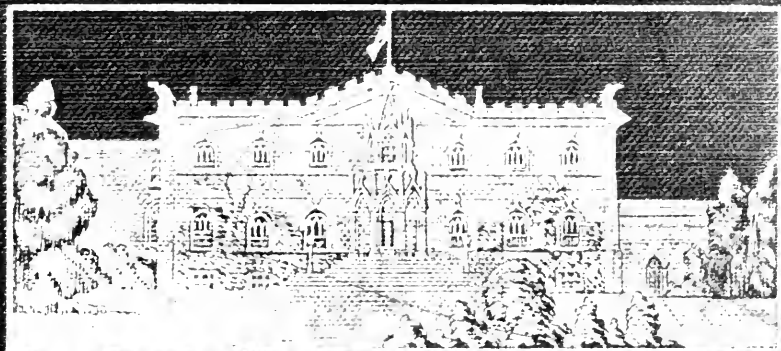
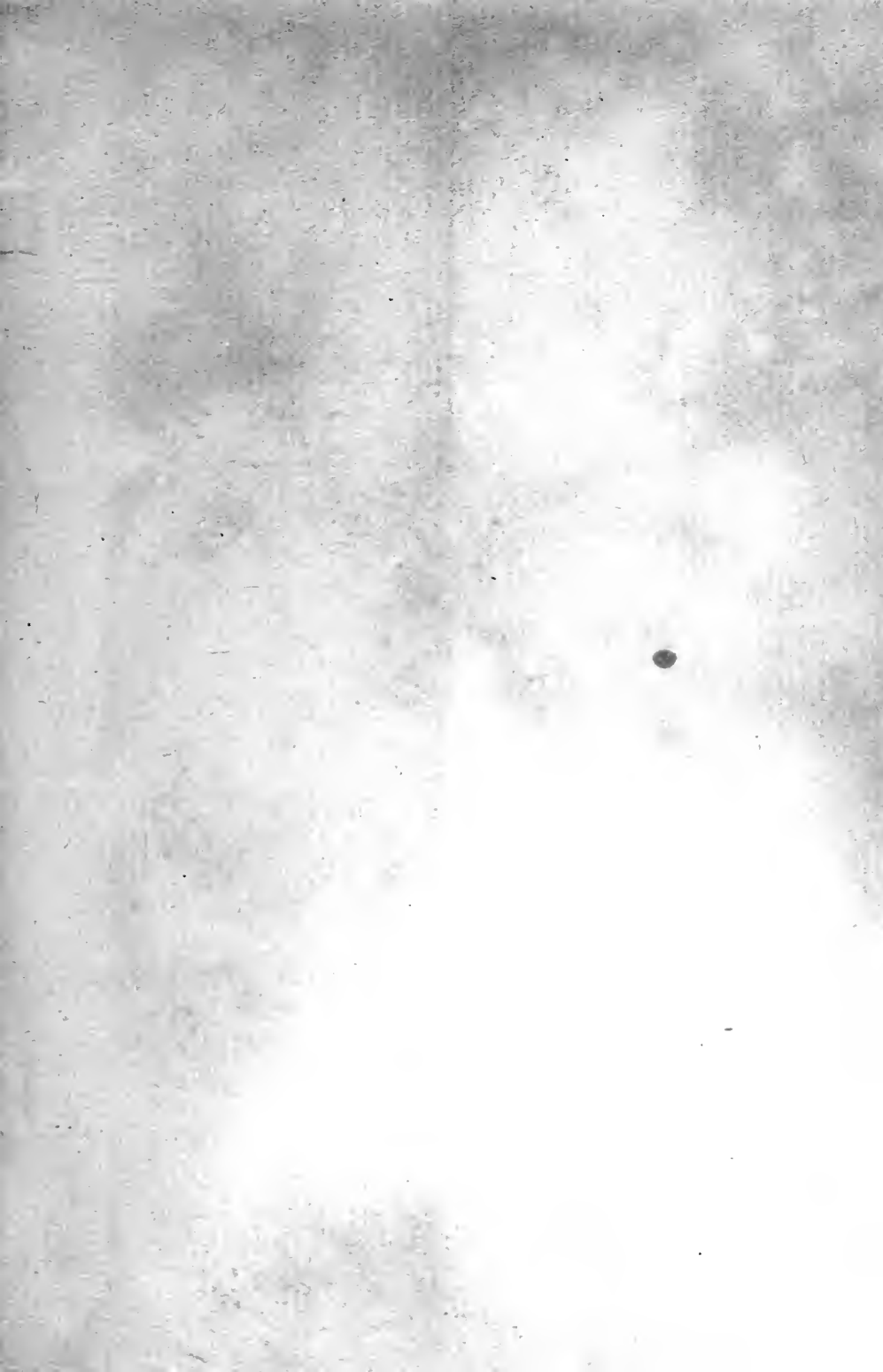


EPISCOPAL PALACES PROVINCE OF YORK



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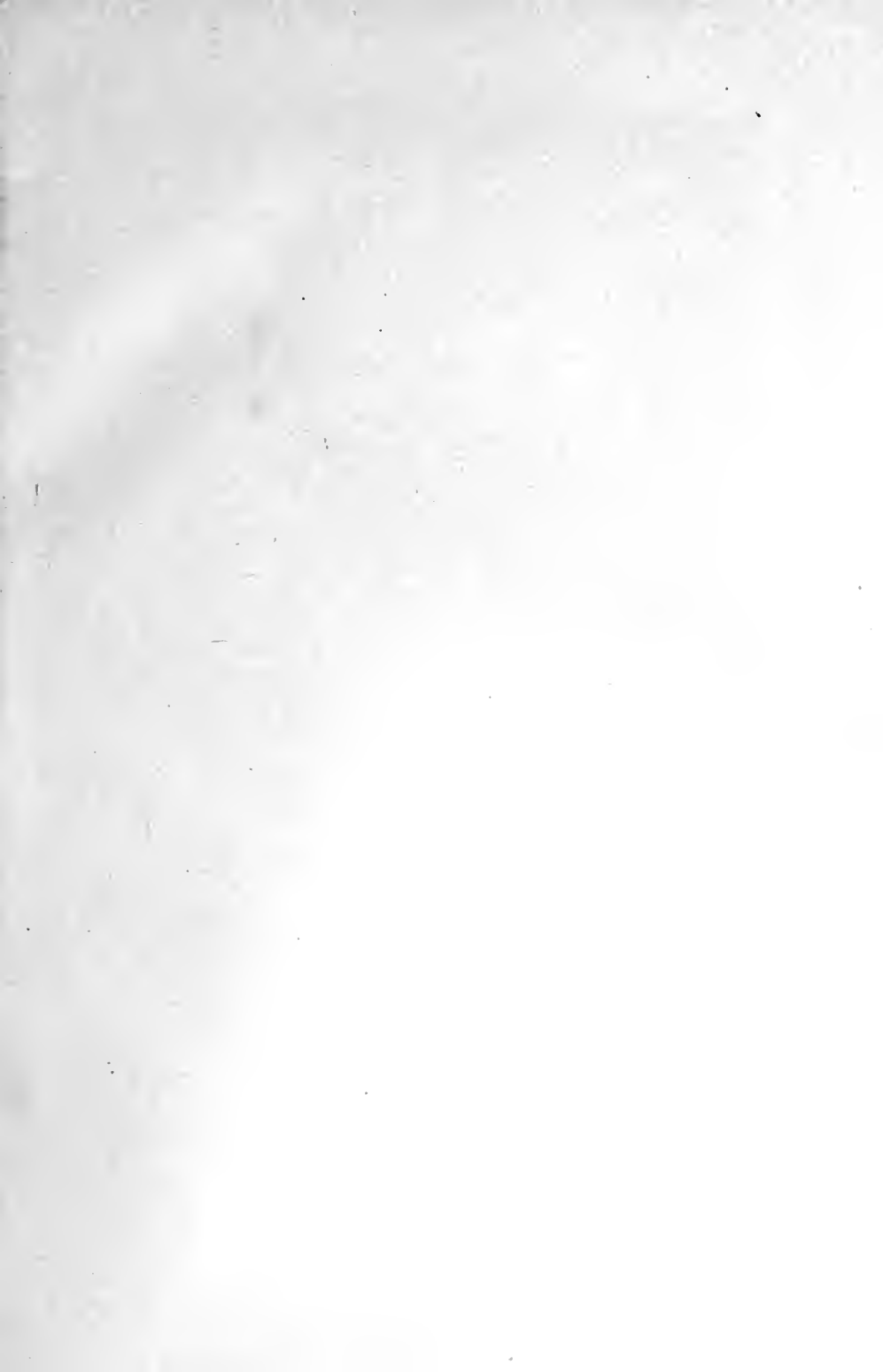


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ENGLISH EPISCOPAL PALACES





DURHAM CASTLE, THE BISHOP'S PALACE, A.D. 1700.
From an old print in the British Museum.

ENGLISH EPISCOPAL PALACES

(PROVINCE OF YORK)

CONTRIBUTED BY

N. NIEMEYER, OXFORD HONOURS SCHOOL
OF MODERN HISTORY; MARION WESTON;
HENRY GEE, D.D., F.S.A.; M. E. SIMKINS;
ADA RUSSELL, M.A. (Vict.)

EDITED BY

R. S. RAIT

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Note by the Editor of the Series

THIS book derives its inspiration from work done for the "Victoria History of the Counties of England," to the editor of which, Mr. William Page, it owes much. The historical students, who for the last few years have been making original investigations for this county history, have, from time to time, found many intimate records of the life of the past for which the plan of the "History" allowed no place. A series of volumes, of which I undertook the general editorship, was therefore projected, in order to enable this interesting, and often picturesque, material to be used to good purpose. The series includes one volume on the Episcopal Palaces of the Province of Canterbury, one on the Episcopal Palaces of the Province of York, and one on the Royal Palaces of England, with an extra volume on the Royal Palaces of Scotland, suggested by, but unconnected with the work done for the "Victoria History." In the present volume, I have been fortunate in securing the co-operation of the Rev. Dr. Gee, the Master of University College, Durham,

vi NOTE BY EDITOR OF THE SERIES

who now presides over the ancient episcopal castle, the history of which he here narrates.

For the selection of the palaces the general editor is responsible: the opinions expressed are those of the contributors themselves.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,
September 1911.

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Introductory Chapter

THE object of an introduction of this kind is to complete the work, by giving some account of the episcopal palaces which are not treated separately. Its scope is therefore a wide one, and episcopal palaces of different types will be dealt with. In the first place, there are the residences belonging to York, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, and Sodor, the sees of old foundation; then follow the London houses of these sees; and, last and least interesting, the palaces of the modern group of bishoprics, Ripon, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle, and Wakefield.

The term "episcopal palace," applies properly to the bishop's residence in his cathedral town, so that within each see this palace must be given precedence over the numerous other houses which the peripatetic housekeeping of mediæval bishops required. At York, however, the palace lost its importance comparatively early. It extended along the whole north side of the Minster. It seems most probable that it was begun soon after the Conquest by Archbishop Thomas, once a clerk of William the Conqueror. In the twelfth century it was constructed anew by Archbishop Roger (1154-81), who also founded the chapel of St. Sepulchre at the gates of the palace. Little further detail has been preserved as to its

history. It was enlarged by Walter Gray (1216-54), who was apparently the last to improve it. When Bishopthorpe had become the usual residence of the archbishops, York Palace grew less important. The lead was stripped from its roof; and Archbishop Young (1560-68) pulled down the great hall. The remaining rooms were let, and gradually fell into complete ruin.

The castle of Cawood eclipsed York Palace in the picturesqueness of its history. It belonged to the see from the tenth century, and was perhaps an occasional residence of the archbishops from the same date. The old buildings were destroyed, and the castle built by Archbishop Giffard (1266-76). In 1255 the archbishop entertained Henry III. and his court at Cawood. About fifty years later, Edward I. borrowed the castle as a residence for Queen Margaret, his second wife, who lived here during the summer of 1300, when the king was in Scotland. It is also probable that Queen Isabella, wife of Edward II., was staying at Cawood during the siege of Berwick in 1319, when James Douglas formed a plan to carry her off. The plan was revealed by a spy captured at York, and the queen was hastily escorted by the archbishop to Nottingham.

Towards the end of the century Alexander Neville (1374-88) "repaired the castle of Cawood, having various buildings in it reconstructed, and adding new towers"; between 1408-23 Archbishop Bowett rebuilt the hall with polished stone at his own cost, and covered it with lead. The castle must have been a very fine house, for in 1423 there was Bowett's hall, well furnished with tables and seats, with tablecloths, "qwysseys," and covers, and a chamber, similarly adorned; a chapel, a library of thirty-three volumes,

pantry, spicery, livery, plateroom, kitchen, brewhouse, bakehouse, butlery, and stables.

Cardinal Kempe, Bowett's successor, built a fine gallery, and added to the offices; and repairs and additions were made by Archbishop Savage (1501-7). When he died in the castle, he left the following curious collection of goods: three cupboards worth 13d.; a pot standing in a furnace, 3s. 8d.; stuff in the brewhouse worth 103s. 4d.; a pair of organs worth 40s.; and "Potecary stuff" worth £6, 16s. 10d.

The connection of Wolsey with Cawood will be touched upon elsewhere. Long after his fall, in September 1541, the king stayed at Cawood with Queen Catharine Howard, and a young gentleman of the chamber, Thomas Culpeper, in his train; an ominous conjunction, and subsequently fatal to the queen. Privy councils were held there on the 4th and 5th of September, and futile negotiations were carried on for a meeting between Henry and James of Scotland.

The Archbishop of York was bound to the Church and King's party in the early seventeenth century; and in 1642 a Royalist garrison was thrown into the castle. "Mr. Hotham," a Parliamentary commander, marched out of Selby to Cawood, "the proud Archprelate of York's seat, which was well fortified, fifty musketeers being within it under a Scottish commander . . . and two pieces of ordnance which they also had within the castle. Yet such was the resolution of the said Captain Hotham to take it by assault, that they within yielded the castle upon quarter." Nevertheless, Cawood was retaken by the Royalists, who held it until the spring of 1644, when "the most noble Lord Fairfax . . . took Cawood Castle . . . with divers of the Marquess of Newcastle's forces

and much armes and ammunition therein." Two years later, the castle was demolished, under an Act of Parliament.

A less famous house, which was quite as frequently used by the archbishops, was Southwell. This was apparently used as a residence as early as 1050; and the archbishops were often here in the thirteenth century. The house lay on the south side of the church, and the ruins were traceable in 1801. It was then still possible to show that the rooms of state lay to the east, with the lodgings on the south, the offices west, and the chapel and great hall on the north. The hall must have been that built by Cardinal Kempe, as he is said to have "done many devices of great cost" there, and an angel bearing his arms was to be seen on the east end. Soon after Kempe's time, Archbishop Rotheram (1480-1500) built new kitchens at Southwell, and the house was in constant use until it was surrendered to the king by Archbishop Lee in November 1542. The possession of Southwell was irksome to Queen Mary, and in 1556 she re-granted the mansion-house and manor. The house was not as much used after this time as it had been formerly. Archbishop Sandys (1577-89) was the last to inhabit it.

The case of York illustrates the difficulty of limiting "episcopal residences," when the archbishops moved from one estate to another, living in the manor-houses in turn. After the fourteenth century this mode of life gave way; and although it is easy to show that many places were once archiepiscopal residences, it is not so easy to prove the date at which they dropped out of the list, and relapsed into the condition of rural manor-houses. Thus there are many houses which in the thirteenth century ranked

with Southwell and Cawood, without having much of interest in their later history.

Of Scrooby, in Nottingham, a historian wrote in 1677, "Here, within memory, stood a very fair palace, a far greater house of receipt and a better seat for provision than Southwell. . . . It had a fair park belonging to it."

The house was constantly used by the archbishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1545, but was restored by Edward VI. in 1553. It remained in use until the episcopate of Archbishop Sandys (1577-89), who procured a lease of it to his son, Sir Samuel Sandys, "since which (time) the house hath been demolished almost to the ground."

Another Nottinghamshire house was Laneham, which is chiefly known from the archbishops' letters of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. From these it is clear that Laneham was a not infrequent residence; for example, Archbishop Corbridge was here in 1300, and Archbishop Greenfield in 1306. In later records of the see, the house at Laneham does not appear. It was probably abandoned before the end of the fourteenth century.

There was a manor-house at Otley, which was used by Archbishop Gray (1216-54) early in the thirteenth century. Hardly any details have been preserved concerning the house, beyond the fact that it stood at the north end of the town. The episcopal registers prove that it was constantly used until the early part of the fourteenth century. In 1319, when the Scots were ravaging Yorkshire, about the time of the Battle of Mitton, the manor of Otley was devastated, and the house, presumably, destroyed. It must have been rebuilt soon after, for it was a favourite abode of Archbishop

Bowett (1408-23). He built new kitchens here; but his building was almost certainly alteration, and not new construction. Bowett spent more time here than his predecessors had done, and there is a curious record of his connection with the place; among the desperate debts due to him at his death was £60 from creditors on the lands round Otley. From this time the mansion-house seems to have fallen into disuse.

Not all the manors laid waste by the Scots in 1319 recovered as Otley did. Sherburn was not so favoured. The manor-house is said to have been a residence of the archbishops since the tenth century. It was ruined by the Scots, and what remained of the building was removed by Archbishop Thoresby (1352-73), who was elected to the see some thirty-three years after the devastation.

Sherburn was probably half residence and half farm, like most of the manor-houses of this time. Details of its management in 1304 show that it was a purely agricultural estate, and the only building of which particular mention is made is the ox stall.

It is probable that the archbishops had a house at Ripon, although they may possibly have been staying in the monastery when they dated their correspondence from Ripon. Yet there is this to be said, that they owned the large manor of Ripon, and as they kept a resident bailiff, who must have had a house, they probably lived on their own ground when they came to the town. In 1304 the "bailiff's room" at Ripon was repaired, and this implies that it was but one room in the manor-house.

In 1147 Archbishop Henry Murdac attempted to enter York, but not being accepted by King Stephen or by the men of York, was obliged to retreat to Ripon, whence he anathematised his antagonists. Arch-

bishop Thomas died here in 1100; and both these cases point to an archiepiscopal residence. On the other hand, when Walter Gray visited Ripon, his chief act was to "enshrine the bones of St. Wilfred worthily," and this brings him into connection with the monastery. In 1304 the king's justices and other "men of the king" were entertained at Ripon by the custodians of the archbishop's estate, at a cost of £4, 9s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; possibly they were staying in the manor-house. In 1319 the Scots devastated the manor of Ripon, but the house must have been rebuilt, as the place was frequently visited by the archbishops, especially by William Zouche, whose will was dated here in 1349. As late as 1415 Archbishop Bowett was in residence at Ripon.

Another manor near Ripon, Bishop's Monkton, was occasionally used by the archbishops in the fourteenth century, but its claim to be an episcopal residence is of the slightest.

Of Bishop's Wilton, and of Bishop's Burton also, the memorials are very insufficient. Both seem to have been used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and both were surrendered to Henry VIII. in 1542-43 by Bishop Lee. Moreover, both were included in the re-grant made by Queen Mary to Archbishop Heath. But it is hardly likely that an archbishop would live in these rural manor-houses as late as the sixteenth century.

There remain the two Gloucestershire houses of the see, Churchdown and Oddington. They were awarded to the archbishop after long litigation in the Curia in 1151, and confirmed to him by the Abbot of Gloucester in 1157. They were used as residences in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when there was an economic reason for the archbishop's wanderings.

Archbishop Gray visited both houses, and so did Archbishop Walter Giffard as late as 1270. There is no subsequent notice of further residence in either place. Both Churchdown and Oddington were surrendered with other manors of the see in 1542, and were restored to Archbishop Heath in 1556.

Durham Castle was the episcopal palace of the Bishops of Durham. The first castle was built by William the Conqueror, who must have given it into the hands of Bishop Walcher almost immediately. It is, however, proposed to treat of this episcopal stronghold separately. Of the lesser palaces of the Bishops of Durham, one of the most important was Northallerton. The house here was probably visited by the bishops at intervals from the beginning of the twelfth century. It is not quite clear, however, whether at that date they had a manor-house as well as the castle of Northallerton; it is possible that the house was only built after the demolition of the castle by Henry II. The bishops certainly resided here in the thirteenth century. Allerton was the scene of some very aggressive acts on their part. In 1300, when the bishop and the prior and convent of Durham were at variance, the bishop, who was then at Allerton, called a meeting of his partisans among the monks. He ordered them to elect a prior, but unfortunately for him, they did not agree in their deliberations. He was not to be beaten, and appointed his own candidate to be prior without further ado. For these arbitrary proceedings the bishop was afterwards sentenced to pay a large compensation. In 1329 Allerton was again the scene of an ecclesiastical combat. The Archbishop of York alleged his right to visit it, but the bishop moved thither with an armed force, ready to kill the archbishop if he came there. The latter

preferred spiritual weapons, and excommunicated the bishop; and the matter was only ended by expensive proceedings.

Northallerton was constantly used by the bishops throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 1503 Princess Margaret slept here on her way to Durham; and Leland describes it somewhat later as being strong of building and well moated. By 1568 it had become ruinous, and was characterised by a fantastic traveller as "a receptacle for bats and buzzards."

The bishops had another palace at Hoveden before the end of the twelfth century. When William Longchamps of Ely attacked Hugh de Piuset in 1190, he ordered him to remain at Hoveden, and not to quit it on pain of treason. De Piuset died here in 1195. The house was much used during the thirteenth century; and in the fourteenth, Bishop Skirlaw (1388-1405) carried out improvements. He built the hall, and parts of the west wing, on which his arms were to be seen in the eighteenth century. Cardinal Langley (1406-37) built the western gates, and a "beautiful lodge adjoining," on which was his coat of arms; this was also standing at the end of the eighteenth century. Leland described the palace, standing near the church; "the first part at the centre is of tumber, the other three moste of stone, part of brick." It does not seem to have been used by the bishops after the sixteenth century.

Bishop's Middleham (not to be confused with Middleham Castle) was another episcopal seat. It is said to have been the favourite residence of Bishop Anthony Bek (1283-1310-11), and it was frequently visited by the bishops in the fourteenth century. Bishop Kellewe died in "the lesser chamber in his

manor at Middleham" in 1316; about the same time the grounds included a park, garden, and orchard. The bishops ceased to live here probably before the fifteenth century; and the house fell by degrees into complete ruin. In 1794 the remains of the walls were visible, and the ground plan of a square tower could be traced on a mound to the south of the town.

Stockton was another favourite manor-house. The Hall at Stockton is mentioned in the Boldon Book, drawn up in 1183. "The chapel of our manor of Stockton" was often used for official business, as in 1313, when the bishop heard a suit there between the convent and the Archdeacon of Durham. The manor-house was repaired by Bishop Barnes, who died in 1587, and was inhabited ten years later by Bishop Matthew. Bishop Morton took refuge at Stockton for a short time during the Civil War; but the house was no longer very habitable. The Parliamentary Commissioners, reporting upon its state in 1647, wrote "that the bishop's castle situate at the south end of the town by the river Tease (*sic*) is ruinous and in great decay. . . . The castle hath had a great moat about it, but the same is now for want of cleaning filled up in part, and within that moat hath heretofore been orchards and gardens, but all destroyed. . . . There hath likewise been a park, but the same hath been disparked." The lands of the estate were sold, and the castle was completely dismantled.

The see of Sodor and Man is one about which little is known; about the episcopal residence at Kirk-michael the information is even less. The bishops may not have come to Kirkmichael until the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. A charter of Bishop Nicholas, given in 1193, mentions the episcopal seat at Sodor. The old palace at Kirk-

michael seems to have been of primitive construction, with massive walls, and ditches and mounds of an early type. If these indications are not misleading, the remains which were visible in the eighteenth century may have belonged to the thirteenth-century building. This was known in early times as Orrey's Tower, and was clearly a defensive building adapted to the purposes of a dwelling-house. It was probably a tower, and little more, throughout the Middle Ages. Historians have commonly said that Bishop Simon, "of blessed memory," died in this tower in 1247; and this may well be so, although the annalist says vaguely that he died at the church of St. Michael (Kirkmichael). In the thirteenth century some at least of the bishop's acts were dated from the abbey of Rushen, perhaps a safer residence than the isolated tower. But by the middle of the fourteenth century, Kirkmichael was the place of meeting of the synod, so that it was probably the regular episcopal seat. In a confirmation given in 1505 by the Earl of Derby and Lord of Man to the bishop, "the land of the church of St. Michael" is mentioned without any reference to the palace, which must have been in use. About this time complaints grew loud as to the poverty of the see, against which the bishops made a hopeless struggle. Henry VIII. tried to remedy it by allowing the bishopric to be held together with the deanery of Chester and two English benefices *in commendam*; an expedient which could only have a temporary effect. In 1577 Bishop Merrick wrote that he had received the benefice "with that amplitude of endowments which it could be found from its records to have enjoyed at its highest, which nevertheless scarcely ever exceeded £100; and out of this I should have assigned some portion to the repair of the buildings." Yet, he adds, this revenue appeared magnificent

in relation to the others of the island. As long as no one would give the see a proper endowment, this condition of things was inevitable; and again, in 1610, Bishop Philips lamented the condition of his "ruinous bishopric," on which he had spent 200 marks in one year. Under these circumstances, the see was not considered an ecclesiastical prize. In 1660 Chancellor Hyde wrote to Dr. Barwick, to whom it had apparently been offered, implying that he might gain a high character for humility if he accepted it.

In consequence of their poverty, the bishops seem to have done little more than keep Bishop's Court in repair. In 1684 the executors of the late Bishop Bridgeman had to make good dilapidations to the incoming Bishop Lake. A jury of workmen set down £30 as the cost of taking down and re-edifying part of the tower at Bishop's Court, with other repairs; but the executors escaped payment of this amount, on the plea that they were obliged to do no more than put the tower in repair. All the money which could be wrung out of the Earl of Derby or "the charity of the Church of England" was now required to preserve the cathedral; and little was done at Bishop's Court until the eighteenth century. Bishop Wilson, who arrived in the island in 1697, found the house a ruin. He rebuilt it almost entirely, and it was probably at this period that a chapel was added, in which synods were held; this chapel was in existence at the end of the eighteenth century. At the later end of that age, the powers of renovation at last attacked Bishop's Court. About 1780 the tower was demolished by Bishop Mason, who modernised the house at considerable expense. In 1797-98 Bishop's Court "was not very striking in appearance, yet possessing every desirable appendage. His lordship's domain is exten-



THE PALACE, CHESTER.

sive, about 300 or 400 acres. The house has been modernised by the present Bishop [Crigan]. . . . The garden and walks are pleasing, and the detached offices convenient." At the same time are mentioned the posts erected in the garden to mark the mound from which Bishop Hildesley watched the action between Captain Elliot and Admiral Thurot in 1760. The house was altered again in the early nineteenth century by Bishop Murray (1814-27), who completed the demolition of the old buildings. He removed part of the ancient walls which had surrounded the tower, and levelled the mounds and ditches. Bishop's Court received further alterations at the hands of Bishop Powys, who died in 1877; he added a chapel, in memory of Bishop Wilson.

The Bishopric of Chester was founded at a time when bishops no longer moved from one manor-house to another; and consequently the residence at Chester was the bishop's only house, and a true type of an episcopal palace.

In 1541 Henry VIII. assigned a mansion in the monastic buildings to the newly-created Bishop of Chester. He gave the first or outer hall, with its great kitchen and its offices; the second or inner hall "with all its members"; the chapel, and the bedroom above it called the chapel chamber; another bedroom, "late of the abbot," with a more private room next to it; the great bedchamber, and two rooms on the two stories of the tower. He also gave the abbot's parlour, the new kitchen and two rooms between it and the monastery gate, the aumbry, and the walled garden lying under the windows of the great bedchamber. There were also stables and other offices lying a little apart, as it seems; and special mention was made of the cellars, which were the longest-lived

of all these monastic buildings, as they were still remaining in 1882. They adjoined the west part of the north aisle of the cathedral.

The bishops inhabited the palace, whose rooms were thus catalogued, with little recorded change far into the seventeenth century. The position of Chester on the high road to Wales and Ireland made its bishops great entertainers, and occasionally they had royalty among their guests. In September 1642 Charles I. passed through Chester, and lodged in the palace for five days. Just three years later Chester was the furthest point reached by the king in his attempt to join Montrose after Naseby.

The palace suffered but little at the siege of Chester, for the Parliamentary cannonade was ineffective. But during the Commonwealth the bishops were ousted, and the palace was roughly used. In 1649 the great hall was stripped of its lead, and laid open to decay. In December 1650 the palace, with all its furniture, was sold for £1059 to two speculators in episcopal property. At the Restoration, the bishop recovered his property, and returned to live in the palace. It must have been commodious enough, although the great hall and cloisters were unrepaired; for in August 1687 James II. with his train was lodged here for five nights. He was received at the palace gates by the cathedral clergy and Bishop Cartwright, the lively and loyal, whose conscience apparently felt no uneasiness when the king subsequently went to mass in the castle. The assiduous bishop "waited at his cushion until he saw him to bed," and attended at the levée the next morning, after which James went to the cathedral to touch for the Evil. That evening Cartwright supped with my lord Feversham in his chamber, having previously entertained a select few in his

study. The next morning the king held his levée at six o'clock, and started for Holywell, while the bishop, Lord Feversham, Lord Tyrconnell, and Lord Churchill retired to the study to drink coffee. When the king returned in the evening, he took Cartwright into his closet for half-an-hour, and a conversation ensued, in which both parties had political ends to serve. When the visit ended, two days later, the bishop was probably the better satisfied of the two. He had obtained the nomination of a Fellow of All Souls, and was assured of further royal "instructions," whereas the king found a stubborn temper both in the corporation and beyond it, with which he openly expressed his displeasure.

In the first half of the eighteenth century little was done to make good dilapidations, and the hall and cloisters fell away. The monastic offices, although built "of mouldering red stone," were sufficiently well preserved. About 1742 the bishop began to fit up the old and decayed chapter-house as a library. Apparently, however, the palace was too ruinous to be saved; and Bishop Keene rebuilt it entirely in 1752-53. He used the site, and may have followed the plan of the older house. The bishops lived in this new palace for about a hundred years. After the episcopate of Bishop Graham (1848-65) it was abandoned; and in 1866 the new palace upon Deeside was formed from Deeside House and the arch-deacon's house. The old palace was sold to the dean and chapter, and the buildings were pulled down in 1874.

Rose Castle, the chief seat of the Bishops of Carlisle, will receive separate treatment. There remain, of the houses of this see, only two, one at Horncastle in Lincolnshire, and one at Melbourne

in Derbyshire; both occasional residences of the bishop. The Bishop of Carlisle, indeed, had more than ordinary need of houses at some distance from his cathedral town, which was exposed to all the storms of border history.

The manor of Horncastle was sold by Ralph de Rhodes to Walter Mauclerk, the third Bishop of Carlisle, to whom it was confirmed by Henry III. in 1229-30. Horncastle had once been a Roman station, and the bishop's manor-house stood at the north-west corner of the square of the old camp. An eighteenth-century plan represents the old house as a long building with two gables on the south side, and a double-gabled dormer window above the door. This old house was demolished about 1770.

The bishops made most use of the house during the fourteenth century. Bishop Ross lived at Horncastle in 1331, when Rose Castle was an impossible place of residence; and again in the reign of Richard II. the state of the border drove the bishops southwards.

In the sixteenth century Horncastle passed out of the bishop's hands for a time, as it was sold in January 1553 to Edward, Lord Clinton. But it was recovered for the see early in the reign of Mary; and Bishop Aldridge died at the manor-house of Horncastle in 1555. This seems to be the last evidence that the bishops inhabited it. They granted leases of the house to Queen Elizabeth, and then to James I.; and when Horncastle was the basis of the attack on Bolingbroke Castle before the fight at Winceby, no mention is made of the bishop's house. Although it belonged to the see much later, the house was abandoned as an episcopal residence.

The later Bishops of Carlisle had a residence in

Derbyshire, for which they also had to thank Walter Mauclerk. He acquired the rectorial manor of Melbourne, the greater part of which parish belonged to the royal manor of Melbourne. The king confirmed the bishop's possession of his estate for life in 1227. Early in the reign of Edward I. a jury accused Bishop Walter of having enlarged his manor by adding to it various cottages belonging to the king's property. A further confirmation must have been granted, as the bishops continued to hold it after Mauclerk's death. There is little positive evidence as to the bishops' residence at Melbourne; the negative proposition, that after the sixteenth century they did not live here, is easier to prove, for the house was held on lease from this time. From the reign of Charles I., when the lessee was Sir John Coke, the Secretary of State, the Coke family occupied the house; and the bishop transferred his rights to the reigning Coke in 1701, in return for a perpetual rent.

