheremto wee are all bounde.

“God saue y^e Queene.”

[*Harl. MSS. Cod. 787. fo. 10 b.*]

The influence of the leaders of the insurrection, and the attachment of the people to the Catholic faith, drew together an army of four thousand foot and six hundred horse. To strengthen their force, the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland addressed a letter to the earl of Derby, requesting him to join their standard, and to procure for them such aid and assistance as his lordship could collect, in “all parts of his terrytories, to effect their honorable and godly enterprises.”*

Nov. 27,
1569.Earl of
Derby's
loyalty.

Seven days before the date of this despatch, the earl of Derby had received a commission from the queen, appointing him lord-lieutenant of the county of Lan-

* Burghley's State Papers, i. 564.

caster; and, instead of listening to their treasonable invitation, his lordship, without loss of time, enclosed the letter of the rebel earls to the queen, accompanied by the following despatch:—

“ THE ERLE OF DERBY TO THE QUEENES MAJESTY.

“ My moste humble and obedient dutie done. Hit mey please your Majestie, tunderstande, that this Daie being the 29th of this Monethe, one *Walther Passelewe* brought to my Howse ane Letter from Therles of *Northumberland* and *Westemorlande*, together with a Protestacion of theyre unduty- full Meanyng and rebelliose Attempt (as may appere) whiche the saide *Passelewe* praied one of my Servaunts, myght be delivered to me: The whiche after I had receyvede, persavyng the same to be unsealid, and, upon perusyng, fynding the matter to swarve so farre from the Dutie of any good Subjects, thought hit my Parte to give the same to be understandet of your Magestie, and so have sent theym enclosed as I receyved them. The Berrer, by cause I cold not savely send hym without Garde, I have sent to cume with more Leysure, but with as much Spede as conveniently may be used. I founde with hym the lyke Letter and Protestacion sent to my Lord *Mownteygyle*, which I have also sent enclosed. And restyng your Magesties assured at Commandment, beseechyng God long to prosper your Magestie, and make you victoriose over your Enmyes, I humblie take my Leave.

“ From *Lathom*, my House, the 29th off *November*, 1569.

“ *Your Magesties most humbyll and obedyent Subyett and Sarvant,*

“ EDWARD DERBY.”

The queen and her council, ever alive to their duty and the public safety, assembled an army of seven thousand men, at the head of which the earl of Sussex was placed, attended by the earl of Rutland, and the lords Hunsdon, Evers, and Wyloughby. The royal army having overtaken the insurgent force in the bishopric of Durham, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland retreated to Hexham, where, on hearing that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were advancing against them, they dispersed their forces without striking a blow. This abortive effort of treason was succeeded soon after by another rebellion in the north, raised by Leonard Dacres, which was suppressed by lord Hunsdon, at the head of the garrison of Berwick, without any other assistance. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in these rash enterprises. Sixty-six constables were hanged* for neglect of duty, and no fewer than eight hundred persons are said to have suffered by the hands of the public executioner.

Suppres-
sion of the
rebellion.

Fifty-seven noblemen and gentlemen of the counties of Northumberland, York, Durham, &c. implicated in this rebellion, were attainted by parliament in the following year; but the list of proscriptions does not contain any Lancashire names.†

To guard against the recurrence of rebellion, and speedily to suppress any attempt to disturb the public tranquillity, the levies of troops, armour, and money

* Camden, p. 423.

† Harl. MSS. Cod. 309. fo. 201 b.

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were very abundant this year in the county of Lancaster; and, amongst the original certificates preserved in these returns, the following autographs appear:—

“Edward Derby, F. Stanley, Thomas Butler, Thos. Gerrard; Hundred of West Derby.—Thomas Hoghton, Cuthbert Clifton; Hundred of Amounderness.—Thomas Hesketh, Edward Standyshe; Hundred of Layland.—Rich. Shyrburn, Sir Rychard Assheton, John Braddyll; Hundred of Blackburne.—Wyllum Mountegle; Hundred of Lonsdale.—Robert Worsley, Edmund Trafford, John Radclyff, Robt. Barton, Edward Holand, Raffe Assheton, Francis Holt; Hundred of Salford.”

Memorable police search.

In the course of the same year a memorable search had been instituted in the county of Lancaster, by order of the lords of the council, which was simultaneously made in the other parts of the kingdom, for vagrants, beggars, gamesters, rogues, or gipsies, which was commenced at nine o'clock at night, on Sunday the 10th of July, and continued till four o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, and which resulted in the apprehension of the almost incredible number of thirteen thousand “masterless men,”* many of whom had no visible mode of living, “except that which was derived from unlawful games, especially of bowling, and maintenance of archery, and who were all passed to their own counties, under the direction of the magistrates.” The effect of this vigorous measure of police, which was continued monthly till the November following, was to diminish the numbers that would otherwise, in these unsettled times, have swelled the insurgent force, and endangered the stability of the government.

Meeting of lieutenantancy.

The earl of Derby, in the discharge of his duty, as the head of the lieutenantancy in the counties of Lancaster and Chester, assembled the justices of the peace in the palatine counties, in their respective divisions, for the purpose of arranging their forces, and for adjusting the assessments to which they should respectively be liable. These arrangements being completed, they were transmitted to the lords in council, accompanied by the following despatch:—

ORIGINAL LETTER OF THE EARL OF DERBY.

“Right honorable my verrey good Lords Accordinge to the Queene her ma^{tes} pleyso^r vnto me
“and others signified by yo^r letters and articles, I have caused the Sheriff^e comysshioners of the
“musters and Justice of the peace of the Counties of Lan^{ce} & Chester, (where I am her ma^{ie} lieu-
“tenant) to assemble in their accustomed deuisions sundrye tymes for the execu^{cion} of the same,
“Who have made inquisi^{cion} as well towchinge such somes of money as hane byn assessed or taxed
“since the date of her ma^{tes} laste comysshion for musters for provi^{cion} of armor weppons shotte and
“suche lyke: As also for taxa^{cons} collec^{cons} & assesment^e of money for the furniture of Soldio^{rs}
“for her ma^{te} service wyth other things in the said l^{res} & articles conteyned, And hane sente vnto
“yo^r L. herewth the seid all Œtificate^s of both Shiers, whereof the laste came to my hand^e so latelye

* Strype's Ann. vol. i. p. 572.

Swanwick

J. F. Stanley

Thomas G. K. H. S

Edward Standish

Thomas Butler

J. H. C. M. S

John G. S. S

Edward A. S. S

John G. S. S

Thomas Goghton

Enthout Clifton

William Montague

xxxxxx

Robert von S. S

Edmund Stafford

John Radcliffe

Robert Barton

Edmund Holland

Henry S. S

Francis G. S

“ as vppon Fryday laste We^{ch} was the cause of so longe tracte of tyme of both Certificat^e Thus wth
 “ my verry hertye Co^menda^{co}ns vnto yo^r good L^e & take my leyve of youe From Lathom my howse
 “ the vijth of Septembre, 1570.

CHAP.
XIII.

“ Yo^r good L. verrey lovinge

“ Frende assured

“ EDWARD DERBY.”

[Indorsed] “ To my v^{er}ey good Lord^e of the Queene
 “ her ma^{te} hono^rable p^rvey Counsaill
 “ gyve theise.”

[In another Hand]

1570 vij^o 7^obris.

“ Therle of Derbye to the Councell wth certificat^e out of the
 “ counties of Lancaster & Ches^{ter} towching money
 “ collected for p^rvision of Armo^r & Weapons.”

[Harl. MSS. Cod. 309. fo. 104.]

Devoted as the earl of Derby had shewn himself to the service of the queen, yet suspicion was entertained, and that in high quarters, that his loyalty was of a dubious kind, and that it would scarcely withstand the temptations to which it was exposed, from the wicked counsellors by which he was surrounded. Under the influence of these suspicions, it is probable that Mary, countess of Derby, the widow of Edward, the late earl, had been apprehended, and placed in confinement; for, from a letter addressed by her ladyship to Mr. Secretary Walsingham, in the course of the present year, it appears that she was a state prisoner, labouring under the accumulated pressure of bodily affliction and pecuniary embarrassments. The suspicions against the earl of Derby were communicated to the queen's secretary of state by the earl of Huntingdon, in a letter, intended to have been consigned to the flames as soon as it was read, but which has outlived its original destiny. A number of suspicious circumstances were accumulated against the earl of Derby, and, amongst others, he was strongly suspected of keeping a conjuror in his house! The Letter was in these terms:—

Deplora-
ble state
of the
countess
of Derby.

“ THERLE OF HUNTYNGDON TO SECRETARY CECILL.

“ Sir,

“ I am bolder to wryte to you of wayghtye Maters, then I dare be to sum others; the
 “ Cause I leave to your Consideration, and so to you onelye I am bolde to imparte that I heare.
 “ The Matter in shorte ys thys: Amongst the Papystes of *Lankyshyre*, *Cheshyre*, and the Cosynes,
 “ great Hope and Expectation theare ys, that *Darbye* wylle playe as fonde a Parte thys yeare, as the
 “ two Earles dyd the last Yeare. I hope better of hym for me Parte, and for mannye Respectes both
 “ generalle, and particular, I wyshe hym too doo better. I knowe he hathe hytherto ben loyall, and
 “ even the last Yeare, as you knowe, gave good Testimonye of hys Fidelytce, and of hys aune Dyspo-

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XIII.

“ sition ; I thynk wylle doo so styll ; but he may be drawne by evyll Counsayle, God knoweth to what. I feare he hathe even at thys Tyme mannye wycked Councillors, and sum to neare hym. Theare ys one *Browne* a Conjerour in hys House, kepte secretely. Thear ys also one *Uphalle*, who was a Pyrate and had lately hys Pardon, that coulde telle sumwhat, as I heare, yf you coulde get hym : He that caryed my Lord *Morley* over was also theare wythyn thys Sennet kepte secretlie. He with his hole Famylye, never ragyd so muche agaynst Religion as they doo nowe ; he never came to comon Prayer for thys Quarter of thys Yeare, as I heare, neythyr dothe any of the Famylye except fyve or syxe Persons. I dare not wryte what more I heare, because I cannot justyfye and prove yt ; but thys may suffyse for you in Tyme to loke to yt. And surelye, in my symple Opynyone, yf you send sum faythfulle and wyse Spyre that woulde dyssemble to cum from *D’Alva*, and dyssemble Poperye, you might understand all ; for yf all be trewe that ys sayde, theare ys a verrye fonde Companye in the Housse at this Present. I doutte not but you cann and wylle use thys Matter, better then I can advyse you. Yet let me wish you to take heade to which of your Companions (tho you be now but fyve together) you utter thys Matter, *ne fortè* yt be in *Latham* sooner than you wolde have yt, for sum of you have Men about you & Frendes attendynge on you, &c. that deale not alwayes well. I pray God save owre *Elysabeth*, and confounde all hyr Enemies ; and thus I take my leave, comyttyng you to God hys Tuceyon.

“ From *Ashbey* the 24th of *August*, 1570.

“ *Your assured poor Frend,*

“ H. HUNTYNGDON.”

“ P.S. Because none theare shulde know of my Letter, I wolde not send yt by my Servant, but have desyred Mr. *Ad* to delyver yt to you in Secrete : When you have red yt I praye you to burne yt, and forgett the Name of the Wrytar.

“ I praye God, I may not heare any more of your cumynge to —”

[From Lord Burghley’s State Papers, I. 603.]

The duke
of Nor-
folk’s con-
spiracy.

The earl of Derby’s loyalty remained unshaken through another ordeal. A new conspiracy was formed by the duke of Norfolk, in concurrence with Mary, queen of Scots, whom the duke proposed to marry, in which he was aided by the duke of Alva, the Spanish general, and the court of Rome, the object of which was, to deprive Elizabeth of the throne, and to elevate Mary to that distinction. The vigilance and sagacity of secretary Cecil, now become lord Burghley, discovered the treasonable confederacy, and the duke was brought to trial before a commission of twenty-six peers, amongst whom were “ *Arthure Grey, Lord Wylton,*” and “ *William West, Lord de laware.*”*

1572.

Mary,
queen of
Scots.

An unanimous sentence of death passed against the duke, which was carried into execution in the middle of the following year ; and the earl of Northumberland, for the part he had taken in the northern rebellion, shared the same fate. Against the queen of Scots, though her prisoner, Elizabeth did not venture yet to proceed to the utmost extremity, but she sent lord Delawar, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 542. fo. 77.

Bromley, and Dr. Wilson, to expostulate with her on her intended clandestine marriage with the duke of Norfolk, on her concurrence in the northern rebellion, on the encouragement she had given to Spain to invade England, and on the part she had taken in procuring the pope's bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and particularly upon allowing her friends abroad to give to her the title of "Mary Queen of England." These charges Mary denied, and justified herself either by repelling the allegations, or by casting the blame on others over whom she had no control.* The queen was by no means satisfied with these apologies; and the temper of parliament, as expressed in the application for the immediate trial and execution of Mary, shewed that a storm was gathering, by which that unfortunate princess was speedily to be overwhelmed. The evidence of the bishop of Ross, exhibited in the Burghley State Papers,† shews that Mary was, as early as the year 1571, in negotiation with the ambassadors of both France and Spain, for her escape from Sheffield castle to the continent, and that she was aided in her design by several Lancashire gentlemen. The bishop says—the queen wrote a letter by a little priest of Rolleston's, that sir Thomas Stanley, sir Thomas Gerrard, and Rolleston, desired a "cifre for her, and that they offrid to convey her away, and willed this examine to ax the duke (of Norfolk's) opinion herin." He further says, that Hall told him, that if the queen would get two men landed in Lancashire, sir Thomas Stanley and sir Edward Stanley, along with sir Thomas Gerrard and Rolleston,‡ would assist her escape to France or Flanders, and that the whole country would rise in her favour.

The death of Edward, the munificent earl of Derby, with whom, says Camden, "the glory of hospitality hath in a manner beene layd asleepe," took place at Lathom house, on the 24th of February, in the year 1573; and he was succeeded in his title and estates by lord Strange, a nobleman honoured with the special favour of queen Elizabeth, and for whose family she entertained the highest regard.§

The progress of public improvement in the county of Lancaster appears to have been slow up to the time of Elizabeth, as may be collected from an expression contained in a petition from dean Nowel, the founder of the free-school of Middleton, for the better encouragement of learning and true Christianity, who, in speaking of the people, designates them as "the inhabitants of the rude country of Lancashire."

During this reign, the military strength of the kingdom was taken with great accuracy, and the following—

* Camden, p. 442.

† Vol. ii. p. 20, and 112.

‡ Sir Thomas Stanley, sir Thomas Gerrard, and Rolleston, were apprehended, and committed to the Tower as state prisoners.—*Lord Burghley's Papers*, II. 771.

§ Burghley's State Papers, II. 184.

CHAP.
XIII.

Military
strength of
the king-
dom.

MILITARY MUSTER,

Taken by Order of Government, and made in the Year 1574, serves to shew the Strength, while it indicates the Population, of each County.

COUNTIES.	ABLE MEN.	ARMED MEN.	SELECTED MEN.	ARTIFICERS AND PYONEERS.	DEMI-LAUNCES.	LIGHT HORSE.
Cambridgeshire .	1080	....	50	....	19	22
Cornwall	6600	....	400	....	..	66
Isle of Ely	600	....	140	....	..	66
Derbyshire	4000	....	500	....	..	66
Devonshire	10000	....	....	....	..	66
Exon	500	500	1000	....	..	66
Sussex	6099	799	600	900	11	150
Lincolne	6111	716	800	1385	12	125
Somerset	6800	600	....	....	20	160
Hertford	2934	2828	330	1552	..	25
Woreester	1850	1850	....	....	..	25
Norfolk	8460	4132	2065	....	28	184
Essex	1902	4264	....	....	64	139
Salop	3044	1369	24	120	2	53
Wilts	5334	2357	590	207	66	94
Leicester	1260	400	400	800	4	66
Oxon	6470	1232	480	291	2	66
Middlesex .....	.....	....	....	....	9	73
Dorset	6407	2448	50	11	..	73
Surrey	6000	1800	....	....	96	..
Bucks	7253	....	500	....	12	28
Berks	1720	1720	....	335	14	88
Kent	8960	6000	780	880	15	787
Bedford .....	.....	....	....	....	8	12
Stafford	1500	562	100	....	7	44
Lichfield	80	46	....	30	..	44
Lancaster	6000	3600	....	600	12	90
Hants	5889	5889	596	1238	4	180
Southampton ...	495	420	....	....	..	180
Winton	90	66	....	....	..	180
Yorkshire	40187	7160	2000	3794	8	172
Warwick	300	978	....	300	16	90
Cheshire	3600	1057	60	189	..	90
Herefordshire ...	3812	1004	....	473	..	68
Anglesey	372	....	....	....	..	4
Flint	500	500	....	....	..	50
Denbigh	1000	400	....	....	..	50
Montgomery	1000	400	....	....	..	47
Merioneth	700	300	....	....	..	8
Glamorgan	600	200	....	....	..	30
<i>Summa totalis ..</i>	158509	55597	11365	13105	429	3037

From this table it appears, that Lancashire at this time ranked amongst the first counties of the kingdom in military strength, and that in number of able-bodied men it was only exceeded by Cornwall, Devonshire, Sussex, Somerset, Norfolk, Oxford, Dorset, Kent, Yorkshire, and probably Middlesex, of which the return is only partially given. The population of Yorkshire, when compared with Lancashire, was then in the proportion of nearly seven to one, though now the population of the two counties is so nearly equal, that the difference is scarcely perceptible. Of the other counties, Lancashire exceeds the highest of them, except the metropolitan county of Middlesex.*

MUSTER OF SOLDIERS IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER IN 1574.

[*Harl. MS. Cod. 1926.*]

“ The nūbers of Dymylances, horses, geldings for lighte horsemen, armo^r, mun^{co}n & weapons putt in Readynes wthin the County of Lan^c, aswell by force of the statute as graunted of good Will, by pswa^{co}n of the Com^{is}syon^{is} of the gen^lall mysters. And of the p^ticular names and S^rnames of them w^{ch} doe furnishe, hane & keepe the same for her Ma^{ties} S^rvyce w^{ch} were Certifyed vnto her ho: privie Counsell, conioyned wth the gen^lall musters by force of the firste and Seconde Com^{is}sions of the saidde mysters the monthe of Auguste A^o xvj^{te} Eliz. Reginæ.”

Hundred de Derby.

Henrie Earle of Derby furnished :—Dymylaunces (therof iii. to be horses) vi; light horsemen furnished x; Corsletts xl; Pykes xl; Plate cotes and almon ryvetts xl; long boes xxx; Sheffe of arroes xxx; Steele cappes xxx; Black billes xx; Calivers xx; Murrens xx.

Sir Thomas Standley, Knt. to furnishe :—Geldinges for lighte horsemen ii; Corseletts iii; Pyks iii; Almon revetts iii; Calivers iii; Morrians iii; Long boes iii; Sheffe arroes iii; Steele cappes iii.

Sir Thomas Gerrard, Knt. to furnishe :—Dymylaunce i; Light horsemene ii; Corseletts x; Coates of Plate x; Pykes x; Long boes viii; Sheffe of arrowes viii; Calivers iii; Morrians iii.

Richard Bolde, Esq. to furnishe :—Dimilaunce i; Light horses ii; Corseletts iii; Coates of Plate iii; Pykes iii; Long boes iii; Sheffe of arrowes iii; Steele cappes iii; Calivers ii; Marrians ii.

Thomas Butler, Esq. to furnishe :—Lighte horsemen ii; Corseletts iii; Coates of plate, or almone revetts iii; Pykes iii; Long boes iii; Seefe arrowes iii; Steele cappes iii; Calivers iii; Morrians iii.

* By the population returns of 1831 the numbers stand thus :—

Inhabitants of Yorkshire.....	1,371,296.
————Middlesex	1,358,541.
————Lancashire	1,336,854.

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Sir John Holcrofte, Knt. to furnishe:—Lighte horsemen i; Corseletts i; Coates of Plate ii; Pyks ii; Longe bowes ii; Sheffe of arrowes ii; Steele cappes ii; Calivers i; Morriens i.

George Ireland, Esq. to furnishe:—Lighte horsemen ii; Corsletts ii; Coates of plate ii; Pykes ii; Longe boes ii; Sheffe of arrowes ii; Steele Cappes ii; Calliver i; Morrian i.

Henrie Halsall, Esq. to furnishe:—Dymylaunce i; Lighte horses ii; Corsletts iii; Pyks iii; Long boes iii; Sheffe arrowes iii; Calivers ii; Morrians ii.

Roger Bradshawe, Esq. to furnishe:—Lighte horsemen i; Corsletts ii; Almon ryvetts ii; Pyks ii; Long boes ii; Sheffe arrowes ii; Steele cappes ii; Callivers i; Morrian i.

Edward Tyldesley, Esq. to furnishe:—Light horsemen i; and the rest as *Roger Bradshawe* dothe furnishe in all points.

Edw. Scaresbricke, Ar. In all things the lyke, savinge that he is chardged with almayne ryvetts or plate coats.

William Gerrard, Esq. In lyke to Mr. Scaresbricke.

Edward Norrys, Esq. Richard Massye, Esq. Peter Stanley, Esq. Henry Ecclesby, Esq. John Byron, Esq. the same as Wm. Gerrard, Esq.

John Moore, Esq. to furnishe:—Light horse i; Corselett i; Pyke i; Morriane i.

Richard Blundell, Esq. John Kylshawe, Esq. the same as John Moore, Esq.

Barnabie Kytchen, to furnishe:—Almayne ryvetts i; Pyke i; Longe boe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Steel cappe i; Calliver i; Morriane i.

John Bolde, Esq. Bartholomewe Hesketh, the same as Barnabie Kytchen, Esq.

Mr. Langton de Loe, to furnishe:—Light horse i; Corslette i; Pyke i; Morriane i.

Adam Hawarden, to furnishe:—Light horse i.

Richard Ormestone, to furnishe:—Light horse i.

Edmund Hulme, (of Male,) to furnishe:—Light horse i.

Thomas Asshton, to furnishe:—Almayne ryvetts or coate plate i; Pyke i; Longe bowe i; Sheefe arrowes i; Steele cappe i; Caliver i; Morriane i.

J. Mollyneux, of Mellinge, Geffraye Holcrofte, Robert Blundell, of Ince, Thomas Lancaster, John Rysley, the same as Thomas Asshton.

Hamlet Dytechfield, to furnishe:—Coate of plate i; Pyke i; Long bowe i; Scheffe arrowes i; Blacke bill i; Morriane i.

Humfrey Winstanley, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Pyke i; Long bowe i; Scheffe arrowes i; Steele cap i; Blacke bill i; Morriane i.

John Bretherton, Thomas Mollineux, John Ashton, Thomas Abraham, Fraunces Bolde, Richard Ettonhead, Roberte Fazeakerley, William Ashehurste, Lambert Tildesley, John Crosse, and Elice Kigheley, the same as Humfrey Winstanley.

Nicholas Fleetecrofte, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Scull bill i.

Richard Hollande to furnishe in lyke sort.

William Nayler, James Lea, William Mollineux, Adam Bolton, Richard Boulde, Richard Hawarde, Rawffe Sekerston, Roberte Corbette, and Richard Mosse, the same as Nicholas Fleetecrofte.

Summary for the Hundred of Derbye.

Dymilaunces iij	.	.	.	ix	Sheffe [of] Arrowes	.	.	.	evi
Light horses iij	.	.	.	xxxix	Steele cappes or sculles	.	.	.	^{xx} iiij . x
Corslettes	.	.	.	lxxxv	Calivers	.	.	.	liij
Almayne Ryvettes or plate coates	.	.	.	cxvij	Murrians	.	.	.	lxxj
Pykes	.	.	.	cxj	Billes	.	.	.	xlvi
Longe Bowes	.	.	.	evj					

Hundred of Leylondre.CHAP.
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Sir Thomas Hesketh, Knt. to furnishe :—Dymylaunce i ; Light horsemen ii ; Corseletts iii ; Almayne ryvetts or coates plate iii ; Pykes iii ; Long bowes iii ; Sheffe arrowes iii ; Steele cappes iii ; Harquebutts ii ; Murians or salletts ii.

Edward Standishe, Esq. to furnishe :—Light horses ii ; Corseletts ii ; Almayne ryvetts or coats plate ii ; Pykes ii ; Long bowes ii ; Sheffe arrowes ii ; Steele cappes ii ; Calivers i ; Morrione i.

Willm. Farington, Esq. for goods to furnishe :—Light horse i ; Hargabut i ; Longe bowe i ; Sheffe arrowes i.

Thomas Standish, Esq. pro terr. to furnishe lyke Mr. Farington.

Richard Lathome, Ar. to furnishe :—Light horse i.

Thomas Ashall, Robert Charnocke, Richard Ashton, to furnish same as Mr. Lathome.

Henry Banester, Ar. to furnishe :—Light horse i ; Hargabut i ; Longe bowe i ; Sheffe arrowes i ; Scull i.

John Adlington to furnishe :—Light horse i ; Harquebut i ; Long bowe i ; Sheffe arrowes i ; Scull i.

Peter Farington, Vx John Charnock, Wm. Chorley, John Wrightington, Gilbert Langtree, Edward Worthington, Laurence Worthington, to furnishe the same as John Adlington.

Willm. Stopford, to furnishe :—Coate plate i ; Longe bowe i ; Sheffe arrowes i ; Scull i.

John Butler to furnishe :—Long bowe i ; Sheffe arrowes i ; Scull i ; Bill i.

And the following the same as John Butler :—

Thomas Stanynawght, George Norres, Richard Todde, Richard Jevum, Rich. Hoghe, John Clayton, Tho. Solome, Wm. Tarleton, John Stones, John Stewerson, John Lightfoote, Wm. Forshawe, Edmund Parker, Willm. Tayler, Henry Farington, Rich. Foreste, Robert Cowdrye, Henry Sherdley, Rawffe Caterall, Thomas Sharrocke, Thomas Gellibronde, Alexander Berde, Roberte Farington, Wm. Cowper, Oliver Garstange, John Cuerdon, Robert Mollyneux, Edward Hodgson, Richard Withrill, Laur. Garstange, Gilberte Howghton, James Browne, Thomas Dickonson, Laur. Finche, Vx Thurston Hesketh, John Wakefelde, Seth Forester, James Tompson, Thomas Chisnall, Laur. Nightgall, Vx Roberte Charnocke, Richard Nelson, James Prescote, Rich. Tompson, Robert Forster, John Lawe, Roger Brodhurste.

Summary for the Hundred of Leylondre.

Dymylaunces	j	Stronge Boes	lxx
Light horses	xj	Sheffes of Arrowes	lxx
Corselettes	v	Steele cappes or sculles	lxx
Cotes of Plate, Brigund ^{ts} or Almaine		Culivers	x
Ryvettes	xiiij	Morians	x
Pykes	xiiij	Billes	xlx

Hundred de Blackeburne.

Sir Rich. Shirburne, Knt. to furnishe :—Dymylaunce i ; Lighte horsemen ii ; Corseletts iii ; Coates of plate iii ; Pykes iii ; Long boes iii ; Sheffe arrowes iii ; Steele cappes iii ; Calivers ii ; Murrians ii.

John Towneley, Esq. to furnishe :—Dymilaunce i ; Lighte horses ii ; Corsletts ii ; Coates of plate ii ; Pykes ii ; Long boes ii ; Sheffe of arrowes ii ; Steele cappes ii ; Caliver i ; Morrian i.

Sir J. Sowthworth, Knt. to furnishe :—Light horses ii ; Corsletts ii ; Coates of plate ii ; Pykes ii ; Long bowes ii ; Sheffe of arrowes ii ; Steele cappes ii ; Caliver i ; Morrione i.

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John Osbaldeston, Esq. to furnishe same as Sir John Sowthworth, saving he is chardged with almaine ryvettes or cotts of plate, and this is the wholle difference.

Thomas Caterall, Esq. to furnishe:—Lighte Horse i; Harquebut i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe of arrowes i; Scull i.

Thomas Nowell, Esq. to furnishe the same as Mr. Caterall.

Richarde Ashton, Esq. to furnishe:—Lighte horse i; Corsletts ii; Coates of plate ii; Pykes ii; Long bowes ii; Sheffe of arrowes ii; Steele cappes ii; Caliver i; Morrione i.

John Talbot, Esq. to furnishe the same as Mr. Ashton, saving he is not chardged with any steele cappes.

Nicholas Banestar, Ar. to furnishe:—Lighte horse.

John Rishworth, Ar. to furnishe:—Lighte horse.

Richard Grymeshawe, Ar. to furnishe:—Coate of plate i; Long bowe i; Sheffe of arrowes i; Caliver i; Scull i; Bill i.

Thomas Walmysley, Ar. John Braddill, Ar. Henrie Towneley, Thomas Aynsworth, Nicholas Parker, to furnishe the same as Mr. Grymeshawe.

Alex. Howghton, Gent. to furnishe:—Corslette i; Cote of plate i; Pyke i; Long bowe i; Sheffe of arrowes i; Steele cappe i; Caliver i; Morrione i.

Roger Nowell, Esq. to furnishe:—Coate of plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Caliver i; Scull i; Bill i.

William Barecrofte, Henrie Banester, Thomas Watson, Ilvan Heydocke, Edward Starkie, Robert Moreton, Olin Birtwisill, John Greenacre, Nicholas Hancocke, to furnishe the same as Mr. Nowell.

Thomas Astley to furnishe:—Cote plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Steele cappe i; bill i.

Thomas Whittacre, George Shuttleworth, Fraunces Garsyde, to furnishe same as Mr. Astley.

Robert Smithe, to furnishe:—Long bowe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Scull i; Bill i.

John Ashowe, Nicholas Robinson, George Seller, Nicholas Halstidd, Wm. Langton, Bryan Parker, Laurence Whitacre, John Ormrode, Rawffe Haworth, Richard Cunlyffe, Rich. Parker, Wm. Barker, Adam Bolton, George Talbot, Thomas Lassell, Thomas Isherwoodde, Richard Habermame, Wm. Starkye, Rich. Harrison, Rich. Crounlowe, Tho. Honghim, Rich. Shawe, Rich. Bawden, Alexander Lyvesaye, William Churchlowe, Rawffe Talbotte, Edward Carter, Rich. Woodde, Tho. Holliday, Roger Nowell, Hughe Shuttleworth, Hughe Halsted, Henry Speake, Tho. Enot, Henrie Shawe, Peter Armerode, Thomas Walmysley, Thomas Dewhurst, Olin Ormerode, John Nuttall, Gilberte Rishton, Nicholas Cunliff, Henrie Barecrofte, Laur. Blakey, John Hargreuc, James Fieldes, James Hartley, Thomas Ellys, Thurston Baron, Roberte Caruen, George Elston, Barnarde Townley, Oliver Halsted, John Seller, John Pastlowe, John Whittacre, John Aspinall, Roberte Cunliff, Richard Charneley, Geffrey Ryshton, Roberte Seede, Thurstone Tompson, Richard Bawden, Tho. Osbaldeston, John Holden, Gyles Whitacre, Richard Tattersall, Roberte Smithe, Nicholas Duckesburie, William Merse, to furnishe in everie respect the same as Robert Smithe.

The following is the Summary for the Hundred of Blackeburne.

Dmilaunces	.	.	.	.	ij	Sheffe of arr.	.	.	.	.	cxij
Light Horses	.	.	.	.	xij	Steele cappes	.	.	.	.	cix
Corslettes	.	.	.	.	xiii	Calivers	.	.	.	.	xxvj
Cotes of Plate or Almaine Ryvettes	.	.	.	.	xxxiii	Morrians	.	.	.	.	xxvi
Pykes	.	.	.	.	xiii	Billes	.	.	.	.	xx
Large boes	.	.	.	.	cxij						iii . x

Hundred of Amounderness.CHAP.
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- John Rigmaiden, Esq. to furnishe:—Lighte horse i; Corsletts ii; Coates plate ii; Pyks ii; Long boes ii; Sheffe arrowes ii; Steele capps ii; Caliver i; Morrione i.
- Cuthberte Clifton, Esq. to furnishe:—Light horse i; Coate plate i; Pyke i; Long bowes ii; Sheff arrowes ii; Steele capps ii; Caliver i; Morrione i.
- John Westbie, Thomas Barton, Wm. Skillicome, to furnishe the same as Mr. Clyfton.
- Richard Traves, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Longe bowe i; sheffe arr. i; sculls ii; Caliver i; Morrione i; Bill i.
- James Massey, George Alane, to furnishe the same as Richard Travers.
- Robert Mageall to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Long bowe i; Sheff arr. i; sculls; Bill i.
- Thomas Ricson to furnishe the same as Robert Mageall.
- Wm. Hodgkinson, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Pyke i; Long bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Scull i; Morrione i; Bill i.
- William Banester, Thomas Breres, Roger Hodgkinson, Laur. Walles, to fur. the same as Wm. Hodgkinson doth.
- William Hesketh to furnishe of good will:—Caliver i; Morriane i.
- Robert Plesington, Thomas Whyttingham, Wm. Singleton, John Veale, Evan Heydocke, William Burrell, to fur. the same as Wm. Hesketh doth.
- Henrie Kygley, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Long bowe i; Sheffe arr. i. Scull i.

Summary for the Hundred of Amoundernes.

Dimylaunces	.	.	.	i	Sheff arr.	.	.	.	xxij
Light horses	.	.	.	v	Steele Capps	.	.	.	xxvij
Corselettes	.	.	.	ij	Calivers	.	.	.	xv
Cotes of Plate or Almaine Ryvettes	.	.	.	xvij	Murrions	.	.	.	xx
Pykes	.	.	.	xi	Billes	.	.	.	x
Long bowes	.	.	.	xxij					

Hundred of Honesdell.

- Wm. Lord Monteagle, to furnishe:—Dimilaunces (thereof one to be an horse) ii; Lighte Horsemen iii; Corseletts xx; Cots of plate or almayne ryvetts xx; Pyks xx; Long bowes xv; Sheffe of arrowes xv; Steele capps xv; Calivers vi; Morrians vi.
- Roberte Dalton, Esq. to furnishe:—Dimilaunce i; Light horse i; Corseletts i; Coats of plate or almayne ryvetts ii; Pyks iii; Longe bowes iii; Sheffe arrowes iii; Steele capes iii; Caliver i; Morrione i.
- Francis Tunstall, Esq. to furnishe:—Light horses ii; Corsletts ii; Coate plate or brigid ii; Long bowes ii; Sheffe arrowes ii; Sculles ii; Pyks ii; Morryans ii; Caliver i.
- George Middleton, Esq. Roger Kirbie, Esq. to furnishe same as Francis Tunstall, Esq.
- William Fleming, to furnishe:—Lighte horse i; Corselette i; Coate plate i; Pyke i; Long bowes ii; Sheffs of arr. ii; Sculls ii; Caliver i.
- Thomas Carus, to furnishe:—Lighte horse i; Corslette i; Coate plate i; Pyke i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Calliver i; Morrione i.
- Robert Byndlowes, to furnishe same as Thomas Carus.
- Thomas Curwen, a lighte horse furnished.

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XIII.

Wm. Thornborowe, a light horse furnished.

Gabriell Crofte, to furnishe:—Corsette i; Steele coate i; Longe bowe i; Sheff arr. i; Scull i; Caliver i; Morrione i.

Nicholas Brudsey, to furnishe;—Coate plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Pyke i; Steele cappe i; Caliver i; Morrione i.

George Sowthworth, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Scull i; Caliver i; Morrione i.

James Ambrose, Wm. Redman, Marmaducke Blackburne, Anthonie Knype, Thomas Stanfild, same as Geo. Sowthworth.

John Preston, Esq. to furnishe:—Light horse i; Corseletts ii; Steele coats ii; Pyks ii; Longe bowes ii; Sheffe arr. ii; Steele capps ii; Caliver i; Morryane i.

Frauncis Tunstall, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Steele eappe i; Caliver i; Morrione i.

Nicholas Hudleston, Richard Curwen, Rich. Redman, to fur. same as Francis Tunstall.

Edward Northe, to furnishe:—Coate plate i; Long bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Steele cappe i.

John Tompson, Robert Banz, Jun. John Gibson, Tho. Parker, Mr. Newton, of Whittingham, Thomas Parker, to fur. same as Edward Corthe.

John Calvert, to furnishe:—Long bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Scull i; Bill i.

Richard Reder, Christopher Skerrowe, Richard Hynde, Elenor Singlet, Laur. Parkinson, Christopher Thornton, John Proctor, Geffray Batson, Thomas Widder, W^m. Thornton, Christopher Battye, to fur. the same as John Calverte.

Summary for the Hundred of Lonesdall.

Dimilaunces	iiij	Sheffes Arrowes	lvij
Light horses	xvij	Steele Capps	
Corselettes	xxxiiij	Calivers	xxv
Coates of Plate or Almaine Ryvetts	liij	Morryans	xxx
Pykes	xxxv	Billes	xliij
Long bowes	lvij		

Hundred de Salford.

Edmunde Trafford, Esq. to furnishe:—Dimilaunce i; Light horses ii; Corseletts x; Coates of plate x; Pyks x; Longe bowes viii; Sheffes arr. viii; Steele capps viii; Calivers iii; Morrians iii.

John Radcliffe, Esq. to furnishe:—Dimilaunce i; Lighte horses ii; Corseletts iii; Coates plate iii; Pykes iii; Longe bowes iii; Sheffes Arr. iii; Steele capps iii; Calivers ii; Morrians ii.

Robte Barton, Esq. to furnishe:—Light horses ii; Corseletts ii; Almaine ryvetts or plate cots ii; Pykes ii; Long bowes ii; Sheffe arr. ii; Steele capps ii; Caliver i; Morrione i.

Richarde Hollande, Ar., Fraunce Holt, Ar., John Bothe, Ar. to furnishe same as Mr. Barton.

Edmund Prestwich, Ar. a light horse furnished.

Christopher Anderton, Roberte Worsley, Edward Rawstorne, to furnish same as Mr. Prestwiche.

Charles Holte, Ar. to furnishe:—Lighte horse i; Caliver i; Morriane i; Coate of plate i.

Edmunde Asshton, Ar. to furnishe :—Light horse i; Caliver i; Morriane i.

Willm. Hylton, Ar., James Browne, Ar., Rawffe Ashton, Ar., T. Greenehalghe, Ar., Alex. Barlowe, Ar., to furnishe same as Mr. Ashton.

John Orrell, Esq., to furnishe :—Light horse i; Corslette i; Pyke i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Morriane i; Harq. i; Scull i.

George Halghe, to furnishe :—Coate of plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Steele cappe i; Bill i.

James Bradshawe, Allen Hilton, Edmund Heywood, Roger Browne, Richard Leaver, George Longworth, to furnish same as George Halghe.

Bradshawe, of Bradshawe, in lyke, and a caliver furnished.

Alexander Warde, W^m. Hollande, Thomas Massie, Robert Holte, Charles Radcliffe, Edw^d. Butterworth, Cuthbte. Scolefeld, Arthure Asshton, Tho. Lees, James Asshton, George Gregorie, Ellys Aynsworth, Tho. Crompton, same as Bradshawe.

George Pylkington, to furnishe :—Corslette i; Caliver i; Morriane i.

James Hulme, to furnishe :—Coate plate i; Long bowe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Steele cappe i; Caliver i; Morryan i; Bill i.

Richard Radcliffe to furnish the same as James Hulme.

Thomas Chatterton to furnishe :—Coate plate i; Long bowes ii; Sheffe arr. ii; Sculles ii; Caliver i; Murriane i; Bill i.

Dame Eliz. Byron to furnishe :—Coate plate i; Longe bowes ii; Sheffe arr. ii; Sculles ii; Bill i; Morriane i.

Willm. Tatton, Ar. to fur :—Corslette i; Caliver i; Murriane i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Steele cappe i; Bill i.

Adam Hill to furnishe :—Coate plate i; Long bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Steele cappe ; Bill ii.

Thomas Asshton, to furnishe :—Coate plate i; Long bowe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Steele cappe i; Caliver i; Murriane i; Bill i.

Morrys Asshton to fur. same as Thomas Asshton.

W^m. Ratcliffe, to furnishe :—Coate plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Caliver i; Steele cappe i; Bill i.

Laur. Tetlowe, W^m. Hyde, Roberte Hyde, Rawffe Holme, Thomas Byron, Roberte Holme, Thomas Willotte, Alexander Rigbie, to fur. same as W^m. Ratcliffe.

John Sharples, to furnish :—Longe bowe i; Sheffe arrowes i; Steele cappe i; Bill i.

John Marten, John Bradshawe, Edward Hopkinson, William Browne, Hughe Westmonghe, Edmund Brodhurste, Roger Hyndley, George Lathome, Tho. Valentyne, John Parre, Otes Hollande, Edmund Scaadie, Henrie Tonge, Robert Hodge, John Nowell, Rawffe Cowoppe, James Ander-ton, John Roberte, Rich. Meadowcrofte, Tho. Aynsworth, Edmund Taylor, Roberte Barlowe, John Wrighte, Richarde Livesaye, Huane Worthington, Thomas Buckley, Robert Haworthe, Edmunde Whyteheade, John Chadwicke, Henrie Sledge, Ellis Chadwicke, Robert Butterworth, Peter Heywoodd, Roger Houlte, W^m. Bamforde, Thomas Barlowe, Vx Edward Symond, Roger Laye, Francis Barlowe, Thurston Hayner, Robert Blagnley, Anthonie Elcocke, Thomas Birche, Edwarde Saddell, Robert Skelmesden, Thomas Nicholson, Frauncis Pendleton, Humfrey Hough-ton, W^m. Blagnley, George Birche, George Prowdlove, George Hollande, Laur. Robynson, Nicholas Moseley, to fur. same as John Sharples.

Adame Hill, to furnishe :—Coate plate i; Longe bowe i; Sheffe arr. i; Bill i.

James Guillame, James Chetame, Edward Holme, to fur. same as Adame Hill.

The Towne of Manchester were contented of good will to fur. and have in readynes :—Corseletts vi ; Pyks vi ; Curriers ii ; Morrians ii.

Summary for the Hundred of Salford.

Dimilaunces	ij	Sheffes of Arrowes	Cxviiij
Light Horses	xxiiij	Steele Cappes	Cxxiiij
Corselettes	xxx	Calivers	xxxiiij
Coats of Plate or Almaine Ryvettes	lviiij	Morrians	xxxv
Pykes	xxviiij	Billes	lxxxxviiij
Long bowes	Cxviiij		

Sum of all the Furniture w^{thin} the Countie of Lanc^{re} appeareth here vnder written.

Lanc ^{re}	{	Dimilaunces	xviiij.
		Light Horses	Cviiij.
		Corselettes	Clix.
		Coates of Plate or Almaine Ryvettes	^{xx.} CCiiij. xiiij.
		Pykes	CCxiiij.
		Long bowes	^{c.} iiij. ^{xx.} iiij. x.
		Sheffes of Arrowes	^{c.} iiij. ^{xx.} iiij. x.
		Steele Caps	^{c.} iiij. ^{xx.} iiij. x.
		Calivers	Clxiiij.
		Morrians	Clxxiiij.
		Billes	CCClix

Men furnished by the Statute and of good will the nūber of m̄ CCxxx^{tie}.

[From fol. 5 to fol. 19 a.]

A CERTIFICATE of a gen^{all} Muster taken w^{thin} the coūtie of Lanc. in August aforesaid A^o xvj^{to} Eliz. Reginæ wherein was certified on and besyde the m̄. CC. xxx. men furnished by force of the Statute for Arm^{rs} the nūbr^r of m̄ m̄ ^{c.}iiij. lxxv. able men furnished by the cuntrey ^{c.}iiij. ^{xx.}iiij. lxxv. And also the nūber of m̄ m̄. ^{c.}iiij. xv. able men to serue her Ma^{tie} and w^{ch} be vnarmed.

HUNDRED DE DERBYE.

Archers, being able men furnished by the cūtreye w th bowes, arrowes,	}	Cxl.	}	c. v. lxix.		
stele cappes, sword & dagger						
Bill men beinge able men fur. by the Cuntrey w th Jacke, sallette, bill,	}	iiij. xxix				
sworde and dagger						
Archers beinge able men vnfur}		Cxl	}	c. v. xxx.		
Bill men beinge able men vnfur,		c. iiij. xx. iiij. x				

HUNDRED OF LEYLANDE.

[illegible]

HUNDRED OF BLACKBORNE.

[illegible]

HUNDRED DE LONESDALL.

Archers beinge able men fur.	by the Cuntrey w th	bowe,	arrowes,	steele	}	Cvij	} c. iiij. lvi
cappe, sword & dagger	.. .. .	..	..	..	}	c. iiij. xliij	
Bill men beinge able fur.	by the cuntrey w th	Jacke,	sallett,	bill,	sword	}	
& dagger	.. .. .	..	..	..	..	lxxvj	} c. iiij. xliij
Archers beinge able men vnfurnished	.. .. .	..	..	..	..	CClxvii	
Bill men beinge able vnfur}	.. .. .	..	..	..	..		

HUNDRED DE AMOUNDERNES.

Archers beinge able men fur. by the countrey w th bowes, arrowes, steele cappe, sword & dagger	Cvijj	} CClx
Bill men beinge fur. by the cuntreie w th Jacke, sallette, bill, sword & dagger	Cljj	
Archers beinge able vnfur.	Cxx	} c. v. lxxix
Bill men beinge able vnfur.	iij. lix	

HUNDRED DE SALFORDE.

Archers being able men fur.	wth	y ^e	cūtrei	wth	bowes,	arr.	Steele	cappe,	}lx	}c. iij. liiij
sworde and dagger	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
Bill men beinge able fur.	by the	cūtrei	wth	Jacke,	sallet,	bill,	sworde	}ij	}xx. iij. xiiij	}c. iij. liiij
¶ dagger	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
Archers beinge able vnfur.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	lxxij	}c. iij. xx. iij. j	}c. iij. liiij
Bill men beinge able vnfur.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	c. iij. ix		
Soñ	{	Suñ tottis of the men fur. wth Armes at the chardges of the Cuntrey							m. m. iij. lxxv.	
		Suñ tottis of the able men ¶ beinge vnarmed certifyed in this genall							}m. m. iij. xx. iij. xv.	
		mvster	..	..	..	..	..	..		

Vnd that there was certified Also of Laborers or Pyon's vnarmed .. c.
vj.

[*Fol.* 20.]

CHAP.
XIII.

In the same year that these returns were made, a declaration was promulgated of the ancient tenth and fifteenth chargeable throughout the county, of which the following is a summary:—

[*Harl. MS. Cod. 1926.*]

Ancient
Tenth and
Fifteenth.

“ A Declaraçõn of the Ancient Tenthe and xvth chargeable wth in the coñtie of Lanc. wth a note also of the Deducçõns sett downe by S^r Peter Leighe and S^r Peter Gerrard K^{tes}, Thomas Kighley, Esq^r and others Comission^s for the same Deducçõns by ùtue and force of a Comission to them directed in the xxvth yeare of the Raigne of Kinge Henrye the vjth, wth a noate also of the Remaine & Declaraçõn of the certen xth & xvth nowe payable & chardgeable throwghe everie hundreth and pte of the saidde Coñtie of Lanc^e [xij Eliz. Reginae.]

SUMMARY.

	x th d			xv th			Deducçõns.			Remaind ^r		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Leylonde Hundrethe	36	x	4	5	17	8	30	12	8			
Blackeborne	48	8	6	11	3	0	37	5	6			
Salforde	48	9	4	6	15	0	41	14	4			
Derbye Hundred	125	8	7	18	19	1	106	9	6			
Amoundernes	66	17	0	16	8	8	49	17	8			
Lonesdall Hundreth	50	18	2	12	3	10	39	4	0			

“ Sum of the Annient xth & xvth wth in the countie of Lanc^e
as the same is before pticlerly sett downe & expressedde
amoũteth vnto the soũ of ccc lxxvj^{li} xj^s xj^d ob.
“ Wherof there was deducted by force of a Comission vnder
the great Seale of Englande directed to the Comission^s
before named bearinge date as before, the soũ of . . . lxxj^h vij^s 3^d ob.
“ And so Remayneth payable to the Queens Ma^{ty} for a
Tenth & xvth wth in the said coũtie of Lanc. the soũ of . . . cccv^h 3^s viij^d ”

While these financial arrangements were proceeding, the county was much agitated by religious feuds; and the ministers of religion were not only threatened with, but actually exposed to, the dagger of the assassin.*

The queen at this time, and indeed from the period of her coronation, manifested much regard for the arts of that celebrated astrologer, Dr. Dee, afterwards warden

* Warden Herle's letter to the lord treasurer on the wrongs of Manchester College, 1574.

of the collegiate church of Manchester, which living he procured of her majesty's grace and favour. The doctor had been patronized by her royal brother, Edward VI.; but Elizabeth, more munificent, at least in her promises, assured him, that where Edward had "given him a crown, she would give him a noble." The queen, in her condescension, frequently visited the astrologer at his house at Mortlake; and as he was employed to determine what would be the most fortunate day for her coronation, and to counteract the ill effects which it was apprehended would befall her, from a waxen image of her majesty, stuck full of pins, having been picked up in Lincoln's Inn Fields, it is not improbable that the "virgin queen" consulted the doctor, as other virgins in humbler stations consult "wise men," upon the subject of her matrimonial projects.

The voluminous correspondence of Dr. Chaderton, bishop of Chester, preserved by Mr. Peck, in his "*DESIDERATA CURIOSA*," extending from the year 1580 to 1586, details with considerable minuteness the proceedings of the ecclesiastical commission in the county of Lancaster during that period, and the object of which commission was to prevent the inhabitants from degenerating again into popery, as well as to punish those recusants, particularly of the leading families, who refused to adhere to the reformed religion. These objects are stated in the following

The
Chaderton
MSS.

Ecclesi-
astical
commis-
sion.

" LETTER FROM THE LORDS OF THE QUEEN'S COUNCIL TO HENRY HASTINGS,
EARL OF HUNTINGTON, [*Lord President of the North.*]*

" 1. After our right hartie comendations unto youre good lordship.

" 2. Upon notice given unto her Majestic of the falling awaie in matters of religion in sundry of her subjects of good qualitie & others within the countie of Lancaster; for the avoiding of further inconveniences like to grow thereof, yf speedye redresse be not had, shee hath thought meete at this present to grannt out the ecclesiasticall commission for the diocesse of Chester, directed to our verie good lords, the lord archbishoppe of that province, the earl of Darbie, your lordship, the lord bishoppe of Chester, and others; whereby you are auctorized to proceed with the saide parties soe fallen away for the reducinge of them to conformitie, or to punishe them accordinge to such direction as you shall receive by the saide commission warranted by the lawes of the realme:

" 3. And forasmuch as this infection, the longer it shall be suffered to reigne the more yt will be spred & become dangerous; therefore yt behoveth that all expedition be used in the execution of the said commission; which, being presentlye sent to the earle of Darbie, her majesties pleasure is,

* Peck's Desid. Cur. p. 85.

CHAP.
XIII.

“ 4. That youre lordship, with the saide earle of Darbie & bishoppe of Chester, doe forthwith consider & take order for the time & place of your firste meetinge; & thereof to geve knolege unto the rest of the commissioners, that they may be readie to meete & assist you at the time & place to be appointed.

“ 5. And as this defection is principallie begunne by sundrye principall gentlemen of that countie, by whom the meaner sort of people are ledd & seduced; soe it is thought meter that in the execution of the commission you begin first with the best of the said recusants. For that we suppose, that the inferior people will thereby the soner be reclaymed & brought to obedience; which, in oure opinions, will be not a little furthered, yf you shall, at the place of youre assemblies, cause some learned minister to preach and instruct the saide people, duringe the time of youre staye in those places.

6. And soe referinge the care and consederation of all other thinges that maye appertaine to the furtherance of this her majesties service to the good consideration of you the Commissioners, wee bid you right hartelie farewell. From the court at Nonesuch, the x. of June 1580.

T. Bromley, Canc.

A. Warwicke,

Chr. Hatton,

W. Burghley,

F. Bedford,

James Crofte,

E. Lincoln,

Ro. Leicester,

Fra. Walsingham,

J. Sussex,

Henry Hunsdon,

Tho. Wilson.

“ To our verie good lord the earle of Huntington.”

June 29,
1580.

This despatch is followed by two others; the first of which directs that no question, whether this ecclesiastical commission supersedes the former, shall prevent them from proceeding with their duty; and the latter directs that the penalties against the recusants for not coming to church shall be advanced, and that the chief of their number shall be imprisoned in Halton castle, in the county of Chester, with the diet to be allowed them after the manner of the Fleet prison in London.

July 3.

July 15.

The next communication from the lords of the council signifies, that the queen having granted the fines laid upon certain popish recusants in Lancashire to Mr. Nicholas Annesley, and he having been obliged to take out a *distringas* on their lands and goods, the commissioners are to see that the said *distringas* is duly executed by the sheriff, and the forfeitures paid to Mr. Annesley.

July 23.

This is followed by a letter from lord Burghley to Dr. Chaderton, touching the ill state of Lancashire at the time when the high commission first repaired thither, in which it is announced, that the queen has sent a letter of thanks to the earl of Derby, for his zeal in endeavouring to reform the county: his lordship, at the same time,

expresses his wish to obtain a proper person to whom he may entrust the care of the tenants of Manchester college; and after giving the bishop hopes that his first fruits may be remitted, he gives him this statesman-like advice as to his behaviour, both to great men and to poor:—"And nowe, good my lorde, that you are once entered into the way of reformation, remember S. Paul, *tempestivè, intempestivè*. Somewhere you must be as a father, somewhere [as] a lord. For so the diversitie of your flocke will require. With the meanest sort, courtesie will serve more than argument; with the higher sort, auctoritie is a match."

From a subsequent despatch from the lords of the council to the bishop of Chester, July 26. it appears that the people in Lancashire had much disputing about the bread of the holy sacrament—whether it should be common bread or of the wafer kind; on which point their lordships decided, that the communicants in each parish should use that which they liked best, till the parliament had taken further order in the matter: to the parliament was also referred the question, whether fairs and markets should be continued on the sabbath days, or they should be discontinued. In a letter from sir Francis Walsingham to the bishop of Chester, the queen's resolution was communicated to deal with the recusants, and it was at the same time stated, that good preachers were wanted in Lancashire. In a despatch, of the 29th of September, from the queen to the bishop of Chester, his lordship and the dean and chapter are required to furnish out three light horsemen for Ireland; and, at the same time, the rectors of Wigan, Winwick, and Middleton are required by the council to furnish out three more light horsemen, being each one. Two following despatches required that certificates of the recusants should be returned from Lancashire, if not as perfect as possible, yet as perfect as they can be made. The prevailing evil of young gentlemen being educated abroad in popish countries is dwelt upon, and divers gentlemen in the diocese are required to be called before the bishop, and to give bonds for calling their children home in three months. In a communication from Edwin Sandys, lord archbishop of York, to William Chaderton, lord bishop of Chester, an account is given of an "exercise" lately held in Yorkshire, probably on account of the great earthquake of the 6th of April, 1580. July 31. Nov. 12.

In the following year, the prosecutions against the popish recusants were still more strongly pressed by the lords of the council; and sir John Southworth, lady Egerton, James Labourne, esq., John Townley, esq., sir Thomas Hesketh, the lady of Mr. Bartholomew Hesketh, Campion the jesuit, James Aspden, John Baxter, Richard a priest, William Wickliffe, and Richard Massey, are mentioned as of that number; all of whom were placed in confinement, and subjected, as the correspondence sufficiently indicates, to heavy penalties and to personal privations. As is usual in times like these, pretenders to supernatural gifts were abroad in the county; 1581.

CHAP.
XIII.

July 22.

and one Elizabeth Orton made no small stir by two feigned visions which she pretended to have had, and accounts of which were spread abroad amongst the Catholics and other ignorant people, to abuse the vulgar, and unsettle the minds of the well-affected. This unfortunate girl was publicly whipped, in order to extort from her a confession; and the experiment at first succeeded; but she afterwards retracted her declaration made before the bishops and the other ecclesiastical commissioners: that confession was, however, thought too valuable to be lost, and, notwithstanding her retraction, it was publicly read in the parish church, and in other places where the fame of her visions had been divulged. In addition to Halton castle, in the county of Chester, the new Fleet at Manchester was used as a prison for the recusants; and sir John Southworth was kept in confinement there, under the wardship of Mr. Worsley, an active public officer.

Dec. 7.

In the course of this correspondence, the lord president of the north commends the design of the bishop of Chester to live at Manchester, and wishes him to set up a lecture there, to commence every morning at six o'clock, and every evening at seven o'clock. Notwithstanding all this vigilance, the lords of the council still complained

Dec. 14.

to Mr. Richard Holland, high sheriff of the county, that though an act had been passed in the last session of parliament for all recusants to be proceeded against at the quarter-sessions, yet nothing was done in Lancashire; and they required the justices of the peace to meet, and cause the rural deans, ministers, and churchwardens to present all such recusants upon oath at the next quarter-sessions, or, in case of neglect, to return the names of all absent justices, and other defaulters, to the privy council.*

Amongst the most distinguished of the recusants was father Edmund Campion, the jesuit, already mentioned,† who, after having passed through the counties of York

* The parliament of January, 1581, declared the crime of absolving or withdrawing others from the established religion high treason, and adjudged that the penalty of saying mass should be increased to two hundred marks and one year's imprisonment; of hearing mass, to one hundred marks, and imprisonment for the same period; that the fine for absence from church should be £20 a lunar month; and if extended to a year, the offender to find two sureties for his future good behaviour in £200 each; and, to prevent the concealment of priests as tutors or schoolmasters in private families, every person acting in such capacity, without the approbation of the ordinary, was liable to a year's imprisonment, and the person who employed him to a fine of £10 per month.—23 Eliz. c. 1.

Foxij
MSS.

† A letter from Campion to the privy council, offering to avow and to prove his Catholic religion by disputation, before the doctors and masters of both universities, concludes in a strain worthy of an ancient martyr: "If," says he, "these my offers be refused, and my endeavours can take no place; and I, having run thousands of miles to do you good, shall be rewarded with rigor, I have no more to say, but to recommend your case and mine to Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, who send us of his grace, and set us at accord, before the day of payment. To the end at last we may be friends in heaven, where all injuries shall be forgotten."

and Lancaster, disseminating the Catholic doctrines, was apprehended in London, and committed to the Tower, where, by the operation of the rack, he was brought to divulge the names of the persons by whom he had been entertained, and in which number the following inhabitants of Lancashire appear:—"Talbot of ———, Esq.; Thomas Southworth, Gent.; Bartholomew Hesketh, Gent.; Mrs. Allen, Widow; Richard Hawghton, of the Park, Gent.; ——— Westby, Gent.; ——— Rygmaiden, Gent." It further appeared, that he was in these places between Easter and Whitsuntide last past; and that during that time he resided in Lancashire, at Mr. Talbot's, and Mr. Southworth's. On the 12th of November, Campion was brought to trial in London, along with seven other persons, before sir Christopher Wray, the lord chief justice, charged with conspiring the death of the queen's majesty, the overthrow of the religion now professed in England, and the subversion of the state. On the trial a letter was produced, written by Campion, the prisoner, to a person of the name of Pound, a Catholic, in which the writer said, "It grieveth me much to have offended the Catholic cause so highly, as to confess the names of some gentlemen and friends, in whose houses I have been entertained: yet in this I greatly cherish and comfort myself, that I never discovered any secrets there declared, and that I will not, come rack, come rope." Though the prisoners, particularly Campion, defended themselves with great ability, they were all found guilty, and the jesuit, along with three of his fellow-prisoners, namely, Thomas Cotton, Robert Johnson, and Luke Finley, were executed.*

1581.

The lords of the council, in a despatch to Henry Stanley, earl of Derby, and William Chaderton, lord bishop of Chester, thanked them in the queen's name for their brisk proceedings against the recusants, and desired them to go on; thanking them also for removing such as were prisoners at Chester to the new Fleet, in Salford, and expressing their sorrow that priests were lurking about the country under the name of schoolmasters, whom they wished to have apprehended, and brought to punishment. In another despatch from the archbishop of York to the bishop of Chester, the bishop is required to reform Mr. Wigington, a young puritanical minister, or, if that is not practicable, to prevent him from preaching in his diocese. The expense of supporting the recusant prisoners could not be defrayed out of the monthly forfeitures levied in the diocese on the recusants, and therefore the collection

* According to the "*Theatrum Crudelitatis Hæreticorum in Angliâ*," there were executed of priests and others of the popish religion, in queen Elizabeth's reign, from 1570 to 1587, thirty-one priests and thirteen laymen. In Henry VIII.'s reign, from 1535 to 1543, according to the same authority, there were executed fifty-two priests, including one cardinal, nine abbots, and three priors; besides thirty-two Franciscans, that died in several prisons; in addition to which, there were six laics, one of whom was sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor, and another the countess of Salisbury.

CHAP.
XIII.June 21,
1582.

of eight pence per week in every parish, allowed by the statute of the 14 Eliz. for the relief of other poor prisoners, was ordered by the lords of the council to be converted to this use, and letters were written to the earl of Derby, the bishop of Chester, and the justices of the peace in Cheshire and Lancashire, to give orders for that collection to be made forthwith. It was also ordered, that sir Edmond Trafford, the late sheriff of Chester, should pay the sum of one hundred marks, levied by way of fine in his shrievalty on James Laborne, esq. a recusant, to Robert Worsley, keeper of the new Fleet, in Manchester, for the diet and other charges of the priests, and other poor recusants in that prison. To save charges, sir Francis Walsingham, in a letter to the earl of Derby, requested that the most inoffensive poor recusants, as women and such like, might be discharged upon their own bonds. The collection of this parish assessment, though amounting to only eight pence weekly for each parish, appears to have been attended with great difficulty; to obviate which, Mr. Worsley transmitted a proposal to government, wherein he offered, if he might have a year's collection beforehand, to erect a general workhouse for the whole county of Lancaster, there being then none in existence. This scheme the lords of the council strongly approved, and recommended that Mr. Worsley's proposal should be acceded to, both in Lancashire and in Cheshire; but the undertaking seems to have failed.

1583.
Jan. 18.

Lord Burghley, and the other lords of the council, in a letter to the earl of Derby and the bishop of Chester, thanked them in the queen's name, for the pains they had taken in the examination of James Labourne, a layman, about whom they had ordered the queen's council to consider how far he might be punished for his lewd speeches, which punishment speedily ensued. Labourne, having been brought to trial, was convicted and executed, on a charge of having conspired to subvert the queen's government, and to overturn the religion of the state. The lords of the council, though not disposed entirely to liberate either sir John Southworth, or John Townley, esq., from their confinement in the Fleet at Manchester, submitted to the earl of Derby and the bishop of Chester whether they might not relax the severity of their imprisonment. The expense of the prison establishment in Manchester at this time was so considerable, that Mr. Worsley brought in a bill for the diet of sixteen recusants to the amount of six hundred and fifty pounds, which neither the fines, which were very large, nor the collections of eight pence per week from the parish, which were very small, and deemed to be illegal, were equal to pay. The justices of Lancashire, therefore, made an offer of a year's contribution to meet this expense, which example the lords of the council urged the justices of Cheshire to imitate. At this time many jesuits and other priests were abroad in the county of Lancaster, the antidote for which pest, the lord-president of the council of the north conceived, was best to be found in zealous protestant preachers, and, in particular,

Feb. 22.

July 6.

7 Oct.

he hoped a good one would be placed at Preston, which, being a central part of the county, it was desirable should be well supplied.

CHAP.
XIII.

At the same time, archbishop Sandys composed a monitory letter, which he addressed to Dr. Chaderton, and the other bishops of his province, urging them to take the sword and armour of the Spirit, to defeat the common enemy, and to defend the faith even to blood and death. The fibres of superstition had, he said, taken deep root in the land; to these he urged them to apply the sharp sickle of God's word, to build up the walls of Jerusalem, and with all earnestness to shake down the cruelty and tyranny of Antichrist, to check the stubborn and contentious enemies of the church with a rod of iron, and to restrain them from infecting the sound with their leprosy.*

An obscure letter, from sir Francis Walsingham to the earl of Derby, communicated the fact, that Mr. Cartwright, a puritan minister, and a number of popish recusants, were in Lancashire, for remedy of which he recommended good preachers. In this letter it is stated, that Somerville entertained the disloyal intention of assassinating the queen, and that, in order to avert the consequences of his treason, he had feigned himself to be mad, but it appeared on examination, that he was not labouring under any mental distraction.

Nov. 30.

The parochial weekly collection, though yielding little revenue, was still pressed on by the lords of the council; and those gentlemen who opposed it, especially Mr. Bold, were ordered to be sent up to London, to enter into recognizances, to appear before the council, as well as those who subscribed their names both for it and against it, and those who promised to join with the earl of Derby and the bishop of Chester, but yet forsook them. Ferdinand Stanley, lord Strange, in order to shew his zeal in the prosecution of recusants, addressed a letter of congratulation to the bishop of Chester, on the good opinion entertained of his behaviour by the lords of her majesty's council, and also on the good opinion they entertained of his father, the earl of Derby.

Dec. 2.

Dec. 16.

As a further act of grace to sir John Southworth, the lords of the council addressed a letter to the earl of Derby, the bishop of Chester, sir John Byron, and sir Edmund Trafford, signifying their wish, that sir John might, at the instance of his son, have the liberty of certain walks which he had formerly been permitted to take, but which Mr. Worsley had refused to grant him, on account of sir John not being present at the saying of grace, and refusing to read the bible. By another despatch, permission was granted to Mr. Townley, a prisoner for religion, at Manchester, to repair to London for medical advice, at the request of dean Nowel, Mr. Townley's brother-in-law. In a succeeding despatch to the earl of Derby and

23 Feb.
1584.

March 22.

March 22.

* Libr. Gonv. & Caius Col.

CHAP.
XIII.

May 2.

June 5.

the bishop of Chester, the lords of the council signify, that there being several popish priests, now prisoners at Manchester, for perverting the queen's subjects from their allegiance, it is thought good that they should be tried for the same, *in terrorem*, at the next assizes; and that lay gentlemen recusants, their prisoners, be made to pay for their diet, or be put upon prison allowance. The zeal of the council against the recusants was not confined to one sex; for, in a letter addressed by sir Francis Walsingham to the bishop of Chester, his lordship is desired to cause Mr. Bartholomew Hesketh's wife, a busy recusant, to be apprehended. He is also desired to inquire into the reason why "sir John Southworth is minded to disinherit his son," and to take care to prevent his so doing. Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, in a letter to the bishop, expresses his approval of the recognizance of sir Thomas Hesketh; and intimates his intention shortly to visit his cousin, the earl of Derby. It appears, that some apology was thought necessary to be made by her majesty's council to the ecclesiastical commissioners for the removal of sir John Southworth and Mr. Townley from Manchester to London; their lordships therefore stated to the earl of Derby and the bishop of Chester, that these gentlemen, having paid their fines according to the late statute, could not any longer remain justly committed, and moreover, that they would do less mischief in London than in Lancashire; but that if the commissioners thought it absolutely necessary for the ends of good policy, or for their own sake, they should be sent back to Manchester. To turn the disloyalty of the subject to the advantage of the state, the lords of the council wrote to the sheriffs and justices of Lancashire, requiring the recusant gentlemen in that county to set forth certain horsemen for the queen's service, or, in lieu thereof, to pay a composition in money of twenty-four pounds for every horseman: and the queen, whose zeal for the military service was not less active than that of her ministers, addressed a letter to the sheriff of Lancashire, ordering him to levy two hundred foot-men in that county for the Irish service, without parade; the said men to be ready at three days' warning, to march under Edmund Trafford, esq., whom she had appointed to be their captain, all furnished with calivers, corslets, bows, and halberts, to which were afterwards added, swords, daggers, doublets, hose, and cassocks.

June 25,
1585.

In a letter from the lords of the council to Ferdinand Stanley, lord Strange, the bishop of Chester, and the justices of Lancashire and Cheshire, it is signified, that several libels having been formally published against the queen, and now a vile book, [Leicester's Commonwealth] against Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, the queen cannot forbear rebuking some for their great slackness in not suppressing the former libels, and requiring them to be more diligent in taking care of this last; both the queen and they knowing the earl of Leicester to be clear of the aspersions contained in it.