The London episcopal houses are more interesting in some respects than the provincial houses; to the topographer, because some of them have had strange vicissitudes and strange successors, and to the historian, because the bishops came to London to attend Parliaments and councils, and some of these assemblies are connected with the episcopal "inns."

More than any bishop, the Archbishop of York had need of a London house, both as the second spiritual lord, and as the holder of a distant see. And this first consideration made his hospice the scene of official acts, and gave it some of the colour of a court.

Hubert de Burgh, the great Earl of Kent, held certain houses in Westminster, which he sold to Archbishop Walter Gray in 1244. The property

extended probably from the present Whitehall, or a little further north, down to the Thames. The house must have been a stately one, before the end of the thirteenth century; for it was borrowed by Edward I. when the royal palace at Westminster was burnt. It was here that, in June 1297, Blanche, widow of the king's brother, Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, made fealty to Edward I., and gave him her oath that she would not marry again without his consent. Edward had a room appropriated to his use; in the autumn of 1302 the Chancellor, the Dean of Chichester, who was starting on an embassy beyond the seas, surrendered the Great Seal to the king's own hands, "in the king's chamber in the lodging of the Archbishop of York at Westminster."

As late as 1305 Edward was still living there. The archbishops clearly used the Westminster estate as a residence only, as no profits arose from it. This plaintive declaration was made by its "keeper" in 1317, and again in 1373-74. Although it was called a manor in 1353, it was evidently no more than the archbishop's house and the surrounding buildings. The terms "archiepiscopal inn" or "hospice," frequently used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, convey a better image of the place.

As befitted an archbishop's house, there was a chapel here as early as 1297. In the fifteenth century the palace must have been a fine one. Archbishop Kempe (1426-52), who became a cardinal in 1439, had an elaborate household, which must have required plenty of accommodation. Early in the sixteenth century the inn, now becoming known as York Place, housed Archbishop Wolsey. He came thither as archbishop in 1514; and on Sunday, November 18, of the following year, he started from York Place to



THE PALACE, RIFON.

receive the dignity which puts an archbishop within reach of the papacy. . . . Attended by a train of nobles and gentlemen, he proceeded to the abbey, where the cardinal's hat was set upon his head with fitting ceremonies. The whole company then returned to the new cardinal's "place, which was well sorted in every behalf, . . . the hall and chambers garnished very sumptuously with rich arras, a great feast was kept." The king, the queen, and the French queen dowager (Henry's sister Mary) were present. Of such guests, York Place became the continual resort, "against whose coming there wanted no preparation of goodly furniture, with victuals of the finest sort that could be had." A gentleman of the cardinal recorded how Henry visited Wolsey "suddenly" one evening, as one of a foreign embassy; how Wolsey divined the king's presence, but guessed Sir Edward Neville to be the man to whom he should surrender his place, and how the jest, being discovered, ended in a gigantic supper, succeeding another, only less mighty, for the earlier guests.

This hospitality had its graver side. It was to York Place that ambassadors came to wrangle over treaties, and English agents to make their reports. Envoys began and ended their visits with calls at York Place; and there they were entertained when their labours were successful. Thus in 1518, at the conclusion of peace and alliance with France, the Court and the ambassadors were regaled with a supper, which excelled any given by Cleopatra or Caligula, in the phrase of the cultured Venetian envoy.

These entertainments required a large style of housekeeping. Of the 800 functionaries, high and low, space forbids the enumeration; but the list shows the elaborate plan of the house. The hall, the great

and privy chambers, and the gallery were the cardinal's living rooms; but in the background were the hall-kitchen, spicery, scullery, pantry, larder, butlery, cellars, ewery, wardrobe of beds, chandlery, laundry, buttery and bakery. There were large stables, and private stairs to the Thames. Wolsey's chapel may have been the same as that of 1297. It is not quite certain whether these details belong to the time before or after Wolsey's rebuilding. He started on his embassy to France in 1525 from his "new house"; and in 1527 his agent reported, "Your buildings at York Place go forward." In May 1528 Wolsey was living at Durham Place, as "the hall at York Place was now in building, my lord's grace intending most sumptuously to repair and furnish the same."

He was back at York Place again during the sitting of the Legatine Court (May to July 1529), and he returned there before the beginning of the Michaelmas term. On the second day of term the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came to him to demand the Great Seal. He refused to surrender it without the sanction of royal letters, but when the dukes brought them, he gave up the Seal "in the gallery of York Place, at six o'clock on the 19th of November." His last days at York Place were busy with preparing the house for the king. He went through the accounts of his officers, and left behind him great treasures in stuffs, besides the rich arras on the walls. In the "Gilt Chamber" and the Council Chamber adjoining the gallery, cupboards and tables were set out with an abundance of plate almost incredible. On each a book was left, describing the contents.

By Wolsey's subsequent surrender, York Place became the king's property. The Archbishop of

York was obliged to use his Battersea house until Queen Mary gave Suffolk House in Southwark to Archbishop Heath. He caused the house to be pulled down, and the site to be built over with small, remunerative tenements. He then bought another mansion, called after its last two occupants, Norwich House or Suffolk Place, where the archbishops lived until the end of the century. It was then held on lease from the see until 1623, when Archbishop Toby Matthew transferred "York House" to James I. in exchange for certain rural manors in Yorkshire.

The house at Battersea, which was little used during the prosperous times of York Place, dated from the fifteenth century. In 1461, Laurence Booth, then Bishop of Durham, bought lands in Battersea from Lord Stanley. A house was already built there, but Bishop Booth must have pulled it down, as he built a new mansion-house, later known as Bridge Court. It must have been a place of some pretension, as the king gave him license to enclose it with walls and towers, and to make a park there. After his buildings were finished, Bishop Booth granted the estate to the Dean and Chapter of York, as trustees for the archbishop, so that the latter might use Bridge Court as his town house. The need for it does not seem to have been great, though the archbishop seems to have used it for the transaction of business. Thus in 1530 resignations and collations were made here as well as at York Place. But Wolsey did not reside here often, if ever. There is a story that he entertained the king here, when Henry saw Anne Boleyn for the first time; but there seems little evidence to support it. The cardinal granted the use of Bridge Court to one John Oxenhyrde, who had married his kinswoman. Afterwards he gave a

promise to Sir Thomas More, that if his son-in-law, "Young Daunce," should have to leave his house, he should occupy it. Young Daunce took advantage of this promise about the time of Wolsey's fall; and in 1530 the latter received the complaint of Mrs. Oxenhyrde, that she had been expelled from the house and knew not where to go. Wolsey set Thomas Cromwell to work on the case, and it is to be hoped that he gave the Oxenhyrdes redress.

After York Place had passed into the king's hands, Battersea became more important. Archbishop Holgate was living here when he was arrested in 1553, and the soldiers took away rich jewels belonging to him. Among them was a golden mitre with pendants set with diamonds and sapphires, and the archbishop's silver seal, and his signet, a gold antique.

The lands round the house were let about this time, but the provisions of the lease point to the occasional residence of the archbishops. Trouble with the lessee ensued in the reign of Elizabeth; but the archbishop made good his rights, and the house remained in possession of the see. After the sixteenth century, however, the archbishops do not seem to have resided there. In 1814 a large part of the old house, including the "Painted Chamber," had just been pulled down.

The Bishops of Durham probably had a town house at an early date. The first mention of it occurs in 1197, when the see was vacant, and its lands in the custody of the king. Robert of Rockingham received 20s. a year for "keeping the bishop's house in London," and an extra 17s. 6d. for repairs done to the walls round it. About 1212, when the see was again vacant, the house is mentioned in records. In

this year repairs had raised the expenses of keeping it to £18, 16s. 10d. It probably stood on the same site as the later Durham House, "on the south side of the Strand, in the liberties of Westminster, by Ivie Bridge." The usual statement that it was built by Thomas of Hatfield, who was elected to the see in 1345, probably refers to a complete rebuilding. A chronicler writes that the bishop constructed the episcopal hospice in London with a chapel and chambers in the most costly way. He certainly instituted chaplains to celebrate service in the house in 1380. It was no doubt the building of Bishop Hatfield which was in use in the fifteenth century. Privy Councils were held there not infrequently in the reign of Henry VI. In May 1434 it was at a Council held in the great chamber of "Duresme's Inne" that the feud between Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and John, Duke of Bedford, came to a head. The latter read an exculpation of himself from Gloucester's charges, but the Duke Humphrey found that many things contained in it touched his honour, and was prepared to give his written answer. The quarrel showed no signs of exhaustion as long as either party could command speech or parchment, but the king confiscated all the documents and assured the dukes that the honour of either was undamaged, and that he held them both to be his good and faithful uncles. Several other Councils were held in this year at the Bishop of Durham's house, and at one at least the king was present, and declared with his own voice that £6000 due to Cardinal Beaufort should be repaid to him.

Duresme's Inn was not always an entirely peaceful residence. In 1474 the bishop did some of his work as Chancellor at his own house, and on one occasion,

when a culprit was brought before him in his hall, certain armed misdoers came in and rescued the accused, making one prisoner, whom they took away with them, and grievously wounding another of the bishop's men. While Wolsey was Bishop of Durham he used Durham Place but little. In 1528, however, he moved there while York Place was being altered, and his negotiations for the Decretal Commission were carried on from Durham Place. At his fall the house was not conveyed to the king, but belonged to the bishop a few years longer. It was, however, worth the king's taking, and in July 1536 the bishop exchanged it with him for the house of Coldharbour, in Thames Street.

Henry altered Durham Place, which became a residence of Edward VI. before his accession, after which he granted it to Elizabeth for life.

Coldharbour had been a great baronial house since the fourteenth century. It adjoined All Hallows-the-Less, against which its arched gate of entry was built. When the Bishopric of Durham was dissolved, in the last year of Edward's reign, Coldharbour passed away to the Earl of Shrewsbury. The see was refounded by Mary, who granted the bishop the reversion of Durham Place after Elizabeth's death, and in 1603 he obtained it under this grant. The great mansion was more than large enough for the moderate households of the seventeenth century. Bishop Niele (1617-27) was able to lodge his own train and to give houseroom to the Bishop of Rochester, and to his friend Laud, first as Dean of Gloucester and then as Bishop of St. David's, "so that the house passed by the name of Durham College." Bishop Morton was confirmed in his see in the chapel of Durham House in July 1632, and this was not without a prophetic fitness, as



Photo. by Andrew Hemlis.

BISHOPS COURT, MANCHESTER.

his unhappy episcopate was peculiarly associated with Durham Place. In the end of 1641 he was accused of treason, but the accusation being dropped he retired to Durham House in May 1642, and spent his time there "attending his devotions and studies." In 1645, after further imprisonment, he again withdrew thither, having scarcely means wherewith to live, as his revenues had been sequestered. He was voted an annuity of £800, of which he received nothing beyond a bill on the Exchequer for £1000. On this he subsisted at Durham House for some time, until he was turned out by the soldiers who came to garrison it. It was the last place he could call his own, and he went into the country for economy's sake—a pathetic figure, old, devout, with very little worldly wisdom and less worldly wealth. When his stock was visibly near its end, he encountered a good Samaritan, Sir Christopher Yelverton, with whose family he lived until his death.

The last years of his tenancy of Durham House must have been by favour of the Earl of Pembroke, to whom the house had been conveyed by Act of Parliament in 1641. A rent-charge of £200 was reserved to the see. After this, of course, the bishops resided at Durham Place no longer.

The history of the London house of the see of Carlisle is somewhat fragmentary. Early in the sixteenth century the bishop occupied "Carlisle Place," west of Temple Bar; but how long this house had belonged to the see is quite uncertain. Carlisle Place is said to have been the seat of the Earls of Worcester, from whom it passed to "Henry, Duke of Beaufort." This must have been Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was beheaded in April 1464. Hence Carlisle Place cannot have belonged to the bishops much before

the end of the fifteenth century, and it may not have been the first residence which they owned in London. Be this as it may, Carlisle Place was constantly inhabited by the bishops in Henry VIII.'s reign. A valuation of the temporalities of the see gives a few details about it: "The bishop has certain lands and rents in Middlesex outside Temple Bar in London called Carlile Place (*sic*) worth by the year £16, os. 4d." About 1537 Thomas Cromwell appears to have had designs upon the house for himself or a friend. In that year the bishop, Robert Aldridge, wrote to him from Carlisle Place, expressing his submission in the matter of one Mr. Whalley, Cromwell's servant; he reminded Cromwell that he had spoken of this matter "at Nette, when Cromwell was minded to have lain at Carlisle House in London." He added, that much was offered to him for the lease, which he seemed inclined to grant, although "his predecessors had left nothing unlet for more years than he or his successor would probably see." Whatever aims Cromwell may have had do not seem to have been compassed, for the house finally passed from the see of Carlisle by a triangular transaction, confirmed by an Act of Parliament of 1539. By this exchange the Bishop of Carlisle gave his house "without Temple Bar" to Lord Russell, and received the "place" of the Bishop of Rochester in Lambeth. The Bishop of Rochester in turn obtained the mansion-place of Lord Russell at Chiswick; and in so far had the worst of the bargain, as he received the house furthest from the court and city. Lord Russell was to pay the Bishop of Carlisle an annual rent of £16, which was a very fair charge, judging by the valuation of temporalities already quoted.

The new house lay in Lambeth Marsh. It was apparently a somewhat unpretentious place, and the

bishop did not live there for long. He quitted it during the reign of Edward VI., and the house was subsequently let on lease. Like other episcopal possessions, it was confiscated during the Commonwealth, and was sold to one Matthew Hardy in February 1647 by the commissioners for the sale of bishops' lands, on which occasion it fetched the modest sum of £220. After it was restored to the see in 1660, Carlisle House seems to have been let to strange tenants. It was successively a pottery, a tavern, and worse, if reputation does not belie it. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, it had returned to gentility, and an academy for young gentlemen was established there. By this time, also, the old house had almost entirely disappeared, what remained being incorporated with a more modern dwelling-house.

In the province of York a third type of episcopal palace is represented. Five of its sees—Ripon, Manchester, Liverpool, Wakefield and Newcastle—have been created since 1830, in consequence of the growth of population in these industrial areas. And in these sees the bishops' residences have little of the interest of association; their history does not concern itself with warrior bishops and besieging armies, but with Orders in Council, and that calm, beneficent body, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The earliest of these sees is that of Ripon. The bishopric was founded in February 1838, and the bishop and Commissioners at once took up the plans for a palace. Lands belonging to Bramley Grange Farm, near Ripon, were bought for a site; and further, the Archbishop of York and his lessee gave up to the bishop a house called Day House, with its grounds, in Northley Fields. Presumably the two purchases adjoined. Day House seems to have been an incon-

spicuous place, as it is not mentioned by a historian of Ripon in 1832; and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners must have removed the old buildings, as they undertook the construction of new ones. In July 1839 they allotted £10,000 to "erect and complete" certain houses, offices, and outbuildings, already begun under their sanction. By April 1841 the palace was almost finished, but the Commissioners had to allow a further sum of £2000 before it could be occupied. In the autumn of the same year the bishop moved in, but in March 1842 a final payment of £1500 had to be made. After this, the palace was unaltered until 1847, when Archbishop Harcourt presented the Bishop of Ripon with a fine chapel, which was built at his expense. For nearly twenty years nothing further was done; in 1865 a few slight alterations and improvements were made.

The palace of the Bishop of Manchester has had a more varied history. When the see was founded the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were not prepared with a house for the bishop, so that, in February 1849, an Order in Council sanctioned the hiring of a temporary house, at a rent not exceeding £400 a year. This arrangement held good until 1854, and seems to have been more satisfactory than the subsequent one; for in this year the Commissioners bought a manor-house, Mauldeth Hall, with about thirty-four acres of land, in Heaton Norris—a purchase which was not very fortunate, as the hall was more than five miles from the central part of Manchester, and was an expensive place to keep up. These defects seem somewhat obvious, but there were others, as there was not sufficient accommodation for clergy or for candidates for the ministry. Nevertheless, Bishop Lee lived here throughout his episcopate, and died here in 1869. His

successor, Bishop Frazer, endured the disadvantages until 1872, when he put forward the pleas of expense and distance, which the Commissioners could not but uphold. Early in the year arrangements were made for the sale of Mauldeth Hall, and the purchase-money was used to buy Broughton House from Mr. Murray Gladstone. This house had the great advantage of being but two miles from the centre of the city, and it was also a convenient place, needing little alteration, and less upkeep than Mauldeth Hall. In 1873, £1200 was spent to fit it for the bishop's habitation, and this seems to have covered all that was necessary. Dr. Frazer changed the name of the house into Bishop's Court, which it has kept ever since.

The see of Liverpool was founded in April 1880, under the terms of the Bishopricks Act, 1878. No official residence was given to Bishop Ryle at his entry, but when his house was finally chosen the mistake made at Manchester was avoided. No. 19 Abercromby Square, which had previously been occupied by the Haytian consul, became the bishop's residence—a substantial town house, lying conveniently in the city. This house is still the bishop's palace.

Newcastle has perhaps been more fortunate in its episcopal palace than any of the foregoing towns. Benwell Tower has the advantages of comparatively modern buildings and the interest of old associations. The Tower, and a small chapel belonging to it, formed the country house of the Priors of Tynemouth before the Dissolution. When the monastery was surrendered to Henry VIII., its possessions were sold piecemeal, and Benwell Tower came ultimately to the family of Shaftoe in the reign of Elizabeth. The Shaftoes were a prolific and thrifty race, and the house continued in their hands until the end of the eighteenth century.

Whether they were Puritan or whether they were indifferent does not appear, but during their possession the chapel fell into disuse and finally decayed away. About 1779 the last Shaftoe, who, contrary to the family tradition, had an only daughter, sold the house of Benwell Tower; and the purchaser was a man whose character and appearance of wealth gave reason to suppose that he would pay. This was the notorious Andrew Bowes, whose adventures with his second wife, the Countess of Strathmore, are only to be likened to those of Barry Lyndon. Mr. Shaftoe's daughter was the sufferer, as Mr. Bowes evaded payment, and mortgaged the estate heavily to raise the purchase-money. While trying many devices to find it, Bowes would never take the obvious one of selling Benwell Tower, for which he had a liking. He never resided there, however, and no repairs were made, for his wife's fortune was always employed in his personal and immediate expenses. The mansion-house decayed more and more, but Bowes would neither mend or end it, and continued to hold it until his death in 1810. Benwell Tower was then sold, and passed through several hands. About 1825 a Mr. Walker, then the owner, built a new house, the "elegance" of which must have been a more cheerful sight than the unrepaired antiquity of Bowes' mansion.

The bishopric of Newcastle was founded in May 1882, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were relieved of the burden of finding an episcopal residence. Mr. J. W. Pease, a banker, bought Benwell Tower and gave it to the new bishop. The house was presumably the building of 1825, and little alteration seems to have been necessary. In 1883 changes were made which can only have been slight, as the cost to the bishop was £650.



BENWELL TOWER, NEWCASTLE.

The see of Wakefield, like Liverpool and Newcastle, was created under the Bishoprics Act of 1878. In 1888 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were satisfied that Wakefield could fulfil the financial and other conditions laid down in the Act. They accepted a guarantee that a house should be provided for the bishop within five years, or that £500 a year should be allowed to him in lieu of it. On these terms the see was founded by an Order in Council. Already, in 1888, funds had been raised for the palace; the Yorkshire Ladies' Committee of the Ripon Diocesan Conference provided more than £10,000.

Nevertheless, the palace was not ready until quite the end of the five years' term; and the bishop lived at Thornhill, near Dewsbury, until 1893. "Bishopsgarth" at Wakefield was ready for his occupation in that year.

Bishopthorpe

BISHOPTHORPE is the name of a quiet little village situated nearly three miles from York on the right bank of the river Ouse, which, like a silver ribbon, winds its way southwards through the lovely vale of York, until it finally reaches the Humber and loses itself in the North Sea. This village was originally called Thorp Christchurch, Thorp-super-Usam, or Thorp-juxta-Eboracum, and subsequently Thorp St. Andrew, or St. Andrewthorpe, from the dedication of its church, which belonged to the Priory of St. Andrew, York; but shortly after the manor came into the possession of the Archbishops of York it acquired the name of Bishopthorpe, by which it has been since known.

The Scandinavian word "Torp," or Thorpe, indicates the probability that Bishopthorpe was a Danish settlement. At the time of the Norman Conquest it shared in the general devastation of the surrounding country, as the entry relating to it in the Domesday Survey amply proves.¹ The land was stated to be then waste, and greatly reduced in value since the time of Edward the Confessor. Two out of the three carucates at which it was assessed were in the hands of Richard, son of Erfast; the remaining carucate belonged to Robert Malet. Bishopthorpe was afterwards divided among various proprietors, from whom a large part of the village, together with the manorial

¹ Dom. Bk. (fac. edit.), 47, 59, 82 b.

rights, were purchased by Walter Gray, the thirty-third Archbishop of York.

Here is the beautifully situated archiepiscopal residence, which has attained its present splendid proportions through a long series of alterations and additions dating from its first erection in the early part of the thirteenth century. Although often so called, it is not, properly speaking, a palace, and this designation, which should be reserved for an episcopal house situated in a cathedral city, has been relinquished within recent years.

Bishopthorpe was not the oldest residence belonging to the see of York, as Archbishop Roger had built one on the north side of the Minster about the middle of the twelfth century. This, however, survived only until the Reformation, and the chapel, now used as the library of the cathedral, is the only substantial relic of its former magnificence. The archbishops also had mansions at Cawood, Ripon, Southwell, Whitehall (the latter called York Place until the time of Henry VIII.), and other places, altogether numbering perhaps over seventeen. All these have now passed away, leaving Bishopthorpe the only official residence of the see.

Although greatly transformed, the present mansion has actually grown from Walter Gray's original structure, much of which is still preserved. The building is so closely associated with this archbishop that some account of "the greatest prelate of the century in which he lived," as he is described by Canon Raine, will not be out of place.

Various authorities have disagreed as to his parentage, but it seems almost certain that he was a younger son of John and Hawise de Gray of Rotherfield, the representatives of a rich and important family. He was educated at Oxford, and having

entered the Church, obtained his subsequent preferments from King John, with whom he was a great favourite, owing, it seems, to an obsequious manner, which did not fail to delight that monarch. Although he does not appear to have been a student, Gray was an eminently practical man, and this disposition stood him in good stead when, having succeeded the wild and careless Geoffrey Plantagenet, who left the province of York "a barren wilderness," he was able to transform it into a "fruitful garden." From his early years he gave great attention to secular affairs, and in 1205 paid the king five thousand marks for his appointment to the office of Chancellor of England, which he retained until his consecration to the bishopric of Worcester in 1214. He fully justified the confidence which King John reposed in him, and firmly adhered to his sovereign during his fierce quarrel with the barons, being present at Runnymede as one of his advisers when Magna Carta was signed.

A few days afterwards John made his first endeavour to procure his favourite's election to the archbishopric of York, which had been vacant since 1207. The king had in the meantime been appropriating the revenues, as was his custom, but the necessity for a new head of the northern province was becoming more and more obvious. The Chapter, however, were desirous of appointing Simon de Langton, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and persisted in their refusal to elect Gray on account of his illiteracy. John appealed to the Pope, and the controversy was settled by his decision that Gray should be elected, although he demanded from the latter the sum of ten thousand pounds for his assent. This large amount may have crippled the resources of the primate during the first years of his archiepiscopate, and was possibly

the cause of certain parsimonious dealings with the poor of which he has been accused. His liberality to the churches of York and Ripon, and on the occasion of the marriage of Alexander III. of Scotland to the daughter of Henry III. in 1252, are well known.

Gray occupied the primacy for forty years, a longer time than any of his predecessors or successors. He was a good organiser, and his administration of the province was wise and energetic. He is the first of the archbishops whose official acts are recorded in the register at York. They have been edited by Canon Raine, and bear witness to the order and system observed by the primate. He continued to be a great statesman as well as a great ecclesiastic. After the death of King John he secured the confidence of Henry III., and was left in charge of the kingdom during the latter's absence abroad. "In every important event which took place in the history of the nation," says Canon Raine, "Gray was more or less concerned." Towards the end of his life he showed his growing dissatisfaction with the king's misgovernment, a fact that is rather to his credit than otherwise, as the diplomacy which characterised the first part of his career was probably not altogether disinterested. The affairs of State seem to have preyed upon his mind, and his health began to give way. At last, at the invitation of the Bishop of London, he went to the palace of Fulham in search of rest, but had only been there three days when he died on 1st May 1255.

Archbishop Gray's acquisition of the manor of Bishopthorpe took place about 1226. The pretty village was within easy reach of the cathedral city either by road or river, and no doubt formed a most attractive site for a country residence. Here he built

a manor-house with a chapel, and secured the property to the see by vesting it in the Dean and Chapter of York as perpetual trustees for the use of himself and his successors. This precaution was rendered necessary owing to the practice, initiated by Henry II., of purposely keeping a see vacant, sometimes for years, and appropriating its revenues to the royal exchequer.

The interesting document by which Archbishop Gray preserved Bishopthorpe for the see is dated 1241. By it he granted to the Chapter of York his mansion in Thorpe St. Andrew, and all that he had there "on the south side of the water course called Caldicotesike, which runs from the wood by the sheepfold into the fish-pond and thence into the river Use, together with the watermill on the fish-pond and all the land of the prebend of Bicehill, and the rent of money and hens and all things, except a chief mansion assigned to the prebend of Cnaresburgh," with other lands, on condition that the Chapter granted the property to the successors of the archbishop for a rent of twenty marks, payable to the treasurer of York, who was to bestow the money as follows: six pounds to be paid to a chaplain, who was to be appointed by the Dean and Chapter, or, if there were no Dean, by the Chapter, to say mass in the chapel of Thorpe St. Andrew for the souls of King John, the archbishop, and all the faithful departed; twenty shillings for lights at Whitsun; on the anniversary of the archbishop, three shillings to every canon of York who attended the funeral ceremony, two shillings to every vicar, twelve pence to every deacon and subdeacon, and three pence to each clerk of the choir; the remainder was to be given to the poor on that day "by the view of the Chapter." During any vacancy of the see the Chapter were to hold the property and pay the treasurer the

twenty marks; if any succeeding archbishop refused to take it over and become responsible for the charge, the Chapter were to retain it until an archbishop chose to appropriate it with the charge. The charter concludes with the declaration that any who violate it are excommunicate.¹

Imagination can picture the manor-house thus virtually, though not absolutely, given to the see of York by Archbishop Gray as it existed in his time. Built in the Lancet Gothic style, as the beautiful and now restored chapel indicates, the central portion consisted of the great hall running north and south, which is now used as a dining-room, with a passage to the west. The walls were of stone, and a stone bench encircled the hall, which was then far more lofty than it is now, with no rooms above. The masonry of a large entrance-door, through which the archbishop would pass after alighting from his barge, can still be traced. Another door connected the hall with the chapel which constituted the south wing, running east and west. The roof was pitched and gabled, and below was a crypt, probably forming another chapel, the old principle being, as Canon Keble explains, that "consecration extended from earth to sky, and the existence of bedrooms above or larder below would have been thought a desecration."² North of the dining-hall were two small rooms, doubtless the private sitting-rooms of the archbishop; and underneath all these were large kitchens and offices. Above the two little rooms were one or two small bedrooms for the use of the archbishop and any important visitor. Private sleeping apartments were in those

¹ The document is given in full in the *Register of Archbishop Gray*, printed by the Surtees Society, pp. 192-95.

² *Bishopthorpe*, 59.

days regarded as a luxury and by no means a necessity for the ordinary members of the household, who were obliged to be contented with plank beds laid on tressels in the great hall, or even with the rush-strewn floor.

There is little to be said about Bishopthorpe for the next two centuries and a half. The mansion remained practically as Archbishop Gray left it, and while interest naturally centres round the successive occupants, only occasional references to the house itself occur, and these, as a rule, either when it was in need of repair, or when letters or orders are dated from the manor, showing that the archbishops were in residence on specified days, or, later, when ordinations were held, as may be supposed, in the chapel.

The archbishops, when it happened that they were in their province, divided their time between Bishopthorpe and their other manors. The prelates of the age, like their sovereigns, led a migratory life, and were seldom more than a few days in one place. They travelled from one residence to another with great pomp and ceremony, accompanied by numerous retainers, who carried their master's wardrobe and plate and a great deal of the furniture with which his several manor-houses were fitted up.

Gray was succeeded in the archbishopric by a man of very different character, the learned and saintly Sewal de Bovill, whose name only once occurs in connection with the State. He was Dean of York when nominated by the Chapter for the promotion. Henry III. did his best to obstruct his election, being determined to seize the temporalities of the see. "I have never had them before, and they shall not slip through my fingers yet," he said.¹ He justified his objections on the ground of an irregularity in

¹ *Matthew Paris* (Rolls Ser.), v. 516.

Bovill's birth, but the latter was supported by the Pope, and Henry was bound to give his assent. The primate's tenure of the archiepiscopate was short, and the end of his life was a martyrdom which had been foretold by his master at Oxford, Edmund de Abingdon, who was afterwards canonised. Bovill, although naturally patient, bitterly resented the custom of giving English preferments to foreign priests, and refused to submit to the Pope's appointment of an Italian cardinal to the deanery of York. His protest subjected him to a grievous persecution; he was suspended from office, and finally excommunicated. It is uncertain whether the papal ban was ever removed, but Bovill sank under his troubles, and as a dying man entreated the Pope not to tyrannise over the Church, "For the Lord said to Peter, 'Feed My sheep,' and not 'Shear them, skin them, tear out their entrails or eat them up.'"¹ On the Easter Day before his death in 1258 Bovill made a great feast for the poor, but withdrew from it himself in order to take a part in the services of his chapel.

Little is known of Godfrey de Ludham, the next Archbishop of York, who received the temporalities of his see on 1st December following the death of his predecessor. It is worthy of notice that a Sir Walter de Ludham, Knight, probably a relative, was among the witnesses to Archbishop Gray's grant of Bishopthorpe to the Chapter of York.

No registers are extant of these last two archbishops, and there is nothing to show how often they made use of their residence at Bishopthorpe.

After the death of Archbishop Ludham in 1265 the see was vacant for more than a year, during which time the manor-house would devolve upon

¹ *Matthew Paris* (Rolls Ser.), v. 516.

the Chapter according to the charter of Archbishop Gray.

In October 1266 Walter Giffard was translated to York from the bishopric of Bath and Wells. He was at that time Lord Chancellor of England, but gave up the appointment on his promotion. He presided over the see until his death in 1279, was "a strict and fearless reformer of abuses in days when there were many offenders and startling deviations from discipline and order,"¹ and seems to have been in every respect able and energetic in discharging the duties of his office. From his register² it does not appear that he was often at Bishopthorpe, but he dated orders from the seat in September 1270 and in September 1275. His participation in State affairs necessitated his frequent absence from his diocese, for although he had resigned the chancellorship he continued to be a member of the royal council after he became archbishop, and his presence was constantly required in London and the south of England.

His successor, Archbishop William Wickwaine, was a man whose stern and unyielding nature spared neither himself nor others. He took as little part as possible in public affairs, and during his six years' tenure of the archiepiscopate devoted himself to his province. His itinerary, which is shown by his register,³ proves that he constantly resided at Bishopthorpe, the quiet riverside mansion being no doubt agreeable to his austere and thrifty disposition. It is possible that he was here visited at least on one occasion by Edward I., who seems to have been at Bishopthorpe on 12th January 1284.⁴

¹ Raine, *Fasti Ebor.*, 304.

² Printed by the Surtees Society.

³ Printed by the Surtees Society.

⁴ *Cal. Close R.*, 1279-88, p. 286.

In 1283, actuated probably by his own experience of want of money when he became primate, Archbishop Wickwaine made a wise and useful provision by arranging that each archbishop should leave a certain quantity of stock on his several estates for the benefit of his successor.

After his death in August 1285 the king seems to have taken possession of the Bishopthorpe estate, together with the rest of the property of the see, but a claim was evidently made against him by the Dean and Chapter, and it was delivered up to them in October of that year.¹

The same thing occurred after the death of the next archbishop, John Romanus, or Le Romeyn, who occupied the see from 1286 to 1296. An inquiry into the case was made, and the ordinance of Archbishop Gray recited, whereupon the king commanded John de Lythegrenes, the guardian of the archbishopric of York, "not to intermeddle further with the manor of Thorpe St. Andrew."²

Romanus as archbishop conscientiously discharged the duties of his office, and all accounts show him to have been a great student and theologian, but he was constantly involved in some quarrel, and was a prey to the vice of avarice. According to the York historian, Thomas Stubbs, however, he was hospitable and munificent beyond all his predecessors or successors, kept up a great revenue, and was always zealous for the welfare of the Church.³ He left little wealth, and died in the king's debt.