The last public letter in the series of the Chaderton MSS. is from the queen to the bishop of Chester, signifying that her majesty, being resolved to assist the Hollanders against the king of Spain with a thousand horse, besides foot, and the clergy, in case the king of Spain should prevail, being in as great danger as herself, she had thought good that they should provide some of the said horse, or allow twenty-five pounds for each horse and furniture to buy them abroad; the bishop of Chester, and his clergy in particular, to fit out as many horse as directed in the following schedule, sent with the queen's letter:—

CHAP.
XIII.Jan. 23,
1586.

SCHEDULE.

1. The bishoppe iii.	7. John Nutter, prebendarie parson
2. The deane i.	of Seston, of Aughton, and Be-
3. The chapter ii.	bington i.
4. Edward Fleetwood, parson of	8. R ^d Gerrard, prebendarie in South-
Wigan. i.	well, and parson of Stopport in
5. John Caldwell, parson of Wyn-	Cheshire ii.
wicke ii.	
6. Edward Ashton, parson of Mid-	xiii.
dleton i.	

In the Harleian collection of manuscripts* in the British Museum, we find a number of original papers relating to "recusants and other religious criminals," from which are made the following extracts relating to the county of Lancaster:—

Original
recusant
papers.
Lanca-
shire.

PAPERS RELATING TO RECUSANTS AND OTHER RELIGIOUS CRIMINALS.

(ORIGINALS.)

Fo. 76. This ys the names of all the bishopes doctors pristes that were prisoners in the flyte for religion synse the fyrste yere of the raygne of quene Elizabethe año doñi. 1558.

[There are 18 entries on this paper; of which the 17th is Mr Pryswytch gētellmā th^e 16 gñt.] of Desēber 1562.] [Fol. 7 b.

Persons to be sought after.

[The names of these persons are written under each other in one column, and opposite most of the names are remarks stating the quality and condition of the person, his haunts, &c. The following appear to be Lancashire gentlemen, but there are no remarks:]

The sonne of S^r Ths. Gerrard.

Bouth, genⁿ

Stanley, genⁿ

[The above seem to have been suspected of implication in Babbington's Plot; for under one remark is written "whereof the S^{ua}untē of Babington can further shewe."]

* Cod. 360.

10 Sep. 1586.

A Collection of sondry persons as well Preest^e as other ill affected to y^e State.

N.B. There is no Lancashire gentleman under this head, but in the two following, which are lists of names, and styled in the Catalogue, "Advertisements touching others," and "discovering more of the same Gang," there are these—

M^r Charnock of AshbyM^r Hilton of Hilton ParkS^r John Ratelyffe, a daungerous Temporiser

Burton, a Preest remayning wth the wyfe of S^r Thomas Gerott's base sonne, being a Fleming borne, and a very great harbore of the ill affected gent. in those pte : she remayneth for the most pte at Chcekerbent in the house of Ralfe Holme, a Recusant

M^r Standishe of StandisheFo. 14. M^r Haughton, of Haughton TowerHenry Davys, sometyme very inward wth Shelley.

Names of such as are detected for receiptinge of Priest^e, Seminaries, &c. in the Countie of Lancas^r.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| This appeareth by the p ^{ntm} ^t of Rafe S ^r iant Churchwarden of Walton in Iedaft | { | Jane Eyves of Fishiwicke widowe receipte the S ^r Evan Banister an old Prieste
S ^r Richard Banister an old Prieste is receipted att the howse of one ——— Carter nere to Runcorn bote |
| This appeareth by the p ^{ntm} ^t of y ^e Vicar of Garstange | { | One named little Richard receipted att M ^r Rigmadens of Weddicar by reporte |
| This appeareth by the p ^{ntm} ^t of Law: pcker sworneman of Brihilt | { | One Duckson an oulde priest contynueth in Samlesburys by coñon Reporte |
| This appeareth by the p ^{ntm} ^{ts} of the Curate of Burneley and the Churchwarden of the Church | { | Robte Woodroof a seminarie Priest receipted att the house of Jenet Woodroof of Banectopp in the p ^{is} he of Burneley within this halfe yeare, by coñon reporte |
| This appeareth by the p ^{ntm} ^t of the Vicar of Whaley | { | John Lawe a seminarie priest receipted in di ^{ff} use ptes of Lancashire as specialie in the p ^{is} hes of Ormeskirke Preston Blackborne & Whalley |
| | { | 1: Henry Fairehurst of Winstanley yeoman
2: Thomas Orrell of Winstanley yeoman
3: Thomas Berchall of Billinge yeoman
4: James Winstanley of Billinge yeoman
5: John Roby of Orrell yeoman
6: Henrie Laithewaite of the Medowes gent.
7: John Culhethe of Abram gent.
8: 9: Myles Gerrerde of Ince esquire & his wyfe |

These Persons are pñted (by greate and Coñmon fame & repute) to be receiptors of Priest^e hereafter named, vz.

This appeareth by
pñtem^{te} of the pson
of Wigan

Bell : Burton : Mydleton
Alex: Gerrerde brother to Miles Gerrerde of Innce esquier
James Foorde sonne to Alex Fourde of Swindley gent :
John Gardner brother to Robte Gardñ of Aspull gent :
Alex : Markelande sonne to Mathewe m^kelande of Wigan.
Pilkington borne in Standishe pⁱsishe
Worthington borne in the same Parishe
Stopforthe

This appeareth by the
pñtem^{te} of the Curate
of Chippin

Guile a Priest^e receipted att the howse of James Dewhurst of Chippin
by the repute of John Salesburie of Chippin

This appeareth by the
pñtem^{te} of the Vicar
of Deane

Dyverse Priest^e harbored att the howse of Ralphe Holme of Checker-
bente

This appeareth by the
pñtem^{te} of the Curate
of Sephton

James Darwen a seminarie p^ricste receipted att the howse of Richard
Blundell of Crosbye esq^r by coñmon repute

This appeareth by the
pñtem^{te} of the Vicar
of Kirkham

Richard Cadocke a seminarie priest also Deiv. Tytmouse confisante
in the Companie of twoo wydowes, vz. M^{res}. Alice Clyfton & M^{res} Jane
Clyfton aboute the first of October last 1580 by the repute of James
Burie

This also appeareth by
the pñtem^{te} of the
Vicar of Kirkeham

Rychard Brittain^e a p^ricste receypted in the howse of Willm Bennet
of Westlye about the beginninge of June last from whence younge
M^r Norrice of Speake conveighed the said Brettaine to the Speake as
the said Bennet hath reported

The said Brittain^e remayneth now att the howse of Mr. Norrice of
the Speake as appeareth by the deposition of John Osbaldston (by
coñmon repute)

This appeareth by the
pñtem^{te} of Tho: Sher-
ples.

Fo. 32 b.

James Cowpe^r a seminarie p^ricste receipted releived and mainteined att
the Lodge of S^r John Sowthworthe in Samlesburie Parke by M^r Tho:
Sowthworthe, one of the younger sonnes of the said S^r John And att
the howse of John Warde dwellinge in Samblesburie Parke syde. And
the said Priest^e sayeth Masse att the said Lodge and att the said Ward^e
howse. Whether resorte, M^r Sowthworthe, M^{res} An Sowthworthe, John
Walmesley servante to S^r John Sowthworthe, Tho. Sowthworthe dwellinge
in the Parke, John Gerrerde, Svante to S^r John Sowthworthe, John Sin-
gleton, John Wrichte, James Sherples iunior, John Warde of Sambles-
burie, John Warde of Medler thelder, Henrie Potter of Medler, John
Gouldon of Winwicke, Thomas Gouldon of the same, Robte Anderton of
Samblesburie and John Sherples of Stanleyhurst in Samblesburie.

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This appeareth by the
pntem^t of Tho. Sher-
ples.

Att the howse of Willm Charnocke of Fulwoode gent. was a Masse
donne on o^r Ladie day in lente last by one Evan Bannister and these
psons were att yt, Willm Harrison of Fulwoode and his wife, Richard
Harrison e his wife, James Sudale of Haighton, Thomas Sudale and his
wiefe, George Berley and his wife, Jeffraye Wirdowe of Owes Walston
and his wyefe.

This also appeareth by
the pntem^t of Tho.
Sherples.

Att the howse of James Sherples in Samblesburie was a Masse donne
on Candlemas day by one Henrie Dueson also Harrie Duckesson. And
these pson were att yt v^z : John Sherples of Stanleyhurst in Samblesburie
and his wyef and his sonne Thomas and his daughter An and Rodger
Sherples and his wyef e Richarde Sherples and the wyef of Harrie Sher-
ples and the wiefe of Hughe Welchman and Thomas Harrison and the
wief of Thomas Welchman thelder The wyef of John Chitome Robte
Blackehay Thomas Duckesson of Houghton James Duckeson The wyef of
Harrie Bonne.

Fo. 33. Att the Lodge in Samblesburie Parke there be masses daylie and Seminaries dyfise
Resorte thither as James Cowpe, Harrison Bell and such like, The like vnlawfull meet-
ing^e are made daylie att the howse of John Warde by the Parke syde of Samblesburie
all wiche matters, masses, Resorte to Masses, receiptinge of Seminaries wilbe Justified
by Mr. Adam Sowtheworthe Thomas Sherples and John Osbaldston.

“ Dioce of Chester.

Com Lan ^c	Cuthbte Clifton Ar.	George Butlo ^r
Amoundernes	John Westone ar.	John Hothersall Husbandman
Deanry.	Alexander Houghton gen	Thomas Walmesley
	Leonard Houghton and his wief	Rogerson Vid. and her
	M ^{res} ——— Burton Vid.	children
	Thomas Burton her sonne	Robte Midgeall gen
	Wm. Skellicorne gen and his wief	Conformable Arthur Houghton gen
	Brigett Browne Vid	—— vx. George Sothworthe gen.
	Garge Clarkson gen	George Copell gent and his wief
	John Hothersall gen	Thomas Cowell
	Thomas Dieconson gen.	Thomas Cradon
Obstinate	Willm. Hesketh gen.	Blagburne Deanry
	George Walton gen	John Sothworth knight and the ladie his wief
	Thomas Coston and his wief	Thomas Sothworth his sonne and heire
	Wm. Hardock Junior and his wief	Com Lane } John Sothworth gen sonne to John
	Wm. Easton gen	Blagburne } Sothworth k.
	John Singleton gen	Deanry } Anne Sothworth his daughter
	George Houghton gen.	Dorothie Sothworth his sister
	James Eues	John Talbott ar.
	Richard Eues	John Townley ar. and his wief

		CHAP. XIII.
	Tho: Cathrall ar. and his wief Henrie Lowe Junior m̃garet Lowe Vid.	Obstinate Elizabeth Hesketh Vid. Eliz. Sutton Vid. Eliz. Kighley gone Stanley Vid and Anne her doughter One Bineston her Suñt [servant] Wm. Fletcher Kat. m̃sh vxr Hemfv. M̃shre Henrie Richardson
Obstinate	James Hargreues Lucie Townlie John Yate sonne to John Town- ley, ar. Ellm Bannister vxr Robte Ban- ter gen Anne Townley vxr Henrie Townley gen Jenet Paslowe vxr Frauncis Pas- lowe gen John Rishton gen John Rishton Husbandman Rañ Ferrand Riç Wodde Riç Hinley * * *	Conformable Edward Chawner Manchester Deanery Wm Hulson de Pkear and his wief obstinate Several names follow, belonging to the county of Chester, after which arc---] Com Lanç
Conformable	Ellen Rishton vid. Gillet Rishton gen and his wief Lun. Whittacre gen * * *	Item † John Sothworth knight † Cuthbert Easton Esquier † John Talbott esquier † John Townley esquier † Thom Caterall esquier † Alexander Houghton gent † Thomas Mollinex gen † John Hothersall gen † Matthewe Travis Yoman
Warrington Deanry	Hamlet Holcrofte gen and his wief Dame m̃garet Atherton Vid. Tho: Mollinex gen Matthewe Trauys John Mollinex schalerñ	Com Cesl̃ John Whitmor esquier Wm Houghe esquier

“ Of all the rest theis xij* are mo^r opinions of longest obstinacy against Religion and yf by yo^r LL. good wisdomes theye cold be reclaymed we think the other wold as well followe their good example in embrasinge the Quenes Ma^{te} most godly pcedinge as they haue followed their evill example in contemprisinge their dutie in that behalf.

[Indorsed]

Feb. 9th [or 7th] 1575.

In the Elizabethan age, when taxation had not attained its present perfection, the counties were called upon to supply their monarch with the substantial viands

* There are only eleven names here.

CHAP.
XIII.

Lancashire contribution of oxen to queen Elizabeth's table.

Jan. 10,
1582.

which graced even the breakfast table of her majesty.* The county of Lancaster, by an agreement entered into at Wigan by the earl of Derby, the bishop of Chester, the lord Strange, and a number of the justices of the peace there assembled, compounded on behalf of the inhabitants of the county, for the provision of oxen and other cattle, for her majesty's household; and sir Richard Shirburn, and Alexander Rigby, esq., on their resort to London during the ensuing term, were authorized to ratify the agreement with "Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Controwler, and Mr. Cofferer," with whom it was agreed, that the county of Lancaster should yearly yield for that purpose forty great oxen, at fifty-three shillings and fourpence apiece, to be deli-

* EXPENCES OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S TABLE.

The Queenes Majesty's booke
signed with her hand.

The Queenes Majesty's dyett,
as she hath bene daylye servid.

BREAKFAST.

Cheate and mancheate 6d.
Ale and bere 3½d.
Wine, 1 pt. 7d.

Flesh for Pottage.

Mutton for the pott, 3 st. 18d.
Longe bones, 2 st. 6d.
Ise bones, 2 st. 2d.
Chines of Beafe, 1 st. 16d.
Short bones, 2 st. 4d.

Chines of beafe, 1 st. 14d.
Connyes, 2 st. 8d.
Butter, 6 dish 6d.

Summa 8s. 6½d. (rather 7s. 8½d.)

Surcharged 5s. 5d.

Cheate and mancheate, 8 8d.
Ale and bere, 6 g. 10½d.
Wine, 1 p. 7d.

Flesh for Pottage.

Mutton for the pott, 4 st. 2s.
Long bones, 4 st. 12d.
Ise bones, 3 st. 3d.
Chines of beef, 1 st. 16d.
Chines of Mutton, 2st. 2s.
Short bones, 1 st. 2d.
Chines of veal, 3st. 6d.
Chickens for grewell, 2 7d.
Veale, 2 st. 2s.

Chines of beafe, 1 16d.

Butter, 2 lb. 8d.

Summa 13s. 11½d.

vered at her majesty's pasture at Crestow. This grave matter being adjusted, the following award was made from each hundred, in ratification whereof the undersigned affix their hands:—

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Derbye hundreth . . .	xxvj ^{li} .	} C ^{li}
Amoundernes . . .	xvj ^{li} x ^s .	
Lonesdall . . .	xvj ^{li} x ^s .	
Salford . . .	xvj ^{li} x ^s .	
Blackborn . . .	xvj ^{li} x ^s .	
Leylond hundreth . .	vij ^{li}	

Yf the so^m shall com^o to
more or lesse, the same
to be increased or abated
after this rate.

H. Derbie. W. Cestr.

Fer. Straunge.

Richard Shirburne.

W^m. Farington.

Robert Worsley.

John Byron.

James Asshton.

Robert Langton.

John Radcliffe.

Edw. Tyldesley.

Tho. Eccleston.

Richard Brereton.

Richard Asshton.

Nicholas Banester.

Richard Holland.

Xpifer Anderton.

John Bradley.

For the Provi^on of Oxen for the Queenes Ma^{ties} Household.

These contributions, which were reduced to a money charge, having subsequently fallen into arrear, a purveyor was sent down by government to execute the commission, by seizing the oxen in the county; but the earl of Derby, aided by his treasurer, took order for enforcing the payment of the composition, and, in any case where the money could not be had, the commissioners were directed to take in lieu thereof, “for her ma^{ty} provi^on, Bacon, and suche lyke thinges.”* The exactions of these purveyors “for her majesty's household and stables” had become so notorious, that in the year 1590 a commission was instituted in Lancashire, to investigate these delinquencies, and to certify the same to the queen's government.

A manuscript book of correspondence, relating to the lichtenancy of the county of Lancaster, from the year 1582 to the end of queen Elizabeth's reign, is deposited in the Harleian collection in the British Museum,* and serves to shew with how much diligence the affairs of the queen were administered during that period. These documents, though many of them highly interesting, and calculated to shed much light upon the early history of the county, are too voluminous to be comprised in the limits of a county history, and can therefore only be interwoven into the general

Lieutenancy
MS.

* Codex 1926.

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history in abstract. In folio 54 of this manuscript, a despatch appears from the lords of the council, signed,

Tho. Bromley, Canc.	F. Bedford	Wm. Burghley
E. Lincoln	Chr. Hatton	F. Walsingham
R. Leicester	J. Crofte	R. Sadler
W. Myldmaye		

Lanca-
shire
levies for
her majes-
ty's ser-
vice.

addressed "to the justices of the peace inhabiting within the hundred of Salford," apprising them that her majesty's service in Ireland requires to be supplied with fifty soldiers from this county, and directing that the levies be made, so that the men may be at Liverpool, ready to embark on the 15th of December, prepared with such arms and accoutrements as are necessary for their complete equipment, or that the sums necessary for that purpose be forthcoming. The number of men to be provided from the respective hundreds in the following quotas:—

"Men to be made fourthe of theis hundrethies followinge

Derbie hundrethe	x men ƥ an half	Amoundernes	vij men
Lonesdall	ix men ƥ an half	Leylond	iiij men ƥ an half
Salford	ix men — xxxviij ⁱⁱ viijs		Suñ 1."
Blackburn	ix men ƥ an half		

On the receipt of this mandate, a letter was addressed by "Ric Holland, Vic^o" from Heaton Housse, summoning sir Edmund Trafford, and the other justices of the county, to meet at Ormskirk, on Saturday 1st of December, to take the necessary order for carrying her majesty's commands into effect.*

This series of official documents illustrates the correspondence contained in the Chaderton MS. and here we find the proceedings adopted against the recusants, as detailed in a despatch of the 20th of June, wherein the sheriff and justices of the county of Lancaster are directed to proceed against the principal offenders, forbearing for the present to prosecute those of the meaner sort, but to call before them, at their quarter-sessions, recusants, being of the quality of gentlemen and upwards, and ladies and gentlewomen widows, and to take bonds and securities of them for their personal appearance at the next assizes for the county of Lancaster, that conviction and judgment may ensue. To guard against remissness in the discharge of this duty, they are warned to take care to answer her majesty's expectations, and the trust committed unto them, seeing that the judges of assize have received directions to examine and take account of their doings, and to report the same in writing to the council.

In the following year her majesty's service in Ireland required that Lancashire, instead of fifty, should send two hundred able-bodied men to that country, to be in

* Cod. 1926, fo. 72 b.

readiness to meet at Chester, on the 10th of September, to embark from thence for Ireland.* To obviate a complaint that had been made to the queen and her council, to the effect that the men, when placed under the command of strangers, were not treated with "that love and care" that appertained to them, her majesty by her letters recommended that they should be placed under the son of sir Edmund Trafford, and that they should be furnished with "swords and daggers, and likewise convenient doublets and hose, and also a cassocke, or some motley or other sadd greene colour or russette." The hundred of Salford furnished one-fourth of the whole number, and the letter of sir Thomas Preston, summoning the levy to muster at Preston, required that they should come provided with weapons as follows:—"xx wth Calius. x wth Corseletts & pykes. x wth bowes & arrowes & x wth halberdes or good blacke billes." The urgency of the occasion is strongly indicated by the superscription of the letter, which runs thus:—

"A. Deliu this Lre to the next justice of peace of the hundrethe aforesaidde and he to breake it oppe & aft^r the pvsall therof to be sente from one justice to another that no delaye be in the service wthin contayned."

In the years 1585-6, the county was visited by a famine, and by a murrain amongst cattle, which were felt with great severity in the north; and her majesty, in her royal solicitude, directed the lords of the council to address a letter to the sheriff and justices of the peace in the counties of Lancaster and Chester,† requiring that the gentry of those counties should strictly abstain from killing and eating flesh in the time of Lent, and other prohibited days, not only from the effect that the abstinence of their own families would produce, but from the benefit of the example amongst those of a meaner sort. These orders were addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire by the lords of the queen's council, and were generally diffused throughout the county. Famine.

The violation of the sabbath had long been complained of in the county of Lancaster, and one of the objects of the ecclesiastical commission sent down by queen Elizabeth into this county, was to remedy these enormities. For the same purpose a letter was promulgated by the magistrates of the county, signed by

On the observance of the sabbath in Lancashire.

Jo. Byron	Ric. Shirborn	Edm. Trafforde	Nicholas Banester
James Asshton	Bryan pker	Ric. Brereton	Ric. Asshton
Edm. Hopwood	Th. Talbotte	John Bradshawe	Alex. Rigbie
Robte Worsley	Tho. Talbot	J. Wrightington	Edm. Fleetwoode.

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 1926, fo. 103, b.

† A letter of similar import addressed by the queen to the sheriff of Lancashire is contained in the Chaderton MS.

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The complaint was, that the sabbath was profaned by "Wakes, fayres, ⁱⁿkettes, bayrebayts, bull baits, Ales, Maygames, Resortinge to Alehouses in tyme of devyne service, pyppinge and dauncinge, huntinge & all maner of vnlaw^{ll} gamynge." For reformation whereof, it was ordered to give in charge at the quarter-sessions to all mayors, bailiffs, and constables, as well as to other civil officers, churchwardens, &c., to suppress by all lawful means the said disorders of the sabbath, and to present the offenders at the quarter-sessions, that they might be dealt with for the same according to law. It was also directed, that the minstrels, bearwards, and all such disorderly persons, should be immediately apprehended, and brought before the justices of the peace, and punished at their discretion; that the churchwardens should be enjoined to present at the sessions all those that neglected to attend divine service upon the sabbath day, that they might be indicted, and fined in the penalty of twelve pence for every offence; that the number of alehouses should be abridged, that the alesellers should utter a full quart of ale for a penny, and none of any less size, and that they should sell no ale, or other victuals, in time of divine service; that none should sell ale without a license; that the magistrates should be enjoined not to grant any ale license, but in public sessions; and that they should examine the officers of the church and of the commonwealth, to learn whether they made due presentment at the quarter-sessions, of all bastards born, or remaining within their several precincts; and that thereupon a strict course should be taken for the due punishment of the reputed parents, according to the statute; as also for the convenient keeping and relief of the infants.* This rigid moral discipline was much complained of by some of the gentry, and still more by the labouring classes; and when, at a subsequent period, king James, in his progress, visited the county of Lancaster, he not only rescinded the orders, but he founded upon that act his book of sabbath sports, the consequence of which was felt for succeeding ages; but of this, more in its proper place.

Early
Lancashire loyal
association

The plots against the queen, and against the established Protestant church of England, both foreign and domestic, awakened in the nation a spirit of fervent loyalty; and an association of Lancashire gentlemen, on the model of the earl of Leicester's association, was formed, for the defence of queen Elizabeth, against the machinations of Mary, queen of Scots, and the other enemies of the state. In the declaration promulgated by this association,† the doctrine of the divine right of kings and queens is strongly insisted upon, and the associators pledged themselves, in the most solemn manner, to defend the queen against all her enemies, foreign and domestic; in confirmation of which, they took a solemn oath upon the holy Evangelists, and in witness whereof they affixed their hands and seals as follows:—

* Harl. MS. Cod. 1926. fol. 80.

† Harl. MSS. Cod. 2219.

<i>Hen. Derby</i>	Adam Langhe	Wilm. Massye	John Grenalghe	CHAP. XIII.
<i>W. Cestren</i>	Robt. Charnocke	Edward Tarbucke	Henry Banest ^r	
<i>Fer. Stranghe</i>	Richard Ormeston	Peter Stanley	Nycholas Banest ^r	
Rychard Sherburne	Willm. Holton	Thomas Talbott	Thomas Lancaster	
John Radclyffe	William Thorneborowe	John Bradley	Rychard Eltonheade	
Thomas Houghton	Edward Stanley	John Culcheth	Robt. Holt	
Edward Butler	Edmund Chaderton	John Rysbley	Edward Chaderton	
Rychard Ashton	Gilbt Langtree	George Ireland	Frances Tunstall	
Edward Norres	John Croft	Charles Holt	Willm. Skillicorne	
Thomas Holcroft	Thomas Leighe	Thomas Goodlowe	Edmund Prestwicke	
Edward Osbaldeston	Edward Braddlee	Thomas Morley	John Singleton	
Rychard Holland	John Wrightington	Thomas Ashton	Henrye Butler	
Rychard Boolde	Edward Rawstorne	Alexander Barlowe	Thomas Brockholes	
Edward Scaresbrecke	James Browne	Fraunces Holt	John Massye	
Thomas Hesketh	Barnabie Kilchin	James Ashton	William Redman	
John Holcroft	Edward Halsall	Henry Eccleston	Alen Holton	
Richard Mollineux	Edward Tildisley	Alexander Rigbye	Willm. Kirbye	
Rauffe Ashton	Henry Stanley, senior	James Anderton	William Radclyffe	
Robt. Langton	Willm. Farrington	Barth. Hesketh	Edward Worthington	
Myles Gerrard	Henrye Stanley	Lawrence Ireland	Thomas Woofall	
Willm. More	John Byrome	Thomas Lathome		

Upon this declaration, an act of parliament was formed, by which, after reciting that sundry wicked plots had lately been devised and laid, as well in foreign parts as within this realm, to the great endangering of her majesty's royal person, and for the utter ruin and subversion of the commonwealth, ordained, that if at any time, after the end of the present session of parliament, any open invasion or rebellion should be had or made of her majesty's dominions, or any act attempted leading to the hurt of her majesty's royal person, by or for any person that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm, or if any thing be compassed or imagined tending to the hurt of her majesty's royal person, by any person, or with the privity of any person that shall or may pretend title to the crown, then, by her majesty's commission under her great seal, the lords and others of her majesty's privy council, and such other lords of parliament, to be named by her majesty, as with the said privy council shall come up to the number of twenty-four at the least, shall, by virtue of this act, have authority to examine all such offences, and thereupon to give sentence or judgment as upon proof shall appear to them meet.

Mary, queen of Scots, had long been a prisoner in England; and it required no sagacity to perceive, that this act was passed specially to bring her and her adherents to trial before a new species of tribunal. The occasion was not long wanting. Babington's conspiracy, formed in the year 1586, which had for its object to assas-

Act found-
ed on it.

Mary,
queen of
Scots.

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sinate Elizabeth, and to elevate Mary to the throne of England, followed so speedily upon the passing of the new act, as to raise the surmise that the plot had been arranged to promote the interest of Mary's enemies, rather than to advance her cause. Babington, under the influence of that enthusiastic spirit which at this time existed against the queen of England, not only in the courts of Rome, Madrid, and Paris, but also amongst many of her Catholic subjects, found little difficulty in organizing a band of assassins, animated by the persuasion, that they should render service both to God and man, if success attended their efforts; and confidently assured, that if they failed, and fell victims to the enterprise, a crown of martyrdom awaited them. At the head of these fanatics stood John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who wished to monopolize the glory of despatching the heretical queen; next in order followed Babington himself, and he had associated with him Barnwel, a man of noble family in Ireland; Charnock, a gentleman of Lancashire; and Abington, whose father had been cofferer to the queen's household. Walsingham, the queen's secretary, whose vigilance never slept, and who had engaged Maud, a Catholic priest, and a party in the plot, as his spy, became perfectly acquainted with all the proceedings of the conspirators; and when the proofs against Mary had sufficiently accumulated, she was arraigned and brought to trial, charged with having, with others, compassed the queen's death, and the subversion of the established religion of the realm. To the indictment, which was delivered to her by the lord chancellor Bromley, and lord la Warre, she at first declined to plead, alleging, that she was herself a sovereign princess in her own right, and that she was not subject to the laws of England, where she had sought an asylum, but had for years been detained a prisoner. After much hesitation, she consented at length to plead, and declared herself not guilty. Amongst the forty commissioners appointed, under the authority of the great seal, to sit in judgment in this case, were sir Thomas Bromley, (lord chancellor,) the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Derby, lord Grey de Wilton, and sir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with sir Christopher Wray, the lord chief justice, and four other judges.

Her trial.
Oct. 12,
1586.

The correspondence of Babington and Mary, carried on in cipher, and proved by her secretaries Nau and Curle, was laid before the commissioners, from which it appeared, that Babington had informed her of the designs laid for a foreign invasion, the plan of an insurrection at home, the scheme for her deliverance, and the conspiracy for assassinating queen Elizabeth, by "six noble gentlemen," all of them his private friends; who, from the zeal which they owed to a Catholic church and her majesty's service, would undertake the tragical deed. To this, Mary replied, that she approved highly of the design, that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it would be in her power to confer, and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made either for her own

deliverance, or for an insurrection.* It was also proved, that she had allowed cardinal Allen, a native of Lancashire, but long resident in Rome, to treat her as Queen of England, and that she had kept up a correspondence with lord Paget, for the purpose of inducing the Spaniards to invade this kingdom. It was further proved, that cardinal Allen, and Parsons, the jesuit, had negociated by her orders, at Rome, the conditions of the transfer of the English crown to the king of Spain, and of disinheriting her heretical son, James VI. of Scotland.

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The trial, as might have been expected, terminated in the conviction of Mary ; and on sentence of death being passed upon her, the queen of England hesitated long whether to inflict the utmost sentence of the law, or to extend the royal clemency to her unfortunate kinswoman ; but the importunity of parliament, and probably the queen's own secret inclinations, at length decided that Mary should be executed ; and the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Kent, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Cumberland, attended by two executioners, were sent down to Fotheringhay, charged with the melancholy duty of seeing the sentence of the law carried into effect. Mary received the fatal intelligence without dismay, and suffered with a degree of heroism which proved that she considered herself rather as a martyr to the holy Catholic religion, than as a traitor to the state.

Conviction.
Feb. 8,
1587.

While these transactions were pending, the alarm of Spanish invasion spread through the kingdom ; in a letter from the earl of Derby, as lord-lieutenant of the county of Lancaster, to the deputy-lieutenants, they were warned that advices had been received from sundry parts beyond the seas, of foreign forces assembled to invade this realm, and it was the special command of her majesty, that order should be taken in every part of the county, that the principal inhabitants should furnish themselves, without delay, with armour and weapons, and take care that all their tenants and followers be also provided, and in readiness to repel the common enemy. By another despatch from his lordship, of the same date, addressed to the justices of the county, they are charged to provide their proper quota of horsemen, to be ready at the shortest notice, to resist the invaders.

Alarm of
Spanish
invasion

At this critical period, it became essential that the magistracy of the county should be sound and well affected ; and although the earl of Derby, in his confiding temper, did not conceive any material change to be necessary, the lord-treasurer, on the suggestion of the Rev. Edward Fleetwood, rector of Wigan, and others, caused a new commission to be issued, in which the names of several fresh magistrates were introduced, and a considerable number of those who were thought favourable to the recusants, omitted. The consequence was, that at the summer assize in 1587, no fewer than six hundred recusants were presented on oath, eighty-

The Lancashire commission of the peace new modelled.

* State Trials, vol. 1. p. 123.

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seven of whom were indicted, and a notification was made of twenty-one vagrant priests usually received in Lancashire, and twenty-five notorious houses of receipt for them.* The puritans, though pursued with rigour, had become extremely obnoxious to the high-church party, and the works against the prelacy, clandestinely issued from the press in Manchester at this period, under the assumed name of MARTIN MARPRELATE, tended to aggravate the difference, and to excite the animosity of the queen and her court.

The In-
vincible
Armada.

The ambition of Philip, king of Spain, and his anxiety again to introduce the Roman Catholic religion into England, had involved the two countries in active hostility, and preparations had for some time been making, by the Spanish government, to invade this country. In the midst of these preparations and alarms, the queen of England and the king of Spain contemplated the negociation of a peace; and the earl of Derby, lord Cobham, sir James Croft, and others, were appointed commissioners on the part of England, to meet certain Spanish commissioners at Bourbourg, near Calais. The negociations continued for some time, but without any relaxation on the part of Philip for attack, or of Elizabeth for defence. The haughty Spaniard, having at length become impatient, ordered the “Invincible Armada,” by which presumptuous name his fleet was distinguished, to prepare for sea; and although Santa Cruz, by whom the fleet was commanded, objected to the danger of navigating a narrow and tempestuous sea, without the possession of a single harbour capable of affording shelter; and the duke of Parma, the commander of the Spanish land-forces, wished to reduce the port of Flushing previously to the departure of the expedition; their prudent counsel was rejected, as was also the advice of sir William Stanley, who had devoted himself to the Spanish cause, and had sacrificed his patriotism and his integrity by the sale of Deventer, and the transfer of its garrison to the enemy.† The preparations of Spain were beyond all former example, and the invading fleet consisted of seventy-two gallies and galleons, forty-seven second-rate ships of war, and eleven pinnaces, carrying two thousand eight hundred and forty-three pieces of ordnance, eight thousand and ninety-four seamen, and eighteen thousand six hundred and fifty-eight soldiers; while the English fleet, by which this immense armament was to be resisted, consisted only of thirty-four ships of war, and a number of vessels principally furnished by opulent individuals and by communities, but by no means equal, in weight or appointment, to those to which they were to be opposed. In this emergency, the queen issued a proclamation to Henry earl of Derby, as lord-lieutenant of the

Prepara-
tions of
England
for de-
fence.

* See letter of Edward Fleetwood, dated 7th September, in Cotton MSS.

† The advice of sir William was to take possession of Ireland, as a preliminary measure for the conquest of England.

county of Lancaster, urging his lordship, and the county over which he presided, by every consideration of social and domestic security, to call forth the united energies of the county, in common with the country in general, to resist the meditated attack upon the throne and the altars of their country. This proclamation is still preserved,* and is expressed in the following energetic terms :—

“ BY THE QUEENE.

“ Right trustie & welbeloved cozen & counsellour wee greete you well.

“ Whereas hertofore vpon the Advertisem^{ts} from tyme to Tyme & from sundrie places of the greatte pparations of foraine forces wth a full Inten^{con} to invade this o^r Realm and other oure dominions, wee gave oure direc^{cons} vnto you for the pparinge of o^r S^{ub}iect^s wthin yo^r Livetenancy to be in readynes & defence againste anie attempt that mighte be made against vs & oure Realm ; w^{ch} oure direc^{cons} wee fynde soe well pformed, as wee cannot but receyve great contentm^t therby, bothe in respecte of youre carefull proceedinge therin & also of the greatte willingnes of oure people in gen^{all} to the Accomplishm^t of that whervnto they were Required Shewinge therby their greatte Love & Loyaltie towards vs, w^{ch} we Accepte most thankfully at their hands, acknowledginge o^rselves Infinitelie bounde to almightie god in that it hath pleased him to blesse vs wth soe lovinge & dutifull subiectes. Soe would wee have you make it knowen vnto them. For as muche as we fynde the same Inten^{con} not only of invadinge but of makinge a conqueste alsoe of this oure Realm, nowe constantlie moore & moore detectedd & confirmed as a matter fully resolved on (an Armye alreadye beinge putt to the seas for that purpose.) Although wee dowbte not but by god^s goodnes the same shall proove frustrate, wee have therefore thought meete to will & require you furthwth wth as muche convenient speede as you may to call together at some convenient place or places the beste sorte of gent. vnder yo^r Livetenancie, & to declare vnto them that consid^{ring}e their great ppara^{cons} & threateninges nowe burste out in acc^{con} vpon the seaes tendinge to a pposed conqueste; wherein eu^{er}e mans pticuler estate is in the highest degree to be Tutchted in respecte of cuntrey, Libertie, wyffe, children, lande, lyffe, and that w^{ch} is especially to be regarded for the pser-
va^{con} of the true & syncere Religion of Christe, wee doe looke that the moste pte of them should have vpon this instant extraordinarie occa^{con} a lardger propor^{con} of furniture bothe for horsemen & footemen, but especially horsemen, then hath bene certified. Therby to be in their beste strengthe against anie Attempt whatsoever, & to be employed bothe about our owne pson & otherwyse as they shall have knowledge geven them. The nūber of w^{ch} lardger propor^{con} as soone as you shall knowe wee

The
queen's
proclama-
tion in
Lanca-
shire.

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 1296. fo. 68 b.

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require you to signify to o^r privy co^usell. And hervnto as wee doubt not but by yo^r good indeavo^{rs} they wilbe the rather conformable soe alsoe wee assure o^r self that almightie god will soe blesse theis their loyall Hartes borne toward^e vs their lovinge souaigⁿe & their naturall cuntrey, that all the Attempt^e of anie enemyes what-soe^u shalbe made voide & frustrate to their Confusion, youre comfortes and god^e highe glorie. Geven vnder oure Signet at oure maner of Greenewiche the xvijth of June 1588, in the xxx yeare of o^r Raigⁿe.

“ To oure right Trustie and right welbeloued Cozen & Counselloure therle of Derby Livetenate of o^r Co^unties of Chest^r & Lanc. And in his Absence to o^r right trustie & welbeloued the L. Strange.”

Lanca-
shire
beacons.

Similar proclamations were sent to the lords-lieutenant in all the other shires, and the country was animated to a degree of enthusiasm never before witnessed. The beacons in every part of the county were ordered by a mandate from Ferdinando, lord Strange, to be kept in continual readiness; and it appears, from a note of taxation in the archives of the hundred of Salford, that the following charges were made for watching the beacon at Rivington Pike, from the 10th of July to the 30th of September, 1588:—

Manchester divi^cōn 3^{li} 8^s x^d ob^q

Middleton divi^cōn 46^s x^d ob^q

Bolton divi^cōn xl vj^s x^d ob^q

Suⁿ v^{li} ix^s iij^d

Amongst the precautionary measures for the defence of the kingdom was one of considerable rigour, which the necessity of the times seemed to suggest. A letter was addressed to the earl of Derby and the other lords-lieutenant of counties, and commissioners of musters, requiring, that because the enemy made his boast that he should have assistance of the Catholic subjects of this land, that all the horses belonging to the recusants should be seized, and committed to the custody of some well-affected gentlemen, their neighbours, that their services might be used if there should be occasion; and in the mean time, that they should be kept and maintained at the charge of the owners, to be restored again when the danger was past. This document recommends that care should be taken of the beacons, and that persons who spread false rumours and reports should be arrested and committed to prison; and that assistance should be given to the clergy, whose special province it was to find out a certain number of horse and foot, who were to meet for the guard and defence of her majesty's person, because it might fall out that they should stand in need of men to ride their horses and to wear their armour.

Amongst other places mentioned for the landing of the invading army was the Pile of Fouldrey, in the county of Lancaster, the place where Martin Swart landed

with Perkin Warbeck, in the reign of Henry VII.; and the reason of this conjecture was, that it was the best harbour for large shipping in all the western coast of England, that the deputy-steward of the Pile was Thomas Preston, a Catholic, and that Dr. Allen, who was born at no great distance, and had infected the inhabitants with his tenets, was likely to direct the attention of the Spaniards to this harbour.*

The magistrates, gentry, and freeholders of the county were required to meet lord Strange at Preston, on the 13th of July, in order to complete the preparations for the defence of the country; and in the mandate issued by his lordship, in virtue of orders from the queen, the very significant words are used of “fayle not at youre vttermost peril.” By means of these vigorous preparations, a force was collected of one hundred and one thousand and forty men, trained and untrained, in the different divisions of the kingdom, including thirteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-one pioneers, lances, light horse, and petronells, of which Lancashire and Cheshire furnished the following numbers:—

“An Abstract of the Certificates returned from the Leiuftenants of the able, trayned, and furneshed men, in the senerall Countis: vpon Letters from the Lordes reduced into bandes vnder Capitaines, and howe they were sourced, w^t weapons in Aprill an^o dom̄ 1588:—

Warre 1588 Lancastre	Trained vn trained	Men 1170	shott 700 Cat	Corslets 300	Bows 80	Bills 20	Launces 20 Light horse 50
The provisione of these 2 Counties is not Certefied							
Cheshire	Trained vn Trained	2189	420 Cat 39 musk	500	80	80	Launces 30 Light horse 50

“The Abstracte of the numbers of everie sorte of the armed men in the Countis through the y^e Kingdom, taken an^o 1588:—

Countis	Able men	Armed	Trained	vntrained	Pioners	Launces	Light- hors	Petronels
Lanckeshire	0000	1170	1170	0000	0000	64	265	000
Cheshire	0000	2189	2189	0000	0000	020	050	091

* Lansdowne MSS. Cod. 56. endorsed “touchinge a place called the Pille, in Lancashire, a dangerous place for Landinge.”

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of the
armada.Arrives in
the Eng-
lish chan-
nel.Beaten
and driven
off.Totally
defeated.

In the midst of these preparations, the Spanish armada sailed from the Tagus, and, after encountering various disasters, entered the English channel, and formed in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which lay some miles asunder. The sight was grand beyond conception; but the events which soon after followed were infinitely more gratifying.* The command of the English fleet had been confided to lord Howard, of Effingham, the lord high admiral, whose want of naval skill was supplied by the earl of Cumberland, and the lords Henry Seymour, Thomas Howard, and Edmund Sheffield, with sir William Winter, sir Francis Drake, sir Robert Southwell, sir John Hawkins, sir Henry Palmer, sir Martin Furbusher, sir George Reeston, and others. By this able council, the plan of operations was determined upon; and before the Spanish fleet had been two hours arrayed in order of battle, the cannonade was commenced by the English with a spirit which shewed that the determination existed to save England, or, if she was to fall, to let her fleet be the first sacrifice. A succession of engagements took place, in all of which, though none of them decisive, the advantage was on the side of England, till the finishing blow was given by a masterly manœuvre, practised on the 29th of July. On that memorable night, the sea on a sudden became illuminated by the appearance of eight vessels in flames, drifting rapidly in the direction of the armada, which was then moored off Calais. A loud cry of horror burst from the Spaniards on the appearance of these engines of destruction; and in the midst of the panic they cut their cables, and ran out to sea, inflicting upon each other more damage than they had hitherto received from their intrepid enemies. The fire-ships burnt harmlessly on the edge of the beach, but a furious gale blowing from the west, the armada was dispersed along the coast from Ostend to Calais, and the guns of the British fleet completed what the skill of their manœuvres and the fury of the elements had begun. The want of ammunition compelled the English admiral to return to port; otherwise the Spanish fleet would have been annihilated. The shores of Scotland and Ireland, in which direction the enemy steered, were covered with the wrecks of their vessels, and strewn with the dead bodies of their mariners; and when the duke of Medina, the successor of Santa Cruz, terminated his unfortunate voyage in the port of St. Andero, he acknowledged the loss of thirty ships of the largest class, and 10,000 men.

The English nation was filled with exultation by this signal deliverance, and most memorable victory. The expressions of thankfulness were not confined to the

* From a manuscript in the Harleian Coll. Cod. 286, it would appear that the first notice of the sailing of the armada from Spain was communicated to the government by Homfraye Brooke, a Liverpool merchant; but the dates do not correspond with the official details, and we are unable to reconcile them. The document, however, is curious, and as such will be inserted in the West Derby Hundred history, under the head of Liverpool.

heroes by whom it was achieved, but rose to that Being, without whose providential aid all their efforts must have been in vain. The nation, wishing to bear in perpetual memory "this signal deliverance from the malice, force, and cruelty of their enemies," celebrated a general thanksgiving by royal proclamation, which was announced to the county of Lancaster by the earl of Derby in the following terms:—

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Thanks-
giving in
Lanca-
shire for
victory.

"After my verie hartie coñiendaçons. Whereas I am creadiblie Infourmed that it hathe pleased god to contynue his goodnes towardē our prynce, Churchē, & Cuntrey as in the late outhrowe of o^r Enemies taken vpon the costē of Irelande yt may appeare by this Calender herinclosed. I have thought it expediente in respecte of Christiane dutie we should fall to some godlie exercyse of thanke gevinge for the same by prayer & preachinge. Willinge you so to comende the busynes to the clergie of youre hundrethe in theire seūall chardges, as onre god by mytuall consente may be prayسد therefore. And this not to be omitted nor delayed in anie wyse, but to be putt in Execucon att or before the next Sabothe. And thus desyringe god to blesse her ma^{tie} wth longe Lyffe & contynuall victorie ou^r all her Enemyes bidde yo^r farewell. Lathome my howse this xxiiijth of September, 1588.

1588.

Thanks-
giving for
defeat
of the
Spanish
armada.

"Yours assuredlye,

"H. DERBY.

"To my verie lovinge frendes S^r John Byron knyghte one of my deputy Liven^{tē}te for Lancashire And to the reste of the Justice of peace."

[Here follows a list of the "Shippes & men sunke & drowned killed & taken, vpon the coaste of Irelande," on the side of the Spaniards.]

Harl. MSS. Cod. 1296. fo. 88.

Although the pope, Sextus V. had fulminated a new bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, and had published a crusade against England, with pecuniary indulgences to any one that engaged in the invasion; and although Dr. Allen had received a cardinal's cap, to qualify him as legate to England, yet the Catholic subjects of the queen, both in this and other counties, remained faithful to their allegiance, and were amongst the most active in equipping ships, and placing them under protestant commanders to repel the invaders.* Amongst a number of others, sir Thomas Gerrard, sir Thomas Vavasour, and sir Charles Blount, distinguished themselves by their zealous and disinterested service in their country's cause.

Fidelity
of the
Catholics.

In Ireland the war seemed interminable, and hence, in the following year, an order was issued, through sir Richard Sherburne and sir John Byron, to the magis-

* Stowe's Ann. p. 747.

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XIII.Fresh
levies in
Lancashire for
Ireland.

trates of Lancashire, requiring them to levy another hundred soldiers in addition to those before sent, to proceed to Ireland, properly furnished and equipped, to assemble at Chorley, and to proceed from thence to their destination. In a subsequent letter, the gentry and principal freeholders of the county are advertised, that all the demi-lances and light horse within the respective hundreds, are to appear before the lord-lieutenant for his inspection; which mandate awards to each the number he is to furnish. It appears, that in the former year the inspection did not take place, and the earl of Derby, in a communication of the 19th of February, notifies that it is the queen's pleasure that they should be furnished and equipped, and ready at one hour's warning, and that the money assessed for the levies should be paid into the hands of his receiver, Richard Holland, esq. at his house at Heaton.

Memorable
feud.

The dominion of the law was at this time so little regarded in the county of Lancaster, that the baron of Newton assembled on Sunday evening his tenants and retainers, to the number of eighty, in front of the house of Mr. Hoghton, of Lea, in the parish of Preston, and challenged him to combat, ostensibly, because he had impounded a number of cattle belonging to the widow Singleton, but really to avenge an ancient feud. Finding himself menaced in his own mansion, he sallied forth at the head of a band of thirty men, when a regular engagement ensued, in which Mr. Hoghton and Richard Bawdwen, one of his followers, were left dead on the field. The earl of Derby, as lord-lieutenant of the county, to vindicate his authority, caused a watch to be instituted day and night, that the offenders might be detected, and brought to justice; and a species of magisterial assize was appointed to be held at Preston, to inquire into the circumstances of the riot and murders. The magistrates could only pursue one course, and that was, to direct that all the parties engaged in the homicides should be indicted at the ensuing assizes, on a charge of wilful murder. The earl of Derby, foreseeing the consequences that would ensue, addressed an earnest petition to lord Burghley, the queen's high-treasurer, beseeching his lordship to use his influence to obtain a pardon from the queen, as very many of the ruder sort engaged in the riot could not read, and, being unable to take the benefit of clergy, must lose their lives; while those who were of more distinction must be burnt in the hand, and thereby a dangerous quarrel would arise amongst the gentlemen of the county, of an extent and duration that would involve the most serious consequences. This application, which was accompanied by a petition from forty-seven of the offenders for the queen's pardon, and was supported by a petition from the widow of Mr. Hoghton, seems so far to have prevailed, that the murder was compromised, by the heir of the deceased gentleman receiving from the principal offender, as a compensation for his father's death, the valuable estate and manor of Walton-le-Dale, the future scene of one of Cromwell's most splendid victories. Some

documents on this subject, characteristic of the times of Elizabeth, will be found in their proper place in the Hundred History.

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XIII.

In the preceding century, a less fatal but more licentious outrage was perpetrated upon one of the principal families of Lancashire: "On the Monday next after the feast of St. James the Apostle," as the official documents express it, William Pulle, of Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, and of Wyrall, in the county of Chester, gentleman, with a great number of others, repaired to the house of Isabell, the widow of sir John Boteler, of Bewsey, and feloniously and most horribly ravished the said widow, and carried her off in a state of nudity, except "her kirtyll [petticoat] and her Smokke," into the wild and desolate part of Wales, for which offence he was indicted at Lancaster; but of this also more in its proper place.

Rape and
abduction.

1436.

The loyal conduct of the Catholics, when this country was menaced with invasion, did not stay the persecutions to which they were exposed; a commission under the great seal of England was issued, for the apprehension and discovery of seminary priests and Jesuits, and for reducing the recusants to conformity. To give effect to this commission, the churchwardens in the various parishes of Lancashire were required to meet the magistrates, and to bring with them lists in writing, containing the Christian and surnames of all the householders in their respective parishes, both men and women, with all their inmates above the age of sixteen years, certifying whether they repaired to the church to hear divine service, that, in case of neglect, they might be dealt with accordingly. The rigorous proceedings against the Catholics, not in this county only, but in the country generally, may be inferred from the facts mentioned by Challoner, who states, that for the vague offences of harbouring priests, or of receiving ordination beyond the seas, or of admitting the supremacy of the pope, and denying that of the queen, sixty-one priests, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen, suffered capital punishments, by laws recently enacted, and unknown to the ancient constitution of the country; and that in one night fifty Catholic gentlemen, in the county of Lancaster, were suddenly seized and committed to prison, on account of the non-attendance at church. As a test of their fidelity to the reformed faith, all the justices of the peace were required openly and publicly to take the oath of supremacy in special sessions, and an order from the lords of the queen's council, of the date of the 22d of October, 1592, addressed—

Persecu-
tions of
the Catho-
lics.

1591.

Test of the
magis-
trates.

"To our verie Lovinge frendē the highe Sheriffe & Custos Rotulorū of the
" Countie of Lancaster S^r John Byron & S^r Edward Fytton knightes,
" Richard Asheton Richard Brereton & Richard Hollande esquier & to eūē
" of them;"*

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 1926. fo. 109 a.

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directs that sessions of the peace shall be holden before the 20th day of November next, at the accustomed places in the county, at which every justice of the peace present shall take the said oath, and that any person having hitherto filled that office, who shall refuse or forbear to take the oath, shall be removed out of the commission of the peace; or any justice of the peace, who does not repair to the church or chapel where the common prayer is used, or whose wife, living with her husband, or son and heir, living in his father's house, or within the county where his father dwells, refuses or does not usually go to church, the husband or father of such recusant shall cease to exercise the office of justice of the peace during the time of such recusancy. The high-sheriff and other persons named in the writ of *Dedimus Potestatem* are themselves first required to take the oath, and then to administer it to the justices, saving that the lords of parliament are excepted.

Persecu-
tion of the
Puritans.

The puritans, at least that part of them called Brownists, who deemed every species of communion with the established church unchristian, fared little better than the Catholics: five of them were arraigned in the year 1593, on a charge of writing and publishing seditious libels; and though the publishers were spared, Barrow and Greenwood, the writers, were condemned and executed, notwithstanding their plea, that the obnoxious passages were directed against the bishops, and not against the queen. Penny, the “Martin Marprelate” of Manchester, was sentenced to death, on a pretence that a number of papers, containing disjointed sentences, intended as a petition to the queen, were treasonable; and, to prevent the populace from interposing any obstacles in the way of his execution, he was suddenly taken from prison, and hanged at the door of sir Thomas Waterings.

Ireland.

The alarm of Spanish invasion was revived in 1593, and the queen addressed a letter to the earl of Derby, as lord-lieutenant of the palatine counties of Lancaster and Chester, announcing, that troubles had been stirred up in Ireland, and that it had come to the knowledge of her majesty's council, that certain Spanish ships of war were to be sent, by the way of Scotland, to aid the insurgents in that country. To repel this invasion, levies were to be made in the different counties of the kingdom, and the counties of Lancaster and Chester were each required to furnish one hundred and thirty-eight able men, properly equipped, to proceed to Liverpool, or Chester, to be embarked in that service. To enforce this order, a letter was addressed by the earl of Derby to sir Richard Shirburn, knt., Richard Hollande, esq., and the other deputy-lieutenants of the county, in which his lordship was pleased to state, “that her majesty in her princely wisdom, having resolved, by God's assistance, to withstand and suppress this wicked force treacherously brought against her highnesses most excellent and godly government,” required that consultation might be had, and the utmost promptitude used, in carrying the measures

Spanish
force
landed
there.

Lanca-
shire le-
vies for.

into effect. A subsequent letter from his lordship, dated on the 14th of June in the same year, represents, that “general greffe and mislyke” have been conceived in the county, and not without good cause, if he is rightly informed, from the manner in which the county has been assessed for the Irish service. In consequence of these alleged malversations the magistrates for the hundred of Salford were required to assemble at Manchester, and to make out an account of the sums of money which had been collected in their respective jurisdictions for this service, during the last eight years, in order that justice might be done to the county. From the nature of this official correspondence, it should appear, that the alarm of invasion soon subsided, for in the month of September in the same year, the lords of the council directed, that the beacon-watches should be discontinued, and that the inhabitants of the county of Lancaster should forthwith be discharged from the necessity of contributing to this service.

At this period of our history, the hospitals of Chelsea and Chatham did not exist, neither did the chests out of which disabled soldiers and mariners, who have served their country, are relieved; but unfortunate persons of this description, when they were discharged from the public service, received a certificate, addressed to the justices of the peace, in the counties where they were born, or had been impressed, recommending them to the humane consideration of the churchwardens and constables. These certificates were given by men high in office, and, amongst others, we find one signed by no fewer than nine members of her majesty’s council, in favour of Nicholas Whittacre, a poor soldier, having done good service, and bearing office as a lieutenant in her majesty’s wars, directing, that he might receive such benefit from the general collections of the county of Lancaster, where he was born, or impressed, as was given to others of the same description.

Provision
for pen-
sioners.

An event which agitated the county of Lancaster—“the superstitious county of Lancaster”—in the most extraordinary manner, happened to the head of its principal family soon after, in the death of Henry earl of Derby. His son and successor, Ferdinando, was seized “in the flower of his youth,” with a violent sickness, at Knowsley, in the month of April, which was attributed to witchcraft, both by himself and his attendants, and of which he died at Lathom House, twelve days afterwards; but the documents upon this subject appertain rather to the history of the Stanley family, and must be reserved for that portion of our work.

Popular
supersti-
tion.
1595.

It appears that this country was visited, in the years 1595 and 1596, by a severe dearth, amounting almost to famine, owing to a succession of unfavourable seasons. In the following year, the lords of the council issued a letter to the justices of the peace in the county of Lancaster, congratulating them on the return of plenty; but at the same time, directing them to cause diligent inquisition to be made in all the

Famine.

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divisions of their county, for such persons as kept up the price of provisions, by buying or bargaining for corn or other victuals, except in open market, or for their private use, and directing that they should apprehend all engrossers, and compel them to revoke their bargains.

The
queen's
expenses.

In the list of queen Elizabeth's annual expenses, civil and military, in the year 1598, the following items occur:—

County
and
duchy.

The Countie Palatine of Lancaster.

	£.	s.	d.
Chamberlaine; fee . . .	20	0	0
Clark of the crown; fee . .	40	0	0
And his dyet when he rydes esteemed	40	0	0
Clark of the pleas; fee . .	40	0	0
Clark of the extreats; fee .	20	0	0
Barons of the exchequer, 2; fee apeece	40	0	0
Attorney; fee	6	13	4
Messenger; fee	2	0	0
And his ryding expences .			
Cryer; fee	2	0	0

The Duchie of Lancaster.

	£.	s.	d.
Chancellor; fee and allowance of £4, for paper, parchment, and ynek.	142	10	0
Surveior; fee	66	13	4
Attorney; fee and allowance	45	0	0
Receaver general; fee and allowance	38	10	0
Clarke in the court of the du- chie; fee and allowance .	27	10	4
Messenger; fee and his charges when he rydeth	40	0	0

Subjuga-
tion of
Ireland.

The numerous levies that had been made for the queen's service in Ireland, enabled the English general, Mountjoy, to effect the subjugation of that country, though the rebels, so called, were aided by an invading army of six thousand Spaniards. But the long and eventful reign of Elizabeth now drew to a close. The queen, in the midst of all her splendour and success, fell into a state of irrecoverable melancholy, and died in the seventieth year of her age, having bequeathed her crown to her lawful successor, James the Sixth of Scotland, the eldest son of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots.

Death of
queen
Elizabeth.

Immediately on the death of the queen, a letter was addressed by the lords of the council to the sheriff of Lancaster, (and the other sheriffs,) announcing, that "As much as it has pleased God to take out of this life to his mercy our dearly beloved sovereign queen Elizabeth, it has become necessary for the maintenance of the safety of the realm, forthwith to proclaim James VI. king of Scotland, and now James I. king of England, France, and Ireland." For this purpose, their lordships had sent a proclamation, which the sheriff was required to publish in his county of Lancaster, and which proclamation announced, that the imperial crown had, by the

death of the high and mighty princess Elizabeth, descended on the high and mighty prince James, lineally and lawfully descended from the body of Margaret, daughter of the high and renowned prince Henry VII., king of England, his great-grandfather, the said lady Margaret being the daughter of Elizabeth, daughter of king Edward IV., by which happy conjunction, both the houses of York and Lancaster were united, to the joy unspeakable of this kingdom, formerly rent and torn by the large dissension of bloody and civil wars.

This proclamation met with a prompt, loyal, and dutiful response from the principal gentry of the county of Lancaster, expressed in the following terms :—

“ To the most highe & mightye prince James kinge of Scotland the Sixt
 of England Fraunce & Ireland the first our most gracious & dreede
 souaigne Lord.*

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Address
of Lanca-
shire gen-
try to her
successor,
James I.

“ Albeyt most gracious souaigne lord, That the Loyall bond of our Allegiance to your Ma^{tye} cannot receyve force from our Testimonye or approbacon But remayneth in yt selfe firme & inviolable as dependinge in regard of your hyghnes vndoubted right to be our true & lawfull souaigne imedyatlye vpon gode holye ordinance whoe established the right of prince in theyr Crownes & kingdoms for soe muche yet as the vnable acknowledgement of dutye ys some tymes thought not the greatest yet not the least grateful pte of dutye yt selfe and ys vpon soe just occacon as oportunitye nowe offereth neyther improper nor vndewe Wee therefore yo^r most vnable subiectes wthin the Countye Pallentye of Lancaster have out of the abundance of our Loyall resolved hartē psumed to Comend hereby to your most gracious acceptance this vnable Testimonye & acknowledgement of our Loyall duties & Allegiance That wheras the almighty god hayth to the manifold good & blessinge of this our Nation vowchesaved by knowne Course of Lyneall & lawfull discent to calle your Ma^{tye} to the kinglye government of thes most noble Realmes of England Fraunce & Ireland wth open pclamacions & genall applaus througheout our whole Countye wee doe hereby ptest for our selves & oures That duringe our naturall lyves wee will pforme fayth & obedience to your Ma^{tye} as to our knowne vndoubted rightfull souaigne, & be eūmore redye thoughe wth the hazard of our estaytē & expence of our dearest blood as well to pteet & defend you ma^{tes} most Royall pson As also to wthstand resist & pursue to death all such as hereafter att any tyme shall interrupt impugne or gayne saye your ma^{tes} most just & and lawfull clame to the Impiall Crownes & dignities of thes afforsayd Realmes To the pformance whereof wee doe all of vs hereby joyntlye *conteste* in the p^sence of our great god & in Testimonye of this our solemne act have

* Harl. MSS. Cod. 2219. fo. 95 b.

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subscribed thes p^resentes wth our hande the faithfull witnesses of our resolved hart^e,
e p^rsumed to put the same to your highnes by Arthure Aston your ma^{tes} Svant wth
our hvmble requeste in behalfe of the rest of the Inhabitan^tes of our Countye That
yo^r highnes would vowchesafe graciouslye to receyve by him the excuse of theyr nowe
absence and not subscrybinge. Given att Wigan the last of Marche in the first
yere of your gracious most happye reigne

“ Your Ma^{tes} most hvmble e Loyall subiecte

“ John Ireland Vic ^{ar}	S ^r Nycholas Mosseley	Thomas Barton
S ^r Rychard Mollineuxe	Thomas Wahnysley	James Westbye
S ^r Rychard Hoghton	Thomas Gerrard	John Massye
S ^r Cuthbert Halsall	Thomas Langton	Edward Norres
S ^r Edward Warren	John Townley	Richard Ashton
S ^r John Radclyffe	Richard Sherburne	Rychard Bold
Thomas Preston	James Anderton of Los-	Ranfe Ashton
Frauncees Tunstall	tocke	Robt Hesketh
Randle Barton	James Anderton of Clay-	Edward Standishe
Rychard Holland	ton	John Traves
Thomas Sothworth	Robt Charnocke	Henry Butler
John Osbadelston	Thomas Ashton	Edward Rigbie
Willm Thorneborrowe	Rychard Fleetwood	Edward Langtrie
George Preston	Henrye Banister	Robt More
Edward Tarbucke	Roger Kirkbye	Thomas Tildisley
Alexander Standishe	Christopher Carus	Thomas Ireland
James Ashton	John Cansfild	Alexander Staudishe
John Middleton of Leyton	John Calvert	Roger Downes
Willm Farrington	Edmund Fleetwood	John Crosse
Robt Dalton de Thurnam	Edward Rawstorne	John Wrightington
Robt Dalton of Pillinge	Withm Hvlton	Robt Pilkington
Roger Bradshawe	James Browne	Thomas Gidlow
Roger Nowell	Alexander Barlowe	Withm Chorley
Nycholas Banister	John Greenhaughe	Rychard Ashton
Myles Gerrard	Alexander Reddishe	Withm Clayton
Edward Stanley	Edmund Hopwood	Roger Bradshawe
Barnabie Kitchin	John Braddill	—— Winstanley.”

Chap. *ÆÆV.*

Ancient manners and customs of the county.—The chase.—Archery.—Dress.—Buildings.—Food.—Coaches.—Progress of improvement.—Sports and pastimes.—The arts.—The laws.—King James's first progress.—Lancashire knights.—The plague.—The Gunpowder plot.—Letter to lord Monteagle.—Cecil's account of the discovery.—Fate of the conspirators.—New dignity of inheritance.—Lancashire baronets.—Lancashire witches.—Dr. Dee's petition.—Seer Edward Kelley, the necromancer.—History of Lancashire witchcraft.—Duchess of Gloucester.—The Stanley family.—Satanic possession.—Case of seven demoniacs in Mr. Starkie's family at Cleworth.—Dispossessed.—The conjurer hanged.—King James's *dæmonologie*.—Witches of Pendle Forest.—Their trial.—Fate.—Salisbury witches.—Acquitted.—Second batch of Pendle Forest witches.—The witch-finder's deposition.—Proved to be an impostor.—Examination of the Lancashire witches before the king in council.—Deposition of Ann Johnson, one of the reputed witches.—On the belief in witchcraft.—Case of a Lancashire witch in Worcestershire.—Richard Dugdale, the Lancashire demoniac.—His possession.—Dispossession.—Witchcraft exploded.—Progress of king James through Lancashire.—Sunday sports.—The Book of Sports.—Further honours conferred on Lancashire men.—Letter from king James to sir Richard Hoghton, with autograph.—Letter from the king's council to the earl of Derby, lord-lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire.



QUEEN ELIZABETH was no sooner consigned to the tomb of her royal progenitors, than her successor, James I., entered upon his progress from Edinburgh, by way of York, to London. But, having now arrived at times comparatively modern, we shall pause, to take a short retrospective view of the ancient manners and customs of the people of Lancashire, and in some degree of the kingdom in general, which, on being collated with the customs and manners of modern times, will often afford instructive lessons, and exhibit

CHAP.
XIV.Ancient
manners
and cus-
toms.

by turns striking contrasts and close resemblances.

From the time of the Norman conquest, the inhabitants of the county of Lancaster have been much addicted to the chase. The extent of their forests has attached them to this pursuit; and their skill in archery, for which they have been famed, both in war and in their sports,* had given them a taste for the chase, which dis-

The
chase.

* See chap. vii.

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played itself as early as the reign of king John, and was at its height in the reign of Henry VIII. The laurels gained on the field of Flodden by the levies under sir Edward Stanley, were principally owing to their dexterity in the use of the bow and the bill.*

Archery.

According to Holinshed, the skill of the archers must have been in great request, for, says he, “the whole countie of Lancaster hath beene forrest heretofore;” but this is an error of the venerable chronicler, as is shewn with sufficient clearness, by the Domesday survey of William the conqueror.† It is true, that when the Lacies, and the successors of the ducal house of Lancaster, sported over their vast domain, from the castle of Clitheroe to the castle of Pontefract, the right of free-warren was exercised over all the intervening country without control; but it is also true, that the track was studded with towns and villages, more numerous even in the days of John of Gaunt than in the reign of Henry VIII.‡

Hospitality.

The nobles of Lancashire, in their baronial halls, were distinguished for the ancient munificence; and the successive barons, earls, and dukes of Lancaster, set the example, for which Edward, earl of Derby, the model of hospitality, was celebrated. The knights, the gentry, and the yeomen, each in their station, were also famed for their hospitality and manly exercises; and Camden, speaking of the Lancashire men generally, without distinction of rank, says—“You may determine the goodness of the country by the temperament of the inhabitants, who are extremely comely.”§

Dress.

The dress of the ladies in the time of the Ferrers, first earls of Derby, is described as at once simple and graceful; they were clothed in modest, elegant habits, consisting of a loose gown girdled round the waist, which reached to the ground, and was surmounted with a veil over the head; the unmarried ladies were distinguished by an additional robe over the gown, which hung down before, and resembled the

* Chap. xii. The English chiefly depended upon the force of their infantry, and the bravery and expertness of the archers, which was as much relied upon in our ancient warfare, as is the *charge* in modern British tactics. The archers were protected by body armour, the arms being left perfectly free; except when they wore a brigandine of mail, which came before them like an apron; their arms were, a long bow, a sheaf of arrows, a sword, and a small shield. The bill-men, so called from their weapon, which resembled a small bill, or hooked axe, were sometimes armed in brigandines of mail, but at other times they were scarcely protected at all by armour.

† See the Domesday Map of Lancashire.

‡ Description of England in the reign of Elizabeth, written by Wm. Harrison, and affixed to Holinshed's Chronicles, new edit. p. 324. See also chap. vii. p. 268, of this work.

§ Britannica, iii. 377.

sacerdotal robe. The dress of the men of the higher order was a flowing robe ; and the common people wore a kind of tunic girt round the loins, which seldom reached lower than to the knees. Nothing could be more vain and ridiculous than the fashions which prevailed in the reign of the last sovereign of the Lancaster line, and which seemed to combine all the fantastical costumes of former reigns. In the reign of Henry VII. there was an affectation of feminine attire in the men, and the lord chamberlain is described in the book of Kervynge, as saying,—“ warme your soverayne hys petycote, his doublet, and his stomachere ; and then put on hys hosen, and then his schone or sylppers, then stryke up his hosen mannerlye, and tye them up, then lace his doublet hole by hole,” &c. Of the garbs of the priests just before the Protestant reformation, Harrison, an author of great fidelity, who wrote in that century, says,—“ that they went either in diverse colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c., with their shoes piked, their haire crisped, their girdles armed with silver ; their shooes, spurres, bridles, &c., buckled with like mettall ; their apparell (for the most part) of silke, and richlie furred, their cappes laced and buttoned with gold ; so that to meet a priest in those daies, was to beholde a peacocke that spreadeth his taile when he danseth before the henne.” These clerical beaux must have been the dignitaries of the church, and not the inferior clergy of the county of Lancaster, who are described by archbishop Lee, as in the possession of benefices not yielding them more than four guineas per annum.* In the reign of Elizabeth, the dress of the clergy was more becoming their sacred order, and the showy colours, the “ piked” shoes, and the glittering girdles were discarded. The head-dress of the laity was as various as the cut of their beards, “ which were some times shaven from the chin like those of Turks, some times cut short like the beard of marques Otto, sometimes made round like a rubbing brush, other with a *pique devant* ; and now and then suffered to grow long.” As the men imitated the fashions of the women, so did the women imitate the fashions of the men, to a degree offensive alike to good taste and to modesty ; and Harrison, in describing the ladies of the *ton* in his days, says, “ thus it is now come to pass, that women are become men, and men are transformed into monsters.” Randle Holme, one of our county collectors, says, that, about the fortieth year of Elizabeth, the old fashions, which were used in the beginning of her reign, were again revived with some few additions made thereto, as guises, double ruffs, &c. ; the men likewise, besides the double use of the cloak, had a certain kind of loose hanging garment, called a *manderville*, much like to our old jackets or jumps, but without sleeves, only having holes to put the arms through ; yet some were made with sleeves, but for no other use than to hang on the back. Early in the reign of Elizabeth, the wearing of

* See chap. xii. p. 466, note.