Although his successor, Henry de Newark, was elected to the archbishopric in 1296, he was not consecrated until 1298, and died in the following

¹ *Cal. Close R.*, 1279-88, p. 379.

² *Ibid.*, 1288-96, p. 486.

³ *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 409.

year. A short vacancy followed, and it again appears to have been necessary to release the guardians of the archbishopric from any responsibility with regard to Bishopthorpe.¹ The Dean and Chapter took possession until the election of the new archbishop, Thomas de Corbridge, who survived only until 1304. During his tenure of office the city of York became a place of great importance, owing to the northern war, which was raging furiously. The royal family were frequently in the neighbourhood, and it is very probable that they visited the archbishop's seat at Bishopthorpe, although no record has been found to prove this. Among the extracts made by Canon Raine from the register of Archbishop Corbridge is a mandate directed to the vicar of Bishopthorpe, and dated 15th February 1303, against certain persons who had broken into the treasury there and "carried away, among other things, charters and memorials relating to our Church."

In December 1304 William de Grenfeud, or Greenfield, a man distinguished as a scholar and a prelate as well as a courtier and a statesman, was nominated to the see of York. The Scotch wars continued to necessitate the constant residence of the court at York, which increased on the one hand the political importance of the archbishop, but on the other his anxieties and expenditure. In 1309 he was obliged to raise one hundred men on his manor of Hexham for service against the invaders, and about the same time was requested by King Edward II. to entertain at his house at Bishopthorpe his nephew Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who afterwards fell at Bannockburn—no small matter when the number who would be included in his train is considered.

¹ *Cal. Close R.*, 1296-1302, p. 268.

However, as a compensation for this last exaction, the king assured him that it should not be a precedent for imposing a similar charge upon him and the Church of St. Peter of York on any future occasion.¹ This hospitality was no doubt the cause of the necessary repair of the manor-house, for which, as well as for the repair of his palace at York, the archbishop furnished sufficient money to the custodian in 1310.² He was again directed to provide men for Scotland in 1311.³ Three years later, when the king fled to York after the fatal battle of Bannockburn, he was entertained in the archbishop's palace in that city. Greenfield was foremost among those who attempted to rescue England from her misfortunes, and in 1315 was excused from Parliament, as he was engaged in defending the marches against the Scots.

During the war the archbishop had been called upon to take a very unwelcome part in the suppression of the Knights Templars who had been attacked by Clement V. In 1310 and 1311 he was obliged to proceed against the noble brotherhood, but showed his sympathy with them by every means in his power. He was present at the Council of Vienne, where the Order was finally dissolved in 1312, and in the autumn of that year announced through his official at York that it no longer existed.

Greenfield died at his manor-house at Cawood, in 1315, and was buried in the eastern side of the north transept of York Minster, under a striking though now much defaced monument.

The archbishopric was vacant for nearly two years after his death, as the consecration of his successor, William de Melton, was delayed until September 1317,

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1307-13, p. 195. ² *Raine, op. cit.*, 390. ³ *Ibid.*, 368.

owing, it seems, partly to the death of Clement V. and partly to intrigues among the cardinals. In the meantime the Dean and Chapter of York, whose claim was admitted by the king in 1316,¹ entered into the Bishopthorpe estate until the new primate took possession of it. During his tenure of office, which lasted for nearly twenty-three years, he was often visited by royalty at this manor-house, particularly in 1322 and 1323 by Edward II.,² with whom he was a special favourite, and who speaks of him as having been in his service from his boyhood.

Melton, although of humble birth, was a man of great ability and untiring energy. From the accession of Edward II. until 1315 he was comptroller of the king's wardrobe, and held several other civil appointments, at the same time receiving a variety of ecclesiastical preferments. His nomination to the see of York was due to royal influence, and in this, as in all other capacities, he justified the confidence which Edward placed in him, proving himself not only a diplomatic statesman but a wise and able churchman. The war with Scotland engaged a large share of his attention, and he is said to have personally taken part in the famous "White Battle of Myton" of 1319, where invaders and prelates met in desperate combat, and where the latter were finally entirely routed.

The English reverses at last led to a treaty of peace with the Scots, which was arranged at Bishopthorpe on 30th May 1323. It was on this occasion that Henry de Beaumont, a member of the king's council, was guilty of great rudeness and flippancy when called upon to discuss the truce. "When the king enjoined each of those present singly, including Henry, to give

¹ *Cal. Close R.*, 1313-18, p. 259.

² *Cal. Pat. R.*; *Cal. Close R.*; *Cal. Chart. R.* Edw. II. *passim*.

their advice, the said Henry, with an excessive motion and irreverent mind, answered the king frequently that he would not counsel him in this behalf. The king, being moved by such an answer, ordered him to leave his council, and Henry in leaving the council said as he had said before, and that it would please him more to be absent from the council than to be present. Whereupon the king ordered the magnates and others of his council to advise him concerning doing judgment on Henry in this behalf, especially as Henry was his liege man and baron and was sworn of his secret council, and was required to advise the king upon such an arduous matter specially touching the king and his realm."¹ The result of his childish behaviour was that Henry was committed to prison for contempt and disobedience. The deliberations were carried on without him, and the king on the same day ordered a thirteen years' truce with the Scots to be proclaimed and observed.² The court was still at Bishopthorpe on 6th June when the king wrote from here to Charles, Count of Valois, concerning a marriage between his eldest son Edward and the count's daughter.³

The last unhappy days of Edward II. were a source of great distress to the archbishop, and although he continued at court he refused to attend the coronation of Edward III. Later on, however, he seems to have accepted the new government, and although accused of complicity in the plot headed by Edmund, Earl of Kent, he was acquitted. During the young king's expedition to the north in 1327, Archbishop Melton entertained the queen-mother and her younger children in his palace at York, and assisted the cor-

¹ *Cal. Close R.*, 1318-23, p. 717.

² *Ibid.*, p. 718; *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1321-24, p. 264.

³ *Cal. Close R.*, 1318-23, p. 713.

poration to erect fortifications to safeguard the city. When the army returned he was appointed by the king to treat for peace with Scotland. With the Bishop of Ely he officiated at the marriage of Edward III. with Philippa of Hainault, which took place in York Minster in 1328, and which caused such a tumult of joy.

A pathetic event, illustrating the severity of the age, is connected with Bishopthorpe, and may be related here, as it occurred about this time. It appears that a little girl of under eleven years of age was accused of robbery in the village, and being brought before the steward and marshals of the household was convicted and "committed to the prison of the Marshalsea until of an age to undergo judgment." Afterwards, however, on the intercession of Queen Philippa, she was pardoned "in consideration of her tender age."¹ When it is remembered that in those days hanging was the punishment for theft, the barbarous cruelty of imprisoning a little child until she should be old enough to be tried for her life is almost incredible!

Archbishop Melton's official life was drawing to a close. In 1331 he was appointed a justiciar for enforcing observance of the truce with Scotland, and in the following year was empowered to open Parliament at York. His last recorded trust in connection with the State was the committal to his keeping of the Great Seal during the temporary absence of the Bishop of Winchester, then chancellor. He had more than once had charge of it in the reign of Edward II., and on this occasion it appears that he received it in the bag which customarily protected it, under the seal of the bishop, and took it with him to Bishopthorpe.² The primate survived until 1340, passing away at Cawood in April of that year.

Numerous extracts have been made from his

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1327-30, p. 257.

² *Cal. Close R.*, 1333-37, p. 129.

register by Canon Raine, which throw much light on the variety of his duties. He kept up the state which befitted his position, and although he has never been accused of oppressing the poor, he accumulated considerable wealth, and was lavish in his expenditure and in charitable gifts. It was found, however, after his death that he had allowed the episcopal residences to become more or less dilapidated. One of the most striking examples of his generosity was his munificence to York Minster, to which large additions were made during his archiepiscopate.

His successor, William la Zouche, was a member of an illustrious family, as his name is sufficient to prove, although his parentage is not actually established. His relations with Edward III. were cordial, and he received many civil and ecclesiastical appointments, among them the treasurership; but when he became a candidate for the archbishopric of York, he was nevertheless strenuously opposed by the king, who nominated his secretary and favourite, William de Kildesby. The contest, which was referred to the Pope, delayed a settlement for two years, but Zouche was at last consecrated by Clement VI. at Avignon on 7th July 1342, and in the following December was enthroned in his cathedral. An entry in the register of the see transcribed by Canon Raine authorises the receiver at York to pay the money required "to repair our houses at York to be ready for our installation banquet."¹ The archbishop's wisdom and moderation in dealing with matters connected with his province must have been unusually great, for, as has been observed, "his was essentially a reign of peace, and no controversy seems to have disturbed it."² Nothing even is heard of the immemorial contention

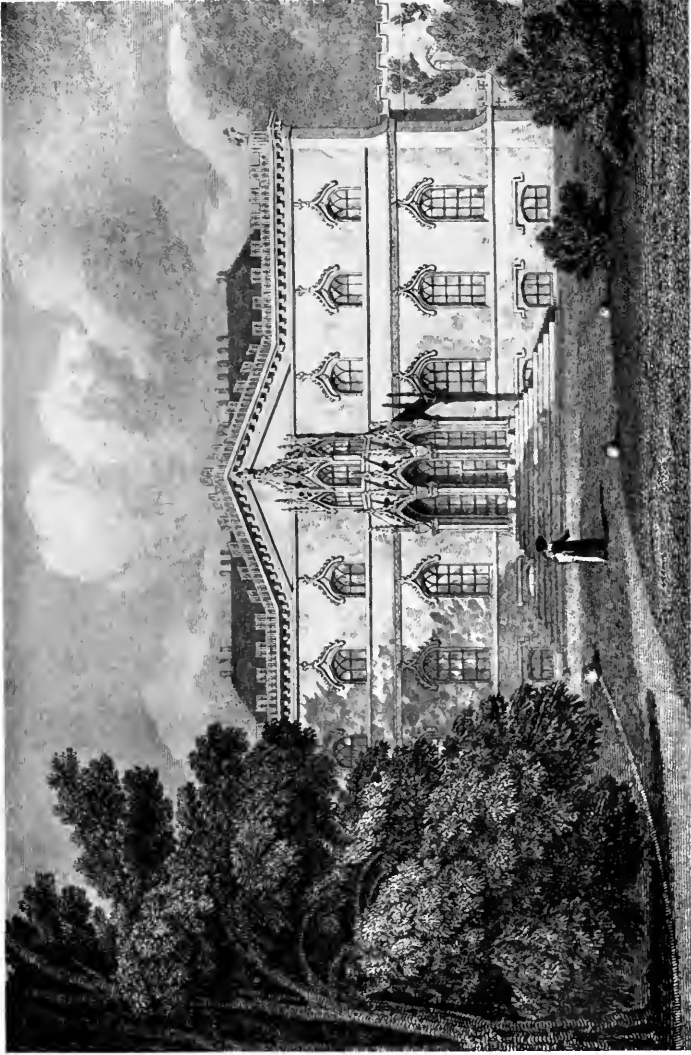
¹ Raine, *op. cit.*, 443.

² *Ibid.*, 442.

between the Primates of York and Canterbury with respect to the carrying erect of the separate crosses of each in the province of the other.

The first few years of Zouche's primacy seem to have been occupied by him in discharging the duties of his office. His temporary retirement from State affairs was possibly due to the cloud which had arisen between him and the king on account of his election, but subsequent difficulties with the ever-restless Scots soon proved to Edward that the northern primate was indispensable, not only as a prelate, but as a warrior. In 1346 he was made one of the wardens of the marches while the king was pursuing the French campaign, and was appointed a Commissioner of Array for the northern army. When the Scots invaded England in the autumn of that year the archbishop unhesitatingly took the field, and, cheering on his men by prayers and benedictions, led them on to the victory of Neville's Cross, which so signally wiped out the disgrace of his predecessor's defeat at Myton. Queen Philippa is also said to have been present at this famous battle, where David Bruce, the King of the Scots, was taken prisoner. Drake says of her that "though a woman, she showed in this case such courage and conduct as was worthy the wife and mother of such a husband and son. She got what forces she could together at York, and thence marched in person with them against the enemy."¹ The king showed his gratitude to the archbishop by begging him to continue his successful guardianship of the marches, and in November 1350 granted him a general pardon on account of the magnitude of his services. The archbishop, who had been for some time suffering from a serious disease, died at Cawood

¹ *Eboracum*, 105.



BISHOPTHORPE PALACE.

Engraved by H. Winkles from a drawing by J. P. Neale.

in July 1352. He was interred in the nave of his cathedral instead of in the chapel there which he had begun to build, and in which he desired to have been laid to rest. His relatives appear to have been most negligent as to his last wishes, and in 1353 his successor, Archbishop Thoresby, was obliged to order an inquiry concerning the dilapidations of the houses and woods belonging to the see, and the damages done by his executors.

The new primate, John de Thoresby, has been described as "one of those great and good men who were the glory of the fourteenth century."¹ He was a scholar and a man of taste, and is noted for the encouragement he gave to learning in an age which was decadent in manners and morals, for the disinterestedness of his public service, and for the ardour and piety of his private life. At an early age he won distinction as a lawyer, and while merely an acolyte he was instituted to a benefice in Yorkshire. Archbishop Melton became one of his patrons, and he obtained rapid preferment. His connection with the primate no doubt brought him into notice at court, and he was frequently employed in State affairs, was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1341, given temporary charge of the Great Seal in 1343, and appointed to the chancellorship in 1349, a few months before he was translated from the bishopric of St. David's to that of Worcester. Almost immediately after the death of Archbishop Zouche, in 1352, the Chapter of York unanimously elected Thoresby to fill the vacant post, and he was appointed by the Pope in October of that year. He had already found that his civil duties absorbed too much of the time and attention he wished to devote to his bishopric, and on his acces-

¹ Raine, *op. cit.*, 449.

sion to the primacy he determined to dissociate himself as soon as possible from State affairs. He resigned the Great Seal in 1356, and in that year evidently took up a more permanent residence at York, the ceremonial of his numerous ordinations usually taking place either in the Minster or at Bishopthorpe. Thomas Stubbs describes Thoresby as a great peacemaker. "Idem vero archiepiscopus lites et contentiones ubique deleuit."¹ One of his first acts as primate was to settle the ancient dispute between Canterbury and York as to the right of bearing the cross, and an agreement was entered into at Westminster in April 1353, and confirmed by the Pope in 1354, by which certain distinctions were made between the two archbishops and their relative status defined, on the whole in favour of Canterbury, but each was to be allowed henceforward to carry his cross erect in the province of the other.

In all his dealings Thoresby was animated by a brave and earnest spirit, and waged war against the ignorance and vice of the age. He ordered an exposition of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Sacraments, Seven Deeds of Mercy, Seven Virtues, and Seven Deadly Sins, to be drawn up and issued both in Latin and in English for the edification of the clergy as well as the laity. The English version is printed in the *Vicaria Leodensis*² of Ralph Thoresby, who observes that "we may justly admire that in the reign of Edward III. the courage and piety of one man should accomplish what could not without much difficulty and bloodshed be effected in Henry VIII.'s reign, when it was indulged by Act of Parliament as a special favour that a nobleman and gentleman might

¹ *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 420.

² Pp. 213-35.

have the Bible read in their houses; that noble ladies, gentlemen, and merchants might read it themselves, but no men or women under that degree. Nor could the Bible be read in English in any church, nor so much as in private by any artificer or husbandman, &c."

The completion of York Minster was one of Archbishop Thoresby's special aims. He gave several large sums of money to the fabric fund, and in 1361 caused his manor-house at Sherburn to be pulled down to provide the Minster with stones. He also constructed a Lady-chapel, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in which he safeguarded the remains of six of his predecessors.

Bishopthorpe was apparently one of his favourite habitations, and in 1364-65 he added a new chamber to the building. He was taken ill at this house in the autumn of 1373, and on 12th September he summoned a notary to his bedchamber to draw up his will. He died here on 6th November, and was buried in the Lady-chapel at York which he had erected. The good archbishop must have been sorely missed, especially as his successor proved a contrast to himself in every way.

From the accounts of him that exist, it may be inferred that Alexander Nevill, who belonged to a powerful northern family, paid little attention to his province, was dictatorial and overbearing, and constantly engaged in dissensions. Immediately on his arrival at York, after his consecration in 1374, he quarrelled with the Dean and Chapter. He also quarrelled with the citizens of York, and with the canons of the collegiate churches of Beverley and Ripon. During his primacy, although he did, it is true, make several presentations to the church, nothing was

done towards the building of the new choir in the Minster. He was a trusted friend of the headstrong young king, and was perpetually at court, to the great annoyance of Gloucester's party. Richard was at last obliged to give way to the latter, and promised that the archbishop and his other advisers should be called to account. Upon this Nevill escaped to Flanders, and, after having been pronounced guilty by the next Parliament, was outlawed and deprived. He ended his days as a parish priest at Louvain.

Archbishop Nevill seems to have taken some interest in the residences of the see. He repaired his castle at Cawood, added new towers, and gave two small bells to the chapel. At Bishopthorpe he evidently entertained the king, as in 1383 stonemasons, carpenters, and other workmen were sent at the primate's expense to repair the house preparatory to a royal visit.¹ The king was again at York in 1385 on his way to Scotland, and the visit is memorable for a sad event, which took place "in the fields near Bishopthorpe."²

The incident is thus graphically described by Raine: "A quarrel began between the retainers of Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother, and those of Sir Ralph Stafford, the son and heir of the Earl of Stafford. One of Holland's servants was killed by an arrow, and when his master heard the news, he rushed wildly out of his lodging, eager for revenge. Young Stafford, who had nothing to do with the brawl, unhappily came in his way, and was at once killed. The slayer fled to Beverley for sanctuary, and the king deprived him of his offices and lands, and banished him from the kingdom. Holland's mother, the Fair Maid of Kent, was so troubled at the disaster that she

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1381-85, p. 297.

² Drake, *op. cit.*, 105.

took to her bed and died in four or five days. He was afterwards pardoned at the intervention of the Duke of Lancaster."

On one occasion, while the archbishop was "busy with the affairs of the realm at the king's side," his palace at York and his manor-houses at Bishopthorpe and Cawood were broken into by robbers, who took away property to the value of £1000, and so threatened his servants that they dared not serve him. The archbishop lodged a complaint against the evil-doers in 1386, and the king issued a commission of inquiry into the affair—with what result has not been ascertained.¹

After the flight of Alexander Nevill the see was vacated by the action of the Pope, who translated him to St. Andrews, thus depriving him in effect of any benefice whatever, as the Scots upheld the schismatic Pope Clement VII., and refused to acknowledge the authority of Urban VI. In April 1388 the chancellor, Thomas Arundel, third son of the Earl of Arundel, was appointed to the archbishopric of York. He had been consecrated to the bishopric of Ely when only in his twenty-second year, probably through the influence of the noble family to which he belonged. He had but a few years' connection with the northern province, as he was translated to the see of Canterbury in 1396. Whilst at York he is said to have been a great benefactor to the church and manors of the see, spending a great deal on building and on the repair of the several archiepiscopal houses.² He also made his first attempt to stem the tide of Lollardism, against which he waged war throughout his life. The removal of the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer from London to York in 1392 is sometimes attributed to the influence of the archbishop,

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1385-89, p. 172.

² Drake, *op. cit.*, 436.

who was desirous of promoting the interests of his cathedral city.

The successor of Archbishop Arundel was Robert Waldby, who in early life is reputed to have been a monk, but having gone abroad in the train of the Black Prince, he pursued his education at the University of Toulouse, where he studied languages, natural and moral philosophy, and theology, and where he was finally appointed professor of divinity. Prince Edward, who was always a patron of learning, gave him his first preferment to the bishopric of Ayre in Aquitaine. In 1390 or 1391 he was translated to the archbishopric of Dublin, and subsequently became Chancellor of Ireland, and in 1395 he was transferred to Chichester. In the following year he was promoted to the see of York, but his tenure of office was brief, as he died a few months later.

The name of the next archbishop, Richard le Scrope, will ever be associated with Bishopthorpe, owing to its great hall having been the scene of the tragic circumstances connected with his death. The archbishop, who was a member of a powerful Yorkshire family, owed all his preferments, including his promotion to the northern primacy, to Richard II., and although he seems reluctantly to have assented to the king's deposition, his loyalty to Henry IV. rested on no sure foundation, and he was easily though unhappily persuaded to join the rising in the north organised by Northumberland, Mowbray, and others. Scrope was a man of high character, and there is no reason to doubt the integrity of his motives. He was evidently actuated by hopes of reform when he published ten articles against the king, and authorised them to be affixed to the doors of the churches in York and other places. Numbers flocked armed into the city, and

were cheered and encouraged by the archbishop, who led out his "priestly rout" to join the forces of the discontented nobles. They encountered the royal army at Shipton Moor on 29th May 1405, but being deceived by the treachery of Westmorland, or, according to some accounts, of Lord FitzHugh, the archbishop agreed to a conference, and his followers dispersed. Scrope, now at the mercy of his enemies, was immediately arrested and hurried with his confederates to Pontefract Castle, and from thence to Bishopthorpe, where they were kept as prisoners until 8th June, the day fixed by the king for their trial. The Archbishop of Canterbury hastened to the scene, and arriving on the same morning thrust himself into the royal presence to plead for his brother primate. Nothing, however, would satisfy the revengeful king but the immediate execution of Scrope, and he called together the commission which he had appointed in the great dining-hall, where his prisoner was made to stand bareheaded before his accusers. It was in vain that the Chief Justice Gascoigne absolutely declined to take part in the sacrilegious act, bravely answering Henry's command to pronounce sentence against him by these words: "Neither you, my lord the king, nor any liege man of yours in your name, can legally, according to the rights of the kingdom, adjudge any bishop to death." The king, greatly incensed, ordered Sir William Fulthorpe, a man learned in the law but no judge, to act as president, and he, mounting on a high stage erected in the hall, declared the archbishop a traitor, and condemned him to death. The protestations of the primate, who asserted that his sole desire in joining the conspiracy had been to defend his people against oppression, were unheeded, and divested of his episcopal attire he was "set on a sorry horse of the

value of forty pence, without a saddle, and with his face to the tail, and was led in this manner to the place of his execution,"¹ a field of barley between Bishopthorpe and York. There he knelt down, and, after asking the pardon of God for all his sins, bestowed his forgiveness upon the executioner, and desired him to give him five blows with his sword, in commemoration of the five chief wounds of our Lord. His last words were, "Into Thy hands, O most sweet Jesus, I commend my spirit," and the executioner then with five strokes severed his head from his body.

The crime struck horror throughout the land. Portents are said to have followed his death, and the king was attacked with leprosy the same night. Dr. Stubbs writes of the occurrence: "English history recorded no parallel event; the death of Becket, the work of four unauthorised, excited assassins, is thrown into the shade by the judicial murder of Scrope." The archbishop's remains were carried to the Minster and interred in the Lady-chapel, and the offerings made at his shrine were afterwards devoted to the rebuilding of the central tower which had recently fallen, so that "even in his death Scrope contributed to the upraising of that glorious edifice which he had never neglected during his life." It was during his archiepiscopate that the rebuilding of the choir was resumed and completed. After his death the see remained vacant for two and a half years. At last, after some divergence of opinion between the Dean and Chapter, the Pope, and the king as to a suitable candidate, Henry Bowett, the king's nominee, was appointed, and occupied the primacy until 1423. Before his accession he had been the king's confidential agent, and served him in various capacities, but after

¹ Drake, *op. cit.* 438-39.

his translation to York he retired from public affairs, and occupied himself with the duties connected with his province. "With Henry Bowett," says Raine, "a new era begins in the registers of the archbishops." Henceforward, until the close of the fifteenth century, "they contained little more than the ordinary procedure of the diocese."¹ One act of bravery and patriotism in his old age has been recorded. In 1417, when the king was absent in Normandy and the Scots seized the opportunity to invade England, the archbishop, although so infirm that he had to be carried in a chair, determined to accompany the army of defence, and by his courageous example and exhortations contributed not a little to their success. Bowett built the great hall at Cawood and new kitchens at Ottley, but left no mark at Bishopthorpe. His will² was dated at this last residence, but he died at Cawood.

The next archbishop, John Kempe, afterwards made a cardinal, was too absorbed in political affairs to give much attention to his ecclesiastical duties, and seldom visited Yorkshire, where he was very unpopular. However, he was not neglectful of the manor-houses belonging to the see, and although he did nothing at Bishopthorpe, he almost entirely rebuilt Southwell, and erected the gate-house at Cawood, which is still standing, and is adorned by his arms with the cardinal's hat. Kempe ruled over the province from 1426 till 1452, when he was translated to the see of Canterbury. A portrait of him has recently been painted by his descendant, Mr. C. E. Kempe, the well-known artist, and designer of the beautiful windows in the chapel. It now hangs in the dining-room at Bishopthorpe.

The career of William Booth, who occupied the

¹ *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (Rolls Ser.), Introd. p. xiv.

² Printed in *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.), i. 398.

see of York from 1452 until his death at Southwell in 1464, was uneventful. He is said to have spent a great deal of money in repairing the palaces of Southwell and York.

The early promotion and subsequent misfortunes which pursued his successor, George Nevill, were largely due to his relationship with Warwick the "King-maker," after whose defection from the House of York the archbishop, although he could never be persuaded to take a very enthusiastic part against Edward IV., was naturally regarded by him with distrust. George Nevill was a younger son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, and was designed for the Church at an early age, the growing importance of his family assuring him of speedy advancement. He could not have been more than fourteen years old when he was collated to the "golden prebend" of Masham in York Minster. At the age of twenty or twenty-one he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, a position which he held for four years, and when about twenty-three he was nominated to the bishopric of Exeter, receiving the temporalities of the see a year later, although his consecration was delayed until he was twenty-seven.

In 1460 he obtained the Great Seal in the name of Henry VI., but on his transference of loyalty to Edward IV. became chancellor to the new king. In 1464 Nevill was translated from Exeter to York, and was enthroned on 15th January of the following year. On that day he gave a most sumptuous installation feast, "the greatest entertainment," says Drake,¹ "that ever subject made." A list of the "monstrous quantity of edibles" which has been preserved,² renders further

¹ *Op. cit.*, 444.

² Hearne, *Collections* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), ii. 342.

comment unnecessary! It comprised: "Wheat, 300 quarters; Ale, 300 tunne; Wyne, 100 tunne; of Ipocrasse, one pipe; Oxen, 104; Wild Bulls, 6; Muttons, 1000; Veales, 304; Porkes, 304; Swannes, 400; Geese, 2000; Capons, 1000; Pygges, 2000; Plovers, 400; Quails, 100 dozen; of the Foules called Rees, 200 dozen; Peacocks, 104; Mallards and Teals, 4000; Cranes, 204; Kydds, 204; Chickens, 2000; Pigeons, 4000; Conies, 4000; Bitterns, 204; Heronshawes, 400; Fessants, 200; Partridges, 500; Woodcocks, 400; Curlews, 100; Egritts, 1000; Staggs, Bucks, and Roes, 500 and more; Pasties of Venison cold, 4000; Parted Dishes of Gelly, 1000; Plain Dishes of Gelly, 3000; Cold Tartes baked, 4000; Cold Custards baked, 3000; Hot Pasties of Venison, 1500; Hot Custards, 2000; Pikes and Breams, 608; Porposes and Seals, 12; Spices, sugered Delicates, and Wafers, plenty. Besides all sort of fish in prodigious plenty." Such display was calculated rather to impress the beholders with the power and wealth of the Nevill family than with the piety of the new archbishop. The absence of the king and queen from the banquet was significant. Stubbs, in commenting upon the accession of the primate, says, "The point at which the fortunes of the Nevills thus reached their zenith almost exactly coincides with the moment at which the political relations of the king and court are totally altered by his marriage."¹ The newly-made queen, Elizabeth Wydville, was very displeasing to the Nevills. Warwick's influence waned with his loyalty, and during his absence in France in 1467, Edward dealt his first blow at the family by depriving his brother of the chancellorship. In return Warwick and the archbishop connived at, if they did not instigate, the

¹ *Constitutional Hist.*, iii. 215.

rebellion which began in Yorkshire in 1469, and after the defeat and capture of the king he was conveyed by the latter as a prisoner, first to Warwick Castle and then to Middleham in Yorkshire. His escape is sometimes attributed to the courtesy of the archbishop, "whom he had talked over by fair speeches and promises," and who suffered him "to walk abroad, and even to hunt at his pleasure, with what number he pleased to attend him"; but, however that may have been, the primate shortly afterwards returned to his former allegiance, and after the flight of Edward to Holland in 1470, was again made chancellor in the name of Henry VI.

The following year was fatal to the Nevills. Warwick was killed at Barnet, and King Henry died or was murdered in the Tower. The archbishop contrived to make his peace with Edward, and thought himself restored to favour, when the king suddenly took his final revenge. He was invited, or invited himself, to hunt at Moor Park, where Nevill had a house which he had lately built. "The archbishop upon this hastened home to make suitable provision for such a guest, and omitted nothing that might do the king honour in his preparations. Skilful in sumptuous entertainments, he made his provision accordingly, and to grace it with proper decorations sent for all the plate he had in the world, most of which he had hid at the time of Tewkesbury and Barnet fields, and borrowed also much of his friends."¹ On the day before the king's arrival was expected he summoned the archbishop to Windsor, where he was arrested, and sent, first to Calais, and afterwards to the castle of Guisnes, where he was imprisoned for four years. The king seized his estates and confiscated all his plate,

¹ Drake, *op. cit.*, 445.

money, furniture and other movables to the value of £20,000. Among them was a very precious jewelled mitre, which Edward broke up to make a crown for himself. The archbishop was finally liberated through the influence of his friends, but the strain of his captivity had broken down his health, and he returned to his see "with anguish of heart to think of his former condition, compared to the present, having, notwithstanding his liberty, little left to support himself on, the king having received the profits of his temporalities during his confinement."¹ Though still in the prime of life, he died a few months later at Blyth in Northumberland, worn out in body and mind. Foss says of him:² "He is spoken of as a patron of scientific men; but no literary character can counteract the unfavourable sentence which every honest man must pronounce against him, on the manifest proofs which his life offers of fickleness, deceit, and treachery."

Very shortly after the death of Nevill the king secured the translation of Lawrence Booth, half-brother of the former Archbishop Booth, from the see of Durham, which he had occupied for twenty years, to that of York. He lived only until 1480, but, although his tenure of the primacy lasted such a short time, he is remembered as a benefactor to the see, to which he presented the manor of Battersea and the house that he built there. He died at Southwell, his favourite residence, and was buried in the collegiate church by the side of his brother, Archbishop William.

Bishopthorpe was one among many buildings which profited during the archiepiscopate of the succeeding prelate, Thomas Scot, or, as he is more commonly known, Thomas Rotheram, the latter surname, which

¹ Drake, *op. cit.*, 445.

² *Judges of England*, iv. 453.

was taken from the name of his birthplace, having been adopted by his family, according to a custom which still appertained. The archbishop left his mark in many places, and is renowned as a benefactor of both Oxford and Cambridge. The latter university owes its library to him, and his munificence to Lincoln College, Oxford, which was then in a deplorable condition, caused him to be styled its second founder. His chief educational foundation was at Rotheram, where he established and richly endowed the College of Jesus, which survived until the suppression of chantries under Edward VI. It was a noble illustration of his love of his birthplace and of learning; and the confiscation of the greater part of the endowment is one of the disgraceful acts that attended the Reformation.

After his translation to the see of York, in 1480, Rotheram devoted great attention to the manors belonging to it. He erected a large kitchen at Whitehall, and at Southwell he built a pantry, bakehouse, and other rooms overlooking the river. But it was upon Bishopthorpe that he bestowed his chief care, and the first great addition to the manor-house since its erection, more than two centuries before, was due to him. He more than doubled the accommodation by adding a new wing on the north side, which became the chief habitation of the archbishops until the time of Drummond. This wing was afterwards described by Archbishop Sharp, who says it included the apartments which in his day were used as the dining-room and drawing-room, and his own study and bedroom, as well as the state rooms, which accommodated royal and noble visitors. The doorway into the room, which was designated "the hall" by Sharp, is still surmounted by the Rotheram arms, three stags, carved in stone;

and a shield with his arms quartered with those of the see, the pall and crosses, adorns the inner arch of the housekeeper's room.