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great breeches was carried to a very absurd and ridiculous length, together with the peas-cod doublets, as they were called. These slops, or breeches, or trunk hose, it was their custom to stuff with rags, or such like materials, till they brought them to an enormous size; so enormous, that it was deemed necessary to legislate for their regulation. The legislators themselves, however, seem to have fallen into the same absurdity; for in the Harleian Collection, No. 980, a paper is preserved, from which it appears, that in the reign of Elizabeth a scaffold was erected round the inside of the house of commons, for those members to sit in, who used the wearing of great breeches stuffed with hair, and bulging out like woolsacks. Bulver, in his pedigree of the "English Gallant," speaks of a man, whom the judges accused of wearing breeches contrary to the law, when he, for his excuse, drew out of his slops the contents—"as, first, a pair of sheets, two table-cloths, ten napkins, four shirts, a brush, a glass, a comb, with night-caps," and other useful articles. The ladies, that they might not be outdone in grotesqueness of attire, invented the large hoop farthingales, as a companion to the trunk hose, and the women who could not purchase these expensive commodities supplied their place with bum-rolls.

The description of a fine lady's dress in the time of queen Elizabeth, as breathed in the wishes of Miss Margaret Hardman, while she was under the influence of *possession*, (apparently by a *spirit* of pride,) in the house of Mr. Nicholas Starkie, of Leigh, in the county of Lancaster, is too graphical to be withheld: "Come on, my lad, said she, for so she called her familiar—come on, and set my partlett on the one side, as I do the other. I will have a fine smock of silk, with a silk petticoat garded a foot high; it shall be laid with good lace, it shall have a French body, not of whalebone, for that is not stiff enough, but of horne, for that will hold it out; it shall come low before, to keep in my belly. I will have a French farthingale; I will have it low before and high behind, and broad on either side, that I may lay my arms upon it. My gown shall be black wrought velvet; I will have my sleeves set out with wire, for sticks will break, and are not stiff enough. I will have my perewincke so fine; I will have my cap of black velvet with a feather in it with flewes of gold, and my hair shall be set with pearls. I will have a busk of whalebone; it shall be tied with two silk points; and I will have a drawen wrought stomacher embossed with gold, and a girdle of gold. I will have my hose of orange colour, this is in request; and my cork shoes of red Spanish leather. I will have a scarf of red silk, with a gold lace about the edge. I will have a fan with a silver steel, and a glass set in it. Bring me a pair of gloves of the finest leather that may be, with two gold laces about the thumb, and a fringe on the top, with flewes and red silk underneath, that I may draw them through a gold ring, or else I will have none of them."*

* Tract of the Rev. Geo. More, published in 1600.

When king James came to the crown, most of the old fashions used in the days of Elizabeth were again revived, and the large breeches, with the hoop farthingales amongst the rest, came once more into fashion. Expensive garters and curious shoe roses were worn very generally, and the ladies kept pace with the other sex in costly ornaments. In the comedy of the "City Madam," a lady says, "these roses would shew well, an 'twere the fashion for the garters to be seen." But of all the ridiculous fashions, that of the men wearing stays was, perhaps, the most so; and the earl of Somerset, when so equipped, may be supposed to have served as a model for men of fashion of a much more recent period. The manufacturers were not much behind the courtiers, and the opulent clothier's widow, of Newbury, is thus described:—"She came out of the kitchen in a fair train gown, stuck full of silver pins; a white cap on her head, with cuts of curious needlework under the same, and an apron before her as white as the driven snow;" while the spruce master tailor, her suitor, wore "a new russet jerkin, and a tall sugar-loaf hat clapped on the side of his head." The factory girls of that day are thus described:—

" And in a chamber close beside
Two hundred maidens did abide,
In petticoats of flannel red,
And milk-white kerchers on their head,
Their smock sleeves like to winter's snow,
That on the western mountains flow,
And each sleeve with a silken band
Was fairly tied at the hand.
Which pretty maids did never lin,
But in that place all day did spin," &c.

The young gentleman was distinguished by his gay suit of apparel, his cloak, and rapier; the merchant's dress at that time was a plain grave suit of clothes, with a black cloak; and the rustic, when in his Sunday attire, had a leathern doublet with long points, and a pair of breeches primed up like pudding bass, with yellow stockings, and his hat turned up with a silver clasp on the leer side.* These fashions were not confined to any particular district, they extended to the whole kingdom. "The manners and customs of the inhabitants of Lancashire," says John De Brentford, "are similar to those of the neighbouring counties, except that the people eat with two-pronged forks. The men are masculine, and in general well made; they ride and hunt the same as in the most southern parts, but not with that grace, owing to the whip being carried in the left hand. The women are most handsome, their eyes brown, black, hazel, blue, or grey; their noses, if not inclined to the aquiline, are

* Strutt's Ancient Manners and Customs of the English, iii. 98.

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mostly of the grecian form, which gives a most beautiful archness to the countenance, such indeed as is not easy to be described. Their fascinating manners have long procured them the name of *Lancashire Witches*.* Leland says “the dress of the men chiefly consists of woollen garments, while the women wear those of silk, linen, or stuff. Their usual colours are green, blue, black, and sometimes brown. The military are dressed in red, which is vulgarly called scarlet.” According to Randle Holme, hats were not used in Lancashire, nor indeed in England, till the time of Charles II. This is obviously a chronological mistake; the hatting business existed in the south-east part of this county, in the time of Henry VI., and, probably, much earlier, as we have a petition to parliament in that reign from the hatters, complaining of the introduction of machinery into their business, and representing that “hats, caps, &c. were wont” to be fulled by manual labour; but that, of late, fulling-mills had been introduced, to effect this operation, to the prejudice of the workmen, and the deterioration of the fabric. Silk stockings were not worn till the year 1560, when queen Elizabeth, on being presented with a pair made by Mrs. Montague, her silk woman, as a New Year’s gift, declared that she liked them so well that she would not wear any more cloth hose,† which persons of the highest distinction had hitherto worn.

Build-
ings.

In the reign of Elizabeth, there were few houses of stone in the county of Lancaster, except those of the nobility and the highest rank of gentry. The houses of the middle and lower class were principally built with wood; those of the better order had large porches at the principal entrance, with halls and parlours; the frame-work was constructed with beams of timber, of such enormous size, that the materials of one house, as they were then built, would make several of equal size in the present mode of building: the common method of making walls was, to nail laths to the timber frame, and strike them over with rough (clay) plaster, which was afterwards whitened with fine mortar, and this last was after beautified with figures and other curious devices.‡ Some had houses built with bricks, but these were rare, and of modern date. The inner walls were either hung with tapestry, arras-work, or painted cloth, whereon were different devices, or they were wainscoted with oak, and in that way made warm and ornamental. The cottages of the poor were slightly set up, with a few posts, and plastered over with clay, not very dissimilar to the rustic cottages of the present day. The houses in the cities and towns were built each story jutting over that beneath it, so that where the streets were not wide, the people in the top stories, from opposite houses, might not only converse with each other, but even shake hands together. The houses were covered with tiles, shingles, slates, or lead.

* Bodleian Collection, 1602.

† Stow’s Chronicle, fo. 867.

‡ Harrison’s Description of Britain.

The streets of Manchester, Preston, Liverpool, and the other towns of the county, were unpaved, and were generally narrow, the smallness of the carriages and the diminutive intercourse not requiring spacious streets. At the period of the wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, the windows principally consisted of lattice or wickerwork, and sometimes of panes of horn; but in the reign of Elizabeth glass had become plentiful, and was generally used in small squares set in lead. A still further improvement took place in the buildings about this period. Till the time of Henry VIII. the houses were generally erected without chimneys; and, in many of the first towns of the realm, not more than two or three chimneys were to be seen, the fires being made in a recess in the wall, where the family dressed their victuals, and left the smoke to make its escape as it does at present out of the Irish cabins. Valleys were generally preferred for the sites of towns and villages; the buildings in the early times of Britain being mostly of a construction too slight to encounter the boisterous elements of the climate to which they were exposed. The out-buildings, such as the dairy, stables, and brewhouse attached to the mansions, were at a little distance from the house, and yet sufficiently near, says Harrison, "that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is donne in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger should attach him."

In the time of Edward I., orchards and gardens were much in use, but they afterwards grew into neglect, so that from John of Gaunt's days to the end of the reign of Henry VII., little attention was paid to these delightful and ornamental appendages to the gentlemen's mansions. This was owing to herbs, fruits, and roots being little in use for the purpose of human food; but in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., not only the poor, but the rich, began to use melons, radishes, skirets, parsneps, carrots, cabbages, turnips, and sallad herbs, the latter of which were served as delicacies at the tables of the nobility, gentry, and merchants. Hops in times past had been plentiful, but they also grew into disuse, and the cultivation of them was neglected, till about the time of the Reformation; and hence the
complet—

Hops, Reformation, Bays, and Beer
Came into England all in a year.

Beer, however, had been in England long before, and was a favourite beverage amongst the working classes, when they were all good Catholics. The number of fasts in Catholic times somewhat diminished the consumption of flesh-meat, which would otherwise, as the sustenance of the people was chiefly animal food and milk, have been very great; but when it became lawful for every man to feed upon what he was able to purchase, except upon the weekly fast-days, which were observed by all long after the Reformation, it was necessary to resort to herbs, roots,

and bread, to diminish the consumption of cattle. "In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England," says Harrison, "doo most exceed, sith there is no daie in maner that passeth over their heads, wherein they have not onelic béeefe, mutton, veale, lanbe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or so manie of these as the season yieldeþ; but also some portion of the red or fallowe déer, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and sundrie other delicacies. The chiefe part of their daily provision is brought in before them (commonlie) in siluer vessell, if they be of the degré of barons, bishops, and vpwards, and placed on their tables, whereof, when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is reserued, and afterwards sente downe to their seruing men and waiters, who féed thereon in like sort with conuenient moderation, and their reuersion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same." This species of hospitality prevailed to a vast extent at Lathom House and Knowsley, in the time of Edward, earl of Derby; and the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Downham, entertained every day forty persons, besides comers and goers.* To guard against intemperance, each guest at the table of his noble host called for a cup of such liquor as he preferred, which, when he had satisfied himself, he returned to the servant. "By this device," says our author, "much idle tipling is cut off, for if the full pot should continuallie stand at the elbow or near the trencher, diners would alwaies be dealing with it, whereas now they drinke seldome and onelic when necessitie urgeth, and so auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the seruitours with filling of their bols. Neuerthelesse, in the noblemen's hals this order is not vsed, niether in any man's house commonlie vnder the degré of a knight or esquire of great reumes. The gentlemen and merchants keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himselfe with foure, fine, or six dishes, when they haue small resort, or peradventure with one or two, or thrée at the most, when they haue no strangers to accompanie them at their tables." The potato was not then known in England, though now so familiar, especially in Lancashire, except as a foreign root obtained with much difficulty and cost, and therefore the more desired. The wine most in estimation was called *theologicum*, because it was had from the clergy and religious men, whose cellars were well replenished. March beer was also much esteemed at the tables of the nobility and gentry, but it was required to be, at least, a year old. The household beer was not drunk till after it had been brewed a month.

The artificers and husbandmen had their festivities, as well as their betters, "especiallie," says Harrison, "at Bridales, purifications of women, and such od méetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed and spent, ech one

* Chap. xiii. p. 515.

bringing such a dish, or so many, with him, as his wife and he doo consult vpon, but alwaies with this consideration, that the léefr fréend shall haue the better prouision. This also is commonlie scène at their bankets, that the good man of the house is not charged with any thing sauing bread, drink, sauce, houseroome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes deale far otherwise, for albeit that some of them doo suffer their iaws to go before their clawes, and diuers of them making good cheer doo hinder themselves and other men; yet the wiser sort can handle the matter well enough in these iunkettings, and therefore their frugalitie deserueth commendation. Both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall and verie friendlie at their tables, and when they mète, they are so merry without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them.”*

The more opulent classes generally used wheaten bread at their own tables, while their household and poor neighbours were forced to content themselves with rye or barley, and in times of scarcity with beans, peas, or oaten bread, the latter of which was then in general use amongst the middle and lower classes in Lancashire and in Yorkshire, and is by no means entirely banished from these counties in the present day. According to the same authority, the difference between summer and winter wheat was not known in his time by the husbandmen in many counties; but in the north, about Kendal, and we presume about Lancaster also, the spring wheat was cultivated, and called March wheat. In Elizabeth's time, the practice of sitting long at meals grew into disuse, and two meals a day, dinner and supper, were thought sufficient. The nobility, gentry, and students usually dined at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and supped between five and six in the afternoon. The merchants seldom dined before twelve at noon, and supped at six at night. The husbandmen and artisans dined at high noon, as they called it, and supped at seven or eight. In the Universities, the students, out of term-time, dined at ten o'clock in the morning.

In those early days, when coffee and tea, with various other slops, were unknown, or not used in England, it was no uncommon thing for the chief lords and ladies of the court to breakfast, as we have already shewn,† upon a fine beefsteak and a cup of ale, and that at eight o'clock in the morning; and that the hour of supper was early in queen Mary's time, may be inferred from Weston's promise to Bradford, the Lancashire martyr, that he would see the queen, and speak to her on his behalf, after supper, but, adds he, “it is to be thought that the queen has almost supped at present, for it is past six of the clock.” In the reign of king James, early hours were still kept by people of quality, for we learn from the king's history of the

* Description of England.

† See Chap. xiii. p. 546.

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"Powder Plot," that the letter cautioning Lord Monteagle against going to parliament was delivered in the evening, between 6 and 7 o'clock, when his lordship was just going to supper.

Coaches.
1555.

According to Stow, the luxury of coaches was not introduced into England till the reign of Mary, when Walter Ripon made a coach for the earl of Rutland; and, in the year 1564, the same artist made the first "hollow turning coach" with pillars and arches for Elizabeth; in 1584 he made a chariot throne, with four pillars behind, to bear a canopy, surmounted with a crown imperial, and two pillars in front, whereon stood a lion and dragon, the supporters of the arms of England. The coach-box was not added till a long time after; "the coachman," says our authority, "joineth a horse sixt to match a saddle-horse, to the coach-tree, when he sitteth upon the saddle; and when there are four horses, he driveth those before him, guiding them with a rean. Great persons are carried in a coach, or hanging waggon, with six horses, and two coachmen (postilions); others ride in chariots drawn by two horses only." It is clear, however, from Stow's Survey of London and Westminster, that wheeled carriages, of the coach kind, were introduced into England nearly two centuries before this time. In the reign of Richard II. the king, "being threatened by the rebels of Kent, rode from the Tower of London to the Mile's-end, and with him, his mother, because she was sick and weak, in a *whirlicote* * * * * But in the year next following, the said Richard took to wife Anne, daughter to the king of Bohemia, who first brought hither the riding upon side-saddles; and so was the riding in those *whirlicotes* and chariots forsaken, except at coronations, and such like spectacles. But now, of late," continues he, "the use of coaches, brought out of Germany, is taken up and made so common, as there is neither distinction of time nor difference of persons observed; for the world runs on wheels with many whose parents were glad to go on foot."

Progress
of Im-
prove-
ment.

During the wars of the Roses, the domestic accommodations of the people, in this and the other counties of the kingdom, were as scanty and deficient as their historical records. "There are," says Harrison, "old men dwelling in the village where I remaine, which have noted three things to be marvellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance: One is, the multitude of chimnies lately erected, wheras in their yong daies there were not above two or three, if so manie, in most vplandish townes of the realme, (the religious houses and manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peradventure some great personages,) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a shéet vnder couerlets made

of dagswam or hoplarlots (I vse their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster or pillow. If it were so that our fathers, or the good-man of the house, had within seuen yeares after his mariage purchased a matters or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; so well were they contented, and with such base kind of furniture; which, also, is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsewhere further off from our southerne parts. Pillowes (said they) were thought méet onlie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie shéet aboue them it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to kéepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides. The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of vessell, as of treene platters into pewter, and wodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find foure péeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a salt) in a good farmer's house, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarce able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horse, or more, although they paide but foure pounds at the vttermost by the yeare."

On the union of the houses of York and Lancaster under the prudent government of Henry VII., the degrading and impoverishing feudal system having been virtually abolished,* the condition of all classes began to improve; and in the reign of Elizabeth they attained to comparative opulence, as would appear from the same authority. "The furniture of our houses," adds our author, "also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie; and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onlie, but likewise of the lowest sort. Certes in noble men's houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, siluer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish sundrie cupbords to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least; whereby the value of this and the rest of their stuffe dooth grow to be almost inestimable. Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapistrie, Turkie worke, pewter, brasse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth five or six hundred or a thousand pounds, to be deemed by estimation. But as herein all these sorts doo far exceed their elders and predecessors, and in neatnesse and curiositie,

* "As for slaves and bondmen, we have none; and if any come hither, so soon as they set foot on land, they become so free of condition as their masters."—*Description of England in Elizabeth's Time.*

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the merchant all other ; so in time past, the costlie furniture staid there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leases haue for the most part learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie dooth infinitelie appeare."

Formerly, the accommodation at the principal inns, even in the towns, was very deficient, but in the time of Elizabeth they had so much improved as to become great and sumptuous ; and Holinshed, in his Itinerary from Cockermouth to London, enumerates, amongst these places, Kendale, Burton, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, and Warrington, where the inns were well furnished with "napierie, bedding, and tapisserie. Each commer," says he, "is sure to lie in cleane sheets wherein no man hath been lodged since they came from the landresse. If the traueller haue an horse, his bed dooth cost him nothing, but if he go on foot he is sure to paie a penie for the same : but whether he be horseman or foote, if his chamber be once appointed, he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne house, so long as he lodgeth there." It appears, however, that he was subject to great impositions at these plausible houses of entertainment, and if he was not upon his guard, his "budget" would be pillaged both by his host and by the servants. The penny for the lodging, when the comparative value of money is considered, was pretty much the same in amomnt in the time of Elizabeth, as that which is now paid by travelers for similar accommodation at respectable inns. Henry VIII. indeed had debased the coinage so much as to unsettle its value, but Elizabeth restored it by utterly abolishing the use of copper coin, which she made into cannon, and using only silver even in her half-pence and farthings, and silver groats were as common in her day as silver shillings are in ours.

Sports and
pastimes.

The sports and pastimes of our ancestors consisted of hawking, hunting, and archery, to which the nobles added the justs and tournaments ; theatrical amusements of various kinds, and music, were also in vogue, to which the rustics added bull-baiting and bear-baiting, with their various gambols at the wakes and fairs. The theatrical performances consisted of sacred mysteries, derived from the holy scriptures ; of comedies ; and of masques, which prevailed in the time of Elizabeth, when Shakspeare lived, and in the times of James I., when Ben Jonson composed his celebrated masques for the royal amusement. Up to this time the players were deemed vagrants, and in 6 Edward III. it was ordained by parliament, that they should be whipped out of London, notwithstanding their endeavours to entertain prince Richard and his uncle, the duke of Lancaster. Their dramas, though sacred, were so ridiculous as to bring the histories of the New Testament into contempt, and to encourage

libertinism and infidelity.* The wakes, though arising from the dedication of churches, soon degenerated into a species of rustic fairs, often kept on the Sunday, but totally devoid of any religious character. The waits or wakes, who were a species of nocturnal musicians, went through the streets at midnight about Christmas time, playing their music, which is still partially continued; but in earlier times they were accustomed to sing carols and Christmas hymns. The minstrels were less stationary; they strolled about the country to feasts, fairs, and weddings, and these *cantabanqui* were accustomed to mount upon benches and barrel-heads, where they sang popular songs for the amusement of the rustics, at the price of a groat a fit, or canto, their matter being for the most part stories of past times.† Thus, in the Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green is the following verse:—

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“ Then give me leave, nobles and gentles each one,
One song more to sing, and then I have done;
And if that it may not win good report,
Then do not give me a *groat* for my sport.”

The second Randle Holme, who seems to have been a better antiquary than poet, has preserved the names of a number of the prevailing games of Lancashire in the following metrical enumeration:—

“ AUNTIENT CUSTOMS IN GAMES USED BY BOYS, AND GIRLES, MERILY SETT
OUT IN VERSE.

“ Any they dare chalenge for to throw the sledge,
To jumpe, or leape ovir ditch, or hedge;
To wrastle, play at stoole ball, or to runne,
To pitch the barre, or to shoote of a gunne;
To play at loggets, nine holes, or ten pinnes,
To trye it out at foote ball, by the shinnes,
At tick tacke, seize nody, maw and ruffe,
At hot cokles, leap frogge, or blind-man's buffe:
To drink the halper pottes, or deale at the whole cann,
To play at chesse, or pue, and inke horne;
To daunce the moris, play at barley brake,
At al exploits a man can think or speak:
At shrove groate, venter poynte, or cross and pile,
At beshrew him that's last at any stile;
At leapinge over a Christmas bonfire,
Or at the drawynge dame out of the myer;
At shoote cocke, Gregory, stoole ball, and what not;
Picke poynt, toppe and scourge to make him holt.”

* The first stage performances were in the churches, and on the sabbath-day; but this profanation of the sacred edifices was interdicted by Bonner, bishop of London, in 1542.—*Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry.*

† Puttenham's Art of English Poesy, p. 69.

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The arts.

The arts, as the couchers books of Whalley and Furness sufficiently shew, had made considerable progress in the time of the first duke of Lancaster. The art of engraving in wood and on copper had also advanced, as is evident from the remaining prints of Andrea Mantegna; and we have already seen that these ornamental accomplishments were crowned by an invention, the most important of any age or country, that of the art of printing, made by Guttenburg, at Mentz, and introduced by Caxton, our countryman, into England.* In the reign of Henry VI. oil painting was first practised in this country, and at that time was confined principally to scripture subjects; but the Reformation gave a more free scope to genius; and Holbein flourished under the patronage of Henry VIII. These early productions of the pencil were only eclipsed by Rubens, and his pupil Vandyke,† who flourished in the reign of Charles I.

The laws.

The administration of the laws in these early times was often extremely lax, as is instanced in the frequent and systematic arrests of the inhabitants of the county and duchy of Lancaster, under the colour of law, in the reign of Henry VI.; in the abduction of lady Butler, in the same reign; and in the murder of Mr. Hoghton, at a still later period. When vagrants, pedlars, and strumpets were to be dealt with, the punishment was sufficiently severe and certain: the first, on conviction, were doomed to be grievously whipped, and burnt through the gristle of the right hand with a hot iron, of an inch square; the next were condemned to the pillory, for the second offence, against the monopolizing borough shop-keepers; and the third were immersed by the ducking-stool, which was also appropriated to the correction of those domestic disturbers, known by the name of notorious scolds.‡ Trial by combat, or wager of battle, so prevalent in these early days, served to encourage the strong against the weak; this relic of a semi-barbarous age long outlived the trial by ordeal, which, as we have shewn, was abolished on the northern circuit,§ and, doubtless, in all other circuits in the kingdom, as early as the reign of Henry III. In the times of religious persecution, the terrors of the rack were resorted to, for the purpose of extorting confession for crimes that had sometimes never been committed; and as the duchy of Lancaster had its star-chamber, so also it had its rack. Of the laws

* It is conjectured, though the fact cannot be ascertained with certainty, that Manchester was the first town in Lancashire into which the printing press was introduced; and the works of Martin Marprelate, printed in that town, favour this opinion.

† The portraits of James, earl of Derby, and Charlotte (Tremouille), his countess, are amongst the most successful efforts of this artist's pencil.

‡ The ducking-stool, though now wholly discarded, was in use in Manchester and in Preston, within living memory.

§ Chap. vii. p. 255.

against witchcraft we shall have occasion to treat at some length; and it may suffice to say in this place, that, in the administration of those laws in Lancashire, impartial justice and royal clemency were of rare occurrence.

But we have been betrayed by this retrospect of the ancient manners and customs of our ancestors into too long a digression, and must now resume our history with the reign of James I. at the commencement of the seventeenth century. On the king's arrival in York, on his first progress to London, he was met by persons of distinction from all the northern counties of England, charged with the duty of declaring the loyalty and allegiance of those counties to his majesty, without stipulating however for the loyalty of the king to the free institutions of the country. From the county of Lancaster, sir Edmond Trafford, and sir Thomas Holcroft, attended, both of whom received the honour of knighthood in the garden of the palace at York, on Sunday the seventeenth of April; on the following day, his majesty conferred the same honour on sir Thomas Gerrard, of Bryn, at Grimstone; and on the arrival of the royal suite at Worksop, sir John Biron, of Newstead Abbey, in the county of Nottingham, and of Rochdale, in the county of Lancaster, father of John the first lord Biron, and sir Thomas Stanley, of Derbyshire, were also dubbed knights. After the king's arrival in London, sir Thomas Hesketh, sir Thomas Walmsley, sir Alexander Barlow, sir Edward Stanley, sir Thomas Langton, and sir William Norris, all of the county of Lancaster, received the honour of knighthood; and in the following year, sir Gilbert Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, a distinguished favourite of the king, obtained the same honour. In this year, sir John Fortescue, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was appointed a member of a royal commission for the extermination of the jesuits.

King
James's
progress.

Lanca-
shire
knights.
1603.

1604.

The plague which had broken out in London in the first year of the king's reign, and carried off thirty thousand of its inhabitants, when the whole population of that city did not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand, spread the following year into Lancashire, and became so extremely fatal, that in Manchester alone one thousand of the inhabitants* died of that malady in 1605, which was probably equal to one-sixth of its population. At this time it was not usual to inter the dead of the lower class of people in coffins, and the bodies were probably often insufficiently covered with earth, which might conduce to the spread of the pestilence; indeed, as late as 1628, it was no unusual thing to bury the poor without coffins.†

The
plague.

This pestilence having greatly subsided in London, it was appointed that the first parliament in the new reign should assemble on the fifth of November; but while the preparations were making, a plot was discovered, the most atrocious that "the tongue of man ever delivered, the ear of man ever heard, the heart of man

1605.

The gun-
powder
plot.

* Hollinworth's Mancuniensis MS.

† Sir Henry Spelman's Treatise de Sepulturâ, p. 173.

CHAP.
XIV.Lanca-
shire men
conserva-
tors.The con-
spirators.

ever conceived, or the malice of devils ever practised”^{*}—a plot which had for its object, to destroy at one blow the king and the queen, and their family, and the lords and the commons of the realm congregated in parliament. Some of the actors in this-tremendous drama stand connected with the county of Lancaster, but happily rather as conservators than destroyers. The letter by which the treason was disclosed, is supposed to have been written by a lady, a descendant by the female line of sir Edward Stanley, the Lancashire hero of Flodden-field, to her brother, Lord Monteagle, a Roman Catholic.† Overtures had been made by the conspirators to sir William Stanley, who was then in Flanders, to become a party in the treason, but sir William in some degree retrieved his character, by declining to take part himself, and by discountenancing an intended application to foreign Catholic powers to aid the conspiracy. The plot originated with Robert Catesby, a descendant of the noted favourite of Richard III., a man of fortune, in the enjoyment of the family estate at Ashby in Northamptonshire, and with Thomas Piercy, a gentleman-pensioner to the king, and a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland, both of them Roman Catholic recusants; and its object was, to destroy the Protestant reigning family, and to substitute a Catholic dynasty. Having increased their numbers by the addition of Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, John Wright, and Christopher Wright, and embarked Guido Faux, a Yorkshireman, passing under the name of Johnsonne, in the enterprise, Piercy, who had rented the vault under the house of parliament as a fuel cellar, there accumulated thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, to perpetrate the intended explosion. Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookewood, esq., Francis Tresham, esq., Thomas Habington, esq., John Grant, and Robert Keys, gentleman, became also members of the conspiracy, though less actively employed in the treason.‡ To bind the conspirators to secrecy, and to perseverance in the treasonable design, Gerrard, a jesuit, administered an oath to Catesby and Piercy, and to others of their fraternity, in these terms:—

“ You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never
 “ to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed
 “ to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest give you leave.”

Ten days before the time appointed for the assembling of parliament, Lord Monteagle, son and heir to Lord Morley, being in his lodgings in London, ready to

^{*} Sir Edward Philips’s speech on the trial of the conspirators engaged in the gunpowder treason.

† Father Juvenci, in his *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, l. xiii. s. 45, says, that “Tresham, one of the conspirators, sent to lord Monteagle, his friend, the letter revealing the conspiracy.”

‡ Works of king James I. p. 241.

go to supper, between six and seven o'clock at night, one of his footmen, on returning from an errand across the street, delivered to him a letter, without either date, signature, or superscription, which had been put into his hand in the dark by a man unknown, who charged him to give it to his master, and which letter was expressed in these terms :

CHAP.
XIV.Letter to
Lord Mon-
teagle.

" My Lorde, out of the Loue I beare to some of yo^r friendes, I haue care of yo^r preservation, and
" therefore I aduise yo^u as yo^u Tendere yo^r Lyfe to deuise some excuse to shifte of yo^r attendance at
" the Parliamente, for god and good men haue concurrede to punishe the wickednese of this time,
" and thinke not sleightlie of yo^r Aduertisemente but Retire yo^r selfe into yo^r Countreye, wher yo^u
" maye expecte the Evente in saftie, for thoughte thear be no Apparence of any sture, yet I saye
" they shall receaue a terrible blowe this parlemente, and yet they therin shall not see who horte
" them. This Counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe yo^u good, and Canne doe yo^u
" no harme, for the daunger is paste so soone as yo^u burne this letter, and I hope god will giue yo^u
" grace to make good vse of it, to whose holly ptection I comitte yo^u."

After pondering over the letter for some time, doubtful whether the writer was in jest or in earnest, his lordship repaired to the king's palace at Whitehall, and there delivered the letter to the earl of Salisbury, the principal secretary of state,* who has himself given an account of what followed, and we prefer quoting his own words, because they involve a point of history which has been misrepresented for the purposes of courtly adulation.

" When I obserued the generalety of the aduertisement and the stile [of the letter] I could not
" well distinguish whether it were a frenzee or sport. For, from any serious ground I could hardlie
" be induced to belceue that it proceeded for many reasons. First, because noe wiseman would
" thinke my Lo: to be so weake as to take any alarm to absent himself from Parliament vpon such
" a Loose Aduertisement.

Cecil's
letter on
the disco-
very of the
plot.

" Secondly, I considered that if any such thing were really intended, that it was very improbable
" that onelie one Nobleman should be warned and none other.

" Neuertheless being loath to trust my owne iudgment alone, being alwayes inclyned to doe too
" much in such a Case as this, I imparted the £re to the Earle of Suff. Lo: Chamberlaine, to the
" end I might receaue his opinion. Whervpon persvinge the wordes of the £re and observinge the
" writinge, *That the blowe should come without knowledge whoe had hurt them*, we both conceiued
" that it could not be more prop then the tyme of Parlement; Nor by any other way like to be
" attempted, then with Powder whilst the King was sittinge in thassembly. Of which the Lo:
" Chamblaine [thought] y^e more probability Because there was a greate Vault vnder the said
" Chamber w^{ch} was neuer vsed for anything but some wood and Cole belonginge to y^e Keeper of y^e
" Old Palace.

" In which consideraçon after wee had imparted the same to the Lo Admirall, the Earle of
" Worcester and the Earle of Northton and some others, We all thought fitt to forbear to impart
" it to the King vntill some three or fower dayes before the Session. At which tyme we shewed his

* Letter from (Cecil) the Earl of Salisbury, dated November 9, 1605, to Sir Charles Cornewallyses. Harl. MSS. Cod. 1875.

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XIV.

“ Ma^{tie} the fre, rather as a thinge wee would not Conceale (because it was of such a nature) then
 “ any way pswading him to geve any further Credite to it, vntill the place had bene visited, where-
 “ vpon his Ma^{tie} (whoe hath a naturall habite to Contemn all false feares and a Judgm^t soe strong as
 “ neuer to doubt any thing which is not well warranted by reason) concurred onely thus farre with
 “ vs, That seeing such a matter was possible, That should bee donne which might prevent all danger
 “ or ells nothing at all.

“ Herevpon it was moued, That till the night before his coming nothinge should be donne to
 “ interrupt any purpose of theirs that had any such diuellish practice, But rather to suffer them to
 “ goe on till the Eve of the daye.

“ And soe on Mondaye in the afternoone accordinglie the Lo: Chamberlaine whose office it is to
 “ see all places of Assembly put in readynes when the King’s person should come, takeinge with him
 “ y^e Lo: Mounteagle went to see all y^e places in y^e Parliament House. And tooke alsoe aslight
 “ occasion to peruse that Vaulte, where finding onelic Piles of Billet^e and faggot^e heaped vpp, His
 “ Lo^{pp} fell into inquireinge onely who owed the same wood Observing the propor^{cion} to be somewhat
 “ more than y^e Howse keeper was likely to laye in for his owne vse. And when Aunswe^re was made
 “ That it belonged to one Mr. Percy His Lo^p streight conceiued some suspiciō in regard of his
 “ person; And the Lo: Mounteagle takeinge some notice that there were greates profession
 “ between Percy and him from which some inference might be made that it [was] the warneinge of
 “ a friend. My Lord Chamberlaine resolued absolutely to proceede in a search though noe other
 “ materialls were visible, & being returned to the Courte aboute fve a Clocke tooke me vpp with him
 “ to the King, and told him y^t all though they were hard of beliefe that any such thing was thought
 “ of yet in such a Case as this whatsoe^u was not donne (to put all out of doubt) was as good as
 “ nothinge. Wherevpon it was resolued by his Ma^{tie} that this matter should be soe carryed as noe
 “ man should be scandalized by it, nor any alarm taken for any such purpose.