The archbishop who thus improved the mansions belonging to his see was not conspicuous for his attention to its spiritual needs, being so often "prevented by various and arduous duties to the king and the realm from coming in person to his diocese." He was, in fact, more remarkable as a statesman than as a prelate, as was so often the case with ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages who obtained the highest preferments. Throughout his career he showed an unwavering devotion to Queen Elizabeth Wydville, to whom he probably owed the favour of Edward IV. and his appointment as Keeper of the Privy Seal, in 1467. In the following year he became Bishop of Rochester, and was subsequently promoted to Lincoln. In 1474 he was made Chancellor of England, an office which he held until after the death of Edward, when he shared in the downfall of the queen. A touching though indiscreet example of Rotheram's fidelity was displayed after the capture of her son, the boy king, by Gloucester. The tidings reached the queen at night, who immediately fled into sanctuary at Westminster with her other son, the little Duke of York. The archbishop also heard the news on the same night by a messenger from Lord Hastings, who declared that the king was in no danger, and that all would be well. "Be it as well as it will," answered Rotheram, "it will never be as well as we have seen it," and calling up his servants before daylight, he hastened to the queen with the Great Seal in his hands to assure her of his loyalty. The chronicler, Grafton, has described how he found her sitting alone on rushes, all desolate, and did his best to cheer her. "Madam," quoth he, "be of good

comfort, and I assure you, if they crown any other king than your son, whom they now have, we shall on the morrow crown his brother, whom you have with you; and here is the Great Seal, which in like wise as your noble husband delivered it over to me, so I deliver it to you for the use of your son." The tender chivalry which prompted this surrender was indefensible on grounds of State, and calmer judgment obliged him to send for the Seal a few hours later. But although it was restored to him, the error gave a handle to his enemies. A few days after he was deprived of the chancellorship by the council which appointed Gloucester Protector, and after the meeting of the Black Council, on 13th June, was thrown into prison. On 6th July the coronation of Gloucester as Richard III. took place, and about the same time Rotheram, having made his submission to the usurper, was liberated. But whether he was not at once admitted to favour, or whether he contrived to avoid the ceremony, the fact remains, that although the king and queen were received at York by the citizens with great splendour shortly afterwards, and although they stayed at the archbishop's own palace at York, he himself was not present on the occasion. The king, wearing his crown, went in solemn procession to the Minster, where high mass was celebrated, but the Bishop of Durham was the officiating prelate. In spite of this, Rotheram appears once or twice again in connection with public affairs, and it has even been suggested that he was made use of in the shameful negotiations for a marriage between Richard III. and his niece Elizabeth, who afterwards became the wife of Henry VII. The story of the archbishop's participation in the affair is probably, however, a piece of mere scandal. The history of the last years of Rotheram's life is rather obscure,

and it is doubtful to what extent he secured the favour of Henry VII. He was present, though not in pontificals, at the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York, on 1st November 1494, and the three days' jousting which followed. Scroby and Cawood seem to have become the favourite residences of his old age, and tradition asserts that he died at the latter place of the plague. This was on 29th May 1500. He was buried in the Minster on the north side of the Lady-chapel, under a monument of marble which he had erected. His tomb was examined about 1735, and a vault was discovered underneath it. Within the tomb was a curious wooden head, which Drake says was "a piece of extraordinary sculpture for that age";¹ but whether it was a representation of the archbishop's own, or that of some titular saint, the historian was unable to determine. The head, which at that time had a stick through the neck, can still be seen in the vestry of the Minster. Rotheram's will, which concludes with a solemn profession of faith, was most elaborate, and is marked by a touching sense of his unworthiness, as well as by the strange terror of purgatory which belonged to his age. Among his numerous bequests he left to the see of York a splendid mitre worth five hundred marks, to take the place of the one that had been destroyed by Edward IV.

Little can be said of the next two rulers of the primacy, the first of whom, Thomas Savage, seems to have been entirely neglectful of his duties. A trusted servant of Henry VII., he was generally occupied either at court, or, when in the country, by hunting, a pastime of which he was immoderately fond. He did indeed spend a great deal of money on

¹ *Op. cit.*, 447.

his residences at Cawood and Scroby, but their claim to his attention was that they were his favourite hunting centres. He is said to have given great offence in the province of York by being enthroned by deputy, and sending down his fool to amuse the household. He occupied the see for seven years, and died at Cawood on 3rd September 1507.

Christopher Bainbridge, though not so utterly devoid of personal qualifications as his predecessor, was a man of sour disposition and violent temper, and to the latter he probably owed his sudden death. His civil and ecclesiastical appointments included the mastership of the Rolls, the chancellorship, the deanery of York, and the bishopric of Durham. In 1508 he was promoted to the archbishopric of York, but was very shortly afterwards sent as ambassador to the court of Rome by Henry VIII. to settle a dispute between Pope Julius II. and Louis XII. of France. The Pope rewarded him in 1511 with a cardinal's hat for persuading Henry to take his part in the quarrel. Bainbridge was in Italy in 1514, when he met his fate. According to one account he took into his service a priest named Rinaldo de Modena, whom he struck in a sudden fit of passion, an insult so deeply resented by Rinaldo that he avenged it by a draught of poison. Rinaldo was cast into prison, but drank poison himself to escape a more shameful death. Another version of the story is that Rinaldo confessed that he poisoned his master at the instigation of the Bishop of Worcester, who was the resident English ambassador at the court of Rome, and was jealous of Bainbridge. The bishop was able to exonerate himself after inducing Rinaldo to retract his confession, and the latter stabbed himself in prison.

Bainbridge was succeeded by the great Cardinal

Wolsey, a man more renowned in other capacities than as Archbishop of York, although, in name at least, he occupied the see from 1514 until his death in 1530. During part of that time he held concurrently first the bishopric of Durham and then the bishopric of Winchester. Wolsey's humble origin, his learning and ability, his devotion to the king's service, his rapid promotion, and his sudden fall, are well known. For the northern province he had neither time nor attention to spare. He was installed by proxy, never came to his cathedral city, and never, so far as is known, visited Bishopthorpe, where, however, a knife and fork and a small picture are preserved as memorials of him. Whether he would at any time have come so near as he did if it had not been for his virtual banishment at the time of his fall, is a matter that naturally cannot be decided. As it was, he was sent down to his diocese after his disgrace, through the influence of the nobles who feared his restoration to favour, and took alarm at his return towards London from Esher. He had already been persuaded, though with the greatest reluctance, to deprive his successors of York Place at Westminster by conveying it to the king. Not daring to refuse the demand, he made the surrender to Sir William Shelley, but concluded his protest with the words, "Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me, and show his Highness from me, that I must desire his Majesty to remember there is both heaven and hell."¹ The account of the cardinal's journey to the north is described in a most interesting manner by his gentleman-usher and biographer, George Cavendish. The Duke of Norfolk insisted on Wolsey's speedy departure from Richmond, whereupon the

¹ Cavendish, *Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey*, 1901 edit., p. 154.

cardinal sent a pitiful entreaty for money to the king through his ever-faithful friend, Thomas Cromwell. "Thomas," he said, "it is time to be going, therefore I pray you go to the King and tell him that I would go to my benefice at York but for lack of money, and desire his Grace to help me to some; for you may say the last money I had from his Grace was too little to pay my debts, and to compel me to pay the rest of my debts is too much extremity, seeing all my goods are taken from me. Also show my Lord of Norfolk and the rest of the Council that I would depart if I had money." The Lords assigned to Wolsey a pension of 1000 marks from Winchester, and the king, who was attached to him at heart, sent him a liberal gift of £10,000, at which he "did not a little rejoice. Forthwith," continues Cavendish, "there was preparation made for his going. He had with him in his train one hundred and fifty persons, and twelve carts to carry his goods, which he sent from his college at Oxford, besides other carts for the carriage of his necessaries for his buildings. He kept his solemn feast of Easter at Peterborough, and upon Palm Sunday he bore his palm and went in procession with the monks; and upon Thursday he made his Maundy, having fifty poor men, whose feet he washed and kissed; and after he had dried them, he gave every one of them twelve pence and three ells of good canvas to make them shirts, and each of them had a pair of new shoes and a cask of red herrings. Upon Easter Day he rode to the Resurrection, and that day he went in procession in his cardinal's vestments, and having his hat on his head, and sung the High Mass there himself solemnly. After his Mass, he gave his benediction to all the hearers, and clean remission. From Peterborough he took his journey into the

north, but made some stay by the way, and many things happened in his journey too tedious here to relate. At the last he came to Scroby, where he continued till Michaelmas, exercising many deeds of charity. Most commonly every Sunday, if the weather served, would he go to some poor parish church thereabouts, and there would say the Divine Service, and either said or heard Mass, and then caused one of his chaplains to preach the Word of God to the people, and afterwards he would dine in some honest house in the town, where was distributed to the poor alms as well of meat and drink, and money to supply the want of meat and drink if the number of poor did exceed. About Michaelmas next he removed from thence to Cawood Castle, within seven miles of the city of York, where he had much honour and love from all men, high and low, and where he kept a plentiful house for all comers. Also he built and repaired the castle, which was much decayed, having at the least three hundred persons daily in work, to whom he paid wages. And while there all the doctors and prebends of the Church of York did repair to my Lord according to their duties, as unto the chief head, patron, and father of their spiritual dignities, who did joyfully welcome him into those parts, saying it was no small comfort unto them to see their Head among them, who had been so long absent from them, being all that while like fatherless and comfortless children for want of his presence, and that they trusted shortly to see him amongst them in his own church: to whom he made answer that it was the especial cause of his coming to be amongst them as a father and a natural brother." It may be questioned whether any one present secretly doubted the sincerity of this last remark, or wondered why the desire of their head

to be amongst them had not shown itself before! Wolsey was destined never to see his cathedral church or to be personally installed, for on the Friday before the day fixed for the ceremony the Earl of Northumberland suddenly arrived while the cardinal was having dinner at Cawood Castle, and arrested him on a charge of high treason. This last blow was fatal to the cardinal, whose health was already in a weak state. His sad journey towards London was broken several times, and at Leicester Abbey, on 29th November 1530, he passed away. He was buried in the Lady-chapel of the monastery the following morning, when it was found that he wore a shirt of hair next his skin, underneath "an over-shirt of fine holland."

A few years after his death, Bishopthorpe, which had been neglected by the archbishops for so long, became the headquarters of the new primate, Edward Lee, whose misfortune it was to witness and take a certain reluctant part in the early stages of the Reformation upheaval. Lee was the king's almoner, and had already been employed on several embassies when, in December 1531, he was elected to the see of York and enthroned by proxy. At that time he was being used by Henry in the disgraceful proceedings connected with the divorce of Queen Katharine; and, although he could not conscientiously support the king in the matter, the expenses in which his promotion to the archbishopric involved him constituted one among many reasons why he should do his utmost to please his sovereign. In the previous June he had been a member of the deputation sent to persuade the queen to give up her rights. Her reception of the delegates, as recounted by Chapuys to the Emperor Charles V.,¹ redounds to her credit and to the con-

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, v., No. 287.

fusion of the ministers, not one of whom was able to withstand the dignified restraint of her conduct and her arguments. Lee was one of those who incurred a severe reproof at her hands for his attitude on the occasion.

For the first two or three years after his accession the archbishop had no leisure to visit his diocese; but on 1st April 1534 he was enthroned in person, and from that time until 1536 resided at Bishopthorpe,¹ and was largely occupied in making visitations to the religious houses over which he had jurisdiction. It cannot be doubted that his aim was to disprove calumnies and show the generally satisfactory state of morals and conduct in the monastic establishments, in order to preserve them, if possible, from the dissolution which he could not help seeing was imminent. Lee's position was a difficult one. On the one hand, he owed his promotion to the king, and on this and other grounds was anxious to avoid offending him; on the other, he was a prominent opposer of Erasmus and the new learning, and was known to be in favour of the Roman system. Finally, he succumbed to his desire to retain the king's approbation, and even went so far as to acknowledge the royal supremacy, though not until he was forced to do so.² In 1542 he surrendered the manors of Beverley, Southwell, Skidby, and Bishop-Burton to the crown; but as he received lands in return which had belonged to certain suppressed priories, the see lost little by the alienations. Two years later he died, and was buried in York Minster.

The king took care that Lee's successor should be a man who would assist him to carry out the work of

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, xvi. 425.

² *Letters and Papers*, Hen. VIII., *passim*.

the Reformation, and to this end appointed Robert Holgate, who had been one of his chaplains, and in 1538 elected President of the Council of the North. In January 1545 he was promoted from the see of Llandaff to that of York. Henry had chosen his instrument well, for within a month of his accession Holgate alienated to the crown sixty-seven manors belonging to the archbishopric, receiving in exchange thirty-three impropriations and advowsons, which were the spoils of the Dissolution. By these and similar transactions he acquired, at the expense of the see, greater personal wealth than any prelate in England. He then decided to marry, and had his banns published in 1549 at Bishopthorpe. The lady was Barbara Wentworth, who was said to have been betrothed and actually married in her childhood to a certain Anthony Norman. During the reign of Edward VI. the latter claimed her, but an inquiry into the matter seems to have been decided in favour of the archbishop. The accession of Queen Mary naturally occasioned Holgate's downfall. At the end of 1553 he was dispossessed of his ill-gotten riches and committed to the Tower, and in the following year was deprived of his archbishopric on the score of his marriage. His misfortunes displayed his cringing and servile disposition; he implored for pardon, declaring that he had been persuaded to marry in case Northumberland should call him a papist, and that he very much repented his offence. He urged that he was not so much to blame as other bishops under arrest, "they being much further gone amiss in religion than he was, and with obstinacy." After about a year and a half he was at last released, but only lived for a few months longer. Among the few praiseworthy deeds ascribed to him are his foundation

and endowment of three grammar schools, at York, Old Malton, and Hemsworth, where instruction in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew was to be free. There is also a story that the cause of his surrendering a Lincolnshire benefice and going to London, where he was taken into the king's favour, was a dispute with Sir Francis Ayscough, who brought a vexatious lawsuit against him. It happened in later years, when Holgate was President of the Council of the North, that Ayscough was concerned in a suit which was tried by him, and was agreeably surprised to find his cause supported by his former adversary, who explained his partisanship by "saying merrily to some of his friends that he was more obliged to Sir Francis than any man in England, for had it not been for his pushing him to London, he had lived a poor priest all his days."

Nicholas Heath, his successor, is a very attractive character, and although his connection with the northern primacy lasted only a few years, he managed to recover so much of the property which had been alienated as to cause it to be said that the see of York owed to Queen Mary and this archbishop more than a third part of its revenues.¹ Heath procured the restoration of Ripon and many other manors of which the see had been denuded by Holgate, and built York Place, in the Strand, out of the proceeds of the sale of Suffolk Place, which the queen had given him in compensation for Whitehall. He was appointed chancellor by Mary, and retained the office for a short time under Elizabeth, to whom he rendered valuable services when she first came to the throne, although he soon came into collision with her on the religious question. The archbishop refused to tamper with his conscience, or to take the oath enjoined by the Act of Supremacy,

¹ Browne Willis, *Survey of the Cathedrals*, i. 46.

and was consequently deprived in 1559. For a short time he was committed to the Tower, but Elizabeth appreciated the honesty of his motives, and was not ungrateful for his support at her accession. He was soon afterwards liberated, and retired to a small estate in Surrey, where "he spent the remainder of his days, unmolested, in a studious and religious manner, and free from harbouring any thoughts of faction or revenge."¹

Thomas Young, who was appointed to the see of York a few months after the deprivation of his predecessor, was the "first Protestant archbishop." Although his character is not very commendable, he seems to have been a consistent reformer, and was remarkable for his "painful forwardness in setting forth the true religion." On one occasion he dared even to "admonish and counsel the queen with regard to her method of life and conduct," but his advice was not well received, as she was "highly incensed, and treated him with great roughness and many hard words, and threatened to prosecute him."² Young's besetting sin was avarice, and "his chief care, whilst he sat archbishop, was providing for himself and family by settling the estates of the best prebends upon them."³ He was twice married, and it was to procure an estate for his son that he committed the sacrilegious act which is the greatest stain on his reputation. He commenced the destruction of York Palace by demolishing the great hall to obtain the lead from the roof, which he sent by sea to London, where it was sold for £1000; but as he was cheated out of the money by the Earl of Arundel his cupidity brought him nothing but dis-

¹ Drake, *op. cit.*, 453.

² *Cal. State Papers, Spanish*, 1558-67, p. 553.

³ Drake, *op. cit.*, 454.

honour. Young died in 1568, having ruled the see for seven and a half years.

The next archbishop, Edmund Grindal, has been commemorated by Edmund Spenser in his "Shepherd's Calender" for May and July under the name of Algrind. In the latter month he is referred to in the following charming lines:—

- Morrell.* But say me, what is Algrind, he
that is so oft bynempt?
- Thomalin.* Hee is a shepheard great in gree,
but hath bene long ypent.
One daye hee sat upon a hyll,
(as now thou wouldest me ;
But I am taught, by Algrind's ill,
to love the lowe degree);
For sitting so with bared scalpe,
An Eagle sored hye,
That, weening his whyte head was chalke,
A shell fish downe let flye :
Shee weend the shell fish to have broake,
but therewith bruzd his brayne ;
So now, astonied with the stroke,
he lyes in lingring payne.
- Morrell.* Ah ! good Algrind ! his hap was ill,
but shall be better in time.
Now farewell, shepheard, sith thys hyll
thou hast such doubt to climbe.

Grindal, although he rose to positions of considerable importance under Queen Elizabeth, and had unusual opportunities of guiding the Church during the first difficult years of her reign, signally disappointed the hopes that were placed in him, not on account of his character, which was above reproach, but because he was too weak to take up a definite attitude at a time when a leader was indispensable, and too scrupulous and conscientious to fall in with the shifting policy of the queen. He was recommended by the Archbishop

of Canterbury for the see of York because "he was not resolute and severe enough for the government of London," and was accordingly elected in 1570. In the northern province his work, which was chiefly directed against the Romish party, was more congenial to him, and his wisdom and tact enabled him to pursue his aim of rooting out superstitions without causing any unnecessary dissension. He presided over the see for five years, but after the death of Archbishop Parker was removed to Canterbury, where, however, he failed to achieve the religious settlement that was hoped for by the queen and Cecil. He came into opposition with Elizabeth on the subject of "prophesyings" and preaching, and was suspended for six months. Although afterwards reinstated Grindal became afflicted with blindness, and was about to resign his office in consequence. He died, however, before the arrangements could be completed, in July 1583.

In the butler's room at Bishopthorpe is a small pane of glass with Grindal's arms and his name, and the date, 1570.

After his translation to Canterbury in 1576, Edwin Sands or Sandys, a zealous Puritan, was appointed his successor. He was a man "marvellously ill-favoured," and of a quarrelsome disposition, and his tenure of the primacy is marked by a series of disputes, in which he immediately became involved. As soon as he arrived in the north an attempt was made to induce him to give up Bishopthorpe, which was coveted as a suitable residence for the Presidents of the Council of the North. Fortunately he was successful in resisting this encroachment, but only with great difficulty. The President of the Council, the Earl of Huntingdon, evidently went so far as to take possession of the house, for he wrote a letter from Bishopthorpe,

dated 1st April 1577, in which he says that he is leaving, and intends in fifteen days to "yield up all, full sore against my wife's will." In the same year the archbishop visited the see of Durham, which was then vacant, and embroiled himself with the clergy. He also made many other enemies, among them Sir Robert Stapleton, who seems, however, to have been the greatest offender in the dissensions that arose between them. It is said that he was anxious to obtain advantageous leases from the archbishop, and endeavoured to force his hand by devising a malicious slander against him. Sandys at first yielded to avoid a scandal, but when Stapleton continued to blackmail him, he exposed the affair and managed to clear himself. On one occasion Stapleton related that a scene of "violent recrimination" took place between the Archbishop of York and a certain Mr. Sysson in an orchard at Bishopthorpe. According to his own account, Stapleton interfered, and was drawn into a personal contest with Sysson, but they were evidently accused of being accomplices, as Stapleton denied "that this strife was feigned in order to draw on a composition."¹

Sandys was twice married, and by his second wife had seven sons and two daughters. He died in July 1588. Fuller says of him that he was "an excellent and painful preacher, and of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the grave, he had the other in heaven. He was buried in Southwell; and it is hard to say whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity."²

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1581-90, p. 98.

² *Church History* (edit. Brewer), v. 141.

Sandys was succeeded by John Piers, who was translated from Salisbury to York in 1589. The following admirable account of him is given by Drake:¹ "He is said to be a man that was master of all kinds of learning, and beloved by every one for his humanity, excellent behaviour, and generosity. The last of which virtues he exercised to such a degree that he scarce left at his death sufficient, as is said, to erect a monument to his memory. The small one set up in the church for him having been placed there, as the inscription intimates, by Dr. Bennett, one of his grateful chaplains and testamentary heir to what he left behind him. In his younger years, when he resided on a small living in Oxfordshire, he fell into an excess of drinking and keeping mean company; but upon being admonished of it by a grave divine he quite forsook that course, and followed his duties so hard that he deservedly attained to great honours and preferments. He was in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, who made him her almoner; and he must be a wise and good man whom that thrifty princess, says Fuller, would trust with the distribution of her monies. He lived and died with the character of one of the most grave and reverend prelates of his age; and, after his reduced life, was so abstemious that, in his advanced years, when his constitution required such support, his physician could not persuade him to drink any wine. So habituated he was then to sobriety, and bore such a detestation to his former excess.

"This primitive bishop lived in a state of celibacy all his days; and died at Bishopthorpe, 28th September 1594, having leased nothing from the Church nor hurt its revenues."

Archbishop Matthew Hutton, his successor, passed

¹ *Op. cit.*, 456.

a good deal of time at Bishopthorpe. He was too old a man when he was promoted to the primacy, at the advanced age of sixty-six, to care for much travelling; the palace at York was no longer used as a residence, and his most natural home would be Bishopthorpe, the nearest to the cathedral of the archiepiscopal seats. This prelate was of very humble origin, and owed his high preferments to his reputation as a scholar and a theologian. His great aim as archbishop was the suppression of Popery, "which was very prevailing in the northern parts," but he deprecated every kind of persecution, and one of his last public acts was a letter to Lord Cranborne recommending a relaxation of severity towards the Puritans.

In the early part of 1598, when Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, a servant of the King of Scotland (afterwards James I. of England), and warden of the east marches, was sent to England "for answering of divers attempts and wrongs done by the part of Scotland," the queen, realising that he was a man of great account, both by his birth and by office, and one able to be either a good or a bad neighbour to England, thought it necessary that he should be "brought and stayed in some remote part in England from the Border."¹ She therefore sent him to York, and requested the archbishop to detain him at Bishopthorpe, where she desired that he should be safely guarded, that no one should hold any communication with him, except in the presence of that gentleman whom the archbishop should appoint to wait upon him, and that he should not be allowed to walk abroad, except privately, near the house. Sir Robert remained in durance as a guest of the archbishop until May. He seems to have been treated with every considera-

¹ *Hutton Correspondence* (Surtees Soc.), 121.

tion, and to have honourably accepted the courtesy. In one of his letters to Lord Willoughby, the archbishop expressed the opinion that Sir Robert would not make any attempt to escape, and the latter after his liberation wrote a letter to his host, on 14th June, which commences: "May it pleis zour Grace. I determinit, quhen I sinderit frome zow, before now to have returnit sum signe of myndfulnes in me to be thankfull for the ressonabill curtessies and undeservit favouris that I resavit of zour Grace at my being in zour hous of Bischopthorpe."¹

One of Archbishop Hutton's experiences is sententiously related by Fuller,² who says: "One of the last times that ever he preached in his cathedral was on this occasion: The Catholics in Yorkshire were commanded by the queen's authority to be present at three sermons, and at the two first behaved themselves so obstreperously that some of them were forced to be gagged before they would be quiet; the archbishop preached the last most gravely and solidly, taking for his text John viii. 47: 'He that is of God, heareth God's words; ye therefore hear them not, because ye are not of God.'"

Archbishop Hutton died at Bishopthorpe in January 1606. His successor, Tobias Matthew, was renowned for his wit, or, as Sir John Harington expresses it, his "cheerful sharpness in discourse." He was a most celebrated preacher, and was a great favourite both with Queen Elizabeth and King James. The former was greatly attracted by his handsome person and sparkling humour, and showed him much preference. She is said to have been equally kind to his wife, on whom she bestowed "a fragment of an unicorn's horn"! Mrs. Matthew was "a prudent

¹ *Hutton Correspondence* (Surtees Soc.), 135.

² *Op. cit.*, v. 355.

and provident matron," and "is memorable likewise for having a bishop to her father, an archbishop to her father-in-law, four bishops to her brethren, and an archbishop to her husband." This lady, after the death of Archbishop Matthew, gave his valuable library to the Dean and Chapter of York.

James I. paid a visit to Bishopthorpe on his way to Scotland in 1617, and was received with great welcome by the archbishop and Mrs. Matthew. The king could heartily enjoy a joke, and the banquet in the great hall would undoubtedly be a merry one, enriched by the most cheerful conversation and brilliant repartee.

For all his love of fun, the primate never trespassed on episcopal gravity, and although he gave so much attention to his preaching, "he neglected not his proper episcopal acts of visitation, confirmation, ordination, &c."¹ As a statesman Matthew was wise and diplomatic, but he retired from political life in his last years. He died at Cawood, greatly regretted, in March 1628.

The name of Archbishop George Montaigne is associated with Cawood rather than Bishopthorpe, where he left no mark. Montaigne was born at Cawood, and is supposed to have been the son of a small farmer. It is said that he determined as a boy to become Archbishop of York and to possess Cawood Castle, an ambition which he realised in 1628. There is a story that he owed his final promotion to his wit. He was not so great a favourite with Charles I. as with King James, and when the see of York became vacant by the death of Archbishop Matthew, Montaigne feared that he would lose the coveted prize. It happened, however, that the king was discussing the question in his presence, when

¹ Thoresby, *Vicaria Leodiensis*, 165.

Montaigne, who had shortly before been elected to Durham, quietly observed, "Hadst thou faith as a grain of mustard seed, thou wouldst say unto this mountain" (laying his hand upon his own breast), "Be removed into that sea." The apt quotation appealed to the king's sense of humour, and he duly rewarded him with the translation. The archbishop died, however, in October of the same year, and was interred, according to his desire, in Cawood Church.

Samuel Harsnett, Bishop of Norwich, was appointed in November, but enjoyed the archiepiscopal dignity only until 1631, when he died and was buried "without pomp or solemnity" in the parish church of Chigwell. Like his predecessors, he made it one of his chief objects to check the steady progress of the Puritan party, and was even on one occasion denounced as a papist. Harsnett's character was not without a stain, for having at one time held the mastership of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, "he was ejected out of the same for some scandalous practices, which were so flagrant against him, being exhibited in fifty-seven articles, that he was glad to quit his mastership to prevent farther inquiry."¹

The see of York had been vacant for nine months when Richard Neile, Bishop of Winchester, was nominated by Charles I. Eachard says² that this man, by his merit alone, "passed through all the degrees and orders of the Church of England, having been schoolmaster, curate, vicar, parson, chaplain, Master of the Savoy, Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet to two kings, Bishop of Rochester, Lichfield, Lincoln, Durham, and Winchester, and lastly, Archbishop of York." He was not a scholar, but was a man of much

¹ Willis, *op. cit.*, i. 55.

² *History of England*, Book i. p. 185.

address, great practical ability and common sense, as well as hard-working and conscientious. He was exceedingly popular, and it has been said of him that "he became prominent and successful where greater men failed." He was sincerely attached to Archbishop Laud, and might have shared the same fate had he not died in 1640, before the "evil day" came.

On 27th May 1633, Archbishop Neile entertained Charles I. at Bishopthorpe, who there knighted his son, Sir Paul Neile. The son of the latter, William Neile the mathematician, was born at Bishopthorpe during his grandfather's occupation of the house in 1637.

Archbishop Neile was succeeded by his enemy, John Williams, the rival of Laud, who is equally well known as a politician and an ecclesiastic. He was made Lord Keeper after the fall of Bacon in 1621, was committed to the Tower in 1637 on a charge of suborning false evidence in a trial, released by the Long Parliament in 1640, but again committed to the Tower in 1641 for presenting a protest to the king which was damaging to the House of Commons.

In the meantime Williams had been translated by Charles I. from Lincoln to York. In May 1642 he was released on bail on condition that he should not go into Yorkshire during the distractions there. However, he broke the agreement, stole away to York where the king was, and was enthroned in June. The Civil War broke out soon afterwards, and Williams was obliged to desert Cawood, which he had fortified, and fly to Conway, his native place. Like other bishops, he was deprived, and after the murder of the king lived in retirement until his death in 1650.

During the ten years which followed, the see of York remained vacant. Bishopthorpe had been sold by the Parliament to Colonel Walter White in 1647,

for £525. At this time the centre part of the house was probably very much in decay, but it does not seem to have been restored by Colonel White, who, according to Archbishop Sharp, contented himself with adding two wings on the south side of Rotheram's edifice. Keble says¹ that he "must have lengthened the main wing as well, for Rotheram's building did not go far enough for the further projection to be added to it," and he also notes that the old cellars of the wing, now disused, show exactly where Rotheram's building ends and White's begins. The passage next to the house-keeper's room was probably built at this time. The additions and improvements were continued by Archbishop Accepted Frewen, who was installed at the Restoration. Of Puritan ancestry, as his Christian name indicates, he was an old man when he was appointed to the primacy, and lived only a little over three years longer. During that time he restored the oldest part of Bishopthorpe, rebuilding the dining-hall, which was in a ruinous condition and open to the sky, and adding the beautifully panelled ceiling. He also rebuilt the rooms above it, and made considerable alterations and additions to the desecrated chapel, which he fitted with a pulpit and high pews. His initials, A. F., and the date, 1662, are still to be seen. Frewen died at Bishopthorpe, and was buried under the east window of York Minster.

He was followed by Richard Sterne, who had been a loyal adherent to Charles I. and chaplain to Archbishop Laud, whom he supported on the scaffold. The sad-faced Archbishop Sterne occupied the primacy from 1655 until 1683, and during that time "his whole behaviour was worthy of the high station he bore." He added to the stables at Bishopthorpe, and built a

¹ *Bishopthorpe*, 72.

laundry-house, which is no longer in existence. The residence was finally the scene of his death. The communion plate of York Minster had been stolen during his primacy, and in his will he left his own plate, which had been used in Bishopthorpe Chapel, to take its place. The archbishop's one regrettable act was the alienation of Hexgrave, near Southwell, from the see of York.

John Dolben, the next archbishop, had taken part as a youth in the Royalist cause, and was twice severely wounded. At Marston Moor he received a musket-ball in his shoulder while carrying the colours, and in the siege of York his thigh-bone was broken. His bravery in battle was equalled by his courage as a churchman, for during the Commonwealth he defied the penal laws, and loyally maintained the services of the proscribed Church of England. In 1662 he was promoted to the deanery of Westminster, and it was during his residence that the Great Fire of London took place. The occasion must have caused the ardent spirit of his youth to flame anew. He ordered out the Westminster scholars, and led them to the thrilling scene, where with their help he largely contributed to the saving of St. Dunstan's Church.

The dean's preaching at the abbey was far-famed, and crowds flocked to hear him. He has been immortalised by Dryden¹ in his "Absalom and Achitophel," in these words:

"Him of the western dome, whose mighty sense
Flows in fit words and heavenly eloquence."

Dolben was elected to the archbishopric of York in 1683, and received with universal acclamation, but, sadly enough, he only lived to preside over the see for

¹ *Works* (edit. Scott), ix. 243.

three years. About Easter time, 1686, he contracted smallpox, and died within a few days at Bishopthorpe. This archbishop effected an improvement in his house here by paving the courtyard with pebbles.

The character of his successor, Thomas Lamplugh, has been blackened by Wood,¹ who accuses him of being a successful time-server in days when it was necessary to make great sacrifices for the sake of loyalty and conscience. Other evidence suggests that these criticisms are exaggerated, but Lamplugh, though undoubtedly a Royalist at heart, and the recipient of many favours from Charles II. and James II., was one of the first to swear allegiance to William of Holland. The see of York had been vacant for more than two years and a half when, in 1688, Lamplugh was appointed by King James, as a reward for his having conveyed the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange. He was officially translated from Exeter three days before the king's flight, and was enthroned by proxy shortly afterwards. The temptation to transfer his loyalty to William must have been great, and Lamplugh succumbed to it. In the beginning of March of the following year he received the temporalities from the new king, and in April assisted at his coronation. He did not long enjoy the dignity of his high position, as he died at Bishopthorpe in May 1691. According to Le Neve² he made "the screen in the hall at Bishopthorpe, and paved it with stone." He was interred in the south choir of the Minster. By his will he bequeathed to the succeeding archbishops of York his private communion plate for their use in Bishopthorpe Chapel.

Two months after his death, John Sharp, one of

¹ *Athenae*, iv. 878; *Life and Times* (Oxford Hist. Soc.), i. 365.

² *Lives of Protestant Bishops*, 277.

the most beautiful and lovable characters that ever adorned so noble a dignity, was consecrated to the see. Although he became the faithful friend and adviser of Queen Anne, he was little concerned with political life, and devoted himself to ecclesiastical matters, in which his wisdom and rectitude were unailing.

During the reign of William and Mary he was offered a choice of the sees of which the non-jurors had been deprived, but he refused to accept any of them as long as they lived. Macaulay wrote of him¹ that he was "the highest churchman that had been zealous for comprehension, and the lowest churchman that felt a scruple about succeeding a deprived prelate." As a preacher Sharp deservedly acquired a great reputation. His son, Dr. Thomas Sharp, who wrote his biography,² says that he would not "venture upon so great a work" (as preaching) "without having prepared the diction as well as the matter. He never thought he could take too great precautions, or too much pains, in composing his sermons (some of which he corrected more than once)." Sharp was a man of liberal tastes, and according to his son, "he loved poetry all his life." His hobbies were the collection of coins and gardening, and this last inclination led him to take the greatest interest in his home at Bishopthorpe. The grounds were carefully laid out under his personal supervision, and the beautiful lime avenue was planted by him. In the summer the archbishop spent much of his time in the open air, performing his devotions "either in his garden or in the adjoining fields and meadows." His "Temple of Praise" was a grass walk walled in by magnificent yew hedges, which shadowed it throughout almost the whole day. Adjoining it on the east was a little maze or wilderness, which was another very

¹ *Hist. of England*, iv. 43.

² Edit. by T. Newcome.

favourite place of retirement. It is a matter of great regret that these secluded corners, so loved by the good archbishop, have not been preserved as memorials of him.

An example of Sharp's generosity was his raising almost a third of the necessary sum for the repair of York Minster, a great part of which was burnt in 1711. He occupied the see for nearly twenty-three years. His care for it is shown by his obtaining a promise from the queen to nominate Sir William Dawes as his successor, a promise which she faithfully carried out after his death in 1714. He was interred in the Lady-chapel in the Minster under a monument on which an elaborate epitaph was inscribed by his friend, Bishop Smalbridge.¹ In one of the manuscript books carefully compiled by Archbishop Sharp is a list of part of the equipment of Bishopthorpe house and chapel. A large piece of tapestry with the story of Ananias and Sapphira worked upon it, which then hung at the altar, and of which mention is made, has since disappeared. The archbishop's black-letter Bible is still preserved at Bishopthorpe.

Sir William Dawes, who was duly elected within a month of his predecessor's death, belonged to an ancient family which had been very wealthy until their fortune was dispersed in the service of Charles I. The father of the archbishop was rewarded by Charles II. with a title which descended to Sir William after the death of his two elder brothers. This prelate is described by his contemporary Drake² as being "of a noble and majestic personage, and a sweet and engaging behaviour, kind and respectful to his clergy, and human to all the world." He is said to have made great improvements at Bishopthorpe while it was in his

¹ It is given in full in Drake's *Eboracum*, 467-68.

² *Op. cit.*, 469.

possession, but there is nothing to show the actual scope of his work. Canon Keble, quoting the records of the manor-house, says that his housekeeper, Mrs. Newton, "embezzled the chapel litany desk, covered with purple damask and gold fringe." The archbishop died in 1724, after ten years' conscientious government of the see.

No one could have been a greater contrast to the aristocratic gentleman, Archbishop Dawes, than Lancelot Blackburne, who succeeded him in the primacy. The stories told about his wild youth, although doubtless very exaggerated, could not have been altogether without foundation, and in spite of his subsequent advancement the reputation gained in his early years clung to him throughout his life. The rumour that he was at one time a pirate arose from the fact that shortly after his ordination he went out to the West Indies, serving, it is said, as chaplain on board a buccaneering ship sent to prey on the Spaniards. His life was, in any case, certainly not a blameless one, and in 1702 the reports circulated about him, whether slanderous or not, forced him to resign the sub-deanery of Exeter, to which he had been appointed in 1695. He was, however, restored two years later, and obtained rapid preferment, becoming Dean of Exeter in 1705, Bishop in 1717, and Archbishop of York in 1724. Scandal attributed this last promotion to the gratitude of George I., who was stated to have been united in marriage with the Duchess of Munster by Blackburne.

The following horrified reference to the laxity of the archbishop's views occurs in a letter written by Dr. William Stratford to Edward Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford: "Do you hear that your new Northern Metropolitan [Blackburne] continued his journey so upon his going down as to travel from

Doncaster to Bishopthorpe on Sunday? It makes no little noise in this part of the world, which is not used to such freedoms as pass in the Southern climate.”¹ Walpole, writing of the prelate, says, “The jolly old Archbishop of York . . . had all the manners of a man of quality, though he had been a buccaneer and was a clergyman; but he retained nothing of his first profession except his seraglio.” Whatever may have been the chief distinction of the manners of a man of quality in his day, those of Blackburne were evidently gay and ready, if also deplorably free. On one occasion, Queen Caroline inquired whether Butler, the author of the *Analogy*, were dead. “No, madam, he is not dead, but he is buried,” answered Blackburne, alluding to his secluded life at Stanhope. This reply resulted in Butler’s speedy summons and preferment. One of the stories told of the archbishop is that the notorious Dick Turpin was for some time his butler at Bishopthorpe.

Blackburne died in London in 1743, and was buried in St. Margaret’s Church, Westminster. He was followed by Thomas Herring, who was translated from Bangor. Herring straightway made a progress through his new diocese, and writing to his friend William Duncombe in the September after his appointment says, “I am confident I have confirmed above thirty thousand people”—a somewhat astonishing statement. He was no less vigorous and energetic as a statesman than as a churchman, and was a thorough-going Whig. The rebellion of 1745 broke out while he was at York, and he took a conspicuous part against Prince Charles Edward, stirring up his province to support the new Government, not only by preaching, but by every means in his power. Owing

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Portland, vii. 401.

to his exertions £40,000 was raised in his diocese, and the Jacobites of Yorkshire were restrained from joining the insurrection. The archbishop's translation to Canterbury in 1747 rewarded him for his services at this perilous juncture.

Bishopthorpe is said to have been much improved under his care. A letter¹ from his nephew, Thomas Herring, dated from here 19th June 1743, affords some impression of the house as it then was: "I am at present," he says, "under the hospitable roof of an archbishop, of which I can send you no regular account, for it was built at a time of day when men paid more regard to convenience than to uniformity; and therefore it would be in vain to attempt an exact description of it. The rooms are very large, and furnished in character; and that apartment where I now sit to write is ornamented with the adventures of Samson, curiously wrought in old tapestry, the work, perhaps, of some religious dame. In one of the bed-chambers, on each side of the chimney, there are two cherubims weeping most bitterly; and the story says that when the carver was asked by somebody how it entered into his head to represent them crying, his answer was that he appealed to the *Te Deum* for the propriety of what he had done. Upon the whole it is a most agreeable house, and pleases me better than if it had been designed by Lord Burlington, or any other genius of the age."

Matthew Hutton, who occupied the primacy from 1747 until 1757, when he was translated to Canterbury, was a lineal descendant of his namesake, the former Archbishop of York. He evidently made some additions to Bishopthorpe, as the date, 1747, on a stone outside the present kitchen, bears witness.

¹ Printed in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 536.

The northern primacy, when it was vacated by Hutton, was filled by John Gilbert, a man who, according to Horace Walpole,¹ was "composed of that common mixture, ignorance, meanness, and arrogance." On the news of his promotion the bells at York were rung backwards in detestation of him. He made little mark during his pontificate of four years, being indeed oppressed by ill-health throughout that time; but at Bishopthorpe a good deal remains to commemorate him. Canon Keble, quoting from Dixon's² MSS., says that he "altered the windows in the large dining-room, laid the floor in the hall with Roche Abbey stone and black marble, repaired the staircase in the hall, and ornamented the walls and ceiling like the old drawing-room above stairs (afterwards the library of Archbishop Markham); and in the place where the pigeon-house formerly stood he built a wash-house, and over it a laundry." He seems to have given the archbishop's stall to the chapel, "which," says Canon Dixon, "previously to the alterations in 1840 had over it a clumsy canopy supported by two pillars, which, when the curtains were drawn, had very much the appearance of a four-post bed. This, from the coat-of-arms over the chair, may safely be assigned to the taste of Archbishop Gilbert."

It was, however, the next archbishop, Robert Hay Drummond, "a man of parts and of the world, and a dignified and accomplished prelate," who made the greatest changes and enlargements at Bishopthorpe since the original manor-house had been first added to by Rotheram. Drummond practically transformed the entire residence, and the alterations made by him were great improvements as far as convenience

¹ *Memoirs of George II.*, ii. 374.

² Canon Dixon was at one time Vicar of Bishopthorpe.

was concerned, but the taste of the period proved a hopeless drawback to any true artistic design or continuity in the construction of the new buildings. Indeed, the preservation of the old character of the house does not seem to have occurred to the architect, Thomas Atkinson of York, who preferred to adhere to the fashionable Strawberry-Hill style of the age, and reproduced a semblance of Gothic architecture entirely wanting in its spirit. The entrance gateway which he built in 1765, partly from stone taken from the ruins of Cawood, is a striking example of this. Drummond pulled down the old stables and built the present ones, including a coach-house, brewhouse, bakehouse, and living-rooms, on the other side of the gateway. He demolished the old Early English west front of the house, and threw the whole forward, adding the present drawing-room and business-room, and greatly enlarging the entrance-hall. The servants' hall and other offices were built underneath, as well as new rooms above, and a flight of stone steps leading up to the main entrance under a somewhat florid porchway was also constructed. The archbishop, who loved the old house, spared no pains in remodeling it. Nor did he neglect the chapel and the garden. The latter he laid out anew, and the chapel windows he filled with stained glass, probably putting down the black and white marble pavement at the same time. Drummond's generosity was one of his most attractive characteristics, and he was renowned for his open-handed hospitality. The death of his wife in 1773 was a grievous blow, from which he never recovered. He died three years later at Bishopthorpe, and was buried under the altar of the parish church, according to his desire, with as little display as possible.

His successor, William Markham, occupied the see of York for nearly thirty-one years, from 1777 until 1807. He did not confine his attention to his diocese, and took no small share in public affairs. In the same year that he was consecrated to York he was appointed Lord High Almoner and a member of the Privy Council. Contemporary writers allude to his hot temper, his pompous bearing, and especially to his commanding presence. He was a friend of Lord Mansfield, and narrowly escaped from the Gordon rioters when they attacked the latter's house in London. He was also very intimate with Edmund Burke, until the trial of Warren Hastings severed their friendship, and he is said to have corrected and revised Burke's *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful*. Markham's attention to Bishopthorpe was chiefly directed to the kitchen garden of seven acres. According to a writer of 1788, he "built a large icehouse, an exceedingly good, convenient pinery, and a flued wall 181 feet in length."

Archbishop Edward Vernon, afterwards Harcourt, who succeeded him, had an even longer tenure of the primacy, which extended to nearly forty years. He lived, universally respected and esteemed, to the age of ninety, and during the reigns of five sovereigns. He customarily spent about four months of the year at Bishopthorpe, where he enlarged the beautiful grounds, laid out by Drummond, by taking in the old "coney-garth," or warren. He also made several additions to the house, one of which, the story of nurseries built above the chapel, is greatly to be regretted. The chapel itself he fitted with oak sittings, at the same time removing the white paint from the old oak pulpit. He built the present library and the

rooms above it, and probably raised the eastern part of Rotheram's wing.

The older inhabitants of the village still remember the kind archbishop and his wife, Lady Anne, who dispensed such lavish hospitality, and on Tuesday and Friday of every week gave away two loaves of bread and a threepenny-piece to the poor who flocked to their gates. Archbishop Harcourt's large private fortune enabled him to do a great deal of good work, and he contributed large sums to the restoration of York Minster, which was twice burnt in his time.

About two years before her accession as queen, Princess Victoria, to the delight of the villagers, spent nearly a week at Bishopthorpe with her mother, passing much of the time at York, and on Sunday attending the service at Bishopthorpe Church.

Archbishop Harcourt, who was much lamented, died on 5th November 1847, in the room on the north side of the dining-room. He was followed by Thomas Musgrave, the son of a tailor at Cambridge, who is said to have made clothes at one time for Archbishop Harcourt, and to have once brought his boy Thomas to Bishopthorpe, which the latter was destined to enter the second time as primate. His father was wealthy enough to give him a sound education, sending him to the first-rate grammar school at Richmond in Yorkshire, and afterwards to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he attained no little distinction. The liberality of his political views ensured his appreciation by the Whig Government, and having entered the Church, he obtained rapid preferment. In 1848 he was enthroned as primate in York Minster, and for twelve years administered the affairs of the see with moderation and good sense,

though strongly opposed to any kind of reform. He was fond of retirement, and was greatly attached to his garden and farm at Bishopthorpe. During his residence the Italian garden to the north of the house was laid out under the direction of Nesfield the artist.

The name of Archbishop Charles Longley is more closely associated with Canterbury than with York, where he spent two years only, from 1860 till 1862, when he was translated to the southern province. His successor was the much-beloved Archbishop William Thomson, who sat for over twenty-eight years, and despatched all the affairs of the see with indefatigable zeal. His tastes were scientific rather than classical, and as a youth he had interrupted his studies at Oxford by the composition of a treatise on logic, called *Outlines of the Laws of Thought*, which attracted great attention. On his accession to the primacy he found the reputation of the Church in the north at a very low ebb, the number of clergy and places of worship utterly inadequate to the rapidly increasing population, and a general feeling that the Church was an archaic and useless institution. Thomson devoted himself to the removal of this opposition, and by invariable attendance at all public meetings, by argument, preaching, and constant appeals to the northern good sense, he gradually won the affection and esteem of all classes, and converted indifference to his ideals into enthusiasm both for them and for himself. At Sheffield, where on his arrival there was only one church for eight thousand inhabitants, he was particularly successful among the manufacturing population, whose attention he riveted by his first speech in defence of the English Church. His views were liberal and tolerant, and on one occasion he expressed the opinion that in matters of doctrine or

ritual it was necessary to consider, not whether a man's views were in absolute harmony with the teaching of his Church, but whether they were so divergent as to preclude any possibility of toleration. Thomson also took a vigorous and prominent part in all ecclesiastical legislation, and was regarded as a leading authority. His labours at last broke down his health, and he died on Christmas Day 1890. He was buried in the churchyard at Bishopthorpe, his pall being carried by the working men of Sheffield, on whom he had made so profound an impression.

Various improvements were made at Bishopthorpe while he lived there. The old fish-pond between the house and the church was drained and planted with shrubs. New windows and skylights were introduced into the house. A gasometer was erected in the stableyard, which supplied the house and church until gas was laid on to the village from York in 1867, and a water-tower was built, which was used until 1898.

In the autumn of 1866 the Prince and Princess of Wales spent two or three days at Bishopthorpe, and occupied the large rooms in the north wing.

Archbishop William Connor Magee, who had acquired a brilliant reputation as an orator, both in the pulpit and in Parliament, succeeded to the primacy at the beginning of 1891, but occupied it only for the few remaining weeks of his life. Although he lived at Bishopthorpe for such a short time, he left his mark there by more than one convenient alteration. The lift from the basement to the upper story is due to him, and he closed Archbishop Frewen's door from the dining-room to the chapel, making the present one, which leads from the hall close to the earliest doorway of Archbishop Gray.

Archbishop Magee died in London, and was buried in the cathedral at Peterborough, where he had presided as bishop for over thirty years. On his death, Bishophorpe became the home of the revered Archbishop William D. Maclagan, who relinquished it only at the beginning of last year. Under his careful superintendence much was done to suit the house to modern needs; the chapel, above all, was restored in the most perfect taste, and rendered the now beautiful little oratory, consecrated for centuries to the service of God, in which the incense of prayer may worthily be offered up. The archbishop's chief addition to the house was a large room, built in 1894, which can accommodate about two hundred people, and is particularly useful for meetings and gatherings of all kinds. He also improved the library by removing part of the north wing, which shaded it from the light, and constructed a wooden staircase leading from a door in one of the Early English windows to the river terrace. The chapel is essentially the least altered part of the old thirteenth-century manor-house, and the restoration and decoration have been carried out with a due regard to its time-honoured foundation and ancient design. The crude stained glass put in by Archbishop Drummond was replaced by the exquisite workmanship of Mr. Kempe, and a new east window made, to correspond with the old and beautiful series of Lancet-Gothic windows in the south wall. The floor was lowered ten inches, and three steps added to the sanctuary, which was paved with polished black and white marble set in squares. All traces of paint were removed from the walls, the arcading and stone bench around were restored, and the doorway which once formed the entrance into the great hall was re-



Photo. by Spooner

BISHOPTHORPE PALACE.

BISHOPTHORPE PALACE FROM RIVER, YORK.

opened. Oak panelling was made to harmonise with Archbishop Frewen's work, and the unsightly heating apparatus removed and replaced by a new one in the crypt. The ceiling, now flat on account of the nurseries built overhead by Archbishop Harcourt, was coloured in squares of red and green, embellished in the sanctuary with gold. The whole work is greatly to be admired, and is a fitting memorial of the archbishop who for so many years filled his high position with so much earnestness and devotion, and has now said a last and sad farewell to the home which he loved.

One of the most interesting features of Bishopthorpe is the collection of pictures, including an almost complete series of portraits of the archbishops from Wolsey onwards, which hang in the spacious dining-room. Some of them are magnificent pictures, notably the portraits of Lamplugh and Dawes by Kneller, Markham by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Herring, which is said to be by Hogarth. There are fine pictures of Longley by Richmond, and Thomson by Oules. The portrait of Accepted Frewen by an unknown artist is not one of the best, but hangs, as that of the restorer of the dining-hall should, in the place of honour above the mantel-piece. The little picture of Wolsey is done on wood.

The entire gallery forms a splendid addition to the noble inheritance of the new archbishop, Dr. Cosmo Gordon Lang, who was enthroned in York Minster in January of last year. Fair and stately as his abode is, the thought of entering into a house with nearly a hundred rooms might almost inspire a feeling of loneliness in the heart of a bachelor who took up his work with less energy and courage. The peaceful situation,

however, the far-stretching and beautifully-wooded grounds, and the rush of the broad river below the eastern windows, all add to its charm, and cannot fail to win the affection of the newly-installed ruler of the northern province.

Durham Castle

“This is a burg renowned throughout Britain,
Established on high, stones round about
Wondrously piled. Wear floweth round,
A stream mighty in flood. And therein dwell
Full many kinds of fish 'neath its waters.

In that burg also, well-known to mankind,
Is the holy Saint Cuthbert with the head of Oswald,
Pure king, Lion of the English, and Aidan the Bishop,
Eadbert and Eadfrith—illustrious companions.
Herein with them is Ethelwold the Bishop,
With Bede the great bookman, and Bosil the Abbot,
Who kindly instructed Cuthbert the pure-heart
In learning, and he well received instruction.
And there abide for the Saint in the Minster
Unnumbered relics,
Which (honoured by many marvels as the book telleth)
Are with God's servant awaiting the Judgment.”¹

SUCH is the earliest known description of the river-girdled peninsula, on which, in the eleventh century, the castle of Durham was first planted to hold and defend the position. To this peninsula the ordering of secular and religious authority were transferred from two older Northumbrian centres, in which the rule of king and of bishop had been exercised for several centuries before Durham became the seat of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Perhaps it may give clearness to our story of the castle if something is said first of all concerning that earlier stage of

¹ Translated literally from a Saxon description of Durham, preserved in a twelfth-century copy of Simeon of Durham, in the University Library at Cambridge. Printed in the *Rolls Series* edition of Simeon, i. 221. The translation is by the Rev. Henry Ellershaw, Professor of English in the University of Durham.

Northumbrian history when sceptre and crozier were wielded elsewhere than at Durham.

A glance at the map of England will show on the east coast, not far from Berwick-upon-Tweed, Bamburgh and Lindisfarne, the primitive homes of royal and religious dominion among the Anglians of the North. On the rocky promontory of Bamburgh, King Ida built his castle at the coming of the English, and his Anglian successors ruled there after him for many a year. Even to-day the mediæval and modern representative of that chief castle of the old Northumbrian royal house still overhangs the waves that break below it.

Lindisfarne, or Holy Isle, was given by King Oswald to St. Aidan in the seventh century, when the Northumbrians accepted the Christian faith. Here his episcopal successors ruled, and established Christianity in the districts which we now call Northumberland and Durham. The body of St. Cuthbert, a saint more renowned than even St. Aidan, was their chief treasure, and was jealously guarded in the monastery church at Lindisfarne until troublous times came upon the monks.

It is then to Bamburgh and to Lindisfarne that we must look for the origin of that double sovereignty which, in the eleventh century, was united in the hands of the prelate whom the Conqueror placed in Durham. The origin of the transfer of the two jurisdictions to Durham is to be found in the disaster which befell Northumbria when the force of Danish invasion came upon it. That calamity altered all the relations of Church and State in the district, and indeed changed the whole course of history in the north of England. First the Lindisfarne clergy fled from Holy Island, when the rage of the Danes swept over the coast, and carried with them the body of St. Cuthbert :

“From sea to sea, from shore to shore,
Seven years St. Cuthbert's corpse they bore.”

And when those years of wandering were over, the congregation of St. Cuthbert, as the community were called, settled at the old Roman town of Chester-le-Street, where for 113 years the shrine was a much-sought centre of pilgrimage, to which privileges and rights were given by successive kings. Meanwhile the old Northumbrian line at Bamburgh came to an end when the Danes built up a great Danish kingdom with its capital at York. But if the royal house reigned no longer in the castle of Ida, the fortress continued to be in the main the citadel of the Earls of Northumbria, who were first set up by the Danes, and through whom the conquerors ruled over the English folk.

So the land between Tweed and Tees settled down in comparative peace under its native viceroys, who ruled in the name of the Danes, until at the close of the tenth century a great turning-point in the history of the Danish invasions is reached. In those last years of the century, when the hearts of churchmen were possessed by expectation of the speedy end of the world, fresh incursions of Danes took place. The attempt was now deliberately made to conquer England once for all, and to incorporate it into a great Scandinavian empire.

It was the rumoured approach of the earliest bands connected with this enterprise that led to the beginnings of Durham history. The story, as it was afterwards treasured up at Durham, told how the congregation of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street determined to flee with the body of the saint to Ripon, which once for a brief time had been his home. So the uprooting of the whole establishment was carried

out, and as they did in later days from fear of the Scots, so now in terror at the Danish advance men and cattle alike took the road, and crossed the Tees into Yorkshire.

The year was 995, but long before it ran out, the instant alarm began to yield, and the congregation determined to return to Chester-le-Street. Unfortunately we have no really contemporary account of how St. Cuthbert came to Durham, and are dependent upon the story which aged men who had taken part in the coming handed on and perpetuated there. At all events the two chief actors in the scene are the Bishop Aldhune and his son-in-law, Uchtred the Earl of Northumbria. Legend has been spun round the few facts that have come down to us, yet it is not impossible, perhaps, to brush away the web and to discover what lies below. The land was still disturbed, and all sorts of rumours were afloat, whilst many thought that the end of the world was near. We need not take seriously the story of the halting car, the fast and prayer, and then the divine revelation. May we not readily see that the earl was unwilling that the sacred relics should leave the district again, and that he desired them to find some safe resting-place in his dominions? Chester-le-Street, despite its Roman walls, its sanctuary and privilege, was clearly no longer tenable before a new generation of invaders, who recked nothing of sacred bond or curse. But those who fared north along the Roman road that led from the Tees to Chester-le-Street knew well the woody steep of Dunholm, which Nature had so splendidly fortified. And here it was decided, probably, between Uchtred and Aldhune, that the resting-place of the saint should be fixed. It is not improbable, too, that other considerations induced the

earl to select an impregnable position for what was now to be, in place of Chester-le-Street and of Lindisfarne, the citadel of Christianity in the north of England. The power of the earl had recently been cut short by the cession of Cumberland to the Scots, who had pushed south the frontiers of the Lothians, and it is a plausible suggestion that Uchtred desired in addition to Bamburgh a more southerly fortress to help in holding the district. But, be this as it may, the whole retinue which had followed the bier from Ripon now turned aside, and bore the body of the saint across the river and up the precipitous banks to the one spot at the summit which was then free from the dense wood that grew in profusion there.

The congregation took possession of their new refuge with all solemnity, whilst Earl Uchtred busied himself to make the place habitable. Exercising his sovereign authority, he called on all men living between Coquet and Tees (the limits at the moment of his jurisdiction, it would seem) to repair to Durham and cut down the wood, and to make ready the saint's abode. Houses were built, and before long the White Church, the first stone church at Durham, was commenced by the ready co-operation of Uchtred's people. The sacred domain of the congregation between the Tyne and the Wear, which had long since been bestowed upon the followers of the saint, was at once increased by gifts and further endowments, and thus the famous patrimony of St. Cuthbert grew towards its mediæval dimensions, when it included the greater part of the county of Durham, with Islandshire, Norhamshire, and Bedlingtonshire in Northumberland, and also Crayke, Allertonshire, and Howdenshire in the county of York.

So the crozier came to Durham, and as the Durham

chronicler truly says : “ In such wise even to the present day the episcopal see together with the saint’s body has continued in this place, the see which at the first had been set up in the Island of Lindisfarne by King Oswald and Bishop Aidan.” As for the city itself, walls were built round it, and the shrine of St. Cuthbert soon became even more attractive in its new home than it had been at Chester-le-Street, or at Lindisfarne.

We have still to see how the sceptre came to Durham. Let us pass over the troublous years that tested the strength of the new walls, with the barest mention of their character. There were renewed invasions of the Danes, whilst at least three sieges were pressed by the Scots, who at Carham in 1018 inflicted a crushing defeat upon the people of St. Cuthbert, and cut short the northern boundaries of the earl’s dominions. Yet, even so, there were intervals of peace, and the reign of Canute is probably responsible for the restoration of much that had been damaged or destroyed in the days of the Danes. Fresh endowments were made by Canute and Athelstan, which served to establish and enrich the Cuthbertine community. But the years passed on, and at last the Norman invasion opens a chapter of desperate resistance, of submission made and forgotten, of treacherous bloodshed, and then ends with the story of that blackened, ruined Northumbria, in the midst of which Durham Castle first took its rise. It was in the autumn of 1066 that William of Normandy fought the battle of Hastings, and at Christmas in Westminster Abbey he was hallowed as King of the English. Although the Archbishop of York crowned the Conqueror, there were few in Northumbria, at all events, who meant to submit. We can imagine how the citizens of Durham sought for news, and what busy, eager questioning there was

as to the future. Nowhere did a more strong and ardent patriotism inspire the hearts of Englishmen, and when the Earl of Northumbria submitted to William and was appointed to act as his lieutenant in the north, a fierce and determined rebellion broke out. The Northumbrians took advantage of the absence of the king in Normandy, and planned a general massacre of the Normans in England. The idea was to join hands with the Danes, and to place Edgar Atheling upon the throne of England. Such was the news that came to Normandy, and brought William back to deal with this really formidable rebellion. The northerners heard of his arrival, and so great was the spell of the Conqueror that the scheme practically collapsed. But some of the fiercer spirits, if we may trust a Norman chronicler of repute, fled to Durham, whose walls had already more than once withstood a siege, and set to work to erect as strong a castle as they could within the city precincts, and so to make assurance doubly sure. Durham was now the very heart of the English cause in the north. Gospatric, the new earl, was only one of several great nobles who rallied the Northumbrians to resist the advance of William. Their chance of success might seem to promise well, for the people of the district had never yet owned the Conqueror as lord, whilst the adhesion of Malcolm, King of Scotland, cemented a wide and compact opposition extending from York right into Scotland. But once more when news came, not now of William's arrival in England, but of his stern and massive march as far as Warwick, the Northumbrians, for all their brave array, began to melt away. The earl and Edgar, and other representatives of the English cause, fled into Scotland, and the rest, after lingering on within the fastness of

Durham, took refuge in various corners where they thought that the Normans could not penetrate. Meantime William had reached York, where several submissions were made, and among those who did homage was the Bishop Ethelwine—up to this time, apparently, with all his people a steadfast opponent of the Normans.

But the hearts of the men of Durham were not with their bishop. William had found out that he could not trust Englishmen in places of importance, and so he appointed as Earl of Northumbria Robert Comine, one of his own followers. The tragedy that followed was never forgotten by conqueror or by people. The new earl came to Durham with a force of 700 men, and lodged with his only friend in all the hostile city, Bishop Ethelwine. But how could the men of Durham accept a foreign earl, when even in Danish days a native Northumbrian ruler had always been their chieftain? Next morning, before dawn came on that cold winter's day, the inhabitants rose and murdered the earl's soldiery until the streets ran with blood, and every place seemed full of corpses. The bishop's house was close to the church apparently, and in no connection with the castle, whatever it may have been, which the malcontents had built a year or two before. Vengeance for the massacre was delayed, but it could not be long delayed, for the Northumbrians were already rallying again to the banner of Edgar Atheling, their chosen prince of the old English line. When, then, the patriot forces concentrated at York, William began to move his forces, and came upon the city, slaying, capturing, or putting to flight the whole army of the English. Durham itself, for the present, was left untouched, and the legend of later days ran that the troops of William were unable to reach the

city owing to some Egyptian darkness which the intercession of St. Cuthbert had produced. Probably the king's services were required in the south, and no doubt, the chosen warriors, apart from the ecclesiastics of Durham, had suffered condign punishment at York.

Later in this year the implacable resentment of the northern English towards the Normans was exhibited when another rising took place in favour of Edgar Atheling. The prospect of success seemed so bright that the cowed and broken northerners plucked up heart, and joined the troops of Danes who poured into the country. All the people joined in exultingly, and their short-lived joy was long remembered. Again William marched, and this time there was to be no premature clemency, and no turning back. He meant to teach English, Danes, and Scots alike that no resistance could prosper, and to teach it once for all. It may be doubted whether the ordinary reader of English history takes in the full extent and horror of the ruthless Norman vengeance. The sack of York was pitiable enough, but it was only the beginning of woes. Every historian of the period unites to picture the scene in the most lurid colours, and when we place together the various local lines of tradition that they have handed down, we read surely the most pitiful page in English history. The Durham monk who preserved the Durham recollection says that the harrying of Northumbria, which lasted the winter through, whilst men were slain and houses were burnt, produced an unequalled scene of misery. "It was dreadful," he tells us, "to see human corpses all rotting in houses, streets, and highways, whilst the stench filled the air with deadly exhalations, for all the people being cut off by the sword or by famine there was none left to

bury them. The land was nothing but a dreary waste for nine years, with none to till it. Between York and Durham there was not one inhabited town; only lairs of wild beasts and haunts of robbers struck terror to the hearts of all wayfarers." The Norman chronicler tells us how William "in the fulness of his wrath ordered the corn and cattle, with the implements of husbandry, and every sort of provisions, to be collected in heaps and set on fire till the whole was consumed, and thus destroyed at once all that could serve for the support of life in the whole country lying beyond the Humber." Nor did conscience let William forget his cruel action. In his death-bed discourse, a rhetorical composition based, no doubt, on his actual words, the Conqueror is represented as saying: "I fell on the English of the northern counties like a ravening lion. I commanded their houses and corn, with all their implements and furniture, to be burnt without distinction, and large herds of cattle and beasts of burden to be butchered wherever they were found. It was thus that I took revenge on multitudes of both sexes by subjecting them to the calamity of a cruel famine; and by so doing, alas me! became the barbarous murderer of many thousands, both young and old, of that fine race of people."

The harrying of Northumbria was confined to the district between Durham and York, so that the city of Durham was now the boundary between the old patrimony of St. Cuthbert (Tyne to Wear) and the devastated district extending from the Wear to the Ouse. Of that wide belt of desolation William of Malmesbury said some years later: "The ground for more than sixty miles (about the distance from York to Durham), totally uncultivated and unproductive, remains bare to the present day."