“ For the better effectinge whereof The Lo Threr. the Lo: Admirall the Earle of Worcester and
 “ we twoe agreed That S^r Tho Kneuet^t should vnder a pretext of searchinge for stollen and imbezilled
 “ goodes both in that place and other houses thereabout^e, remoue all that wood, and soe to see the
 “ playne ground vnder it.

“ S^r Tho. Kneuet^t goeing thither (vnlooked for) about Midnight into the Vault found that fel-
 “ lowe Johnsonne [Faux] newly come out of the Vault, and without any more questions stayed him,
 “ And haueinge noe sooner remoued the wood, he perceaued the Barrels and soe bound y^e Caitiffe
 “ fast who made no difficultie to acknowledge the fact nor to Confesse clearely that the morrowe
 “ followinge it should haue bene effected. And thus haue you a true narra^{cion} from the begin-
 “ ninge,” &c.

Historical
error
corrected.

From this letter it appears that the sagacity of first penetrating the mystery, imputed to the king by historians, and by senators,* and for which he himself takes credit in his work on the “ Powder Treason,”† was not his.

* In the preamble to the act for public thanksgiving on the anniversary of the 5th of November, it is said, that “ the conspiracy would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the king’s most excellent majesty with a divine spirit to interpret some dark phrases of a letter, shewed to his majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason.”

† Works of King James I. p. 227.

After some delay, and with considerable difficulty, Faux, the incendiary, was brought to confess, in the presence of the privy council, that the plot was first communicated to him about Easter, in the year 1604, when he was in the Low Countries, by Thomas Winter, and that on his arrival in England he conferred upon it with Catesby, Piercy, and John Wright, and that they and he laboured in the mine to penetrate from the adjoining house through the walls, into the vault under the house of lords, which work was abandoned when Piercy got the vault itself into his possession.

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XIV.

Fate of the
conspirators.

On the rumour of the discovery of the plot, several of the conspirators hurried down into Warwickshire, where they made a fruitless attempt to raise an insurrection, in which Piercy and Catesby were killed, and Digby, Rookwood, and the others, being taken prisoners, were brought to London, tried, and executed on the thirtieth of January, along with Faux.

1606.

The Catholics, as well as the Protestants, condemned this diabolical treason in the most unqualified terms; and so strongly was the king impressed with the conviction, that it was the conspiracy of a few fanatical individuals, and not of a christian community, that, in his speech at the opening of parliament, he deprecated the injustice of involving the Roman Catholics, as a body, in such enormous barbarities.

The treason not the
act of a
community.

Lord Monteagle, whose promptitude and undeviating loyalty had, through the blessing of Providence, saved all the estates of the realm, was rewarded for his communication, by a grant of crown lands and a pension; and as a further mark of the king's favour towards him, the life of his brother-in-law, Thomas Habington, esq., of Hendlip, in Worcestershire, the husband of the lady who is conjectured to have written the mysterious letter which afforded the clue to the discovery, was saved, on condition that he should not quit the county of Worcester. The debt of public gratitude due to lord Monteagle from his country, has been thus commemorated:—

“ Lo ! what my country should have done, (have raised
An obelisk, or column, to thy name,
Or, if she would but modestly have praised
Thy fact, in brass or marble writ the same,)
I, that am glad of thy great chance, here do !
And, proud my work shall out-last common deeds,
Durst think it great and worthy wonder too ;—
But thine, for which I do't, so much exceeds.
My country's parents I have many known,
But savor of my country thee alone.”

BEN JONSON'S EPIGRAM ON LORD MONTEAGLE.

CHAP.
XIV.Sir W.
Stanley.

Sir William Stanley, with two other popish recusants, of the names of Owen and Baldwin, were placed under arrest at Brussels, on suspicion of having been concerned in the gunpowder treason; but, in the cool language of sir Thomas Edmonds, the English ambassador, "Sir William was not yet so deeply charged concerning this last treason," as to be put upon his trial.

Peter
Heywood,
esq.

According to a monument in St. Ann's church, Aldersgate, London, Peter Heywood, esq., of Heywood, (then spelt Heiwood,) a magistrate of the county of Lancaster, having probably accompanied sir Thomas Knevett, apprehended Guido Faux, coming forth from the vault of the house of parliament on the eve of the gunpowder treason; and on the same authority it appears, that this vigilant magistrate was stabbed in Westminster Hall, five-and-thirty years afterwards, by John James, a Dominican friar, for urging him to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.*

Stanley
family.

1606.

That the Stanley family stood in high estimation with the king, may be inferred from the fact of the mutual interchange of new-year's gifts† between his majesty and the earl of Derby, and from the present of plate given to the earl on the christening of his son and heir, James, the future earl of Derby, who was destined to die on the scaffold in the cause of the Stuarts.

Lanca-
shire
baronets.

A knightly dignity of inheritance, more elevated than that of the knights banneret,‡ was instituted by the king, in 1611, for the ostensible purpose of defending and reforming the province of Ulster, in Ireland. It was the boast of king James and his courtiers, that he had done more in nine years towards ameliorating the condition of the people of Ireland, than had been accomplished by his predecessors in the four hundred and forty years which had elapsed since the first conquest of that country.§ To carry on these improvements, and to preserve the peace of the country, the baronets were created, each of whom had a bloody hand, in a field argent, (the arms of Ulster,) superadded to his family crest. The stipulations entered into by the recipients of the new honour were, that they should be aiding towards the building of churches, towns, and castles; should hazard their lives and fortunes in the performance of their duty; and that, when any spark of rebellion, or other hostile invasion, should threaten to disturb the peace of the kingdom or province, they should be ready to defend it; and that each of them should maintain and keep thirty foot soldiers there. None were at first admitted to the new honour, except those descended, at least, from a grandfather, on the father's side, who had

* Stowe's Survey of London, vol. i. p. 605. Clarendon's Hist. of Reb. i. 387.

† Nichols's Progresses of King James I. vol. i. p. 593.

‡ The last knight banneret created was sir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, on the field of Musselburgh, in the year 1547.

§ King James's Works, p. 259.

borne arms, and who had a clear income in land of £1000 per annum. At the institution of the order, it was intended that the number should not exceed two hundred, that number to be filled up as the titles became extinct. In the first batch of baronets, created on the 22d of May, eighteen knights were honoured with this hereditary degree, amongst whom were the names of sir Richard Molineux, of Sefton; sir Richard Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower; and sir Thomas Gerrard, of Bryn,* all in the county of Lancaster; and sir George Booth, of Denham Massy, in the county of Chester. Up to this time, the honourable ancient dignities were only eleven in number, but they were now increased to twelve, ranking in the following order:—First, the king; second, the prince; third, the duke; fourth, the marquis; fifth, the earl; sixth, the viscount; seventh, the baron; and these seven are called princely, and allowed to wear coronets. The other five are only noble: as first, the knight baronet; second, the knight banneret; third, the knight bachelor; fourth, the esquire; and, fifth, the gentleman.

This was the age of witchcraft; and no county in the kingdom was more scandalized by the degrading superstition than the county of Lancaster. In the present day, when the term “Lancashire Witches” serves only to excite feelings of gaiety and admiration,† it is not possible to conceive how different were the sentiments produced by those magical words in the seventeenth century, when the “Solomon of the North” ascended the throne of England, and when, on the proclamation of a general pardon, the crime of “wyteherafte” was excepted from the common amnesty.

Lanca-
shire
witches.

A petition from Dr. Dee, warden of the collegiate church of Manchester, of the date of the 5th of January, 1604, praying to be freed from this revolting imputation of witchcraft, even at the risk of a trial for his life, sufficiently indicates the horror excited by the charge. “It has been affirmed,” says the doctor, “that your majesty’s supplicant was the conjurer belonging to the most honourable privy council of your majesty’s predecessor, of famous memory, queen Elizabeth; and that he is, or hath been, a caller or invocator of devils, or damned spirits: these slanders, which have tended to his utter undoing, can,” he adds, “no longer be endured; and, if on trial he is found guilty of the offence imputed to him, he offers himself willingly to the punishment of death; yea, either to be stoned to death, or to be buried quick, or to be burned unmercifully.”‡ Conjurer or not, the reverend warden sported with conjurer’s weapons;

Dr. Dee’s
petition.

* Each baronet paid a patent fee of £1000 on his creation; but this sum was returned to sir Thomas Gerrard, in consideration of his father’s sufferings in the cause of the king’s mother, Mary, queen of Scots.

† Mackenzie mentions a case of a fine girl, condemned to die in Scotland for witchcraft, whose crime in reality was, that she had attracted too great a share, in the lady’s opinion, of the attention of the laird. This in modern times would have been called a *real* Lancashire witch.

‡ Lansdowne MSS. Cod. 161.

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and his predictions on the fortunate day for the coronation of his royal mistress, and his pretensions to render innocuous the waxen effigy of queen Elizabeth, found in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, very naturally subjected him to those suspicions which, combined with other circumstances, hereafter to be mentioned, proved his utter undoing.

Seer Edw.
Kelley,
the negro-
mancer.

The doctor's connections too were of the most suspicious kind. For some years he was the friend and associate of Edward Kelley, *alias* Talbot, a distinguished English alchymist and necromancer, who, for his delinquencies, had his ears cut off at Lancaster. It was the practice of Kelley to exhume and consult the dead, to obtain a knowledge, as he pretended, of the fate of the living; and, upon a certain night, in the park of Walton-le-Dale, in the county of Lancaster, with one Paul Waring, his fellow-companion in such deeds of darkness, he invoked one of the infernal regiment, to know certain passages in the life, as also what might be known by the devil's foresight of the manner and time of the death of a noble young gentleman, as then in his wardship.* This ceremony being ended, Kelley and his companion repaired to the church-yard of Walton-le-Dale, sometimes called Law Church, where they dug up the body of a poor old man recently interred, and whom, by their incantations, they made to deliver strange predictions concerning the same gentleman, who was, probably, present, and anxious to read a page in the book of futurity. After these feats, which were, no doubt, performed by a kind of ventriloquism, Seer Edward went abroad, accompanied by Dr. Dee, where they found the celebrated elixir, or philosopher's stone, in the form of a powder, by which, amongst other transmutations, they converted the bottom of a warming pan into good silver, only by warming it at the fire! and, so plentiful were the precious metals, that their children played at quoits with golden quoits! The fame of the alchymists having reached queen Elizabeth, she sent a messenger, captain Peter Gwinne, secretly, for Kelley, who had got himself immured in one of the prisons of the emperor Rodolphus II. in Prague; but he was doomed to die in a foreign land, for, in an attempt to escape out of the window of the castle, he received a mortal bruise—the elixir not being able, as it should appear, to communicate immortality to its possessor.

The philo-
sopher's
stone.

1595.

Witch-
craft.

1117.

1151.

The first distinct charge of witchcraft, in any way connected with this county, is that of the wife of the good duke Humphrey, duchess of Gloucester, the associate of Roger Bolingbroke, the priest, and Margaret Jourdan,† who, after having been hurled by her ambition and inquisitive credulity, from the highest elevation to the lowest degradation, became the prisoner of sir Thomas Stanley, in the Isle of Man, and for some time suffered confinement in the castle of Liverpool.‡ The arts of the Lancashire alchymists, and sir Edward Ashton, though partaking of the nature of

* Weiver's Ancient Funeral Monuments, p. 45.

† Margaret Jourdan, the Witch of Eye, was burnt to death in Smithfield. ‡ See chap. xi. p. 404.

witchcraft, prefer no claim to supernatural agency, but may rank amongst the eccentric phenomena of the human mind.*

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In the Stanley family, Edward earl of Derby had the reputation, on the authority of a minister of state, of entertaining a conjurer in his house; and Margaret Clifford, countess of Derby, lost the favour of queen Elizabeth for a womanish curiosity, (from which the queen herself was not entirely free) and consulting with wizards or cunning-men; while Ferdinando, earl of Derby, died, as we have seen, under the impression that he was bewitched, in which belief "very many, and some of them very learned men, concurred." During his last sickness, "a homelie wise-woman, about fifty years old, was found mumbling in a corner in his honour's chamber, but what God knoweth * * * About midnight was found by Mr. Halsall, an image of wax, with hair like unto the hair of his honour's head, twisted through the belly thereof; and he fell twice into a trance, not able to move hand or foot, when he would have taken plissicke to do him good. In the end, he cried out often against all witches and witchcraft, reposing his only hope of salvation upon the merits of Christ Jesus his Saviour."†

In the
Stanley
family.

Connected with these impositions and this infatuation, was the doctrine and practice of satanic possession and dispossession, on which subject an almost interminable controversy arose, which divided public opinion in the county of Lancaster for many years, and which, like witchcraft itself, was at length exploded by the progress of knowledge.

Satanic
possession.

Amongst the first cases of this kind is that of "Ann Milner, a mayden of Chester, eighteen years of age," to whom an evil spirit appeared suddenly, on the 16th of February, 1564, in the form of a "white thing compassing her round about," while she was bringing her father's kyne from the field. The following morning she took her bed, where she fell into a succession of trances, from which she was not recovered even by the prayers of "Maister John Prince," one of the canons of the cathedral church of Chester, who attended her under this grievous visitation. Maister Lane, another clergyman, was more successful. After witnessing her tortures, which were so extreme that her head and her feet met, and she appeared in the form of a hoop, he found that her pulse beat in good measure, as if she had been in perfect health, on which the sage divine called for vinegar, which he poured into her mouth, and blew into her nostrils. Roused by this stimulant, the possessed exclaimed, "A Lady," "A Lady." He next advised her to call upon God and the blood of Christ; himself calling at the same time for more vinegar. But the damsel having already had enough, exclaimed, "No! No! no more, for God's sake." She then, on the bidding of Maister Lane, said the Lord's prayer and

Chester
case.

* See chap. ii. p. 405.

† Harl. MS. Cod. 247.

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Te Deum, and was thus dispossessed, after more than a month's confinement. At which the whole city stood astonished; the judge of assize, John Throgmorton, esq., high justice, heard a sermon from Maister Lane, on the occasion, and sir Wyllyam Calverley, knight, Richard Harlestone, esq., and John Fisher, attested the veracity of the narrative.*

Seven
persons
possessed
in Lanca-
shire.

Another case of demoniacal possession, much more extensive and varied in its circumstances, took place at Cleworth, now called Clayworth, in the parish of Leigh, in the county of Lancaster, thirty years afterwards. The facts are related by the Rev. John Darrell, a minister of religion, and himself a principal actor in the scene. According to the narrative published by this divine, there lived in the year 1594, at Cleworth, one Nicholas Starkie, who had only two children, John and Ann; the former ten, and the latter nine years of age; these children, according to our authority, became possessed with an evil spirit; and John Hartlay, a reputed conjurer, was applied to, at the end of from two to three months, to give them relief, which he effected by various charms, and the use of a magical circle with four crosses, drawn near Mr. Starkie's seat, at Huntroyd, in the parish of Whalley. Hartlay was conjurer enough to discover the difference between Mr. Starkie's table and his own, and he contrived to fix himself as a constant inmate in his benefactor's family for two or three years. Being considered so essential to their peace, he advanced in his demands, till Mr. Starkie demurred, and a separation took place; but not till five other persons, three of them the female wards of Mr. Starkie, and two other females, had become possessed through the agency of Hartlay, "and it was judged in the house, that whomsoever he kissed, on them he breathed the devil."

Feats of
the demo-
niacs.

According to the narrative, all the seven demoniacs sent forth such a strange and supernatural voice of loud shouting, as the like was never before heard at Cleworth, nor in England. In this extremity, Dr. Dee, the warden of Manchester college, was applied to, to exorcise the evil spirits; but he refused to interfere, advising that they should call in some godly preachers, with whom he would, if they thought proper, consult concerning a public or private fast; at the same time he sharply reproved Hartlay for his fraudulent practices. Some remission of violence followed, but the evil spirits soon returned, and Mr. Starkie's house became a perfect bedlam. John Starkie the son, was "as fierce as a madman, or a mad dog;" his sister Anne was little better; Margaret Hardman, a gay sprightly girl, was also troubled, and aspired after all the splendid attire of fashionable life, calling for one gay thing after another, and repeatedly telling her *lud*, as she called her unseen familiar, that she would be finer than him. Elinor, her younger sister, and Ellen Holland, another of

* From a black-letter copy in the British Museum, transcribed, and obligingly furnished by George Ormerod, esq.

Mr. Starkie's wards, were also "troubled;" and Margaret Byrom, of Salford, a woman thirty-three years of age, who was on a visit at Cleworth, became giddy, and partook of the general malady. The young ladies fell down, as dead, while they were dancing, and "singing and playing the minstrel," and talked at such a rate, that nobody could be heard but themselves.

The preachers being called in, according to the advice of Dr. Dee, they inquired how the young demoniacs were handled? to which the possessed replied, that an angel, like a dove, came from God, and said, that they must follow him to heaven, which way soever he would lead them. Margaret Hardman then ran under a bed, and began to make a hole, as she said, that her lad (her familiar) might get through the wall to her; and, amongst other of her feats, she would have leapt out of the window; the others were equally extravagant in their proceedings; but when they had the use of their feet, the use of their tongues was taken away. The girls were so sagacious, that they foretold when their fits would come on. When they were about any game, or sport, they seemed quite happy; but any godly exercise was a trouble to them. As to Margaret Byrom, she was grievously troubled; she thought in her fits something rolled in her belly like a calf, and lay ever on her left side, and when it rose up towards her heart, she thought the head and nose thereof had been full of nails, wherewith being pricked, she was compelled to shriek aloud with very pain and fear; sometimes she barked and howled, and at others she so much quaked, that her teeth chattered in her head. At the sight of Hartley she fell down speechless, and saw a great black dog, with a monstrous tail and a long chain, running at her open-mouthed. Six times within six weeks the spirit would not suffer her to eat or drink, and afterwards her senses were taken away, and she was as stiff as iron. Two nights before the day of her examination against Hartley, who was committed to Lancaster castle, the devil appeared to her in his likeness, and told her to speak the truth! On the 16th of March, Maister George More, pastor of Cawlke, in Derbyshire, and Maister Jon Darrell, afterwards preacher at St. Mary's in Nottingham, came to Cleworth, when they saw the girls grievously tormented. Jane Ashton, the servant of Mr. Starkie, howled in a supernatural manner, Hartley having given her kisses, and promised her marriage. The ministers having got all the seven into one chamber, gave them spiritual advice; but on the bible being brought up to them, three or four of them began to scoff, and called it—"Bib-le, Bab-le, Bible Bable." The next morning they were got into a large parlour and laid on couches, when Maister More and Maister Dickens, a preacher (and their pastor,) along with Maister Darrell, and thirty other persons, spent the day with them in prayer and fasting, and hearing the word of God. All the parties afflicted remained in their fits the whole of the day. Towards evening, every one of them, with voice and hands lifted up, cried

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cast out.

to God for mercy, and he was pleased to hear them, so that six of them were shortly dispossessed, and Jane Ashton in the course of the next day experienced the same deliverance. At the moment of dispossession, some of them were miserably rent, and the blood gushed out both at the nose and mouth. Margaret Byrom said, that she felt the spirit come up her throat, when it gave her a "sore lug" at the time of quitting her, and went out of the window with a flash of fire, she only seeing it. John Starkie said his spirit left him, like a man with a hunch on his back, very ill-favoured; Elinor Hardman's was like an urchin; Margaret Byrom's like an ugly black man with shoulders higher than his head; and the others were equally hideous. Two or three days afterwards, the unclean spirits returned and would have re-entered, had they not been resisted. When they could not succeed, either by bribes or entreaties, they threw some of them violently down, and deprived others of the use of their legs, and other members; but the victory was finally obtained by the preachers, and all the devils banished from Mr. Starkie's household.

The con-
jurer
hanged.

In this state of turmoil and confusion Mr. Starkie's house had been kept for upwards of two years, but in the mean time Hartlay, the conjurer, who seems to have been a designing knave, after undergoing an examination before two magistrates, was committed to Lancaster castle, where he was convicted, on the evidence of Mr. Starkie and his family, of witchcraft, and sentenced to be executed, principally, as it is stated, for drawing the magical circle, which seems to have been the least part of his offence, though the most obnoxious to the law. In this trial, *spectral evidence* was adduced against the prisoner, and the experiment was tried of saying the Lord's prayer.* It does not appear that any of the Lancashire witches or wizards were tried by *swimming*. When it no longer served his purpose, he endeavoured to divest himself of the character of a conjurer, and declared that he was not guilty of the crime for which he was doomed to suffer; the law, however, was inexorable, and he was brought to execution. On the scaffold, he persisted in declaring his innocence, but to no purpose; the executioner did his duty, and the criminal was suspended. While in this situation, the rope broke, when he confessed his guilt; and being again tied up, he died the victim of his own craft, and of the infatuation of the age in which he lived.†

On the appearance of Mr. Darrell's book, containing the relation of these marvellous events, a long controversy arose on the doctrine of Demonology, and it was charged upon him by the Rev. Samuel Harsnet, afterwards bishop of Chichester, Norwich, and York, that he made a trade of casting out devils, and that he instructed the *possessed* how to conduct themselves, in order to aid him in carrying on the imposition.

* Dr. Hutchinson's Historical Essay on Witchcraft, p. 33.

† Darrell's narrative of the strange and grievous vexation by the devil of seven persons in Lancashire. One of his most famous acts of dispossession was exercised on William Somers, of Nottingham.

Mr. Darrell was afterwards examined by the queen's commissioners; and, by the full agreement of the whole court, he was condemned as a counterfeit, deposed from the ministry, and committed to close confinement, there to remain for further punishment. The clergy, in order to prevent the scandal brought upon the church by false pretensions to the power of dispossessing demons, soon after introduced a new canon into the ecclesiastical law, expressed in these terms:—"That no minister or ministers, without license and direction of the bishop, under his hand and seal obtained, attempt, upon any pretence whatsoever, either of possession or obsession, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any devil or devils, under pain of the imputation of imposture, or cozenage, and deposition from the ministry."

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Detection of the counterfeit.

1603.

Can. 72.

Some light is cast upon these mysterious transactions by "a discourse concerning the possession and dispossession of seven persons in one family in Lancashire," written by George More, a Puritanical minister, who had engaged in exorcising the legion of devils. This discourse agrees substantially with Darrell's narrative, but adds some facts that are worthy of mention; amongst others, that he, Mr. More, was a prisoner in the Clink for nearly two years, for justifying and bearing witness to the facts stated by his fellow-minister. Speaking of Mr. Starkie's family, he says, that Mr. Nicholas Starkie having married a gentlewoman, that was an inheritrix,* and of whose kindred some were papists; these, partly for religion, and partly because the estate descended not to heirs male, prayed for the perishing of her issue, and that four sons pined away in a strange manner; but that Mrs. Starkie, learning this circumstance, estated her lands on her husband, and his heirs, failing issue of her own body, after which a son and daughter were born, who prospered well till they arrived at the age of ten or twelve years.

Mr. Starkie's children.

In this disordered state of the public mind, a work of king James's, under the title "Dæmonologie," alike distinguished for its vulgar credulity and for its sanguinary denunciations, was issued from the press, and read with avidity. The sapient author, after having imagined a fictitious crime, placed the miserable and friendless objects of conviction beyond all hopes of royal clemency. The reader of this royal farrago is told that "the feareful abounding, at this time, in this countrey, of those detestable slanes of the Diuel, the Witches, or enchanter, hath moued the King to despatch, in post, the following Treatise" not, as he protests, to shew his learning, but "to resolve the doubting hearts of many, both that such assaults of Satan are certainly practised, and that the instruments thereof merit most severely to be punished; against the damnable opinions of those who are not ashamed in Publicke Print to deny that there can be such a thing as witchcraft; and so maintain the old error of the Sad-

King James's Dæmonologie, first published in 1597.

* Ann, widow of Thurston Barton, esq. of Smithells, and daughter and sole heiress of John Parr, esq. of Kempnough, and Cleworth, in the county of Lancaster.—*Ormerod's Cheshire*, vol. iii. p. 474.

duces in the denying of spirits.”* The royal casnist then proceeds to prove from the scriptures, that these unlawful arts have been and may be put in practice. The arts of the necromancers, enchanter, or witches, he says, may be divided into two parts; the one called magic, or necromancie, and the other sorcerie, or witchcraft. As to the witches, they are servants or slaves to the devil, but the necromancers are his masters. There are also two kinds of miracles; God’s miracles, and the devil’s miracles. The devil’s contract with the witches, he divides also into two parts; to the baser sort of them, Satan obliges himself to appear on their calling upon him, either in the likeness of a dog, a cat, an ape, or such like other beast, or else to answer by a voice only; but to the more curious sort he will oblige himself to enter into a dead body, and thereout to give answers relating to the events of battles and of matters concerning the states and commonwealths; on some he will be a continual attendant, in the form of a page, or he will permit himself to be conveyed for the space of so many years, either in a tablet or a ring, or such like thing, which they may easily carry about them. His majesty then shews that witches may transport themselves to places at a distance, by being carried either above the earth or above the sea, unseen to any but themselves, or that they may come to their conventions in the likeness of a little beast or fowl, and that they can pierce through any house or church, though all ordinary passages be closed. Assuming that there are twenty women of this craft for one man, he accounts for this excess by saying, “for as that sexe is frailer then man is, so it is easier to entrap them in these grosse snares of the divell, as was ouer-well proued to be trew by the serpent’s deceiving Eua at the beginning.” As to their arts, to some he teacheth how to make pictures of wax or clay, that by the wasting thereof the person that they beare the name of may be continually melted or dried away by continual sickness: to some he gives such stones or powders as will help to cure or to bring on diseases; and others he instructs in the use of poisons which physicians do not understand. Armed with these powers, they can make men and women to love or hate each other; can lay the sickness of one upon another; and can raise storms and tempests in the air, upon sea or land. The treatise is wound up with that which gives it its sanguinary and most mischievous character—“On the trial and punishment of witches.” As to their trial at the assizes, the king says, that as witchcraft is an act of treason against the prince, the evidence of “barnes (children) or wives (weak women) or never so defamed persons (persons of never so infamous character) may serve for sufficient witnesses against them; for, adds he, who but witches can be provers, and so witnesses, of the doings of witches?” Besides evidence, “there are two other good helps that may be used for their triall; the one is, the finding of their marke and the trying the insensiblenes therof: the other is the

* Preface to King James’s *Dæmonologie*.

fleeing on the water; for as in a secret murder, if the dead carcase be at any time thereafter handled by the murderer, it will gush out blood as if the blood were crying to Heaven for revenge of the murderer, God having appointed that secret supernatural issue for trial of that secret unnatural crime! so it appears that God hath appointed (for a supernatural sign of the monstrous impiety of witches) that the water shall refuse to receive them into her bosom, that have shaken off them the sacred water of Baptism, and wilfully refused the benefit thereof: No not so much as their eyes are able to shed tears, (threaten and torture them as ye please,) while first they repent, (God not permitting their obstinacy in so horrible a crime) albeit the woman-kind especially, be able otherways to shed tears at every light occasion when they will, yea, although it were dissembling like the crocodiles." Having thus opened the door for the most unjust convictions, the royal fanatic adds, that all witches ought to be put to death, without distinction of age, sex, or rank.*

A few years after the author of this sanguinary commentary upon the demoniacal code of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth ascended the English throne, a discovery took place of an alleged convention of witches, held at Malkin Tower, in Pendle forest, in the county of Lancaster.

Witches
of Pendle
forest.

It has been justly observed by Dr. Hibbert, that witchcraft was generally the most rife in wild and desolate parts of the country, and this observation is borne out in Lancashire, for no district in the county is more wild and desolate than certain parts of the parish of Whalley, in which parish almost all the witch scenes of the county have been performed. The persons accused of holding the convention at Malkin Tower were, a poor wretched old woman, of the name of Southernes, and Anne Whittle, each of them fourscore years of age and upwards—

So wither'd and so wild in their attire,
They look'd not like the inhabitants o'the earth,

with several of their neighbours and relations, all of the same rank. No fewer than nineteen of these persons were tried at the assizes at Lancaster in the autumn of 1612, charged with the crime of witchcraft, of whom the following is a list:—

WITCHES OF PENDLE FOREST.

Elizabeth Southernes, widow, alias Old Demdike,
Elizabeth Device, alias Young Demdike, her daughter,

* The infliction of death for witchcraft in England has been generally, if not universally, by hanging; but in Scotland, in 1608, "some women were taken in Broughton as witches, and put to an assize, and convicted; albeit they persevered constant to the end, yet they were burned quick [alive] after such a cruel manner, that some of them died in despair, renouncing and blaspheming God; and others, half burnt, brake out of the fire, and were cast quick in it again, till they were burned to the death."—*The Earl of Mar's declaration, quoted in Sir W. Scott's Demonology*, p. 315.

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James Device, the son of Young Demdike,
 Alizon Device, the daughter of Young Demdike,
 Anne Whittle, widow, alias Chattox, alias Chatter-box, the rival witch of Old Demdike,
 Anne Redferne, daughter of Ann Chattox,
 Alice Nutter,
 Katherine Hewytt, alias Mould-heeles,
 Jane Bulcock, of the Mosse End,
 John Bulcock, her son,
 Isabel Robey,
 Margaret Pearson, of Padilham.

The last mentioned of whom was tried; 1st, for murder by witchcraft; 2d, for bewitching a neighbour; 3d, for bewitching a horse; and, being acquitted of the two former charges, was sentenced for the last to stand upon the pillory, in the markets of Clitheroe, Padilham, Colne, and Lancaster, for four successive market days, with a printed paper upon her head, stating her offence.

WITCHES OF SALMESBURY.

Jennet Bierley,	John Ramsden,	Isabel Sidegraves,
Ellen Bierley,	Elizabeth Astley,	Lawrence Haye.
Jane Sowthworth,	Alice Gray,	

Their
 trials.

The sensation produced by these trials, in this and the neighbouring counties, was great beyond all former example;* and Thomas Potts, esq. the clerk of the court, was directed by the judges of assize, sir Edward Bromley, knight, and sir James Altham, knight, to collect and publish the evidence, and other documents, connected with the trial, under the revision of the judges themselves. According to this authority, Old Demdike, the principal actress in the tragedy, was a general agent for the devil, in all these parts, no man escaping her, or her furies, that ever gave them occasion of offence, or denied them any thing they stood in need of. The justices of the peace in this part of the country, Roger Nowel and Nicholas Bannister, having learnt that Malkin Tower, in the forest of Pendle, the residence of Old Demdike and her daughter, was the resort of the witches, had ventured so far to brave the danger of their incantations, as to arrest their head, and a number of her followers, and to commit them to the castle at Lancaster. Amongst the rest of the voluntary confessions made by the witches, that of Dame Demdike is preserved, and is to the following effect:—That about twenty years ago, as she was coming home from begging, she was met near Gouldshey, in the forest of Pendle, by a spirit, or devil, in the shape

* Potts's Preface to the Trials of the Lancashire Witches, in 1612.

of a boy, the one half of his coat black and the other brown, who told her to stop, and said, that if she would give him her soul, she should have any thing she wished for, on which she asked him his name, and was told that his name was *Tib*; she then consented, from the hope of gain, to give him her soul. For several years she had no occasion to make any application to her evil spirit; but one " Sunday morning, having a little child upon her knee, and she being in a slumber, the spirit appeared to her in the likeness of a brown dog, and forced himself upon her knee, and begun to suck her blood, under her left arm, on which she exclaimed, ' Jesus, save me,' and the brown dog vanished, leaving her almost stark mad for the space of eight weeks. On another occasion, she was led, being blind, to the house of Richard Baldwyn, to obtain payment for the services her daughter had performed at his mill, when Baldwyn fell into a passion, and bid them to get off his ground, upbraiding them with being whores and witches, and said he would burn the one and hang the other; on which *Tib* appeared, and they concerted matters to revenge themselves upon Baldwyn, but it does not appear what was the nature of that revenge. This wretched creature, who appears, like her compeer Chattox, to have been a poor mendicant pretender to the powers of witchcraft, might have read the work of her sovereign king James, for in her examination she says, that the surest way of taking man's life by witchcraft is to make a picture of clay, like unto the shape of the person meant to be killed, and when they would have the object of their vengeance to suffer in any particular part of his body, to take a thorn, or pin, and prick it into that part of the effigy; and when they would have any of the body to consume away, then to take that part of the figure, and burn it; and when they would have the whole body to consume, then to take the remainder of the picture, and burn it; by which means the afflicted will die.

A number of other examinations follow, principally those of the witches themselves, amounting in substance to this, that Old Demdike persuaded her daughter, Elizabeth Device, to sell herself to the devil, and that she took her advice; and that she, in her turn, initiated her daughter, Alizon Device, in her infernal arts. When the old witch had been sent to Lancaster castle, a grand convocation, consisting of seventeen witches and three wizards, was held at Malkin Tower, on Good Friday, which was by no means observed as a fast, and at which it was determined to kill M'Covell, the governor of the castle, and to blow up the building, for the purpose of enabling the witches to make their escape, which certainly would have been a very effectual way of accomplishing that object, seeing that the persons meant to be rescued were in the building which it was intended to destroy! The object of this witch-council was threefold: first, to christen the familiar of Alizon Device, one of the witches who had been taken to Lancaster; second, to concert a plan for blowing up the castle, and murdering the gaoler; and, third, for bewitching and murdering

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Mr. Lister, a gentleman residing at Westby, in Craven, in Yorkshire. The business being ended, the witches, in quitting the meeting, walked out of the barn, which was dignified with the name of a tower, in their proper shapes; but no sooner had they reached the door, than they each mounted their spirit, which was in the form of a young horse, and quickly vanished out of sight.