But to return to the Conqueror. Ethelwine the bishop fled to Lindisfarne with the body of St. Cuthbert when he heard of the Norman approach, and left his cathedral to become a hospital for the sick and dying who were borne thither for sanctuary. And this was the scene which William witnessed when for the first but not the last time he saw Durham. With the spring Ethelwine came back, but only to find himself deposed and outlawed on charges which are rather obscure, yet seem to indicate that William could not trust his loyalty. It was indeed part of the king's policy at this time to exclude Englishmen from important posts and to put foreigners in their places. After an interval, a successor was appointed, and for the first time in the history of the see a bishop from over the seas was appointed. It is interesting to determine the motives of the choice. Walcher was not a Norman (perhaps it was unsafe to place a Norman in Durham), but a man from Lorraine. This was a district, in part corresponding to the modern kingdom of Belgium, and according to Dr. Freeman its history was such that Englishmen could not regard its inhabitants as utter aliens. With the Church of Lüttich (Liège), with which he had been connected, the Normans had long had some correspondence, and at least one bishop of William's appointment had been educated there. Possibly, too, the wide sway and peculiar jurisdiction of Lüttich were thought to be a good training school for one who was to rule over a see that in its constitution and arrangement was already unusual. Walcher himself was worthy of the post, and is described by the Durham historian as "of noble birth, of no slight attainment in divine and human learning." He also mentions the bishop's reverend white hair, and his excellent life and integrity.

So Walcher was consecrated at Winchester, and sent with all possible honour to Durham, Gospatric, the disaffected Earl of Northumbria, being bidden to convey the new prelate in state from York to his diocese. And thus for the first time, probably, a Bishop of Durham crossed the Tees to take possession of his see. This function was the last in which Gospatric took his part as earl. In the same year, 1072, Waltheof, a young Normanised Englishman of the old Northumbrian line, was appointed earl. Waltheof had pursued a chequered career, sometimes in favour, and sometimes in disgrace, yet generally a favourite with English and Normans too. He had recently been induced to make a final submission to the king, and was probably marked out as earl, not only because he represented the old Northumbrian house, but because he had become half a Norman by residence abroad and by association with the conquerors.

It is on Waltheof and Walcher that we must now fix our eyes, for the one was the builder of Durham Castle, and the other was its first occupant. Both came to a violent end in those unsettled days. At his consecration, when Walcher drew all eyes to him by his venerable appearance and his ruddy countenance, the widowed queen of Edward the Confessor exclaimed, "What a goodly martyr we have here!"—a prophecy which the event brought to mind. However impressive he might be, and however pompous his entrance into Durham, it could avail nothing in the face of the fact that he was a foreigner. Waltheof was a great contrast to the prelate. He cannot have been much more than twenty-three years of age, "with deep chest, muscular arms, and in his person tall and robust." A strong and almost romantic friendship

grew up between the old bishop and the earl. It would almost seem that they occupied Durham together, for no mention is made of Bamburgh. Just for three years they were associated together, and Waltheof supported Walcher by his presence in church synod, and by giving effect to the bishop's monitions for the good of the Church. Durham Castle is an evidence of that friendship, for the castle was built by Waltheof for the special protection of the bishop and his retinue. The earl knew the hostility of the men of Durham, and desiring no repetition of the Comine scene, he overawed by his presence and his castle any thought of rising. We have no plan and no description of Waltheof's buildings, but the evidence of the existing fabric and a rather later account help us to fill out the design. We must imagine a barbican and entrance gate through which access is gained to a courtyard. In front rises a square and massive tower, in which the Norman chapel and the first Norman hall were situated. To our left (where the kitchen now stands) there is another equally massive tower. To the right, upon the motte or mound, the Norman keep ascends. All these main buildings are united by curtain-walls, whilst the angles of the general plan are marked by rounded turrets. The building was begun in 1072, and William, returning that year from a march into Scotland, must have seen, when he came to Durham, the beginnings of the Norman castle. Norman masons and Norman architects, possibly under the king's sanction, must have been sent for by Waltheof to carry out the work. To this visit of William belongs one of the most curious and persistent of Durham legends. He can have had little reverence for St. Cuthbert, round whose shrine such desperate resistance to the Norman had

gathered inspiration. And when the story tells us of his professed scepticism, of rough threats, and of a sudden miraculous stroke that convinced the king, we shall not be treating the legend cavalierly if we understand that he actually thought of demolishing the shrine and dispersing its disaffected guards, when a sudden attack of malarial fever (not an unknown visitant at Durham) wrought on his fears, roused the voice of conscience, and compelled him to get outside the patrimony of St. Cuthbert as quickly as possible. After this he confirmed every privilege of the cathedral, and so established anew not merely ancient customs and rights, but the sanctity and prestige of Durham.

It is scarcely likely that Waltheof saw the completion of the castle. He was executed in 1075, in consequence of rash participation in a design against William. His fate invested him with a halo, and his grave at Croyland became a centre of pilgrimage. Bishop Walcher was thus left single-handed, with none to trust save his own retinue. The vacant earldom was now bestowed upon Walcher, and it does not seem impossible that William had designed this. At all events, for the first time in the history of Durham we get the union of chief secular and religious authority in the hands of a bishop. There is indeed nothing to prove that any bishop held this double power before Walcher, wide as the estates of the bishop may have been long before this. Clearly it was centred at the castle, from which the see and the earldom in Walcher's time were both administered. It cannot, however, be said that the bishop proved a great success. There were many difficulties, and more than one hint suggests that everything was disorganised owing to the recent pillage and famine. Exaction

seems to have taken place, and this, combined with the insolent presence of the Norman soldiers of the earl-bishop, served to intensify his unpopularity. At last the murder of an important Englishman was thought to be by his connivance, and resentment rose to fever-height. Walcher had no fear. He left the shelter of his castle, where he might have been safe, and faced a tumultuous assembly of his tenants and dependents at Gateshead. Here some of the officers who were most obnoxious were put to death, and the bishop himself, venturing out to the angry mob, was seized and killed, whilst their leaders shouted, "Schort red, god red (Short reckoning, good reckoning); slae ye the bischop." Then the mass of them broke away from the church door where this took place, and rushed off over the intervening few miles to sack and destroy the hated castle at Durham. The building had been begun only eight years before, but the fortifications, at all events, were complete. For three full days the crowd strove to take the fortress, but in vain. Vengeance soon followed this act of rebellion against William, and the countryside was laid waste, not this time to the south of the Wear, where all was still desolate, but northward, we must suppose, towards the Tyne. This done, a garrison of Norman soldiers was placed in the castle to overawe the men of Durham.

The castle had successfully withstood the first siege. Walcher's successor was a genuine monk, William of Carleph, a monastery in Maine. He did not hold the earldom, but his powers were ample. In his days a great change took place, when the old Cuthbertine congregation was dispossessed, and Benedictine monks were established at Durham. Up to this time the canons seem to have been secular, living on their own estates and coming to Durham, perhaps,

in turn. But under the direct sanction of the great reforming Pope Hildebrand, Carileph succeeded in obtaining license for the alteration. In this way we get the origin of the famous Benedictine Priory of Durham, whose glory grew until the dissolution of the house in 1539. Soon after this act, however, the bishop fell into disfavour with William Rufus, and was exiled to Normandy. During his absence Rufus seized upon the castle, which underwent its second siege a year or two later, when Malcolm made an inroad into Northumbria and surrounded the city. Once more the fortifications, which had already withstood the murderers of Walcher, proved to be too strong for the Scots. Carileph returned shortly after this, and set to work to build that noble Norman cathedral which forms as well a turning-point in the history of Lombardic architecture as the special glory of the north of England. He would seem to have devoted to its building the revenues of the abbey of Waltham, which the Conqueror had made a special grant to Walcher for the building of the castle.

Flambard was the next bishop, and his episcopate is a time of no little glory in the annals of Durham. He cleared the crowded space between castle and cathedral; he built the bridge below the castle, and fortified it; he gave the castle a new line of defence by building a wall from the Norman apse of the cathedral until it reached the keep; he organised the finances and administration of the bishopric. But what most impressed his age was the translation of the shrine of St. Cuthbert to the spot which it has ever since occupied at the east end of the church. From this moment, whatever may have been the prestige of St. Cuthbert, it increased rapidly, and that concentration of north-country pilgrims began which we see reflected

in the pages of Reginald of Durham, a twelfth-century monk, who wrote a book of the wondrous deeds of healing performed in connection with the saint. Certainly the great fortress, the massive walls of the city, and the majesty of the growing cathedral, must have impressed the visitor in no ordinary degree. It was in Flambard's days that a young south countryman called Laurence came to Durham. He had been trained in Waltham Abbey, which, as we have seen, had a Durham connection. Waltham was now a college of regular canons, but Laurence desired to become a monk, and that was why he came to the north. Geoffrey Rufus, Flambard's successor, marked the ability of Laurence, and made him his chaplain and advanced him to high position in the administration of the see. From writings which he afterwards composed, we get a glimpse of the life and even of the amusements of the bishop's retinue. There were not merely the offices of religion, but pastimes such as Christmas revels in the castle, or the chase of the wild boar; and Laurence knew well the points of horse and hawk. He describes, too, the country round Durham—its forests, its great hunt in Weardale, its wolves and boars, its fish and fowl, its silver ore, its famous breed of horses, its corn and honey. He has a genuine enthusiasm for the rich, productive country, unspoiled as yet by modern mining and coke-ovens.

But a sad change came over the Durham that Laurence loved. We have reached the period of anarchy that followed the death of Henry I. in 1135. There were two parties: the one followed Stephen, and the other supported the Empress Maud. Bishop Geoffrey took the side of Stephen. David, King of Scotland, naturally upheld his own niece Maud, but not entirely for her own sake. He saw in the divided

interest his own opportunity, and he planned to win over the bishop, or, failing that, to make himself suzerain of the earldom of Northumbria. Terrible years of battle and bloodshed followed, in which the tide of success ebbed and flowed. At one point it was only the swift occupation of city and castle by Stephen that saved Durham from siege, if not from sack. At another stage the Scots encroached to the Tees, but left Durham untouched, and pushing on into Yorkshire were beaten back at the Battle of the Standard, when Archbishop Thurstan of York rallied the Yorkshiremen to defend their territory under the sacred banners of St. Peter, St. Wilfrid, and St. John of Beverley. Next year in Durham Castle a convention was signed, which recognised David's son Henry as Earl of Northumberland, but reserved to the Bishop of Durham all the rights of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, which had been violated in the last four years of warfare. But this convention was only a breathing-space. After the Battle of the Standard, William Cumin, the chancellor of King David, had been for a time imprisoned in Durham Castle, where his gaoler was none other than Bishop Geoffrey, who in former days had been the friend and patron of Cumin. This Cumin (an ominous name in Durham) soon became the centre of one of the most remarkable episodes in Durham history. In 1141 the bishop lay dying in his castle, and was visited by him. In a moment, all the outline of a daring plan suggested itself to the ambitious imagination of the visitor. It was nothing less than that Cumin, who was probably a deacon only, should be the next Bishop of Durham. But this meant the reopening of the whole question of Scottish authority, together with the rival claims of Stephen and Maud, which had been settled in Durham

Castle two years before, when the convention was signed. Eagerly King David took the matter up, and when the bishop died Cumin was sent to seize the temporalities of the see, which Maud confirmed to him. So Cumin took up his residence in the castle, and sought the recognition of the chief men of the bishopric, and above all of the monks, with whom the election lay. For two years this mock bishop secured himself in the castle, and, if he failed to win over the monks to his side, he was able to impose upon the unwary by forged papal recommendations purporting to come from Pope Innocent II. But at Rome the true state of affairs was known, and a mandate was sent bidding the loyal monks to make their election at York, as Durham was in the hands of Cumin. They were able to elude the vigilance of the pseudo-bishop's emissaries, and William of St. Barbe, the Dean of York, was elected, and then at Winchester consecrated with all dignity by no less than ten prelates. Cumin's rage was beyond control when he heard of his rival. But the castle was his, and troops apparently were at his command, and he could overawe the monks in the cathedral. War began between the true and the false bishop, when William found that men were ready to flock to his banner. He took up his position by the Church of St. Giles, on a lonely spot overlooking the city, to which the monks contrived to send a message of confidence and loyalty. But Cumin detected their envoy, and stormed the cathedral, and turning out every monk of whose allegiance he was doubtful, proceeded to silence the sacred offices and to desecrate the building. The city, too, was full of scenes of horror, where rapine and murder stalked unchecked. Bishop William had tried an unsuccessful assault upon the castle, and then fell back, it would

seem, because he was afraid of being cut off by the really strong outposts which the troops of Cumin held on the main approaches to Durham. But William was in communication with prelates and potentates outside the bishopric. The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle joined him in a parley with Cumin, but to little purpose, until their arguments were reinforced by the unexpected adhesion of David's son, Henry, Earl of Northumberland. At last the troops of the earl, joined by the retainers of some of the greatest barons of the bishopric, pushed on to Durham, where Cumin's men did their last act of mischief in firing the houses which nestled for protection below the great walls of the fortress. Cumin saw himself unable to face the growing opposition to his indignities, and finally, when the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle accompanied Bishop William into Durham, Cumin made a repentant submission to his rival, and surrendered the castle, which had been held by him for nearly three years.

No one took a more anxious interest in the fate of castle and cathedral in those days of blasphemy and rebuke than Laurence the monk. The one benefit of that stormy usurpation to ourselves is the fact that Laurence has left us some description of Durham as it had been under Bishops Flambard and Geoffrey, and Durham as it was when Cumin turned it into a den of thieves. He, no doubt, was one of those whom Cumin drove out of the cathedral, and his own sufferings added pathos to the account which he wrote of his old home and surroundings. His poem takes the form of a dialogue between himself and two friends, Peter and Philip, to whom he details one spring morning, after his return to Durham, the anarchy of the reign in general, and in particular the

recent misery of Durham. From the lamentations of Laurence, however, we may pass to his incidental picture of the castle as he knew it before leaving it at Bishop Geoffrey's death. He gives a general sketch of the peninsula, its encircling wall, its three gates, its lofty position, its impregnable character, and its precipitous river banks. Then, in heavy and often turgid monkish Latin verse, he describes his old home into which Cumin intruded himself. The general scheme, as the building had been built by Waltheof and to some extent altered by Flambard's wall, it is not difficult to follow, but the details are sometimes perplexing. Laurence is writing verse, and the exigence of metre frequently leads him to choose a word which is obscure, and sometimes ambiguous. Some passages will always remain for archæologists to dispute with authorities on mediæval verse. An attempt may be made to give in verse some idea of what Laurence says, but those who wish to fix his meaning on details must have recourse to the poem itself: ¹—

“ Upon the motte the keep sits like a queen,
With threatening aspect reckons all her own,
Grim from the gate below, straight up the mound,
A wall makes for this donjon's pleasant site.
Whilst to the upper air the keep ascends,
Massive within, without in brave array.
Within, a base three cubits thick doth rise,
A base compact of solid earth beat hard ;
Above this looms the fortress higher still,
Conspicuous and comely in its show.
'Tis seen to rest on twice two pillars here,
Each firm-knit angle boasts a pillar too,
Whilst at the sides connecting walls unite,
And each one ends in frowning curtain wall.
Then from the building to the battlement
A stair gives easy access by its steps,
And thus arriving at the top the way

¹ Edited by Dr. Raine for the Surtees Society, 1858, vol. lxx.

Gives frequent access to the summit there.
 The keep itself presents a rounded form :
 Position, art, conspire to give it grace.
 Hence to the castle downward looks a bridge
 Affording quick return both up and down,
 Wide as it is, descending to the base
 With narrow steps, not headlong in its flight.
 Beside it from the keep a wall runs down
 And turns its face toward the setting sun,
 Then bending back right up the air-swept bank
 Comprises in its course an area large,
 Until at last it feels the northern blast
 Strong as before, and gains the keep once more.

The space surrounded by this lofty wall,
 By no means void, of buildings holds a store ;
 Two mighty palaces, with many a vault beneath,
 Attest the skill of their artificers.
 Here, too, there gleams on columns six upreared
 The chapel, not too large but beautiful.
 Here room joins room, and house joins house,
 For everything and every one its use.
 Here vestments, sacred vessels, polished arms
 Arrest the eye. Here money, meat, and bread
 Are stored—fruit, wine, and beer ; whilst purest flour
 Has its own place, and yet in all the array
 Of clustered buildings none is idle here.
 The castle's inner court unoccupied
 Contains a well of water always full.

There is a gate of lofty height so strong
 That few, nay women weak, could hold it safe.
 In front a bridge is laid across a moat
 And stretches widely to the other side.
 Till safely flanked with walls it meets the green
 Where joyous youth so often held its sports.
 The castle wall wards off the northern blast
 So does the keep upon the lofty mound ;
 Another wall runs from the keep full south
 Protracted to the church's eastern bound."

The keep needs little explanation. It was first built, perhaps, by the fugitives mentioned above, in 1069. It was round, and rested upon pillars, though the

character of the base is obscure, and may be explained by some concrete foundation. From the corners of the keep curtain walls descend, one of which, as we have seen, was built by Flambard, and is probably the one specially named in the concluding two lines. Down below is the castle proper, which connects by a series of steps with the keep. Another of the walls connecting with the angles of the keep sweeps round towards the west, and bends back on the southern side until it reaches the keep again. This wide expanse encloses the main buildings—two vast square Norman towers, one of them containing the Norman chapel (no hall is mentioned), the other, perhaps on the west, comprising the chief store-rooms. Between these is a vacant space with a well, and that has been recently discovered. Two gates are mentioned—the one on the north side with which the big wall from the keep connects; the other where its modern representative still stands, between the cathedral and the castle. The northern gate was finally destroyed in 1820. The Palace Green (Place-Green is the correct form), to which the drawbridge gives access, had been cleared by Flambard, and is still the chosen playground of Durham children. The garrison was, almost obviously, quartered in the keep, and here the dungeons were to be found. Their locality is further fixed by the book of Reginald the Monk, written in Pudsey's time, to which some reference has already been made. He describes the imprisonment of a certain malefactor within the castle in such terms that the only possible identification is clearly indicated. Incidentally Reginald also mentions not merely the prison in the keep, but the lofty battlements with their warders, the sentinel on duty at the barbican, the porter sitting before the doorway, the

massive entrance gates with their heavy bar, and the mint of the bishop. This last was a special privilege bestowed upon Bishop Geoffrey as a reward for his allegiance to King Stephen.

But the reference to Reginald is a slight anticipation. We must return to Laurence. When William of St. Barbe died in 1153, Laurence had already been elected Prior of Durham, and we may well believe that no other monk in the house was a possible rival. The prior and his monks probably desired a strong bishop, and their choice fell upon Hugh Pudsey, a nephew of the late king, and therefore cousin of Henry II. The fidelity of Durham to the House of Stephen made the election natural, but great opposition was manifested, and the famous St. Bernard himself was brought into the dispute. Pudsey, however, was duly consecrated, and entered upon that long tenure of office which left an ineffaceable mark upon Durham, and upon the development of what we must now begin to call the palatinate power of the bishop. In the very early days of his episcopate a grave disaster befell the castle, in a conflagration which spread from the city below and gutted the north side, and probably the west of the fortress. The calamity appears to have been predicted by St. Godric, the hermit of Finchale, whose cell was frequently visited by those who desired to consult the saint, and even by Bishop William himself. No doubt the fire described by Reginald is the same. He tells us how fire was always dreaded at Durham, as indeed it still is to-day. On this occasion the flames ravaged the buildings (no doubt erected since Cumin's destruction of the suburbs) on the north side of the peninsula, whilst a strong north wind drove the sparks right over the castle, despite the frantic efforts made to prevent damage

by them. Some of the most important parts of the building were thus destroyed, including probably the Norman hall of Waltheof, and all the store-rooms and chambers to which Laurence makes such detailed reference. The chapel was unharmed, and the keep was spared, thanks to the banner of St. Cuthbert, Reginald tells us, which was borne across from the cathedral by the monks and suspended from a spear. The sadly injured castle apparently bore the signs of its desolation for many a long day.

A further loss of prestige now occurred. The reign of Henry II. witnessed a vigorous attempt of the King of England to push up the frontiers of his realm to the Tweed. His grasp of the northern counties was at first firmly maintained, and his recognition of the bishop's rights and authorities was ample. But in 1173 came the rebellion of Prince Henry, who fixed his eyes upon the northern extremity of the king's wide dominions as a possible bribe to the King of Scotland for his co-operation in the prince's scheme. In this way all the old ambitions of David to achieve an effective suzerainty over Northumbria were revived, and William the Lion of Scotland lent a ready ear to the rebel prince. It was Pudsey's opportunity to show himself valiant for the king, but he made the fatal step of declaring his neutrality, and offered no protest or opposition to the advance of William into Northumberland :

“ Then says King William : ‘ Hear, my knights.
Throughout Northumberland I will take my way :
There is no one to oppose us ; whom should we then fear ?
The Bishop of Durham (behold his messenger)
Informs me by his letters he wishes to remain at peace.
Neither from him nor his forces we shall have disturbance.’ ”¹

For this passive part in the rebellion Bishop Pudsey

¹ From the Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme, ll. 531-36. Surtees Society, vol. ii. p. 27.

had to pay an ignominious penalty in the surrender of his three great castles, Norham, Durham, and Northallerton. The people of Durham had to witness the march in of a royal garrison, who took possession of Durham Castle, which seems at this period to be called consistently the Tower of Durham, a title which bears out the destruction caused by the fire some twenty years previously. But Pudsey got the castle back again during the next few years, yet only to lose it once more in 1181, when he angered the king over some demand made. It is to this period of recovery that we may, with great probability, refer the restoration of Durham Castle. Elaborate building was undertaken by the prelate, which more than restored its early glory. Thirty years of comparative peace had brought the patrimony of St. Cuthbert to a pitch of prosperity which it had never yet known. The ravages of Cumin and the more distant harrying of Odo were forgotten at last, and men rejoiced in the dignity and prestige that this able bishop had brought to the bishopric. It is, indeed, probable that this name "bishopric" was now first associated *par excellence* with the various members of the territory of St. Cuthbert in Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, a name which the district retained until a period within living memory. What caught the imagination in Pudsey's time is the considerable accession to the bishop's power, contributed by the special circumstances of the day. Pudsey had long desired to go on crusade to the East, and had made large collections for the purpose. The design was stimulated by the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. When Richard succeeded to the crown in 1189, the king conceived that plan of unprecedented magnificence which is associated with his name. He knew Pudsey's wish, and soon began to negotiate with him,

as he did with other great lords, for the sale and transfer of lands and rights which might be turned into money. To the south of Durham lay the wapentake and manor of Sadberge, which had never been merged in the patrimony of St. Cuthbert. King Richard, therefore, proposed to make over to the bishop for a money consideration the earldom of Northumbria, which had of late been so greatly coveted by Scotland, and to round off the possessions of St. Cuthbert by the addition of Sadberge. Thus, once more, as in the days of Walcher, Durham became the seat of the bishop's double power, religious and secular, and Pudsey ruled supreme from the Tees to the Tweed, though for a brief period only, as further difficulties with the king soon resulted in the loss of his newly-acquired dignities. It is no improbable suggestion that the restoration of the castle is connected with the added prestige of Pudsey at the beginning of Richard's reign. At all events, to some such time we refer the building of the doorway which led into a Norman hall cut up into various rooms in later days. This doorway is one of the most remarkable specimens of late Norman work in England. It displays three concentric arches, which are richly moulded, and exhibit a striking contrast to the simple decoration of the capitals in the chapel, which are a century older. Of the three arches, the outer one has a number of panels octagonal in shape, and very deeply sunk; the second may be described in heraldic language as billety; whilst the last has square panels. Both the second and the third are decorated with beading. The tympanum so formed must have had at one time a hood of some kind to cover it, for it has been successfully shielded from the weather. The shafts at the side had no such protection, and have been much injured, and indicate a good

deal of repair, which has spoiled the rose and lozenge mouldings which decorated the spaces between the shafts. We must imagine a large double staircase (of which the footing has been recovered) leading from the courtyard to this doorway, so giving access to Pudsey's hall. The splendid preservation of this rich doorway is partly due to the fact that it was closed at one time, and continued so to be until Bishop Barrington opened it out—discovered it in fact—at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Whose ill-taste hid up Pudsey's work we do not certainly know, but it must have been done after the gallery of Bishop Tunstall was built in the sixteenth century, for he left a large window to light up the beauties of the doorway. Not improbably Bishop Crewe is the culprit. It may be added that Pudsey built nobly elsewhere in the diocese, and that in almost every case structural defects manifested themselves, so that the Galilee in the cathedral and the north side of the castle have caused much trouble and expense in later days. We are able to specify the individual on whom the blame rests. Richard the Engineer, whose name has come down to us in more than one document, was a magnificent architect but an inferior engineer, and it is no doubt due to his imperfect skill that such grave structural errors were committed in Pudsey's buildings. If we try to restore in imagination the general character of Pudsey's work in the castle, we must picture a large Norman hall to which his doorway gave entrance. On the northern side were the ordinary rounded windows, some of them enlarged in a much later century, when the hall has been cut up into various rooms. Above it was a second hall, reached by a staircase still existing, perhaps divided from it, but more probably looking into it as in the keep at New-

castle. This upper story was known as the Constable's Hall, and here dwelt the constable, who was one of the chief officers of the palatinate. Some of its decoration still survives, though it has been badly treated in modern times.

With Pudsey the twelfth century nearly ran out, and a full hundred years followed, which left little or no permanent mark upon the castle. Yet more than one royal visitor was entertained here: King John twice over in 1216, when he came to deal with the recalcitrant barons of the north; King Henry in 1255; and Alexander of Scotland in 1272. There were anxious passages on several occasions between the bishops and the great barons, like the Balliols of Barnard Castle, the Nevilles of Raby, and others as well, who strove in those long years of Henry's misrule to shake themselves free in one way and another from the bishop's authority. It may serve to show how deeply Flambard and Pudsey had driven the foundation on which the great authority of the mediæval Bishop of Durham now rested, that on the whole these important barons failed to free themselves of the bishop's control. His disputes with them, however acrimonious, ended in his favour, and were allowed by the king without question. The sad lack of documents, which the historian of twelfth and thirteenth century Durham has to lament, prevents us from being able to trace the development and organisation of the bishop's power, but it is quite clear that he had since Walcher's time come to hold over the bishopric an autocratic sway like that of a king. And so all his quarrels with barons and others resemble the feuds between the king and his barons in the larger realm outside, with this difference, that the Bishop of Durham was able to dictate terms, whilst

the barons of England imposed their demands upon King John and King Henry.

All this development of control over his dominions meant the concentration of an enormous amount of business in and around Durham Castle. The precincts must have held not merely the residence of a large staff of officials who administered the palatinate jurisdiction, but as well a number of offices in which law was administered, finance controlled, military and naval organisation directed. The result of this centralisation of manifold departments at Durham was natural enough, in that the bishop resided less and less at the castle save on occasions of state, so to speak, when some great visitor was received there, or when a banquet was given, or when invasion was threatened. Probably another reason for the bishop's preference for his castle at Stockton, or his manors in Bishop Middleham, Darlington, and elsewhere, is to be found in the growing importance of the Prior of Durham. The lands of the prior, as opposed to the lands of the bishop, had first been divided by Carileph. Poor enough at the end of the eleventh century, the monastery lands had increased in value and in extent in the meantime, and with them the prestige of the prior. But Durham was not large enough for two kings to reign within her, and thus the bishop kept away from possible conflict and jealousy between monastery and castle, save when special circumstances brought into unquestioned prominence his own authority and dignity. One survival from the wreck of mediæval documents still exists in the shape of Bishop Kellaw's magnificent register of the palatinate, which was probably drawn up within the castle, and is our chief means of information as to the varied business of the bishop's dominions. From it we are able to conjecture the general character of

the somewhat earlier days, when this complexity of affairs was growing up.

Before the thirteenth century ended a new chapter opened in the history of the castle. The days of internal disputes between bishop and barons and bishop and monastery were, generally speaking, a time of peace, so far as external troubles were concerned. During the reigns of the first three Edwards troubles with Scotland constitute a large portion of general English history, and the Palatinate of Durham bore the brunt of those troubles. The great storm fell in the fourteenth century, when few years were without a record of raid, but some preliminary showers descended as early as 1277, when the Scots began to encroach. From this point the bishop's castles came into prominence, and Durham must have changed its aspect from a peaceful hive of business to a garrison centre, from which troops were pushed up to do service within the bishopric. During all these Scottish troubles the Bishop of Durham was treated by the English king as responsible for the peace of the Borders, and we must suppose that, in earlier documents now lost, this duty and service had been recognised and accepted.

Foremost of the prelates at this time was Antony Bek, more soldier than bishop, who took the field himself against the Scots when his more peaceful measures failed to secure the match he desired between Prince Edward and Margaret, the child-queen of the Scots. Had this match been carried out the whole history of the Borders might have been different, but it was reserved for a later Bishop of Durham to succeed where Bek failed, and to negotiate that marriage of another Margaret, which ultimately led to the union of the crowns of England and Scotland. The unhappy years of interregnum that followed the death of the

little Margaret proved the opportunity of Edward of England, who claimed the kingdom of Scotland in 1296. It was in this personal visit to Scotland that Edward came to Durham, and it is very tempting to connect with the king's presence at the castle the inauguration of the large hall, which is still its chief glory. Documentary evidence is wanting, but architectural testimony fits in very well with the date named. The truncated window on the western side, for instance, is of thirteenth-century date, and that by itself is enough to bring back the building to the time of Bek, and to refer it to him instead of Hatfield, to whom it has often been ascribed. With the exception of the window referred to, the internal fittings of the hall have been greatly altered and adapted, and, as we shall see, the length of the room was shortened by Fox about 1499. The original dimensions were: height, 45 feet, length 132, breadth 36. Underneath it we may still see the original oak beams, and the arches on which it rests. The latter are of earlier date, and belong, no doubt, to Pudsey's restoration, or possibly to the first work of Waltheof. But despite all the liberties taken with it at different times, the hall remains as probably the finest English hall of that particular period. Its earliest use would be for those occasions of ceremony which Bek, "of that state and greatness as never any bishop was, Wolsey excepted," knew well how to make the most of, as when King Edward came to Durham, or Balliols or Nevilles did their homage on bended knee. That such functions were held here seems to be indicated by one chronicler, who speaks of two thrones of royal dignity, one at either end of the hall, though it is a little difficult to see what their relation may have been.¹

¹ The one, perhaps, was for secular state and the other for ecclesiastical.

The fourteenth century wore on with gathering gloom. Almost every year rumours of Scottish invasion were rife, and every officer in the castle was thrown into a state of deep anxiety. Messengers arrived from the king with urgent demands—now the bishop was to remain within the palatinate “as a brazen wall against the Scots”; now he was to lend his sovereign money; now he was to levy men and to march; now he was bidden to direct the offering of prayers for the army’s success. At this time there was no continuous garrison kept within the castle. Durham was a small city, and the castle could not house a large number of soldiers. There was, however, a carefully regulated service of castleward, and in connection with this some of the bishop’s tenants concerned had to come up to Durham and serve during so many days. They held houses near the Bailey, and the condition stipulated in the lease set out their obligation of personal service. Various sections of the town wall were under the special care and maintenance of certain tenants. Such duty must have been onerous enough in the days of which we speak. In 1312 Bruce dashed with his mobile forces through the bishopric, and is even said to have burnt the city itself, though this more probably means the houses outside the walls. The castle had kept Cumin secure nearly two hundred years before, and it is not likely that the warlike Bek suffered its defences to deteriorate. But the Scots, victorious at Bannockburn in 1314, were soon in the north again, and in 1316 they made a foray near Durham, and wreaked their will on the prior’s beautiful *refugium* at Beaurepaire, but they did not attack the city only three miles distant. How far they had forced themselves into the bishopric as a perpetual menace was seen in 1323, and again in

1325 and 1326, when royal orders came to the bishop to provision his castles, Durham being named particularly.

Edward III. inherited the legacy of the northern warfare which had descended to him from his father and grandfather. But where the second Edward failed his son succeeded. Just before the battle of Halidon Hill, in 1333, where the tide of war turned in favour of the English, an interesting Durham episode took place. Edward was in Durham, where Prior de Couton entertained him instead of Bishop Beaumont, who was probably away from Durham. Queen Philippa, a frequent companion of her husband during his campaigns, arrived within a few days at the abbey, not doubting her welcome, and took supper with the king. But she did not know the Durham custom, and when she sought the king's chamber, her presence within the monastery was judged to be a grave violation of rule. Some monk plucked up courage to tell the king, who counselled his wife to rise and seek some other lodging for the night. Unwilling to anger St. Cuthbert, she threw a cloak over her shoulders and hurried off through the abbey gate, and passing along the Bailey and Lyegate, soon made her way to the castle, where we may hope the constable gave her a better reception. Within three months of this visit Edward won the battle of Halidon Hill, and so began to retrieve past disasters. How far bishopric musters took part we do not know, but some years later, in 1346, Durham men who held the centre gave a good account of themselves at Neville's Cross, just outside the city. Intense local interest was naturally taken in what is sometimes called the Battle of Durham, and the tomb of the bishopric baron, Ralph Neville, who won the day, is still to be seen in Durham Cathedral. The great event in

the battle was the capture of David Bruce, the King of Scotland, who in all probability was first taken to the castle before being lodged at Ogle. The same year had been signalled by the victory of Crécy two months earlier, and the double event brought more glory to England than any previous record of arms.

Bright visions were conjured up in the months that followed, but they soon faded away before the terrible gloom which the Black Death brought in its train. Durham records give us a very detailed account of the plague and its effect. It is not too much to say that the whole palatinate was thrown into an almost hopeless state of disorganisation. Some mention has been made of the bishop's stewards and others who lived in or near the castle and administered the episcopal lands. They had to face a state of things which is without parallel in the history of Durham. The peasants had died off in hundreds, and others in sheer misery fled from the desolated lands, which went without tillage during the awful visitation. Some showed a spirit of insubordination, and refused the services that they owed, and were brought to Durham and thrown into prison within the castle until they should come to their senses. The generally submissive spirit of the peasantry changed from this point, and the duties of the bishop's officers became proportionately onerous in dealing with men who were pushing out of serfdom into they scarcely knew what, displaying in the process an increasing ill-will and reluctance towards bailiffs and others.

The Bishop of Durham during the dark days was Hatfield, whose throne in the cathedral is the throne of a king, and is symbolic of the massive power of the palatinate at that time. He was not much at Durham, yet he left his mark upon the castle, where he "renewed the buildings which had perished or decayed

through lapse of time, and he built afresh the bishop's hall, and the constable's hall, along with other buildings in this same castle." Such is the ambiguous record, but it receives a very plausible explanation if we understand the "bishop's hall" to mean not Bek's great hall, which was scarcely a century old (though Hatfield probably altered some of the windows in it), but the hall of Pudsey, to which the twelfth-century doorway described above gave access. No doubt that older building needed repair along with the constable's hall above it, and needed it because Pudsey's engineer was at fault. But Hatfield did another piece of works at the castle. He replaced the keep by a more ample structure, which was used for a hundred years until the time of Bishop Fox, and then fell slowly and surely into decay, until at last it became a menace to the houses below. Possibly Hatfield's keep may have been adapted to hold a garrison of soldiers. In his episcopate a serious theft occurred at the castle, when in 1369 a sum of no less than £2500 (an enormous amount in those days) was stolen out of the treasury of the bishop. It is tempting to connect the robbery with a large treasure-chest, which is still an object of curiosity within the building, and exhibits obvious signs of rough usage. Bound with hide and stout iron, it must have resisted the efforts exerted, and, as we can still see, only yielded its contents after saw and hatchet and brute force had been employed. Thirteen years afterwards the unnamed culprit was forgiven. Bishop Hatfield died in 1382. A few years later, when Bishop Skirlaw of Bath and Wells was translated to Durham, a survey of the bishopric was made, and a valuable piece of evidence for our knowledge of the castle precincts is thus made available. It tells us that the officials of the chancery and of the exchequer had their

dwelling-houses outside the castle proper, and on the west side of Palace Green. Close by them was the hall of justice. There were also a granary, a large barn, and other rooms as well, and these stood in front of the old gaol, which was on the same western side. Opposite them, on the east side of the green, were the mint and other offices, which apparently had been turned into dwelling-houses for the chancellor, the constable, and the mint-master. Skirlaw introduced an important change when he began to build afresh the north gate of the castle, to which with its long annexes he transferred the gaol. Bishop Langley, his successor, seems to have completed the work that Skirlaw began, though he has generally had the credit of building the whole north gate. A building for the exchequer court, separate from the single court of justice, was to come rather later.

We now pass into the fifteenth century. It cannot be said that the gloom which had so long rested upon Durham lifted for any very long interval. Pestilence, war, and dynastic confusion were frequent visitors. Ecclesiastically the interest lies in the echo of the theological strife which absorbed the attention of so many in the first thirty years of the new century. Writs came now and again to the bishop to keep his eye on persons suspected of Lollardy, and more than one clergyman was denounced to Skirlaw and his successor "for publicly teaching erroneous doctrine," or "for heretical depravity." But Durham was not greatly troubled with such influences. Bishop Langley was appointed cardinal—the only Durham cardinal, save Wolsey, who never came to Durham. Langley was much in evidence in the city, where he gained a great reputation not only as builder but as the father of his people, to whom he showed in many ways a very kindly

spirit. In his day help was freely extended to persons in sudden affliction whether by loss, bereavement, or personal injury. An episode of some importance in his episcopate was the visit of James I. of Scotland to the castle in 1424 when the long imprisonment of the young king ended, and his return to Scotland was provided for in the Treaty of Durham. The palatinate was somewhat naturally Lancastrian. Its strong Church connection helped to this end, and Langley no doubt, who had been Lord Chancellor, was appointed partly for political reasons in order to preserve peace on the Borders, and the ascendancy of the Lancastrian house.

When the cardinal died, a Neville was made bishop. But there was no faltering in the loyalty of the bishopric. Neville was of peaceful disposition, and played a leading part in more than one truce with the Scots, when Durham was the place chosen for parley and convention between representatives of both nations. It is even likely that his family connection was utilised for bringing influence to bear upon the great clans of the north to whom he was related. Certainly troubles had arisen from time to time when hunting-parties had been made the occasion of a border raid, and an attempt was made to take away all such needless causes of strife between the two nations, for which the great families were mainly responsible. In his palatinate Bishop Neville fully maintained the usual state to which the bishops had accustomed the castle. It is said that the household of an earl in the fifteenth century averaged 130 persons, but the Bishop of Durham had a larger retinue, to say nothing of the soldiers whom he could muster on occasion. There were now not merely the officers of the palatinate and of the household of whom we hear from the twelfth

century onwards, but various new servants appear. Neville makes mention of an armourer within the castle, and of a master of the horse. Long before this we have esquires, grooms, pages; and special bequests made to such servants seem to have included entertainment for a month after the funeral at the expense of the late bishop's estate. The custom of setting up the bishop's arms was now common. Langley and Skirlaw had both adorned their work with their achievements. When Bishop Neville cleared away certain buildings on the west side of Palace Green and erected his exchequer buildings there, he set before it the Neville bull, which still stands over the doorway.

A picturesque event of Neville's episcopate was the visit of Henry VI. to the castle in 1448. The glory of the reign of Henry V. was already a mere memory, and Englishmen regarded ruefully the decline of their country's prestige. And now in June and July first Alnwick and then Warkworth had been burned by the Scots. Under these circumstances the king came on pilgrimage to Durham about Michaelmas. He visited the tomb of St. Cuthbert in state, and on Michaelmas Day "was present in person at first vespers, at procession, at mass, at second vespers." The king's progress on this occasion seems to have made a pleasant impression upon him, for when on his return he reached Lincoln, he wrote the following letter:—

"Right trusty and well-beloved: We greet you heartily well, letting you wit that, blessed be Our Lord God, we have been right merry in our pilgrimage, considering three causes. One is how that the Church of the Province of York and Diocese of Durham be as noble in doing of divine service, in multitude of ministers, and in sumptuous and glorious building as

any in our realm. And also how our Lord has radicate in the people His faith and His law, and that they be as Catholic people as ever we came among, and all good and holy, that we dare say the first commandment may be verified right well in them: *Diligunt Dominum Deum ipsorum ex totis animis suis ex tota mente sua*. Also they have done unto us all great heartily reverence and worship as ever we had, with all great humanity and meekness, with all celestial, blessed, and honourable speech and blessing, as it can be thought and imagined, and all good and better than we had ever in our life, even as they had been *caelitus inspirati*. Wherefore we dare well say it may be verified in them the holy saying of the prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, when he sayeth: *Deum timete regem honorificate. Qui timent dominum et regem honorificant cum debita reverentia*. Wherefore the blessing God gave to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, descend upon them all. Written in our city of Lincoln in crastino Sti Lucae Evangelistae 1448."

Alas! the pilgrimage availed little, so far as the immediate object was concerned, for within four days of the writing of this letter the English, under the younger Percy, were defeated with great slaughter at Sarke Water, whilst in the year following the French practically regained Normandy. Troubles were hemming Henry in on every side, and the Yorkist party strove to gain adherents, whilst the Lancastrians rallied their forces to fight for the king. So in the year 1457, when the see of Durham was vacant and sides were being taken for the White or the Red Rose, Margaret, the valiant queen of the poor distracted Henry, strove to get a Lancastrian bishop elected in the person of Laurence Booth. But everything went against the Lancastrians. In the anxious days that followed the Battle of Towton the fugitive Lancastrians gathered

in the bishopric and beyond it. But ordinary business was not suspended in Durham, though the bishop must have had some anxious thoughts as to his future. A fugitive document exists which shows how routine went on in the castle. In days of peace there can have been no more important occasion than the annual audit, and we can see from the mention made in this paper how the castle was cleaned and repaired, and how stores of hay, coals, candles, and so forth were purchased. At such a time the bishop himself was usually present, and no doubt there was much good cheer and festivity whilst the various officers rendered to the receiver-general in the great hall their carefully made accounts for rents of all lands through the palatinate. Defaulters were even imprisoned in the North Gate, and in this particular year the sub-gaoler received ten shillings for good custody of fraudulent collectors. But the audit of 1461 was, for the present, the last festival for the bishop. Next year the brave queen returned from her quest of troops, and entering Northumberland, captured some Yorkist strongholds. Men began to fortify their houses with or without the bishop's licence, in order to withstand roving bands on either side. Margaret hoped against hope, whilst many life-long Lancastrians went over to the other party. Edward himself came north to direct the movement which was to sweep the Lancastrians out of Northumberland. He reached Durham Castle early in December 1462, but here he was laid low by a humiliating attack of measles—"sykenesse of masyls," an old manuscript calls it—and had to stay not only over Christmas, but until the campaign was ended. What was said by the bishop and his unwelcome guest when they met, as it may be presumed they did meet, in the castle, there is no record. But it is certain that

the bishop was treated as disaffected, and that Edward seized upon the temporalities, which were not given back to Booth until he had purged himself of suspicion, and was restored to royal favour after the final collapse of the Lancastrian cause in the north some two years later. During part of this time a garrison was placed within the castle by the king "for the safe custody of castle and city"; and as it cost £106, 3s. 10½d. for wages and general maintenance, during a period of seven months only, the force must have been considerable.

As we approach the reign of Henry VII. it is a little puzzling to find several mentions of the decay of the Bishop of Durham's castles, if Durham is to be numbered amongst those in such a condition. Richard III., for instance, on more than one occasion, wrote to the Pope and cardinals in order to get some reduction made in the fees payable by Bishop Sherwood on account of first-fruits and other dues, the reason given being that the burden of the Scottish war was too heavy a charge for the bishop to bear. The king says that the castles and towers belonging to the Church at Durham are in such a ruinous condition, partly owing to former neglect, and partly owing to the devastation committed by the Scots, that the revenues of several years would not be sufficient to restore them. It may be correct to except Durham Castle from the general condemnation, since the work of Hatfield and Langley was so recent, but it is probable that on the west side overlooking the river the Norman portion of early date needed repair. At all events, no distinct mention of any restoration in that particular part occurs so far in any known authority. The position of affairs demanded careful fortification. The palatinate had practically declared

for Richard, and as long as he was on the throne there was no fear of trouble in the bishopric. When Henry VII. became king, the hearts of the men of Northumberland and Durham could not at once feel the inspiration of loyalty to a prince whom they considered a usurper. Sherwood himself was of more than doubtful loyalty, and the obscurity that lies upon his episcopate prevents us from reading the story of his disgrace. As soon as he died, Henry appointed to office in the castle men whom he could trust. Next he translated to Durham in 1494 Bishop Fox of Bath and Wells, his own long-trying friend and counsellor. Fox was to be the repairer of the breach.

Fox reached Durham at a critical juncture. Perkin Warbeck had been plotting with the Duchess of Burgundy in view of his projected invasion of England, and soon made his way to Scotland, where James IV. received him with effusion and gave him in marriage the beautiful Lady Catharine Gordon. Between the Pretender and the King of Scotland schemes for an English war were discussed, and James readily undertook to help Warbeck with troops. Fox began his very necessary repairs by the complete restoration of Norham Castle, and it is probable that similar work was already in hand at Durham. In the midst of such preparations rapidly pushed on, the bishop received an urgent message from the king, bidding him make the following proclamation throughout the bishopric: "Forasmuch as the king our sovereign lord hath perfect understanding that his ancient enemies the Scots, continuing in their noted malice against our said sovereign lord, and this his realm and subjects of the same, intend with their power to invade this his said realm some time of the month of September next coming, pro-

posing in their said invasion to do to the subjects of our said sovereign lord nigh inhabited to the marches against Scotland all the hurt and annoyance to them possible, our said sovereign lord . . . chargeth and commandeth all and every of his subjects inhabited within the bishopric being betwixt the age of sixty and sixteen that they and every of them prepare themselves in their best and most defensible array, and be ready to give their attendance under his right trusty and well-beloved cousin the Lord Neville." The date is August 30, 1497, and the form of the document denotes the gravity of the situation. Such a missive was unusual, though not without parallel, for we can trace somewhat similar directions at other crises of grave national peril. As a rule the bishop summoned the musters on his own initiative, but a commission of array like this was ordained by the king himself. Fortunately it was a demonstration merely, for the Scots did not invade England at this time, and Fox was instrumental in arranging a treaty with King James, which was to last for seven years.

In the early days of this peace the vision which had once come to a Bishop of Durham two centuries earlier floated before the mind of Bishop Fox. Bek had failed to marry Edward II. to the infant Margaret of Norway; Fox was now commissioned to arrange a match between Margaret of England and James of Scotland. The negotiations were protracted, and many things happened before the marriage was celebrated, though it was arranged in 1499. To those who have studied Border history of this time, and are aware of the "grete extorciens, roberes, murders, and other great exorbytances and myschieves" which are characteristic of the palatinate in those troubled days, it will be almost irresistible to connect the story

of the rebuilding at Durham Castle with this match which Fox had so much at heart. It may be presumed that the works had been pushed on, and now in this auspicious year they were practically completed, so that the new buttery hatch bore not merely the legend of the bishop, *Est Deo gratia*, with his pelican, but the date 1499. Much alteration had taken place in Bek's hall, where Fox took away one of the "seats of regality," to which reference has been made, and shortened the southern end, converting the space so gained into a buttery with a pantry. He also made the two curious pulpits at the same end, which were designed, we are told, for trumpeters or musicians; but, as they are not large enough for anything like a band, we may suppose that toast-masters or pipers are intended. But the most important change was the reconstruction of the Norman tower on the west side of the castle over the river. In this Fox placed a kitchen as ample and noble as that of the prior and convent, and it is still used to-day as the castle kitchen. The finished work must have been impressive, and indeed a contemporary letter from Lord Darcy to the bishop describes quaintly a visit to the castle in August 1499. Darcy was at this time Captain of Berwick, and was returning to his post after a fortnight's hunting in Yorkshire. "My lord, both I and my lady wass in all your new warkes at Doresme, and veryly they are of the most goydly and beste caste that I hav seyn after my poyr mynd, and in especyall your kechyn passeth all other." The letter goes on to say: "We have huntyd ther with Mr. Chanciler and Mr. Tresorer, but in goyde faithe we and our servants and dogs wass so were we myght not, and therefor I was so bold oppon your lordschip that I had of your veneson bothe with me and sent

to Berwicke." The allusion to hunting is interesting, for it shows that the great officials had power to entertain in the bishop's absence. The deer were no doubt in the bishop's park at Frankland.

Princess Margaret was a mere child when the marriage with James was arranged. At last King Henry deemed that he might send away the youthful bride to her northern home, and possibly the postponement of the wedding until the summer of 1503 was due to the queen's intercession. Elizabeth died in the early part of the year, and the pomp and circumstance of the progress towards Holyrood, together with the warm welcome that greeted Margaret all along the route, were suggested by a desire to give the motherless child a great send-off. A long account of "the Fyancells of Margaret" was compiled by Somerset Herald, who was present throughout. In every town through which the gay procession passed there was sumptuous entertainment, all the chief men turning out with their retinue in livery to do proper honour to the princess. As they came northwards the bride stayed at the Bishop of Durham's manor-house in Northallerton, and again at Darlington. At last she approached Durham. The Bishop of Durham, her host on the two previous nights, was already a member of the train, having accompanied the princess from the south.

And now "in fayre ordre she was conveyed to the Church, the officers of arms, sergeants of armes, trompetts, and mynstrells going before her. At the gait of the Church was my Lord the Byschop of the sayd place, and my Lord the Prior, revested in Pontificales with the convent all revested of ryches copps in processyon with the crossys. And there was apoynted a place for to kiss them. . . . After this sche was

noble conveyd to the Castell wher her lodging was prepared and drest honestly. And every ychon returned agayn to hys repayre. The 21st, 22nd, and 23rd days of the said monneth sche sejournd in the said Place of Durham, wher sche was well cherysch, and hyr costs borne by the said Byschop; who on the 23rd day held holle Hall, and dowble dynner, and dowble soupper to all commers worthy for to be there. And in the said Hall was sett all the Noblesse, as well Spiritualls as Temporalls, grett and small, the wich was welcome for this was hys Day of Installacyon."

Such was the reception of Princess Margaret in the castle, and no royal visit of state to Durham occurred for a hundred years, when, as we shall see, the great-grandson of the little bride came to the city. But before we look on to the sequel one or two points in the account of this reception call for remark. Who was the Bishop of Durham? Fox left Durham in 1501, for an account survives of expenses incurred in removing his effects from Auckland to Durham and Newcastle. His successor was appointed in the same year, 1501. Margaret's visit to Durham took place two years later, and yet Bishop Fox has always been associated with her entertainment at the castle. The key to the difficulty is found in the last line of the quotation given above. Fox had been enthroned in the cathedral on July 23, 1494, so that it is obviously Fox and not Severs, his successor, who keeps the anniversary. It is tempting to believe that, by some arrangement between the two bishops, Severs stood aside for the occasion, and permitted Fox, the friend and godfather of the princess, to entertain her in the castle which he had restored, and to entertain her at an almost regal banquet when he took leave of

all his old friends in the north of England. The unusual phrases "whole hall," "double dinner," and "double supper," may mean that the great hall was not large enough, and that this keeping of open house required the use of the hall of Pudsey as well, or of that other hall in the keep which the chronicler tells us that Fox began but did not complete because he was translated to Winchester.

The great banquet in 1503 seems, as we look back upon it, to have been a kind of farewell to the mediæval glories of Durham. A new century had opened which was to bring great changes to bishopric and city, so that the Durham of 1603 is hard to recognise when compared with the Durham of 1503. The happy auguries of peace, however, which greeted the union of Stuart and Tudor are now remembered in the light of the proverbial irony of history, for within ten years of that glad acclaim all was stir and excitement within the castle in preparation for the expedition to withstand a new Scottish invasion. James IV. had been persuaded by the French to enter England with a large force, and to trouble the kingdom whilst Henry and his best men were fighting the wars of the Holy League in France. Ruthall, the new bishop, who was scarcely ever in Durham, gave orders to press on the fortifications at Norham as soon as he heard of what was contemplated, and a special indulgence was obtained for the benefit of those who were willing to lend aid to the building. When he heard that the Scots were actually crossing the border, he hurried over from France, where he was in attendance upon the king, and made his way to Durham in order to supervise the array of the bishopric musters. From Durham Castle he had the joy of writing the well-known letter in which he described to Wolsey the victory at

Flodden. "This victory has been the most happy that can be remembered. All believe it has been wrought by the intercession of St. Cuthbert, who never suffered injury to be done to his church unrequited. . . . My folks under St. Cuthbert's banner brought home his (the king's) banner, his sword and his 'gwyschys,' that is to say, the harness for his thighs." Those trophies were placed in the cathedral, where the banner was hung in the Nine Altars until the dissolution of the monastery some thirty years later.

The bishop went on from Durham to Auckland. The visit to the north proved to be an expensive one for him, not only in the way of stores and preparations "against the transit against the Scots," but in the lavish entertainment which his rare presence in the bishopric made appropriate. No doubt the recent success, in which the men of Durham played no small part, induced the rather miserly prelate to open his purse-strings more widely than usual. There is a curious entry in the bishop's accounts which shows how costly a Scottish invasion was: "Paid Oct. 20 to William Glenny of Durham 20s. for the carriage of £800 of money to Newcastle with three horses, together with 6s. 8d. paid for the expenses of William Bichbourne, Robert Wright, and Robert Bentley, servants of John Rakett, being at Newcastle in delivering the said money to Lord Surrey, and the telling it for 4 days, by command of my Lord Bishop." So long a time did it take to count out the pennies which went to make up the whole sum of what, it may be presumed, is the bishop's contribution to the expedition. An extant letter sets out his grievance in regard to what he was called upon to pay at this time. After a reference to the rebuilding of Norham, he says: "I lyf a

pore lyfe till it be fynished. The hospytalities of this countray agreth not with the buylding so greate a warke, for thatt I spend here wold make many towris and refreshe my ruynous howses. I broght hider with me viii tunne of wyne, and Our Lord be thankyd, I hafe not two tunne left at this houre, and this is faire utterannce in two moneths. And schame it is to saye how many befs and motons have been spent in my hous, besids other fresh meats, whete, malt, fysche, and such baggags. On my fayth ye wold marvayle if my pastures had not been sum what stockyt byfore behynd, for ccc persons some day is but a small numbre, and of these days have I many, beside 60 or 80 beggers at the gate; and this is the way to keepe a man poore."

It may be added that Ruthall was not generally considered to be poor, and a story, which is no doubt apocryphal, was current in Durham at a rather later date, and found its way into the local chronicle, showing what the bishop's reputation was. Ruthall, it appears, had been commissioned to make a return of taxable values, probably with reference to a proposed assessment in order to meet the expenses of the French wars. When the completed survey was brought to the king, the bishop most unfortunately presented another book, similarly bound, in which the full inventory of his own estate was set out. This indicated, says one tradition, personalty to the value of nearly £100,000, for Ruthall was considered to be the richest subject in England. The mistake amused the king, and may possibly have suggested to him that plunder of church estates which was afterwards committed; but the bishop took it so much to heart that the incident contributed to his death, which took place soon afterwards. The occurrence may indeed have

hastened the end, but in all probability troubles in the palatinate were as much the cause of death as his own chagrin. The Scots had been troublesome for a year or two, and in 1522, when Henry, in alliance with Charles V., was fighting against France, they openly strove to repeat the attempt which had ended so disastrously at Flodden, but to repeat it without its failure. Commissions of array were issued, and proclamation made throughout the bishopric "that all the king's subjects are from time to time to keep good watch upon the highways." All laggards, moreover, were to be sought out and punished. It was in the midst of this new turmoil that Ruthall died in London. He was, as has been said, little at Durham, and is chiefly remembered there now because the fine bench-ends in the castle chapel bear his arms. They were originally placed at Auckland, and their transference to Durham will be recorded in its due place. It may be noted here that Ruthall seems rather to have affected heraldic display, since special mention is made after the fall of Wolsey of a purchase from the executors of Ruthall of "arras bordered with the arms of St. Cuthbert and of Ruthall, and other hangings."

Wolsey followed Ruthall, and was almost certainly enthroned at Durham by proxy. He was already Archbishop of York and Abbot of St. Albans, and had an interest in not a few other ecclesiastical preferments. He was Bishop of Durham for about five years, but his enormous preoccupation with State business prevented him from coming within his northern diocese. Yet he knew all that was going on in the palatinate. Bishop Ruthall had carefully trained and introduced to Durham a young Cambridge man called William Franklyn, whose rise and influence were an imitation, not wholly unsuccessful, of the rapid

advancement of Wolsey himself. He held a great deal of local church preferment, and then by degrees, as he proved himself a good man of business, came to the highest secular offices in the palatinate. He saw clearly that his own profit lay in the direction of making himself indispensable to Wolsey, to whom he wrote as follows: "I can be wele contentyd at myen own cost and charge, without putting your grace to any peny cost, every yere to brynge up all your receitts as wele of the bishopricke as of the see of Yorke; and evermore when it shal be requysyte I shall resort to Duresme to assist your officer ther and for loking to your profetts in such wise as your grace shal be substantially truly and well servid." Served in this way by a man of great ability upon the spot, it was possible for Wolsey to absent himself from the castle, whilst Franklyn, who lived there, or had rooms there, was diligent in supervising the administration of the bishopric. We have in Franklyn's correspondence proof of his activity, and now and then gain a sidelight on the way in which the treasurer suggested some suitable candidate for a vacant office, and so skilfully arranged the *personnel* to his own convenience. Now it is the priory of Tynemouth, now the chancellorship, now the mastership of the mint which has thus to be filled, and in each case Franklyn or some other sends a letter-missive from the castle to London with the name proposed and an account of its suitability.

But office brings some responsibility, however carelessly it may be borne, and Wolsey must have had no little concern in the urgent representations which came up from Durham, and could not be entirely ignored. The Scots, rarely quiescent, were a considerable source of annoyance during Wolsey's absentee episcopate, and

Franklyn's letters give particulars from time to time of their inroads, and of the measures proposed to disperse the danger. He has gone round, for instance, to the chief towns—to Durham, to Sedgfield, to Newcastle—in order to appeal to the gentlemen of the bishopric, who are to meet at the castle and discuss the levy of extraordinary musters to meet the urgency of the occasion. Again, there is correspondence about the pestilent Tynedale robbers, who have raided Northumberland, and have even pressed on their audacious freebooting right into the bishopric itself. On one occasion Sir William Eure collected 300 of his personal friends to harry the thieves and to track them right up to their lair. And Wolsey had perforce to listen to the recital of what his representatives were doing, and to endorse it or to suggest some better course. It is scarcely wonderful, then, that when Fox died in 1528, Wolsey wrote to the king and suggested transference to Winchester. The revenues of Durham were princely, but the outgoings were likewise princely, and Wolsey pointed out that in annual value Durham and Winchester were of very similar amount. So the translation took effect, but in the palatinate Wolsey was regretted, for, wealthy man that he was, the prelate composed the old grievance that always agitated the men of Durham, by paying them for service against the Scots. It was a standing contention that the freemen of the bishopric were not bound to serve beyond Tyne and Tees without pay, and Bek had allowed this, but it was constantly forgotten, so that men were forced to fight outside the limits of the palatinate. Wolsey's concession, after recent musters of array which had ignored the right, was therefore particularly acceptable, and as a letter written from the castle puts it: "The

liberties of St. Cuthbert will be kept as they never have been before.”

After Wolsey's translation, the same officers ruled in Durham, but the revenues are said to have been bestowed upon Anne Boleyn. Cuthbert Tunstall was the next bishop. His long connection with the see, his troubles, his Christian name, perhaps, gave him a deserved popularity in the diocese. But, above all, his character, with its calm wisdom so rarely forgotten, made a deep impression all through the north of England as time went on. He was very little in Durham during the earliest days of his episcopate, but afterwards many things tended to bring him to the north, as we shall see. The religious and political troubles which first absorbed his attention took him away for long intervals, during which he exercised a restraining influence in London, where Parliament was registering the king's imperious will, and altering the whole constitution of Church and State. During this earlier period his favour with the king came and went. In 1532, when the royal supremacy was under discussion, Tunstall was, from his position and personal ascendancy, an important man to win over to the views of the king and of Cromwell. He did not acquiesce at once, and messengers were sent to Durham, Auckland, and Stockton, where the bishop, no doubt, had been staying, in order to seize upon any "books bearing on the king's cause." Occasion was taken to make an inventory of the bishop's movables in each place, but the visitors were surprised that they found "so few writings and such a little household stuff." In 1535, when the visitation of the monasteries was in progress, Tunstall was again in residence, and received the visitors, who were able to assure Cromwell that he had been exerting his influence to good purpose in the bishopric

in preaching up the royal supremacy, "so that no part of the realm is in better order than his diocese." The visit to Durham made such an impression upon Layton, one of the visitors, that he frankly said, "the country round Durham has thrown off allegiance to the Pope."

The dissolution of the smaller monasteries did not affect the bishopric, where the predominance of the great Benedictine priory had successfully kept away all monastic rivals, saving, of course, its dependent cells at Finchale, Jarrow, and Wearmouth, though one or two friaries existed at Hartlepool, and a nunnery at Neasham. But the bishopric men took up warmly the demonstration which goes by the name of the Pilgrimage of Grace. This rising consisted of two separate movements, the one at the end of 1536 and the other in 1537. The earlier outbreak was the more formidable, and if the rebels had known when to strike they would have overcome the small army sent against them. So far as the bishopric men are concerned, it is difficult to see why they rose with such alacrity to the number of three or four thousand men. The solution is probably found in the fact that the rising was the ventilation of many grievances, and that they protested not merely against the surrender of the smaller houses in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, but against the whole reign of terror under which the country had found itself, and not least against social disorganisation. The Durham men rebelled against their rents, and one prisoner, a servant of Sir Ingram Percy, stated in examination that the commons of the bishopric sent his master a letter in the name of "Captain Poverty." The bishop's manor of Howden in East Yorkshire had been wholly sympathetic, and Constable, the steward of the liberty, took a prominent part in what followed. How the word passed on over

the Tees northward is not clear. Probably Darcy, whom we have already connected with Durham, communicated with his friends the famous barons of the palatinate—Neville, Latimer, and Lumley. Darcy was now seventy years of age, and his force unabated. The Durham nobles just named were in the field at once, and passing through the city claimed and obtained the banner of St. Cuthbert from its resting-place in the cathedral. Tunstall was not in the castle, and so the voice that had been exerted so eloquently a year or two before on behalf of the supremacy was silent now. Lumley sent off word to Auckland that it would be wisdom for the bishop to escape, but a noisy rabble anticipated his action, and rushed off to the bishop's house to find that Tunstall had already fled at midnight to Norham. Upon this they set to work, and broke into the palace and robbed his goods, and then followed the main body of the pilgrims into Yorkshire, where parleys and promises brought this stage of the proceedings to an end by Christmas.

With the beginning of 1537 the rising broke out again under Bigod, a Yorkshireman of influence, who wrote urgently to the men of the bishopric to come forward once more. But whatever sympathy may have been shown towards his appeal, it was short-lived. In March, Norfolk came to Durham Castle to try the rebels who were lying in the jail there. With him came Tunstall, who had spent the last five months in some apprehension at Norham, and did not dare move to Durham until Norfolk arrived. During part of March and April the great assize was held, and examination of witnesses and prisoners was carried out. It was decided that some two dozen should be executed in chains near their dwellings in and around Durham, a sentence which was duly carried out.

Amongst the condemned within the city was a priest who had been a ringleader of the Tynedale thieves, and had led his robber band into the bishopric for the purposes of pillage whilst the fighting men were away in Yorkshire. A few months later, when this exhibition of severity might be supposed to have taken due effect, the Lord Chancellor sent down his proclamations of pardon to the men of the north. But men talked notwithstanding, and report of seditious speech in Durham was overheard and carried up to London.

The assize conducted by Norfolk, in which Tunstall played a subordinate part, forms a landmark in the history of the castle and of the palatinate. King Henry had designed some limitation of the authority of the bishop, and in this administration of justice we see the plan in operation. A year before the final pardon was pronounced, an act of some importance had come into force, marking the transition from the unrestricted prerogative of old days to the diminished powers of a later age. Under that act the bishop lost his independent judicial power. Hitherto he had been a virtual king appointing his own judges, but from this point the judges within the palatinate were to be appointed in the king's name. In other words, so far as the judiciary went, the king's authority and not the bishop's stood behind the whole administration of law. One of the grievances of the rebels who came from the bishopric in 1536 was the abolition of Durham liberties, and this loss of the bishop's judicial independence may have been partly in their mind. However, the rebellion gave Henry the excuse for a further blow at the palatinate power by the election of the Council of the North, which had been contemplated as far back as 1535. The king appointed this new method of

governing the four northern counties for the purpose of defence, execution of justice, and finance. A particular duty was to carry out the dissolution of monasteries. It did not, as a matter of fact, supersede any official or court already existing within the castle precincts, but it could do so at any moment by summoning any judicial, financial, or military case to be despatched before it. Its relation to the palatinate machinery may be illustrated by the relation of the Church of Rome to the mediæval Church of England. There was a perpetual likelihood that any cause of importance would be summoned away to the central authority. One practical effect of the new council was that Tunstall was for some time rarely in Durham. The king made him the first president, partly by way of compensation for any loss of authority.