Before the assizes, Old Demdike, worn out by age and trouble, escaped the hands of the executioner by her death in prison, but the other prisoners were brought to trial.*

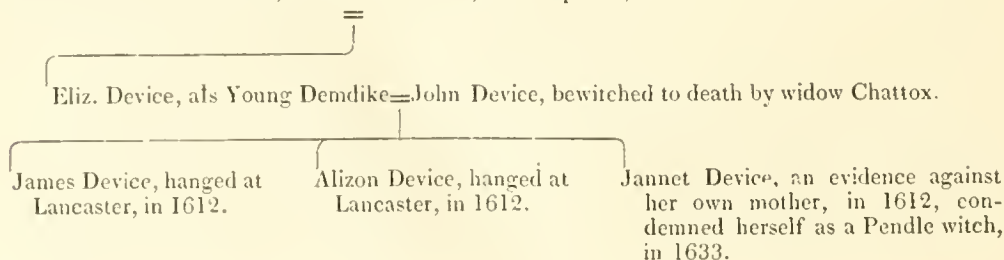
Aug. 18,
1612.

The first person arraigned before sir Edward Bromley, who presided in the criminal court, was Ann Whittle, alias Chattox, who is described by Mr. Potts as a very old, withered-spent, and decrepit creature, eighty years of age, and nearly blind—a dangerous witch of very long continuance, always opposed to Old Demdike; for whom the one favoured, the other hated deadly, and they envied and accused one another in their examinations. This witch was more ready to do mischief to men's goods than to themselves, her lips ever chattered as she walked, (and hence, probably, her name of Chattox or Chatter-box,) but no man knew what she said; her abode was in the forest of Pendle, amongst the wicked company of dangerous witches, where the woollen trade was carried on, and she, in her younger days, was a carder of wool. She was indicted for having exercised various wicked and devilish arts called witchcrafts, enchantments, charms, and sorceries, upon one Robert Nutter, of Greenhead in the forest of Pendle, and, by force of the said witchcraft, having feloniously killed the said Robert Nutter. To establish this charge, her own examination was read, from which it appeared, that, fourteen or fifteen years ago, a thing, like “a christian man,” had importuned her to sell her soul to the devil, and that she had complied with his request, giving to her familiar the name of *Fancy*; and on account of an insult offered to her daughter, Redfern, by Robert Nutter, they two conspired to place a bad wish upon Nutter, of which he died. Amongst other charms, was that of an incantation

* UNIQUE PEDIGREE.

The following witch pedigree will explain the relationship in which several of the prisoners stood to each other:—

Elizabeth Southernes, als Old Demdike, dies in prison, 1612.



used over drink, in the process of brewing, when it failed to work; of which the following is a copy:—

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“ A CHARME.

“ Three Biters hast thou bitten,
 “ The Hart, ill Eye, ill Tonge;
 “ Three bitter shall be thy Roote,
 “ Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, a God’s name.
 “ Fiue Pater-nosters, fiue Auies, and a Creede,
 “ In worship of fiue wounds of our Lord.”

It has been further deposed against the accused, that John Device agreed to give Old Chattox a dole of meal yearly, if she would not hurt him; and that when he ceased to make this annual payment, he took his bed and died. To which were added two other crimes of smaller magnitude; first, that she had bewitched the drink of John Moore; and, second, that she had, without the operation of the churn, produced a quantity of butter from a dish of skimmed milk! In the face of this evidence, and no longer anxious about her own life, she acknowledged her guilt; but humbly prayed the judges to be merciful to her daughter Anne Redfearne. This prayer, so natural from a mother, was vain. Bent, as was the court before which she was tried, on blood, they knew not how to appreciate this touching trait of maternal magnanimity.

Against Elizabeth Device, the testimony of her own daughter, a child nine years of age, was received, and the way in which her evidence was given, instead of filling the court with horror, seems to have excited their applause and admiration. According to our authority, the familiar of the prisoner was a dog, which went by the name of *Ball*, and by whose agency she bewitched to death John Robinson,* James Robinson, and James Mitton; the first of the victims having called her a strumpet, and the last having refused to give Old Demdike a penny when she asked her for charity. To render her daughter proficient in the art, the prisoner taught her two prayers, by one of which she cured the bewitched, and by the other procured drink.

The prayer for drink was in these terms:—“ *Crucifixus hoc signum vitam Eternam. Amen.*”

The charm for curing the bewitched, thus:—

“ A CHARME.

“ Vpon Good-Friday, I will fast while I may, Vntill I heare them knell Our Lord’s owne Bell, Lord in his messe With his twelue Apostles good,	What hath he in his hand? Ligh in leath wand: What he in his other hand? Heauen’s doore key. Open, open Heauen doore keyes, Sneck, sneck hell doore,” &c.
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* The ancient Rabbins held that the devils most frequently appeared in the shape of *Seghuirim*, rough and hairy goats; but none of the familiars of the Lancashire witches were of this classical description.

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The person of Elizabeth Device, as described by the clerk of the court, seems to have peculiarly qualified her for an ancient witch: "she was branded," says he, "with a preposterous mark in nature; her left eye standing lower than her right, the one looking down and the other up, at the same time." Her process of destruction was by modelling clay or marl figures, and wasting her victims away along with them:—another proof of the king's sagacity, which, no doubt, the judges, who seem to have been more solicitous to obtain the favour of their royal master than to administer impartial justice to his subjects, would not fail to make known at court.

James Device was convicted principally on the evidence of his infant sister, of bewitching and killing Mrs. Ann Towneley, the wife of Mr. Henry Towneley, of the Carr, by means of a picture of clay, and both he and his sister were witnesses against their mother. This wizard, whose spirit was called *Dandy*, is described as a poor, decrepit boy, apparently of weak intellect, and so infirm, that it was found necessary to hold him up in court on his trial.

Upon evidence of this kind, no fewer than ten of these unfortunate people were found guilty at Lancaster, and sentenced to suffer the punishment of death; eight others were acquitted, though for what reason it is difficult to imagine, for the evidence against some of them, at least, appears to have been equally strong; or, to speak more properly, equally weak and absurd, as against those who were convicted.

The persons sentenced to death, and afterwards executed, were Ann Whittle, alias Chattox, Elizabeth Device, James Device, Ann Redferne, Alice Nutter, Catharine Hewytt, John Bulcock, Jane Bulcock, Alizon Device, and Isabel Robey.

Salmes-
bury
witches.

Against Jane Bierley, Ellen Bierley, and Jane Southworth, of Salmesbury, charged with having bewitched Grace Sowerbutts, at that place; the only material evidence adduced, was that of Grace Sowerbutts herself, a girl of licentious and vagrant habits, who swore that these women, one of them being her grandmother, did draw her by the hair of the head, and lay her upon the top of a hay-mow, and did take her senses and memory from her; that they appeared to her sometimes in their own likeness, and sometimes like a black dog. She further deposed, that by their arts they prevailed upon her to join their sisterhood; and that they were met from time to time by "four black things going upright, and yet not like men in the face," who conveyed them across the Ribble, where they danced with them, and then each retired to hold dalliance with her familiar, conformable, no doubt, to the doctrine of *Incubi* and *Succubi*, as promulgated by the royal demonologist. To consummate their atrocities, the prisoners bewitched and slew a child of Thomas Walshman's, by placing a nail in its navel; and after its burial, they took up the corpse, when they ate part of the flesh, and made "an unxious ointment," by boiling the bones. This was more than even the capacious credulity of the judge and jury could digest; the Salmesbury

witches were therefore acquitted, and a seminary priest, of the name of Thompson, alias Southworth, was suspected by two of the county magistrates,* to whom the affair was afterwards referred, of having instigated Sowerbutts to make the charge; but this imputation was not supported by any satisfactory evidence. John Ramsden, Elizabeth Astley, Alice Gray, Isabel Sidegraves, and Lawrence Haye, were all discharged without trial.

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The judge, sir Edward Bromley, in addressing the convicted prisoners, when sentence of death was passed upon them, made a parade of clemency and impartial justice, which was only to be discovered in his words:—"You," said he, "of all people, have the least cause of complaint; since on the trial for your lives there hath been much care and pains taken; and what persons of your nature and condition were ever arraigned and tried with so much solemnity? The court hath had great care to receive nothing in evidence against you but matter of fact!† As you stand simply (your offences and bloody practices not considered) your fate would rather move compassion than exasperate any man; for whom would not the ruin of so many poor creatures at one time touch, as in appearance simple, and of little understanding? But the blood of these innocent children, and others his majesty's subjects, whom cruelly and barbarously you have murdered and cut off, cries unto the Lord for vengeance. It is impossible that you, who are stained with so much innocent blood, should either prosper or continue in this world, or receive reward in the next." Having thus shut the door of hope, both in this life and the life that is to come, the judge proceeded to urge the victims of superstition to repentance! and concluded by sentencing them all to be hanged.

Sentences
of the
witches.

It would, probably, have occurred to the judges, that persons possessed of the power to kill their enemies, and endowed with a capacity of locomotion that enabled them to fly over the land or the sea, might have slain their prosecutors, or mounted their familiars, and taken flight, had not the dogma promulgated by king James answered this objection *in limine*: "When the witches are apprehended and detained by the

* The Rev. William Leigh, and Edward Chisnall, esq.

† *Nothing but matter of fact!*—Why, to prove the guilt of one of the prisoners, evidence was received, that it was the opinion of a man, not in court, that she had turned his beer sour; and to prove the charge of murder, it was thought sufficient to attest, that a sick person had declared his belief that he owed his approaching death to the maledictions of the prisoner. The bleeding of the corpse on the touch of the sorceress, one of the absurd and now exploded superstitions insisted upon by king James, was advanced on oath, on the trial of Jennet Preston, as an incontrovertible evidence of guilt; and yet the judge upon the bench declares, that no evidence was received against the prisoners but matter of fact. His lordship would have approached much nearer to the truth, if he had said that nothing but fiction was heard in evidence.

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lawful magistrate," says the royal commentator, "their power is then no greater than before that ever they meddled with these matters."* This, indeed, is a necessary part of the doctrine, otherwise Elizabeth Device and her associates might as easily and as invisibly have conveyed themselves from the bar of the castle at Lancaster, as from the witch convention at Malkin Tower.

Their
execution.

At the appointed time, all these poor wretches died by the hands of the public executioner—victims, no doubt, in part, of their own fraudulent arts, resorted to for the purpose of eking out a miserable subsistence—but, much more, sacrifices offered upon the altars of ignorance and superstition.

Descrip-
tion of a
witch con-
vention.

According to Gaule, who is quite an authority upon this subject, witch-conventions, on the model of that held at the residence of Old Demdike's, at Malkin Tower, and from thence adjourned, at the instance of Jennet Preston, to Romles-moor, were for the solemn initiation of the witches, or for the baptism of their imps. Here the new disciple of Satan was presented by a confederate, or familiar, to the prince of darkness, sitting on a throne of infernal majesty, appearing in the form of man, but labouring incessantly to hide his cloven feet with his vesture: to whom, after bowing and homage done in kissing his back parts, a petition was presented, praying to be received into his association, and taken under his protection. The initiated was then re-baptized in the devil's name; and during the ceremony, the infernal president was busy with his long nails scraping and scratching those places of the forehead where the sign of the cross had been made in Christian baptism, or where the chrisme was laid; in the place of which he impressed the mark of the beast, or the devil's flesh-brand, upon some part of the body. The witch was then taught, by her infernal instructor, to make an oil, or ointment, of live infants stolen out of the cradle, as in the case of Walshman's child, of Salmesbury, or of dead ones stolen out of their graves, which they were to boil to a jelly, and then drinking one part of the unctuous preparation, and besmearing themselves with the other, they became from that moment endowed with the mystical art. "Further," says Gaule, "the witch or wizard, for her or his part, vows, either by word of mouth, or peradventure by writing, and that in her or his own blood, to give both body and soul to the devil; to deny and to defy God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to attend the devil's nocturnal conventicles, sabbaths, and sacrifices; to take him for her or his god, and to worship, invoke, and obey him; to devote her or his children to him, as did Old Demdike and Old Chattox, and to labour to bring others into the infernal confederacy. The devil, on his part, promising to be always present with his disciples, to serve them at their beck; to give them their will upon any body, and to bestow upon them all the riches! honours! and pleasures! that they can desire, (an engagement

* King James's *Dæmonologie*, chap. vi.

that was most faithlessly performed towards the Lancashire witches, who were steeped in poverty and infamy.) An imp, or familiar, was then assigned to each of them, in the shape of a dog, a cat, a mouse, or a rat, &c.; and, after they had shaken hands and embraced, they fell to dancing and feasting, according to the banquet that the devil, who was the founder of the feast, had provided for them. Sometimes the ceremony was consummated by marrying them before they parted; either to himself or to their familiars, or to one another. After that, they parted till the next great convention, and were conveyed, swift as the winds, through the air. The absentees from these meetings were amerced in fines for their non-attendance, beaten on the palms of their feet with rods of iron, or pinched and sucked by their familiars, till their blood came, and till they repented of their sloath."

At the assizes at York, in the summer of the same year, Jennet Preston, of Gisborn, was brought to trial before sir James Altham, charged with having attended the great witch-meeting at Malkin Tower, in Lancashire, on the Good Friday preceding, and with having murdered Thomas Lister, esq. of Westby, in Craven, by witchcraft. In support of these charges, it was deposed by Anne Robinson, probably one of the family of the Lancashire witch-finders, that when Mr. Lister was lying in extremity upon his death-bed, he cried out to them that stood about him, "Jennet Preston is in the house, look where she is! take hold of her; for God's sake, shut the doors, and take her! Look about for her, and lay hold on her, for she is in the house! and so crying, he departed this life." Other witnesses deposed, that after Mr. Lister was dead, and laid out in his winding sheet, Jane Preston was brought to touch the dead body, on which fresh blood presently gushed out in the presence of all those that were in the room.* This appears to have been the only evidence against the prisoner, except that which was contained in the examination of James Device, the grandson of Old Demdike, who deposed before Roger Nowell and Nicholas Bannister, two Lancashire magistrates, that Jennet Preston, the prisoner, was present at the great witch-meeting at Malkin Tower, on the memorable Good Friday, and that she came to the meeting mounted upon a spirit like unto a white foal, with a black spot in the forehead; that at this meeting she asked the aid of the witches and wizards assembled to kill Mr. Thomas Lister, and that they consented to entangle him in the meshes of their net of enchantment, and, in the end, to destroy him; on which she gave them an invitation to attend another witch feast on the next Good Friday, on Romeles-moor, and then, mounting her spirit, she took flight through the air, and became invisible. This strange mass of absurdities satisfied the judge of

Trial and
execution
of a re-
puted
witch at
York.

* It ought to be generally known that the blood is congealed in the body for two or three days after death; and then becomes liquid again in its tendency to corruption; and that the air being heated by a number of persons coming into the room, the blood will flow, when murderers are absent as well as when they are present. This test ought therefore to be exploded.

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the prisoner's guilt, who summed up the evidence, if evidence it could be called, strongly against her; but the jury, somewhat more scrupulous, spent the greatest part of the day in deliberation; in the end, however, they returned a verdict of guilty, and the poor unfortunate wretch ended her life on the gallows, denying firmly her guilt, and accusing, with a great deal of truth, her prosecutors of the crime of murder.

It does not appear that the rack was resorted to in Lancashire, but, if the rack was not applied, the gallows was in frequent use, and a man of the name of Uttey, a reputed wizard, was hanged at Lancaster, about the year 1630, for having bewitched to death Richard, the son of Ralph Assheton, esq. lord of Middleton.*

Second
batch of
Pendle
Forest
witches.

At the assizes at Lancaster, in 1633, another batch of reputed witches, consisting of seventeen in number, were brought to trial from the usual resort in Pendle forest. The informations were laid before Richard Shuttleworth, esq. and John Starkie, esq. on the 10th of February, 1633, the latter of whom had figured as one of the possessed amongst the seven demoniacs, at Cleworth, in the year 1595. The principal evidence against the prisoners was Edward Robinson,† the son of Edmund Robinson, of Pendle, mason, who deposed that two greyhounds had been transformed into witches. That one of the witches there, Dickonson's wife, had conveyed him before her on horse-back to a meeting at Hoarestones, where a convocation of witches, amounting to three-score, or thereabout, had assembled to regale themselves; that one of them, Loyard's wife, he had seen sitting upon a piece of cross wood in his father's chimney; that afterwards he had met and fought with a boy, who turned out to have a cloven foot; that in a neighbouring barn he had seen three witches taking pictures, into which they had stuck thorns, and that, at the meeting at Hoarestones, all the persons now in confinement for witchcraft were present.‡ The only evidence that appears in con-

* Dr. Whitaker's History of Whalley, p. 528.

† The prototype of Matthew Hopkins, the south country witch-finder. Sir Walter Scott, in his preface to the Wonderful Discovery of Witches in Lancashire, in lord Somers's Tracts, has fallen into an error by confounding the Pendle forest witches of 1612 with those of 1633.

‡ WITCHCRAFT.

Harl. MSS. Cod. 6854, fo. 26 b.

“The Examination of Edward Robinson, sonne of Edmond Robinson of Pendle Forest, mason, taken at Padiā before Richard Shuttleworth and John Starkey, Esquires, two of his Ma^{ties} Justices of Peace wthin the Conntie of Lancaster, the 10th day of Februarie, Anno Dñi 1633.

“Who informeth vpon oath beinge examined touchinge the greate Meetinge of Witches in Pendle, saith that vpon All Saintē day last past, he this Informer beinge wth one Henrie Parker a neere doore-neighbour to him in Wheatley Lane, who desired the said Parker to give him leave to get some

firmation of this testimony is, that of Edmund Robinson, the father, who had himself been a witness against the Lancashire witches of 1612, which amounts merely to this—
 that he heard his son cry pitifully, and that the boy told him all that was contained in his deposition.

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Bullas, w^{ch} he did, in w^{ch} tyme of gettinge Bullas hee sawe two grey hounds, vizt. a blacke and a browne one come runninge over the next feilde towards him. Hee verilie thinketh the one to bee Mr. Butters and the other to bee Mr. Robinsons, the said Mr. Butter and Mr. Robinson then haveinge such like. And the said Grey Hounds came and fawned on him, they haveinge about their necke either of them a Coller, to either of w^{ch} Collers was tyed a stryng, w^{ch} Collers as this Informer affirmeth, did shine like gold, and hee thinkinge that some either of Mr. Butters or Mr. Robinsons familie should have followed them, but seeinge noe bodie to followe them, hee tooke the said Greyhounds thinkinge to hunte wth them, and presentlie a hare did rise verie neere before him, at the sight whereof he cryed ‘ Loo, loo, loo,’ but the doggs would not runn, wherevpon hee beinge verie angrie tooke them, and wth the stringe that were at their Collers tyed either of them to a litle bush at the next hedge, and wth a rodd that hee had in his hand hee beate them, and instead of the blacke greyhound one Dickensons wife stood vpp, a neighbour whom this Informer knoweth, and instead of the browne Greyhound a litle Boy, whom this Informer knoweth not, at w^{ch} sight this Informer beinge afayrd, endeavoured to runn awaie, but beinge stayd by the woeman, vizt. Dickensons wife, shee put her hand into her pocket, and pulled forth a peece of silver much like to a fayreshillinge, and offered to give him it to hold his tongue, and not to tell, w^{ch} hee refused, sayinge, ‘ nay, thou art a witch,’ wherevpon shee put her hand into her pocket againe, and pulled out a thinge like unto a Bridle that gingled, w^{ch} shee put on the litle Boyes head w^{ch} stood vpp in the browne Greyhounds stead, wherevpon the said Boy stood vpp a white horse. Then y^mediatlie the said Dickensons wife tooke this Informer before her vpon the said horse, and carryed him to a newe howse called Houhtons, beinge a quarter of a myle off, whether when they were come, there were diverse p^{er}sons about the doore, and hee sawe diverse others cominge rydeinge on horses of severall colours towards the said howse, w^{ch} tyed their horses to a hedge neere to the said howse to the number of sixtie or thereabout as this Informer thinketh, where they had a fyre, and meate roastinge, and some other meate stirring in the said howse, whereof a young woeman whom this Informer knoweth not gave him flesh and bread vpon a trencher, and drinke in a glasse, after the first tast, hee refused, and would have noe more, and said it was nought, and p^{re}sentlie after, seeinge diverse others of the said Companie, goinge to a Barne, eere adioyninge hee followed after, and then hee sawe sixe of them kneelinge, and pullinge all six severall ropes w^{ch} were fastened or tyed to the topp of the howse, at or wth w^{ch} pullinge there came in this Informers sight fleshe smoakinge, butter in lumpes, and milke as it were syleinge from the said ropes, all w^{ch} fell into six basons w^{ch} were placed under the said ropes, and after that these sixe had done, there came other six, w^{ch} did soe likewise, and dureinge all the tyme of theire soe pullinge, they made such fowle faces that they feared this Informer, soe as hee was glad to steale out and runn home, who when they wanted some of their Companie runn after him to a place in the high way called Boggard-hole, where hee this Informer mett two horsemen, at the sight whereof the said persons left followinge him, And the foremost of w^{ch} p^{er}sons that followed, hee knewe to bee Loyard^e wife, w^{ch} said wife together wth one Dickensons wife and one Jennet Davies hee hath seene since at severall times in a croft or close adioyninge to his Fathers howse, w^{ch} put him in greate feare: And further this Informer saith, That vpon Thursdaie after new yeares daye last past, hee saw the said Loyards

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convicted.

Upon this evidence, all the seventeen prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to be executed. But the judge very properly respited the execution; and, on the case being reported to the king in council, the bishop of Chester, Dr. Bridgman, was required to investigate the circumstances. This inquiry was instituted at Chester, and four of the convicted witches, namely, Margaret Johnson, Frances Dickonson,

wife sittenge vpon a crosse peece of wood, beinge wthin the chymney of his Fathers dwellinge howse, and hee callinge to her said ‘Come downe thou Loyards wife,’ and ymediatlie the said Loyards wife went vpp out of his sight: And further this Informer saith, that after hee was come from the Companie aforesaid to his Fathers howse, beinge towardē eveninge his Father bidd him goe and fetch home two kyne to sell, and in the waie in a feild called the Ollers hee chanced to happen vpon a boy w^{ch} began to quarrell wth him, and they fought together till the Informer had his eares made verie bloodie by fightinge, and lookinge downe hee sawe the boy had a cloven foote, at w^{ch} sight hee was afraid, and ran away from him to seeke the kyne, and in the way hee sawe a light like a lanthorne, towards w^{ch} hee made hast, supposinge it to bee carryed by some of Mr. Robinsons people, but when hee came to the place hee onelie found a woeman standinge on the bridge, whom when hee sawe hee knewe to bee Loyards wife, and knowinge her, hee turned backe againe, and ymediatlie hee met wth the aforesaid boy, from whom hee offered to runn, w^{ch} boy gave him a blow on the backe, which made him cry. And hee further saith, when hee was in the Barne, hee sawe three women take three pictures from the beame, in the w^{ch} pictures were manie thornes or such like thinges sticked in them, and that Loyards wife tooke one of the said pictures downe, but the other two women that tooke downe the other two, hee knoweth not. And beinge further asked what psons were at the meetinge aforesaid, hee nominated those psons followinge, vizt.

“ Dickensons	James Hargrave of Maresden
Henrie Priestleyes wife and his ladd	Loyards wife
Alice Hargrave, widdowe	James wife
Jane Davies (a ^{ls} Jennet Device)	Sanders wife, And as hee beleeveth
William Davies	Lawnes wife
The wife of Henrie Offep and her sonnes	Sander Pynes wife of Baraford
John and Myles	One Foolegate and his wife
The wife of Duckers	And Leonards of the West Close.”*

“ The Examination of Edmund Robinson of Pendle, the Father to the said Edward Robinson, informeth vpon oath, and saith:

“ That vpon All Saints Day last past, hee sent his sonne thaforesaid Informer to fetch home two kyne to sell, and saith that his sonn staid longer then hee thought hee should have done, and hee went to seeke him, and in seekeinge him hee heard him cry pitifullie and found him soe afraid and distracted that hee neither knew his Father nor did hee knowe where hee was, and soe contynued for

* This deposition differs, in some respects, from the copy in Dr. Whitaker’s Whalley, and in some others from the version given in Webster’s Display of Witchcraft; but it is a correct transcript from the Harleian Collection. The discrepancies in the copies are principally clerical.

Mary Spencer, and the wife of Hargraves, were sent to London, and examined, first, by the king's physicians and surgeons, and afterwards by the king himself. Charles I. less prone to credulity than his father, having satisfied himself that the charge against these poor creatures was groundless, extended to them the royal

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Examined
by the
king in
council.

neere a quarter of an hower before hee came to himself, and hee told this Informer, his Father, all the pticuler passages that are before declared in the said Edward Robinson his sonnes Information.

“ RICHARD SHUTTLEWORTH, }
JOHN STARKIE, } Justices of the Peace.”

“ The Examination of Margaret Johnson taken at Padian before Richard Shuttleworth and John Starkey, Esquires, two of his Maties Justices of peace wth in the Countie of Lancaster the second day of March Anno Regni Regis Caroli nono annoꝝ domini 1633.

“ Margaret Johnson of Marsden widdowe beinge examined, confesseth and saith That betwixt seaven or eight yeares since, shee beinge in her newe howse in Marsden in a great passion of anger and discontent, and wthall pressed wth some want, there appeared vnto her a spirit or divell in the similitude and proportion of a man, apparelled in a suite of black, tyed about wth with silke pointe, who offered that if shee would give him her soule, hee would supplie all her wante, and bringe to her whatsoever shee did neede, and at her appointment would in revenge either kill or hurt whom or what shee desired, were it man or beast. And saith, that after a salutation or two, shee contracted and covenanted wth the said Divell for her soule, and that the said Divell or spirit bidd her call him by the name of Mamillion, and when shee would have him to doe anie thinge for her, call in Mamillion, and hee would bee readie to doe her will; And saith, in all her talk and Conferense shee calleth her said Divell Mamillion my god. And shee further saith, that the said Mamillion her Divell by her consent did abuse and defyle her bodie, by conſittinge wicked vncleanesse together. And saith, that shee was not at the greate meetinge at Hartford in the Forrest of Pendle vpon All Sainte day last past, but saith, That shee was at a second meetinge the Sunday next after All Sainte day at the place aforesaid; where there were at that tyme betweene thirtie and fortie Witches, who did all ryde to the said meetinge, and the end of theire meetinge was to consult for the killinge and hurtinge of men and beast, And that beside theire pticuler familiars or spiritte, there was one greate grand Divell or spirit, more eminent then the rest, and yf anie have a desire to a more greater and more powerfull Divell, whereby they may have power to hurt, they may then have such an one. And saith, that such Witches as have sharpe bones given them by the Divell to pricke them wth, have noe pappes or dugge where theire Divell may suck, but theire Divell sucke from the place pricked wth the bone, and they are more grand Witches then anie that have markes. Shee also saith that yf a Witch have but one marke, shee hath but one spirit, yf two markes then two spiritte, yf three yet but two spiritte, And saith that theire spiritte vsuallie have knowledge of theire bodies. And beinge to name such, as shee knewe to be Witches, shee named these followinge, vizt.

One Pickerne and his wife both of Wyndwall,
Rawson of Clore and his wife
Duffice wife of Clore by the water side
Cartmell the wife of Clore
And Jane of the hedgend in Maresden.

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elementy, and so well was the case of those left behind represented by the unique delegation, that all the seventeen received a free pardon. Scenes so congenial to the imagination of the poet drew forth the talents of the comic muse, and the play of the "Lancashire Witches," the joint production of Thomas Heywood* and Richard Browne, was brought forward, and performed with success at the Globe theatre, in London, while the fate of the convicts was depending, as is shewn from the following passage in the epilogue:—

" _____ unto the Lawes
 " We can but bring the Witches and their cause,
 " And there we leave 'em, as their Divels did;
 " Should we goe further with 'm? Wit forbid,
 " What of their storie, further shall ensue,
 " We must referre to time, our selves to you."

Another play of the Lancashire witches, founded on the exploits of Old Demdike and her weird sisterhood, was written eighty years after her death, by Shadwell, the dramatist, and serves to shew that the memory of these fantastic scenes long outlived the actors in the real drama.

It is not the least extraordinary part of these most extraordinary transactions, that previous to the trial, Margaret Johnson, of Marsden, one of the prisoners, had been so acted upon by the terrors of her situation, that she actually made a confession of her own guilt, attended with circumstances, which would, if true, have ended in her execution. According to this deposition, Johnson had sold her soul to a spirit, or devil, in the similitude of a man, to whom she gave the name of *Mamilian*, who had promised to supply all her wants.

It is difficult to imagine how voluntary confessions of crimes never committed,

" And yf they would torment a man, they bidd their spiritte goe and torment them in anie pticuler place. And that Good Friday is one Constant day for a yearlie generall meetinge of Witches. And that on Good Fryday last they had a meetinge neere Pendle water side. Shee also saith, That men Witches usualie have woemen spiritte and woemen witches men spiritte, and their Divells or spiritte give them notice of their meetinge, and tell them the place and where it must bee. And saith, yf they desire to bee in anie place vpon a suddaine their Divell or spiritt will vpon a redd dogg, or anie thinge also p^rsentlie convey them thither yea into any roome of a mans howse, but shee saith, it is not the substance of their bodies, but their spirit assumeth such forme of shape as goes into such roomes. Shee also saith, that the Divell after hee beginnes to sucke, will make a papp or dugg in short tyme, and the matter w^{ch} hee sucketh is blood, And saith, that their Divells can cause fowle weather and stormes and soe did at their meetinge Shee likewise saith, That when the Divell did come to sucke her papp, hee vsuallie came to her in the likenes of a Catt, sometymes of one Colour, and sometymes of an other. And that since this trouble befell her, her spiritt hath left her, and shee never sawe him since."

* The author of an elegy on prince Henry, son of James I. and several other court poems.

could be obtained from persons, who were liable to forfeit their lives, and frequently did forfeit them, on their own accusations. But the fact is undeniable. The deep ignorance in which the witches of Pendle forest were sunk, their alarm at being brought to trial and to public execution, and their hopes of conciliating their accusers by a confession of guilt, may have contributed to this moral phenomenon; especially as the practice did not then prevail of inquiring whether any offer of clemency, or any other motive, had been presented to the accused, to induce such confessions. Sir George Mackenzie, himself a believer in witchcraft, and who, as the king's advocate, had conducted many trials in Scotland for that crime, speaking upon the judicial confession of the criminals themselves, says, "Those poor persons who are ordinarily accused of this crime, are poor ignorant creatures, and oft-times women, who understand not the nature of what they are accused of, and many mistaking their own fears and apprehensions for witchcraft, when they are defamed, become so confounded with fear, and the close prison in which they are kept, and so starved for want of meat and sleep, (either of which wants is enough to disorder the strongest reason,) that hardly wiser or more serious people than they would escape distraction; and when persons are confounded with fear and apprehension, they will imagine things very ridiculous and absurd. Most of these poor creatures are tortured by their keepers, who, being persuaded they do God good service, think it their duty to vex and torment poor prisoners. I went," continues sir George, "when I was a justice-depute, to examine some women, who had confessed judicially; and one of them, who was a silly creature, told me under secrecy. that she had not confest because she was guilty, but being a poor creature, who wrought for her meat, and being defamed for a witch, she knew she would starve, for no person thereafter would either give her meat or lodging, and that all men would beat her, and hound dogs at her, and that, therefore, she desired to be out of the world; whereupon she wept most bitterly, and upon her knees called God to witness what she said."

The account of these transactions, given by Dr. Webster, in his "Display of Witchcraft," serves to shew the consternation and alarm which must have been felt in those days, particularly amongst the old and decrepit, from the machinations of the witch-finders. Of the boy, Robinson, he says,* "This said boy was brought into the church, at Kildwick, [in Yorkshire, on the confines of Lancashire,] a large parish church, where I, being then curate there, was preaching in the afternoon, and was set upon a stool to look about him, which moved some little disturbance in the congregation for a while. After prayers, I inquired what the matter was: the people told me that it was the boy that discovered witches; upon which I went to the house where he was to stay all night, where I found him and two very unlikely persons, that

Display of
supposed
witch-
craft.

* Webster's Display of Witchcraft, p. 276.

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did conduct him, and manage the business. I desired to have some discourse with the boy in private; but that they utterly refused; then in the presence of a great many people I took the boy near me, and said, ‘ Good boy, tell me truly and in earnest, didst thou see and hear such strange things at the meeting of witches as is reported by many that thou didst relate?’ But the two men, not giving the boy leave to answer, did pluck him from me, and said, he had been examined by two *able* justices of the peace, *and they did never ask him such a question.* To whom I replied, the persons accused had therefore the more wrong.”

As government spies multiply traitors, so professional witch-finders create witches. “ The boy Robinson,” says Dr. Webster, “ in more mature years, acknowledged that he had been instructed and suborned to make these accusations against the accused persons, by his father and others, and that, of course, the whole was a fraud. By such wicked means and unchristian practices, divers innocent persons lost their lives; and these wicked rogues wanted not greater persons (even of the ministry too) that did authorize and encourage them in their diabolical courses: and the like in my time happened here in Lancashire, where divers, both men and women, were accused of supposed witchcraft, and were so unchristianly and inhumanly handled, as to be stript stark naked, and laid upon tables and beds to be searched, for their supposed witch-marks, so barbarous and cruel acts doth diabolical instigation, working upon ignorance and superstition, produce.”* Not only persons of the ministry, but the king himself, as we have seen in the last reign, authorized and encouraged these diabolical courses, not omitting the witch-mark in his descriptions. It must not, however, be supposed that all who countenanced these impositions were themselves fools or impostors, for amongst the judges of the land, who gave into the delusion, we find the venerable name of sir Matthew Hale.†

Belief in
witch-
craft.

In much more modern times, persons of superior minds are found to give the sanction of their authority to the popular mythology of witchcraft, and, amongst others, the acute and profound Dr. Whitaker, the author of the History of

* The cruel process was to strip the supposed witch naked, and thrust pins into various parts of the body, to discover what the royal demonologist called the “ witch-mark,” or the devil’s stigma; that is, a part of the body insensible to pain, and which was supposed to be possessed by the devil, as a sign of his sovereign power, and as the place at which the imps sucked! Sometimes the accused were thrown into a river, or pond, having their thumbs and toes tied together, where, if they sunk, they were held innocent, but if they swam were dragged forth to prison. On other occasions, the suspected witch was bound cross-legged on a stool, there to be watched, and kept without meat or sleep for the space of four-and-twenty hours, within which time it was supposed that her imp would make her a visit, and in that way betray her.

† At the assizes at Bury St. Edmond’s, in 1664, Amy Dunny and Rose Cullender were tried before sir Matthew, and, being convicted, were hanged, both protesting that they were innocent.

Whalley, who, after presenting his readers with the depositions of Edward Robinson and Margaret Johnson, winds up this part of his history by saying, "Were I to behold with my own eyes such circumstances as have often been related, or were they to be reported to me by a philosophical observer, of perfect integrity, upon the evidence of *his* senses, I know not upon what principles I could refuse my assent to the conclusion, that they were really the effects of diabolical power." And then, quoting bishop Hurd, he adds, "That for any thing we know, he (the devil) may still operate in the way of possession, I do not see on what certain grounds any man can deny." Doubtless, if Dr. Whitaker had beheld with his own eyes such circumstances as have often been related, and had, on careful investigation, found that no fraud had been practised upon him, he would have been bound to believe in the reality of the effects of diabolical power. But this is begging the question; no such miraculous circumstances as those related have, in all probability, in modern times occurred; at least in all cases where they have been submitted to the inquiry of a patient and philosophical observer, they have been stamped with the character of fraud, or ignorance, or of their combined agency. The same observation applies to bishop Hurd's remark, that devils may still operate in the way of possession. They may certainly, by divine permission; but that permission does not appear in our days ever to be granted.* There is other evidence besides that contained in Dr. Whitaker's published works, to shew that he was a believer in the visitation of spirits, and in a MS. in the Doctor's hand-writing, he represents, with that kind of gravity which indicates belief, that in the year 1742, the spirit of a farmer of the name of Briercliffe, of Hecklehurst, who had lived a dissolute life, appeared at the gate a little distance from his house, mounted behind another man on a black horse, about the moment when Briercliffe expired! It is not at all improbable that two men mounted upon a black horse might ride from the house of Briercliffe about the time of his dissolution, and that one of them might resemble the deceased; but it is highly improbable that the parties were, as is meant to be intimated, one of them the devil and the other the spirit that he was conducting to perdition. The venerable and pious John Wesley was also a firm believer in witchcraft; and in his usual strong way of expressing himself, he says, "that the giving up witchcraft, is in effect giving up the bible." Sir Matthew Hale had, in effect, said the same thing at the Bury assizes; but they might as well have said that the giving up modern miracles is, in effect, giving up the bible. The cases are very similar. No Christian will doubt the reality of the miracles recorded in the scriptures, but very few will believe that any real miracles have been performed since the apostolic

* Doctor Hibbert, in his interesting *Sketches on the Philosophy of Apparitions*, has proved incontestably, that spectral illusions may arise from a great variety of natural causes, and that one of the most prevalent is a highly excited state of the feelings of the ghost-seer.

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ages, though there have been thousands of fictitious ones. In this belief, however, sir M^w Hale and Mr. Wesley had the sanction of the distinguished name of Martin Luther, who was not only a believer in the agency of evil spirits, but who had himself, according to his firm conviction, maintained many severe personal conflicts with them.

A Lancashire
witch in
Worcestershire.

One of the "Lancashire Witches" having, as it appears, quitted her native county, and wandered into Worcestershire, in consequence of the distress occasioned by the civil wars, which the poor are always the first to feel, this wretched mendicant, a more fit object of compassion than of terror, was found by a wicked boy, who protested that she had by her sorceries deprived him of speech. On what kind of evidence this charge was raised will be seen below; and though the fate of the poor woman is not distinctly stated, there is but too much reason to suppose, from the avidity with which witches were in these times pursued, and the relentless cruelty with which they were persecuted, that on this evidence she was tried and executed.*

* "A RELATION OF A LANCASHIRE WITCH,

"Tried at Worcester, in the Year 1649.

"At *Droitwich* in the county of *Worcester*, a poor Womans Boy in the Month of *May*, looking for his Mother's Cow, espied some Bushes in a Brake to shake, and supposing the Cow to be Browsing there, went to the Place, where he found no Cow, but an Old Woman, who upon his approach said *Boh!* to him; whereupon he presently lost his speech, and could only make a Noise, but could not speak any thing articulately so as could be understood: In this Condition he came home to his Mother, made a great Noise, but nobody could understand what ailed him, or what he meant. A while after, he ran out, and at *Sir Edward Barret's* door, found, about one a Clock, amongst other poor People, the same old Woman supping up a Mess of hot Pottage, and ran furiously upon her and threw her Pottage in her Face, and offered some other violence to her. Whereupon the Neighbours, wondering at the Condition of the Boy and his rage against the old Woman, and suspecting that she had done him some hurt, Apprehended her, and thereupon she was committed to the Prison, which they there call the *Checker*. At Night the Boy's Mother lodged him in a Garret over her own Lodging; and in the Morning hearing a great Bussle over her, ran up, and found the Boy gotten out of his Bed with the Leg of a Form in his Hand, striking furiously at something in the Window; but saw nothing there that he should strike at. The Boy presently put on his Cloaths, and ran down into the Street towards the Prison, and as he was going, endeavouring to speak, found his Speech restored. When he came to the prison, he asked for the old Woman, and told the Gaoler how she had served him, and how his speech came to him again in the way. The Gaoler in the mean time suspecting that she had Bewitched the Boy, would not let her have either Meat or Drink, unless she would first say the Lord's Prayer, and bid God bless the Boy; which at last her hunger forced her to do; and it appeared to be at the same instant, as near as could be guessed, that the Boy had his Speech restored to him. The Boy asked the Gaoler, why he did not keep her faster, but let her come out & trouble him? The Gaoler answered that he had kept her very safe. The Boy replied, No, he had not; for she came and sat in his Chamber Window, and grinned at him; and that thereupon he took up a Form Leg, and therewith gave her two good bangs upon the a --- as she would have scutled from him, before she could get away. Whereupon the Gaoler caused some Women to search her, who found the Marks of two such Strokes upon her, as the Boy said he had given her. All this was sworn upon her Tryal by the Boy, his

Although trials for witchcraft were by no means unusual in the time of the commonwealth, and though no fewer than three hundred reputed witches were tried, and the major part of them executed, in the period between the deposition of Charles I. and the death of his son and successor, in the southern counties of England, yet we only find two cases of this kind of judicial homicide in the county of Lancaster, within that agitated period, and these are mentioned somewhat vaguely by Dr. Webster, who says, "I myself have known two supposed witches to be put to death at Lancaster, within these eighteen years,* that did utterly deny any league or covenant with the devil, or even to have seen any visible devil at all; and may not the confession of those (who both died penitent) be as well credited, as the confession of those that were brought to such confessions by force, fraud, or cunning persuasion and allurement?"

But though we have no more cases of witchcraft in the county, we have a very memorable case of supposed demoniacal possession and dispossession in the close of the same century, with which we shall conclude this very curious portion of our county history. The case to which we refer is, that of Richard Dugdale, the Surey demoniac; and the story, though a very long one, may be told in a few sentences. Dugdale, it appears, was a youth just rising into manhood, a gardener by trade, living with his parents at Surey, in the parish of Whalley, addicted to pleasure, and distinguished even at school as a posture-master and ventriloquist. During his possession he was attended by six dissenting ministers; the Rev. Messrs. Thomas Jolly, Charles Sagar, Nicholas Kershaw, Robert Waddington, Thomas Whally, and John Carrington, who were occasionally assisted at their meetings, held to exorcise the demon, by the Rev. Mr. Frankland, Mr. Pendlebury, and the Rev. Oliver Heywood. According to the narration put forth, under the sanction of these names, which is called, "An account of Satan's acting in and about the body of Richard Dugdale, and of Satan's removal thence through the Lord's blessing of the within-mentioned Ministers and People," when Dugdale was about nineteen years of age, he was seized with an affliction early in the year 1689, and from the strange fits, which violently seized him, he was supposed to be possessed by the devil. When the fit was upon him, "he shewed great despite," says the narrative, "against the ordinary of God, and raged, as if he had been nothing but a devil in Richard's bodily shape; though, when he was not in his

Demoniacal possession.

Memorable case of, in the parish of Whalley.

Meetings to cast out the devil.

Mother, the Gaoler, and the Women. Upon Examination she was found to be a Lancashire Woman, who upon the Scarcity in those parts, after the Defeat of Duke Hamilton, wandered abroad to get Victuals."—*A Collection of Modern Relations of Matter of Fact concerning Witches*, &c. Part i. p. 50. 4to. Lond. 1693.

* The doctor's book is dated Feb. 23, 1673, so that it is probable the execution took place about the year 1654. We have attempted, but without success, to ascertain the date from the Criminal Records in Lancaster castle, which are very defective.

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fits, he manifested great inclination to the word of God and prayer; for the exercise of which in his behalf, he desired that a day of fasting might be set apart, as the only means from which he could expect help, seeing that he had tried all other means, lawful and unlawful.* Meetings were accordingly appointed of the ministers, to which the people crowded in vast numbers. These meetings began on the 8th of May, and were continued about twice a month till the February following. At the first meeting the parents of the demoniac were examined by the ministers, and they represented, "That at Whalley rush-burying (or wake) on the James's-tide, in July, 1688, there was a great dancing and drinking; when Richard offered himself to the devil, on condition that he would make him the best dancer in Lancashire." After becoming extremely drunk, he went home, where several apparitions appeared to him, and presented to him all kinds of dainties and fine clothing, with gold and precious things, inviting him at the same time "to take his fill of pleasure." In the course of the day, some compact, or bond, was entered into between him and the devil, and after that his fits grew frequent and violent. While in these fits, his body was often hurled about very desperately;† and he abused the minister, and blasphemed his Maker. Sometimes he would fall into dreadful fits; at other times he would talk Greek and Latin, though untaught. Sometimes his voice was small and shrill, at others hollow and hideous. Now he was as light as a bag of feathers, then as heavy as lead. At one time he upbraided the ministers with their neglect, at others he said they had saved him from hell. He was weather-wise and money-wise, by turns; he could tell when there would be rain, and when he should receive presents. Sometimes he would vomit stones an inch and a half square, and in others of his trances there was a noise in his throat, as if he was singing psalms inwardly. But the strongest mark of demoniacal possession consisted in a lump, which rose from the thick of his leg, about the size of a mole, and did work up like such a creature towards the chest of his body, till it reached his breast, when it was as big as a man's fist, and uttered strange voices.‡ He opened his mouth at the beginning of his fits so often, that it was thought spirits went in and out of him. In agility he was unequalled, "especially in dancing, wherein he excelled all that the Spectatours had seen, and all that mere mortals could perform; the Demoniac would for six or seven times together leap up, so as that part of his Legs might be seen shaking and quivering above the heads of the People, from which heights he oft fell down on his knees, which he long shivered and traverst on the ground, at least as nimbly as other men can twinkle or sparkle their Fingers, thence springing up in to's high leaps again, and then falling on his Feet, which seem'd to reach the Earth, but with the gentlest and scarce perceivable touches, when he made his highest leaps." And yet the divines by whom he was attended most unjustly rallied the devil for the

Conduct
of the
demoniac.

* The Surey Demoniac, pp. 1, 2.

† Ibid, p. 4.

‡ Ibid, p. 60.

want of skill in his pupil, after this fashion: "Cease, Dancing Satan, and be gone from him," says the Rev. M. Carrington, addressing himself to the devil, "canst thou Dance no better, Satan? Ransack the old Records of all past times and places in thy memory; Canst thou not there find out some other way of finer trampling? Pump thine invention dry! Cannot that universal Seed-plot of subtle Wiles and Stratagems spring up one new method of cutting capers? Is this the top of skill and pride to shuffle feet, and brandish knees thus, and to trip like a Doe, and skip like a Squirrel, and wherein differs thy leapings from the hoppings of a Frog, or bounces of a Goat, or friskings of a Dog, or gesticulations of a Monkey? And cannot a Palsey shake such a loose Leg as that? Dost not thou twirle like a Calf that has the turn, and twitch up thy Houghs just like a spring-hault tit?" In some of his last fits, he announced that he must either be killed or cured before the 25th of March; this, says the deposition of his father and mother, and two of his sisters, proved true, for on the 24th of that month he had his last fit, the devil being no longer able to withstand the means that were used with so much vigour and perseverance to expel him; one of the most effectual of which was a medicine, prescribed, in the way of his profession, by Dr. Chew, a medical practitioner in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Zach. Taylor asserts, that the preachers, disappointed and mortified at their ill success in Dugdale's case, gave it out that some of his connexions were witches, and in contract with the devil, and that they supposed was the cause why they had not been able to relieve him. Under this impression, they procured some of the family to be searched, that they might see if they had not teats, or the devil's mark, and they tried them by the test of saying the Lord's prayer. Some remains of the evil spirit seemed, however, still to have possessed Richard, for though after this he had no fits, yet once, when he had got too much drink, he was after another manner than drunken persons usually are.* In confirmation of which feats, not only the eight ministers, but twenty respectable inhabitants, affixed their attestation to a document prepared for the purpose; and three of the magistrates of the district, namely, Hugh lord Willoughby, Ralph Egerton, esq., and Thomas Braddill, esq., received depositions from the attesting parties.

Finally
dispos-
essed by
a physi-
cian.

This monstrous mass of absurdity, superstition, and fraud, for it was beyond doubt a compound of them all, was exposed with success by the Rev. Zach. Taylor, the bishop of Chester's curate at Wigan, one of the king's preachers in the county of Lancaster; but the reverend divine mixed with his censures too much party asperity, insisting, that the whole was an artifice of the nonconformist ministers, in imitation of the pretended miracles of the Catholic priests, and likening it to the fictions of John Darrell, B.A., which had been practised a century before upon the family of

* Surey Demoniac, p. 62.

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Mr. Starkie, in the same county. Of the resemblance in many of its parts there can be no doubt that the names of the venerable Oliver Heywood and Thomas Jolly form a sufficient guarantee against any imposition on their part; and the probability is, that the ministers were the dupes of a popular superstition in the hands of a dissolute and artful family.

The effects
of witch-
craft.

Within living memory, the superstitious terrors of witchcraft have prevailed in Lancashire to an extent that has imbittered the lives of the persons supposing themselves subject to this grievous visitation. These, however, were only the remains of the popular mythology. During the sixteenth century, the whole region, in some parts of the county, seemed contaminated with the presence of the witches; men and beasts were supposed to languish under their charm; and the delusion, which preyed alike on the learned and the vulgar, did not allow any family to suppose that they were beyond the reach of the witch's wand. Was the family visited by sickness, it was believed to be the work of an invisible agency, which in secret wasted the image made in clay before the fire, or crumbled its various parts into dust; did the cattle sicken and die, the witch and the wizard were the authors of the calamity; did the yeast refuse to perform the office of fermentation either in the bread or in the beer, it was the consequence of a *bad wish*; did the butter refuse to *come*, the familiar was in the charm; did the ship founder at sea, the wind of Boreas was blown by the lungless hag, who had scarcely sufficient breath to cool her own pottage; did the Ribble overflow its banks, the floods descended from the congregated sisterhood at Malkin Tower; and the blight of the season, which consigned the crops of the farmer to destruction, was the saliva of the enchantress, or the distillations from the blear-eyed dame, who flew by night over the field in search of mischief. To refuse an alms to a haggard mendicant, was to produce for the family that had the temerity to make the experiment, an accumulation of the outpourings of the box of Pandora. To escape from terrors like these, no sacrifice was thought too great. Superstitions beget cruelty and injustice; the poor and the rich were equally interested in obtaining a deliverance; and the magistrate who resided in his mansion at Read, and the peasant who occupied the humblest cot amongst the hills of Cliviger, were alike interested in abating the common nuisance.*

* According to Gaule, there were eight classes of witches distinguished by their operations: first, the diviner, gipsy, or fortune-telling witch; second, the astrologian, star-gazing, planetary, prognosticating witch; third, the chanting, canting, or calculating witch, who works by signs or numbers; fourth, the venefick, or poisonous witch; fifth, the exorcist, or conjuring witch; sixth, the gastro-mantick witch; seventh, the magical, speculative, sciential, or arted witch; eighth, the necromancer. "The Lancashire witches" were principally fortune-tellers and conjurers. The securities against witchcraft were numerous, but the most popular was the horse-shoe; and hence we see in Lancashire

Nor was the situation of the witch more enviable than that of the individuals or the families over which she exerted her influence. Linked by a species of infernal compact, to an imaginary imp, she was shunned as a common pest, or caressed only on the principle, that certain of the Indian tribes pay homage to the devil. The reputed witches themselves were frequently disowned by their families, feared and detested by their neighbours, and hunted by the dogs as pernicious monsters. When in confinement, they were cast into the ponds, by way of trial; punctured by bodkins, to discover their imp-marks; subjected to deprivation of food, and kept in perpetual motion, till confessions were obtained from a distracted mind. On their trials, they were listened to with incredulity and horror; and consigned to the gallows with as little pity as the basest of malefactors. Their imaginary crimes created a thirst for their blood; and people in all stations, from the highest to the lowest, attended the trials at Lancaster, as we have seen from Mr. Potts' record of the criminal proceedings there, with an intensity of interest that their mischievous powers, now divested of their sting, so naturally excited. It is quaintly said, that witchcraft and kingcraft in England came in with the Stuarts, and went out with them. This, however, is not true; the doctrine of necromancy was in universal belief in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and there was not, perhaps, a man in Lancashire, nor indeed in any part of England at that period, who doubted its existence; and as to kingcraft, the Tudors understood and practised that art quite as well as the Stuarts, though they might insist less upon the abstract principle of the "divine right of kings."

The belief in witchcraft and demoniacal possession was confined to no particular sect or persuasion; the Roman Catholics,* the members of the established Church of England, the Presbyterians, and Independents, and even the Methodists, though a sect of more recent standing, have all fallen into this delusion; and yet each denomination has upbraided the other with gross superstition, and not unfrequently with wilful fraud. Since the light of general knowledge has chased away the mists of

General
belief in
witchcraft
and in de-
monology.

so many thresholds ornamented with this counter-charm. Mr. Roby, in his "Traditions of Lancashire," has treated the subject with great vivacity and spirit; and his legendary tales serve to convey to the mind a vivid impression of the effects of the popular superstition in other times.

* See the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. to the inquisitors of Almain, empowering them to detect and burn witches. The Romish church appointed penances for converted witches; and Craumer, the Protestant archbishop of Canterbury, in his articles of visitation, directs his clergy, in 1549, to inquire after any persons that use "charms, sorcery, enchantments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any like craft, invented by the devil;" which instructions were renewed in Elizabeth's reign, with the addition, "especially in time of women's travail." Richard Baxter, a divine in deserved estimation amongst the nonconformists, was a firm believer in the possession and dispossession of devils, and his "World of Spirits" abounds with proofs of his firm conviction of the reality of this popular delusion.

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this once generally prevailing error, we all smile at these bitter criminations and recriminations, which ought to guard us against the commission of similar faults. It is due, however, to the ministers of the established church to say, that they were amongst the first of our public writers to denounce the belief in witchcraft, with all its attendant mischiefs, and the names of Dr. Harsnet, afterwards archbishop of York, Dr. John Webster, the detector of Robinson, the Pendle Forest witch-hunter, of Zach. Taylor, one of the king's preachers for the county of Lancaster, and of Dr. Hutcheson, chaplain in ordinary to his majesty George I., are all entitled to the public gratitude for their efforts to explode these pernicious superstitions, though their merit is in some degree tarnished by an overweening solicitude to cast the imputation of ignorant credulity from their own community, and to fix it exclusively upon others.

Now ge-
nerally
exploded.

For upwards of a century, the sanguinary and superstitious laws of James I. disgraced the English statute-book; but in the 9th year of George II. a law was enacted, repealing the statute of James I., and prohibiting any prosecution, suit, or proceeding against any person or persons for witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, or conjuration. In this way the doctrine of witchcraft, with all its attendant errors, was finally exploded, except amongst the most ignorant of the vulgar.*

To return to the chronological order of our history. In the year 1617, James I. on his return from Scotland to London, passed through the heart of Lancashire, and there, in the midst of joy and hilarity, sowed the seeds of discontent so wide and deep as to shake the stability of the throne. Having arrived at Brongham castle on the 6th of August, he proceeded by way of Appleby and Wharton to Kendal; here he stopped two nights, when, entering Lancashire, he reached Hornby castle† on the 11th, and from thence proceeded to Ashton Hall, the mansion of Thomas, first lord Gerard; having remained here one night, he advanced to Myerscough, where the

* CODE OF WITCHCRAFT.—By the 33 Henry VIII. cap. 8, (1562) persons practising witchcraft are declared guilty of a capital felony. This act was repealed by 1 Edw. VI. By the 5th of Eliz. cap. 16, (1562) persons using invocations of spirits, &c., by which death shall ensue, are made liable to be punished with death; otherwise, liable to fine and imprisonment. By 1 James I. cap. 12, (1603) persons invoking or consulting with evil spirits; taking up dead bodies for purposes of witchcraft, (See Edward Kelley's offence), or practising witchcraft, to the harm of others, are declared guilty of a capital felony: by the 21st of the same king, cap. 28, (1623,) the crimes of declaring by witchcraft where treasure is hidden, procuring unlawful love, or attempting to hurt cattle or persons, are rendered punishable for the first offence by pillory, and for the second by death. By 9 Geo. II. cap. 5, (1735) all the statutes against witchcraft are repealed.

† Mr. Nichols, in his "Progresses of King James I." has mistaken the ancient seat of the Monteagles for Hornby castle in Yorkshire, the seat of the duke of Leeds, and described the latter instead of the former.

royal train stopped two days, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase in the forest. Then taking the route through Preston, he went to Hoghton Tower, where he sojourned for three days; hence he proceeded to Lathom House, where he became the guest for two nights of the earl of Derby; and from thence proceeded by Bewsey and Vale Royal, by easy stages, to London. Of the royal tour through Lancashire, Nicholas Assheton, esq. of Downham, in the parish of Whalley, has preserved the following account in his private journal:—

“ June 1, Sunday. Mr. C. P. moved my brother [in law] Sherborne from Sir Richard Houghton, to do him such favour, countenance, grace and curtesie, as to weare his clothe, and attend him at Houghton, at the King’s coming in August, as divers other Gentlemen were moved and would. He likewise moved mee. I answered I would bee willing, and redie to doe Sir Richard anie service.

“ August 11. My brother Sherborne his taylor brought him a suit of apparall, and us two others, and a livery cloake from Sir Richard Houghton, that we should attend him at the King’s coming, rather for his grace and reputation, shoeing [showing] his neibors’ love, then anie exacting of mean service.*

“ August 12. Coz Townley came and broke his fast at Dunnoe, and went away. To Mirescough. Sir Richard gone to meet the King; we after him to ——— There the King slipt into the Forest another way, and we after, and overtook him, and went past to the Yate; then Sir Richard light [alighted]; and when the King came in his coach, Sir Richard stept to his side, and tould him ther his Majesties Forrest began, and went some ten roodes to the left, and then to the Lodge. The King hunted, and killed a buck.

“ August 13. To Mirescough, the Comt. Cooz. Assheton came with as gentlemanlie servants as any was ther, and himself excellently well appointed. The King killed five bucks. The Kinge’s speache about libertie to pipeing and honest recreation. We that were in Sir Richard’s livery had nothing to do but riding upp and downe.

“ August 14. Us three to Preston; ther preparation made for Sir Gilbert Hoghton, and other Knights. Wee were desyred to be merrie, and at nyght were soe. Steeven Hamerton and wyffe, and Mrs. Doll Lyster supped with us att our lodging. All Preston full.

“ August 15. King came to Preston. Ther, at the Crosse, Mr. Beares the

* Although the gradations of society were then such that the gentry of England disdained not, on occasions like the present, to wear the livery of the rank immediately above them, yet there is an evident anxiety in Mr. Assheton’s mind to have it understood, that his appearing in sir Richard Hoghton’s livery was merely as a token for good-will.—WHITAKER.

lawyer made a Speech, and the Corporation presented him with a bowle ; and then the King went to a Banquet in the Town Hall, and so away to Houghton ; ther a speech made."

After the delivery of the Speech, as Mr. Assheton continues, the King "hunted, and killed a stag. Wee attend on the Lords' table.

"August 16. Houghton. The King hunting ; a great companie ; killed affore dinner a brace of staggs. Verie hott ; soe he went in to dinner. Wee attend the Lords' table, and about four o'clock the King went downe to the allome-mynes, and was ther an hower, viewed them preciselie, and then went and shott at a stag, and missed. Then my Lord Compton had lodged two brace. The King shott again, and brake the thigh bone. A dogg long in coming, and my Lord Compton shott again, and killed him [the stag]. Late in to supper.

"August 17. Houghton. Wee served the Lords with biskett, wyne, and jellie. The Bushopp of Chester, Dr. Morton, preached before the King. To dinner. About four o'clock, ther was a rush-bearing and pipeing afore them, affore the King in the Middle Court. Then to supp. Then, about ten or eleven o'clock a a Maske of Noblemen, Knights, Gentlemen, and Courtiers, afore the King, in the middle round in the garden. Some Speeches ; of the rest, dancing the Huckler, Tom Bedlo, and the Cowp Justice of Peace.

"August 18. The King, [after knighting, at Hoghton Tower, Sir Arthur Lake, of Middlesex ; and Sir Cecil Trafford, of Lancashire] went away about twelve to Lathome. There was a man almost slayne with fighting. Wee back with Sir Richard. He to seller, and drunk with us kindlie in all manner of frindlie speake. Preston ; as merrie as Robin Hood, and all his fellowes.—August 19. All this morning wee plaid the Bacchanalians."

At the seat of William, sixth earl of Derby, Lathom-house, the king rested two nights ; and on the 20th of August, before his departure, knighted sir William Massy, sir Robert Bendloes, sir Gilbert Clifton, sir John Talbot, of Preston, sir Gilbert Ireland, of the Hut, and sir Edward Olbaston, all of Lancashire.

The king then proceeded to Bewsey Hall, the seat of Thomas Ireland, esq., on whom his majesty, before his departure, conferred knighthood, as he did on sir Lewis Pemberton, of Hertfordshire.

After entering Cheshire on the 21st of August, a ride of two miles would bring the king to the bridge of Warrington, then defended by works of considerable strength, and from thence he would probably proceed down the vale of the Mersey to his castle of Halton, formerly a residence of a line of powerful Cheshire barons, and, after their extinction, united to the duchy of Lancaster. The picturesque ruins which now crown Halton hill, and are visible from a vast district, formed at that

period part of a line of regular fortifications, which in the ensuing troubles, not long withstood the forces of the parliamentary garrison of Manchester.

From hence Webb conducts the king to Rock Savage, a dependency of Halton barony, situated at a short distance west of the castle, at the point where the prospect opens to the vale of Chester and the Welsh mountains, with the confluence of the Weaver and the Mersey in the foreground.*

On that Sunday on which the king was at Hoghton tower, a petition was presented to his majesty, signed principally by the Lancashire peasants, tradespeople, and servants, representing, "that they were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sunday, after evening prayers, and upon holy days, and praying that the restrictions imposed in the late reign might be withdrawn. The origin of this complaint, as we have seen,† was laid in the time of Elizabeth, who, in order to reform the manners of the people, instituted a high commission in the year 1579. The commissioners were, Henry earl of Derby, Henry earl of Huntington, William lord bishop of Chester, and others; and at their sittings, which were held at Manchester, they issued orders throughout the county against "pipers and minstrels playing, making and frequenting bear-baiting and bull-baiting, on the Sabbath days, or upon any other days in time of divine service; and also against superstitious ringing of bells, wakes, and common feasts; drunkenness, gaming, and other vicious and unprofitable pursuits." These restrictions the royal visitor thought incompatible with the privilege of his subjects, whose complaints, as he says—"We have heard with our own ears, and which grievances we promised to redress." In the fulfilment of this pledge, he issued a proclamation,‡ setting forth, "that in his progress through Lancashire, he found it necessary to rebuke some puritans and precise people, and took order that the said unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawfully punishing of his good people, for using their lawful recreations, and honest exercises, upon Sundays after service." These puritans his majesty conceived were Jewishly inclined, because they affected to call Sunday the Sabbath-day. The proclamation proceeds to declare, that the king had found, that two sorts of people, within his county of Lancaster, much infested that county, viz., papists and puritans, and that they had maliciously traduced and calumniated his just and honourable proceedings; he had therefore thought proper to clear and make his pleasure manifest to all his good people in these parts; and his majesty's pleasure was, that the bishop of the diocese should take strict order with all the puritans and precisians within the county of Lancaster, and either constrain them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the laws of this kingdom,

* Nichols's "Progresses of King James," vol. iii. p. 405.

† Chap. xiii. p. 510, 550.

‡ May 24, 1618.

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and canons of this church; and as for his good people's lawful recreation, his pleasure was, that, after the end of divine service, they be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation; nor from having of May-games, Whitson-ales, and Morrice-dances, and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used: so as the time be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service: and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decorating of it, according to their old custom; but, withal, his majesty did here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used, upon Sundays only, as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and, at all times, in the meaner sort of people, by law prohibited, bowling. And, likewise, did bar from this benefit and liberty all such known recusants, either men or women, as did abstain from coming to church, or divine service, they being unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that would not first come to the church, and serve God: prohibiting, in like sort, the said recreations to any that, though conformed in religion, were not present in the church at the service of God, before their going to the said recreations!"

May 24,
1618.

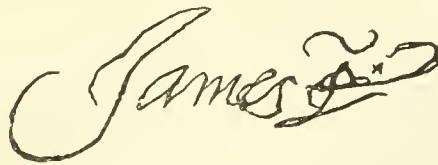
Subsequently, his majesty further said, "that his loyal subjects in all other parts of the kingdom, did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree as in Lancashire, and he did therefore publish a declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays and festivals," which was printed and published by his royal command in the year 1618, under the title of "The Book of Sports," which the bishops were ordered to cause to be read and published in all the parish churches of their respective dioceses, on pain of punishment in the high commission court. Against this profanation of the sanctuary, Abbot, the intrepid archbishop of Canterbury, was amongst the first to enter his protest, and being at Croydon on the day that it was first to be read in the churches, he positively forbade the officiating minister to obey the royal command.

In the early part of the reign of Charles I. that monarch, uninstructed by events, thought fit, "for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his well-deserving people, to ratify and re-publish this his blessed father's declaration;" and the reason assigned was, "because of late, in some counties of the kingdom, his majesty finds that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of churches, commonly called *wakes*." His majesty therefore expressed his royal will and pleasure, that these feasts, with others, should be observed; and that the justices of the peace, and the judges of assize, should make known his gracious intentions, and that the bishops should cause his will to be published in all the parish churches of their several and respective

dioceses. The disgust felt by some of the clergy and many of the laity in Lancashire, and in all other parts of the kingdom, at these reiterated injunctions to violate the sanctity of the sabbath, was one of the causes of the civil wars, the approach of which was already foreseen by men of political sagacity. By others, the license was hailed as a privilege. The effects of the Book of Sports, at the end of two centuries, are still visible in Lancashire; and, as Dr. Whitaker has truly observed, there is scarcely a village in the county which does not exhibit symptoms of obedience to the injunction of "honest recreation."

In addition to the honours already mentioned, as conferred upon the gentry of the county of Lancaster by king James, that sovereign knighted sir Thomas Tildesley, on 15th of June, 1616, at Wimbleton; the same year sir Hugh Parker, son of lord Monteagle, was made a knight of the Bath, in honour of the creation of prince Charles. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, of Harrow on the Hill, a junior branch of the family of Gerrard of Bryn, in Lancashire, was, in 1620, advanced to the rank of a baronet; and sir Ralph Ashton of Lever, and sir John Boteler, attained the same honour in the summer of that year. For sir Richard Houghton the king had the highest esteem; the name of this gentleman appears in many of the royal masques and public entertainments; and amongst the archives of the family, the following note, with the royal autograph, is preserved:—

Further
honours
conferred
on the
gentry of
Lanca-
shire.



"To our trustie and wel-beloved Sir [Richard Houghton, Bart.

"Trustie and wel-beloved, wee greet you well; whereas we have some occasion
"to speake with you personally, wee have thought fitt hereby to signifie o' pleasvre
"unto you, that forthwith upon the sight of these o' l'rres you make yo' repaire unto
"o' Court, wheresoever it shalbe, where wee shall lett you know what wee have to
"say unto you.

"Given at our Court at Aldershott, the seventeenth day of August 1622."

It does not appear that the paternal government of king James, combined as it was with the creation of the baronets of Ulster, had placed Ireland in a state of tranquillity, or even of security; for, near the end of this king's reign, we find the lords

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of the council writing a letter to the earl of Derby, as lord lieutenant, requiring that all Irishmen, passengers from any port in Lancashire or Cheshire, to their own country, should take the oath of allegiance, on pain of being sent to London in safe custody for continuance.*

* “THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO THE EARL OF DERBY.

[*Harl. MSS. Cod. 2173. fo. 76 b.*]

“Of Chester.

“To our very good lord the Earle of Darby h. maiestys lieutenant for the Countyes of Cheshier and Lancashier theis.

“After our very hartly Commendations to your lordshipp wheras his maiesty hauing taken into serious consideration the psent estate of the kingdome of Ireland doth is his princely wisdome obserue how gretly the quiet therof & the safty of his louing subiects there Inhabitinge may be trobled & endangered especially in theis doubtfull tymes, by Turbulent psons of the same nation ill affected in religion & other ways & more pticularly by such of them as haue byn or are Employed in the seruice of foraigne princes wee doo herby pray & requier your lordshipp by his mai^{ties} express Comand that what so euer Irish shall come to Imbark him selph for Ireland in any of the Port Townes of Cheshier or Lancashier the maistrate of the place shall examin him from whence he Comith of what Condition he is & how he hath spent his tyme & shall wthall minister vnto him the othe of Allegance & if he shall refuse to take the same they shall send him vp hither in safe custody to be further examined & proceded wth as wee shall find cause & so we bid your lordshipp very hartly farewell. from whitehall 29 Aprell 1624.

“Your lordshipps very louing friends

“G CANT	SAY
GRANDISON	SUCKLING
EDMUNDS	S WESTON
G CALUERT	JU CÆSAR”
MANDEUILE	

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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