From this point until the end of the reign the castle recedes from view. We get in 1539 a glimpse of the agitated discussion that must have been going on all over the country when at dinner in hall the question of monastic surrender is the subject of conversation, and one present declares that the Prior of Mount Grace will never give up his house. But not only did the prior surrender, but the Prior of Durham signed the deed along with his monks before 1539 ran out. Chantries, hospitals, and cottages within the bishopric also began to fall before the death of Henry. Tunstall did not come to Durham, or utter a word of protest so far as we know, though possibly he may have considered that the substitution of dean and canons for prior and monks would be no bad exchange. Amongst the earliest surrendered chantries was one in Durham Castle, which had no very long history behind it, and was probably discontinued when Walcher's old Norman chapel was given up for its successor.

In 1542 Durham was once more in excitement over a Scottish expedition, and Tunstall, as President of the Council of the North, came down in person to superintend the levies. Again the palatinate officers in Durham were hard at work over the necessary arrangements, as when, for instance, special requisition was made in the city and elsewhere for carts to convey stores towards Scotland. The great victory at Solway Moss recalled the glories of Flodden, but the war lingered on for the best part of a year. Tunstall stayed on in the north during this anxious time, and superintended the works which were in progress both at Durham and Auckland, but chiefly at the former. In Durham Castle he built a new chapel, which is an interesting example of debased Perpendicular. He also caused an approach to it to be built, and this is still known as Tunstall's Gallery. Accounts for the year 1541-42, which still survive, show that of a total of £334, 4s. 11d. spent upon building, the greater part went towards the new gallery; but it is not clear whether the chapel was already built, or whether it came later. Yet one point is beyond dispute, that the oak stalls now in the Tunstall chapel at Durham were not transferred to it until 1547 or 1548. The entry exists under those years: "To Robert Champne, etc., 17 days in taking down of the stalles in the hye chapell [at Auckland] and sortynge of them, and dyghtinge and dressinge of them, and helpinge to convey them to Durram 39s. 8d." No doubt it would be about this time that Tunstall undertook other alterations in the castle. He renewed the sides of the gate-house, and very likely took away the remains of the Norman barbican which stood in front of the gateway itself. He certainly placed the double doors there, which are still in use. He also brought a fresh supply of water into the

castle. It seems probable that the old Norman well had been tapped in some way, or at all events that the supply was insufficient. The matter had received some attention in the previous century, and was destined to prove a matter of anxiety again.

In the early days of Edward VI., Protector Somerset sent down to Tunstall requesting him to make search in the palatinate muniments at Durham for precedents as regard the homage of the Scottish kings to the King of England. A contemporary reference indicates other documents stored at Durham House in London. The allusion to archives, then probably intact within the castle precincts, suggests the passing observation that one of the great difficulties in dealing with the continuous history of castle, or palatinate, or see, lies in the pillage and destruction of parchments and papers which have taken place from time to time during the last three or four hundred years. The scanty remnants that survive the waste of centuries show how well the records of Durham must once have been kept. We are now chiefly dependent upon State documents for such information as we can glean about persons and events. Unfortunately they fail us as regards the changes that must have come to pass during Edward's short reign, and we are unable to trace Tunstall with any certainty. He was still President of the Council of the North, and the one fact that comes clearly into the light, where everything else is so dark, is the plot which was set on foot to degrade Tunstall from his position in the north of England. A malign influence was at work in all this, and as a later Act of Parliament declares, it "proceeded only upon untrue surmises and false accusations of such as were partly enticed and provoked thereunto by the sinister and corrupt labours of . . . ambitious

persons." At the moment the general story ran that the Bishop of Durham was guilty of treasonable practices against the king. The charge must have been very skilfully put together, and the wonder is that it was not indignantly repudiated at once, but the miscreant behind it all knew how to proceed. So it came to pass that on a flimsy accusation Tunstall was imprisoned in the Tower at the end of 1551 for having "consented to a conspiracy in the north, for the making a rebellion." After ten months he was sent for and examined, and deprived of his see. Those ten months had given the adversary opportunity to mature his designs. Northumberland (for the event points to him as the arch-plotter) now came forward and tried to get Horne, the new Dean of Durham, appointed to the bishopric. The duke's letter gives the clue to the whole tangled skein: "And then for the north; if his Majesty make the Dean of Durham Bishop of that See, and appoint him one thousand marks more to that he hath in the Deanery; and the same houses that he now hath, as well in the city as in the country, will serve him right honourably. So may his Majesty receive both the castle which hath a princely site, and the other stately houses which the bishop hath in this country to his Highness, and the Chancellor's living to be converted to the Deanery, and an honest man placed in it; the Vice-Chancellor to be turned into the Chancellor, and the Suffragan who is placed without the King's Majesty's authority, and also hath a great living, not worthy of it, may be removed, being neither preacher, learned, nor honest man; and the same living with a little more to the value of it, an hundred marks, will serve to the erection of a bishop within Newcastle. . . . Thus may his Majesty place godly ministers in these offices, as aforesaid, and receive to

his crown £2000 a year of the best lands within the north part of his realm." Here we have an outline of one side of the proposal in which the king's benefit is made to be the ostensible end of what is suggested. But we know better. Two or three months earlier Northumberland had written to the king with the direct request for the palatinate jurisdiction of Durham, and had not gained his petition. He had been appointed Warden-General of the Marches, and in this capacity dreamed the dream that began his undoing. He doubtless saw the possibilities of his new position joined with the ampler powers that might be gained by holding the palatinate jurisdiction. Two men stood in his way; the one Tunstall and the other the Dean Whitehead. The latter, a man of wide influence, was removed by death, and Tunstall was removed by treachery or something very like it. And the duke's scheme soon went on towards that realisation which it never reached. A bill was introduced into Parliament early in 1553, and was hurried through in a few days. Following the line suggested by the letter quoted above, the see of Durham was divided into two, one at Durham, and the other at Newcastle (a plan constitutionally carried out in 1884), and further the palatinate was dissolved: "Be it therefore enacted," ran the Act, "that the said Bishopric of Durham, together with all ordinary jurisdictions thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be adjudged from henceforth clearly dissolved, extinguished, and determined." Thus everything was made over to the king, and the sole reservation, so far as the bishopric lands went, was that of "manors, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments of the clear annual value of two thousand marks," and the same for Newcastle to the value of one thousand marks.

Durham Castle and all the other see-houses now belonged to Edward VI., for it was expressly provided that all "honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements, etc., shall be adjudged and deemed to be in the King's Majesty's royal and actual possession." But Northumberland had other views, and it seems clear enough in the light of the event that he intended the "castle which hath a princely site, and the other stately houses," to be his own residences, from which he might rule as a Duke of Northumberland indeed over his wardenship of the marches, and, when he could get it transferred, over the palatinate of Durham. Such were his northern plans. In London he seized upon Durham House, and there in May his son, Guilford Dudley, was married to the Lady Jane Grey. In July he manipulated the "Device of the Succession," whereby the crown was diverted to Lady Jane Grey and her consort. It was a stupendous ambition. A Dudley was to rule the north of England from Durham Castle, and the wife of a Dudley was to be Queen of England at Whitehall.

It would be interesting to know what was said and done in Durham when news came down of what Parliament had enacted, but no hint has come to light of anything that took place in the city until the reign ended. Meanwhile the young king died, England did not rise to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, and before the year closed Northumberland had paid the penalty of his guilt. Parliament, too, had assembled, and the Act so lightly passed for the dissolution of the palatinate in March was abrogated in November. So Tunstall was restored to his see, and regained the castle with all other residences and privileges as he held them before his imprisonment two years since. Next year, when the papal jurisdiction was restored,

and public proclamation of the fact was made in the city and cathedral, the people of Durham showed pretty well what the general sympathy had been in the days when they dared not speak. The following bill has been found in the treasury:—

Expens. maid the day that the proclamation and bonefyrs war maid for the receyving of the Pope in this realm agayn as folowith:—	
First paid for three bottells of wyn in Doctor Watson's chambre	xii <i>d</i> .
Item paid for two gallons of ayle dronken in the garth	vi <i>d</i> .
Item paid for walnotts bought	iiii <i>d</i> .
Item paid for one Tarr barrell bought	iiii <i>d</i> .
Item paid for wyn and ayle expend by the servants at Nicholas Turpyn's	iiii <i>s</i> .
Item paid to two mynstralls	viii <i>d</i> .
	<hr/>
Sum	vis. x <i>d</i> .

Dr. Watson was the new dean of Mary's appointment, so that the bill discloses a carefully-ordered festivity for three classes of guests, who were thus entertained at the expense of dean and chapter. No doubt a similar celebration was enacted on the other side of the cathedral at the expense of the bishop. One little act of grace on Mary's part should be noted, for she made over to the bishop the presentation to the prebends in the cathedral, so that he would be able to place near his castle at Durham men who were personally acceptable to himself. It had always been possible for a bishop to find himself a stranger in Durham outside his own residence, owing to the predominance of the prior with his large patronage.

Probably no one felt more a stranger than the first Elizabethan bishop, who came to Durham in 1561. And this was probably the reason that Pilkington lived

chiefly at Auckland, whence he wrote the most pitiful appeals to Cecil. He held a sadly attenuated power. For nearly two years the queen had absorbed the revenues, and when Pilkington was at last consecrated he found that nearly one-half of the bishop's lands were reserved for the queen, and though some were given back, she continued her usurpation of others, and demanded a heavy rent-charge from the bishop. This treatment was naturally derogatory to the bishop's dignity, and in general estimation he was regarded as a shadow of a true Bishop of Durham, and accordingly sent a bitter complaint: "In my judgment this I see, that here needs rather authority and power to be given than taken away. They understand the taking away of the bishop's living whereby his power is the less, and so less is he regarded." In Durham itself Whittingham was placed as dean. He had lived in exile at Geneva during Mary's reign, and married a French Huguenot lady of some distinction called Catharine Jacquemayne. She was in thorough sympathy with the Calvinistic doctrines they had both learnt at Geneva, and in Durham the dean and his wife strove to effect a reformation, as they understood it, to the great disturbance of society in the city.

The Elizabethan order of things was endured and not accepted in Durham. Pilkington had pointed out that "the worshipful of the shire" were in opposition to him, and they lost no opportunity of showing their disdain for a prelate who used none of the pomp to which the earls palatine had accustomed the district. We may imagine the scorn and ridicule that were heaped upon the new *régime*, and how dislike smouldered whilst men hoped for some change to take place. At last, in 1569, the ill-disguised opposition of the whole palatinate was suddenly revealed when the "Rising of

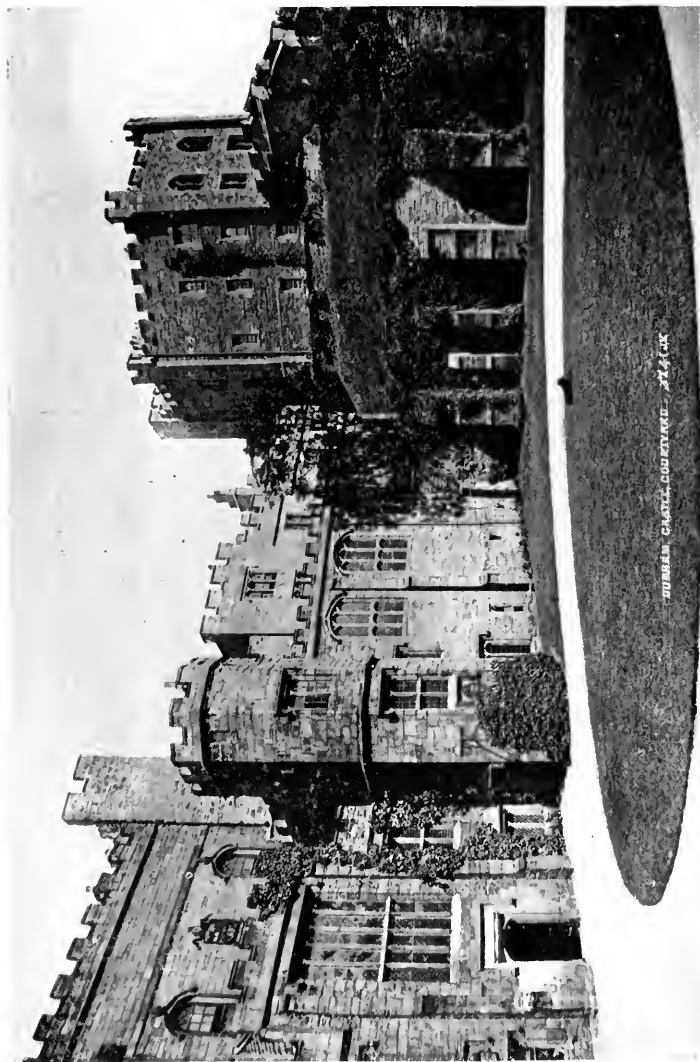
the Earls" took place. For the second time within a generation the bishopric sprang into rebellion, and, as one who took part in it said, this proved to be "the greatest conspiracy in this realm these hundred years." The active leaders were the Earl of Northumberland (son of the Percy attainted after the Pilgrimage of Grace) and the Earl of Westmoreland. Both these noblemen were popular in the north, and Westmoreland was a large landowner in the county. But, in fact, nearly all the best-known gentlemen joined the enterprise. The idea was first sketched out in September at a country-house party near York, when for a whole week Northumberland, Westmoreland, and all the principal north-country magnates enjoyed the hospitality of the Lord President. Plans were laid, and the original design was to rise at the beginning of next year. But there were too many in the plot, and people began to talk, and then the bishop heard of it. He very prudently went away to London, and in his absence events were precipitated. Under the light of the October moon at Brancepeth the retainers of Lord Westmoreland were diligently drilling in the park. By degrees their preparations matured, and on the 14th, about four o'clock in the afternoon, there rode into Durham from Brancepeth Castle a troop of sixty horsemen in full armour. There is no hint of opposition. Framwellgate Bridge was opened to them, and they clattered up the steep ascent to the great north gate of the castle. For all we know, the porter raised the heavy gate, and the soldiers passed by the houses of chancellor, vice-chancellor, seneschal, constable of the castle, and all the other officers of the palatinate without check and without protest. Indeed the general sympathy of all in authority seems to have been assured. What the Puritan dean and

his prebendaries said we do not know. At all events, they were powerless to resist. The horsemen entered the cathedral, took the Bible and Prayer-book, and tore them in pieces, pulling down the communion table in the nave. Then a mass meeting of citizens was held, probably on the Palace Green outside the castle, and it was announced that the restoration of the old religion had "the queen's" full approbation. But they meant Mary Queen of Scots, whom they designed to marry to Norfolk, and to place upon the throne of Elizabeth. A guard of the townspeople was set, which suggests that some of the castle officers were loyal still; and then, after the exciting events of the afternoon, the earls and their horsemen rode back to Brancepeth.

The earls had now established "the old and Catholic faith," as they phrased it, in the capital of the palatinate. They at once marched south to release Mary, and so to make her queen. We need not follow them as they marched on, entering the churches and destroying Prayer-books and tables, or tell again the story of their hasty retreat from Yorkshire into the bishopric; but a word may be said of one final scene in that extraordinary ten days before the troops of Lord Sussex swept the rebels out of Durham into Northumberland. On St. Andrew's Day, the fifteenth anniversary of the great reconciliation of 1554, a solemn mass was sung in the cathedral in the presence of the Earl of Northumberland, and on Advent Sunday all the citizens were summoned to be present at a great service of absolution. The week that followed saw processions and services in the old style, while in all the churches the broken stone altars were put back. Two workmen who were reluctant to help were marched across to the castle gaol and committed

to custody. But the triumph of the earls was brief. It is probable that when they fell back on the palatinate and seized the port of Hartlepool they expected ships and troops from Alva, and that they intended to make the bishopric a stronghold, from which they might win the rest of England to the old religion. They miscalculated, and the rebellion collapsed at the approach of the army led by Sussex. But the palatinate bore the brand of the rising for many a long day. Rigorous ecclesiastical proceedings were taken, and punishment inflicted upon the citizens who had taken part in the rising. In some cases the extreme penalty was paid, and thirty of the townspeople were "appointed to die," though it seems doubtful whether all of these were executed. But the rebellion gave the queen excuse for a further blow at the palatinate power when she claimed for the crown the forfeited estate of the Nevilles and others who had been concerned. Until this time all such forfeited lands had been the right of the bishop, but Elizabeth secured the passing of an Act of Attainder which gave her the lands and goods of the fifty-eight persons concerned, an accession of wealth which was considerable. Then some famous barons of the palatinate, whose ancestors had so often done homage to the mediæval bishops in the castle hall, disappeared from the county.

But the "milk of the dun cow," as a late legend calls the Durham revenues, was so palatable to Queen Elizabeth that she tried to obtain more of it. Under Bishop Barnes further estates were demised to the queen at rents which were probably low, and in some cases ludicrously so. Meanwhile Pilkington had let the see-houses fall into decay, and although no specification of particulars can be found, it is very likely that Durham Castle is included in the condemnation.



TUMBLE CASTLE COURTYARD - N.Y.C.

DURHAM CASTLE.

Photo. by Spooner



At all events Barnes proceeded against Pilkington's executors for dilapidations. As for himself, this bishop did nothing to revive the dimmed glories of the palatinate. He undertook "some charges at the castle of Durham," but we are in ignorance as to their nature. Possibly they refer to mere repairs, and possibly to preparations for his own wedding, which took place within the castle chapel, where he was married to a Frenchwoman, who is called in the register Jane Dilycot (Delacourt). But by this time the castle, which seems to have no other association with Barnes, must have been reduced to a mere set of offices—in part for the work of chancellor, sheriff, and escheator, in part for the examination of persons arraigned before the ecclesiastical court over which the bishop's brother presided. Certainly the gaol was not unused, and Durham Castle in Elizabeth's reign must have been almost synonymous with prison to ordinary persons. The last twenty years of the sixteenth century brought their own excitements. In the Armada year the Earl of Huntingdon sends a receipt for 200 corslets and 200 pikes supplied to the inhabitants of Durham, possibly to arm a bishopric band in case of a Spanish descent. But the chief foreign invasion of that period was the more peaceful incursion of Jesuits and seminary priests, who came to the bishopric in great numbers. Ecclesiastical commissioners and others in authority were urged again and again to hunt them down. And in this way the dungeons in the castle began to fill not with debtors only, like the poor man, aged a hundred years, who petitions for release on one occasion, but with seculars from Douai, and Jesuits from Louvain, who landed at some northern port and preached through the diocese until they were chased and caught and

conveyed to Durham. Puritans, too, came under the notice of the "searchers," who were placed as spies in different places. Thus Sanderson, a well-known *delator*, laid information against a Newcastle preacher for indiscreet exposition, and "meeting him in Durham in my Lord's great chamber, took him by the bosom, and gave him very evil speeches, saying he would report him to the Council." It cannot, indeed, be said that the close of Elizabeth's reign was an attractive time with all this baiting of priest and Puritan, and an ominous element in the situation, so far as the north went, was the recurrence of Border troubles. In 1595 a letter written by the Secretary of the Council of the North mentions that "the people daily murdered by the Scots (and no revenge nor restitution made) are utterly dejected in spirit and in courage . . . roads, incursions, and frays [are] more common into the Bishopric than heretofore on the Border." Three years later, too, the keeper of Durham Gaol, being under examination, describes the robberies perpetrated in the bishopric by the Scots.

With the advent of the House of Stuart in 1603 we reach the centenary of Margaret's visit to the castle. Another procession is approaching Durham, and this time from the north, not, as in 1503, from the south. Castle, cathedral, and city have changed greatly in the hundred years. The power of the bishop has waned, the city is governed by a mayor, the castle has lost much of its prestige. The great-grandson of Margaret is passing to what he playfully termed the "land of promise," and the dream of Bek, which Fox dreamed again, is about to reach its fulfilment. How different the scene! No mitred prior, no monks in copes, no mediæval guilds greet King James. But let us hear the chronicler. "When he came near, the magistrates

of the city met him, and behaving themselves as others before them, it was by his Highness as thankfully accepted. And passing through the gates whence his Excellence entered the market-place, there was an excellent oration made unto him, containing in effect the universal joy conceived by his subjects at his approach, being of power to divert from them so great a sorrow as had lately possessed them all. The oration ended, he passed towards the bishop's house, where he was royally received, the bishop attending his Majesty with an hundred gentlemen in tawny liveries. Of all his entertainment in particular at the bishop's, his merry and well-seasoned jests, as well there as in other parts of his journey, all his words being full of weight, and his jests filled with the salt of wit, yet so facetious and pleasant, as they were no less gracious and worthy regard than the words of so royal a Majesty, it is bootless to repeat them, they are so well known." Unfortunately no fuller record has come down to us, though it would be interesting to know some of the sayings and doings of "the wisest fool in Christendom" during the entertainment served to him by Bishop Matthew in the large hall that night.

King James did not forget the castle. About nine years later than the visit just recorded he was much perplexed by an attachment which sprang up between his cousin, Arabella Stuart, and William Seymour. No match could have been less acceptable to the monarch, for the union of these two noble families would inevitably tend to strengthen the claims which both the young people possessed of a distinct title to the crown. The marriage was privately celebrated, and when James heard of it he put Seymour into the Tower and placed Arabella under surveillance, which was not strict enough to prevent secret correspondence

with her husband. Thinking nothing of the misery he was inflicting, James now determined to place Arabella beyond all possible reach of Seymour, and for this purpose put himself into communication with Bishop James of Durham. It was agreed between them that Arabella should be taken to Durham Castle, and that the bishop should escort her thither with a sufficient retinue. The negotiations took some time, and in the interval, we may suppose, rooms would be prepared for the reception of the fair prisoner in the castle. It is not impossible that seventeenth-century changes in the rooms over the Norman chapel which were carried out may have been conceived in readiness for the coming of Arabella. But, be that as it may, she never arrived in Durham. When the bishop was ready to start, the luckless prisoner was far from well, and it was with the greatest difficulty that she reached Highgate, where she collapsed. Six days later they succeeded in getting her a few miles farther on, but at Barnet she was deemed too ill to be moved, though James said that if he was King of England to Durham she should go sooner or later. Three months' respite were granted her, whilst the bishop continued his journey to Durham alone, and Arabella used well the time of her convalescence. A gentleman named Markham managed things for her, and by his arrangement she slipped away in man's attire, intending to meet her husband and reach the Continent. But the plan unfortunately miscarried, for Arabella was captured and taken to the Tower, where she lost her reason, and died eventually after four years' imprisonment. Meanwhile the bishop, after his considerable anxiety, was not a little disconcerted by the news that came to him. He took it all so much to heart that he fell ill, and when at last fairly convalescent wrote to Salisbury to

say that he intended to visit Bath "to recover from his attendance on Lady Arabella."

King James came again to Durham a year or two after his cousin's death in the Tower. He was now pursuing his fateful journey to Scotland, where he was destined to foster the growth of that religious ill-will which came to maturity twenty years later. There had been some doubt as to whether he would come over from Auckland, where he was staying with the bishop. But on Good Friday a royal messenger rode into the city and informed the mayor that his Majesty would make a state entry next day. A good deal of unrecorded history lies behind the pageant which was then enacted, and it will be enough to say that bishop and citizens were on bad terms, which the coming of the king did not tend to improve. There had been quarrels over the city charter, the people pleading royal sanction, and the bishop claiming his sole right. The king seems to have sided with the citizens, and to have shown them almost undue honour. He passed on, however, to cathedral and castle, where he took occasion to rate the bishop soundly. The persistent tradition in Durham, where the king's anger is still recorded, ascribes it to the quality of the castle beer, which was not to his liking! It is far more probable that King James indulged his love for lecturing his subjects, and rated the bishop for his behaviour to the people of Durham. At all events, the poor man was so much exercised by the scolding he received that "he retired to Auckland and died of a violent fit of stone and strangury, brought on by perfect vexation." When he was buried, some three weeks after his entertainment of the king in the castle, there were actual riots in the city, and these were only quieted when report went round as to the successor whom the king

had appointed. A possible link between the visit of King James to the castle and our own days may be found in the handsome mantelpiece which was restored some years ago to one of the tapestried chambers. It has excellent carving, and bears the arms of King James and Bishop James. There are smaller achievements representing the coats of contemporary palatine officials.

Amongst the retinue of the king at Durham during the visit first recorded was Richard Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, one of the foremost prelates of the time. He had been in evidence during the four days spent at the castle, and so, perhaps, became known to the citizens, who were pleased with his elevation. He was connected with the new Arminian school of thought then rising into prominence, and was destined to begin an ecclesiastical revolution in Durham, which made the city the talk of the religious world for the next generation. That is a story which need not be told here; but what does concern us is the magnificent taste which was characteristic of Neile, and was displayed almost at once when he entered upon the see of Durham. Our informant is Heylyn, who in his life of Laud tells us that when the bishop arrived he discovered that the palaces were in great decay, and set about restoring them. No doubt they needed it, for there had been little enough money to spare, and no great restorer since Tunstall. Barnes only patched, and the three bishops who followed left no record for repairs, whilst James had the reputation of being close-fisted. Neile did a great deal at Durham, where he laid out a considerable sum of money, though we have no particulars. All we certainly know is that he cut short the great hall, and turned the northern end of it into a suite of rooms to which access was gained from

a turret built by Tunstall and destroyed in 1665. This was poor taste according to modern ideas, but Neile probably sacrificed the dignity of a hall which was perhaps too large for his own use in order to increase the accommodation of the castle for purposes of entertaining guests. The keep was probably uninhabitable, and the available number of rooms cannot have been large. He was an excellent host, and he no doubt desired to spread his influence in the north as he did in the south, by large hospitality. In London he made much of Durham House, where Laud and others were often with him, and laid the schemes which were to effect such a change in the Church of England. No doubt he desired to draw men round him at Durham in the same way, and although he was bishop for only ten years before his translation to York, he changed the complexion of the whole chapter in that short time. This great transformation, with the ceremonies and innovations that went with it, attracted notice in Parliament, and led to a bitter strife, after Neile left, between Peter Smart, a prebendary, and the rest of the chapter. All England may be said to have rung with the clamour that was raised. It had not subsided when, in 1633, Charles I. paid a visit to Durham in connection with his momentous progress to Scotland. On this occasion great preparations were made, roads mended, parish collections levied, and at last the king came to the castle attended by the bishop. Charles had already seen Durham as a boy, when he had stayed with Bishop Matthew at Auckland. He was to see it more than once in later life. Of the visit in 1633 a careful record was made by John Cosin, who was then a prebendary, and was made king's chaplain during the royal stay at the castle. Morton gave up the castle entirely to the use of the king, and

retired to the deanery, where he gave a dinner in Charles's honour. The real master of the ceremonies was Laud, at the moment Bishop of London, who walked beside the king when he went to the cathedral, and regulated all the details of the function. It is not hard to discover that a good deal of significance was connected with the king's presence in castle and cathedral. It was evidently intended to serve as a general endorsement of the changes which had taken place in service and in *personnel*. Charles was particularly careful to speak with warm approbation of the late Bishop Neile, now archbishop of the province, and to commend all he had done for the castle as room after room was visited and traces of Neile's work were pointed out. Of Durham and its castle at this time there is a quaint account in the well-known "Relation of a short Survey of 26 Counties, by a Captain, a Lieutenant, and an Ancient . . . begun on 11th August 1634." It is a document as useful as it is interesting, but the actual information it gives about Durham is meagre, though the description of the cathedral and its surroundings has some noteworthy touches. "The minster, the bishop's castle, and the heart of the city stand on an hill. She is environed and nigh girt round by the river Wear. . . . There it stands the bishop's prince-like castle, built by William the Conqueror, with his legal courts of judicature, exchequer, chancery, court of pleas, etc., etc., the large brave deanery with the prebends', chancellor's, and churchmen's houses and buildings." The three soldiers had little idea that day how soon the sumptuousness of the residences would be impaired!

Shadows soon began to fall. In 1635 the bishop had correspondence with the authorities, and made a report to the council concerning train-bands, arms,

powder, beacons, and other military matters. A month or two before this report was sent from Durham Castle, Phineas Pette came northwards, and after lodging at the post-house in Durham with homely entertainment, he "attended the Bishop of Durham with his commissions and instructions, whom he found wonderfully ready to assist him." Pette was at the time engaged in the reconstitution of the navy, which Charles was attempting. Next year the plague fell upon the city with terrible severity. Meantime in Scotland resentment was growing, and from the end of 1637 Scots flocked to sign the Covenant, and soon took up arms. After unwilling hesitation Charles came north in 1639, and a generation of bishopric men unused to war were rallied to take part in the Bishop's War. The king came to the castle at the end of April, and Morton came over to entertain him. A council of war was held in the hall, and plans were discussed; but on this occasion there was to be no fighting, for the pacification of Berwick patched up a peace. Nor was there much fighting a year later, when the uneasy peace was broken, and the Scots crossed the Tweed. The English intention of carrying the war into Scotland was soon restricted by the pressure of events, for it was now seen that defence was all that remained. Durham was a city of stirs as troops hurried through and quarters were requisitioned. It was so full that, as the assize time drew near, Bishop Morton was in some alarm about finding suitable lodging and provision for the judges. Twenty troops of horse were quartered within three miles of the city. At last the Scottish plan of invasion was complete, and what some had thought to be a mere "northern crake" proved to be a crusade. The ill-disciplined army of Conway offered no effective opposition to Leslie at the ford of New-

burn. The English troops broke and ran. Apprehension in Durham was quickened to consternation, when that night the fleetest of the horse dashed over Framwellgate Bridge into the city. The cavalry poured in during the next few hours, and the foot followed when the day dawned. There was no thought now of holding the city, though the magazine in the castle had been replenished, for it had been frankly recognised at the outset that the old fortress could not withstand the growing precision of artillery. It was therefore abandoned, but indeed it was already a deserted city. A general exodus of the chief inhabitants began as soon as the result of Newburn was known. The aged bishop went out from the castle to which he was never destined to return, and found his way to Stockton. The dean and the prebendaries had left the college, expecting no mercy from covenanting Scots. The Dean Balcanquhal, a renegade Scotsman, spurred so fast to the south, that the proverb, "Run away, Dr. Bokonky," was long afterwards applied by grammar-school boys to any breathless fugitive. "As for the city of Durham," says an eye-witness, "it became a most depopulated place. Not one shop for four days after the fight open; not one house in ten that had either man, woman, or child in it; not one bit of bread to be got for money, for the king's army had eaten and drunk all in their march into Yorkshire. The country people durst not come to market, which made that city in a sad condition for want of food." As for the castle itself, it seems to have been occupied at once by Leslie, the Scottish general, and to have been held by him until the Scots evacuated England in 1641. The city was practically a military depôt of the Scots during the same period.

A darkness now gathers round the castle, which it

is very difficult to penetrate. The Scots left in 1641, and Durham was exultant, but the Long Parliament frowned down its royalism, until in 1644 the Scots came back, seized the city, and held the palatinate for three years after the Battle of Marston Moor. At the end of that time Charles passed through Durham again, but this time as a prisoner on his way to Holmby House, and there is no record of any stay in the city. During these troubled days the cathedral was silent, and the offices of the palatinate were in a state of chaos, sometimes filled in the regular way, sometimes superseded by commissioners appointed by Parliament, or by committees under the same authority. The episcopal funds were seized, and parcels of the lands were sold. Royalist gentry fretted beneath the tyranny, and were bold to meet and encourage one another when they could, but the king's execution cast them into deep dejection, from which they did not recover until the religious tyranny of the Protectorate led to the Royalist risings of 1655. Within a few months of the death of Charles, and under an Act legalising the sale of the bishops' estates, the site and buildings of the castle were sold to Thomas Andrews, the day after his appointment as Lord Mayor of London. Soon after this an Act was passed to knight him, but it does not appear that he came to Durham or that he made use of the buildings. Indeed our next notice seems to suggest that the castle was passed on by him to some other owner. At all events, in 1650 it is stated to have belonged to "Mistress Blakiston." Her tenure of it is connected with one of the most distressing episodes in Durham history. After the Battle of Dunbar in 1650 some 9000 prisoners were marched into England. Their fate is described with some detail by Sir Arthur Haselrig, who

had been operating with Cromwell in the north and recently bought the Auckland Castle estate. The prisoners not otherwise disposed of were marched to Durham, where the empty cathedral church seemed to offer a barracks for their accommodation. About 3000 were counted in at the north door, but dysentery had already broken out amongst them. "I sent many officers," says the writer, "to look to them, and appointed those were sick should be removed out the cathedral church into the castle, which belongs to Mistress Blakiston, and provided cooks, and they had pottage made with oatmeal, beef, and cabbages, a full quart at a meal for every prisoner. . . . In the castle they had very good mutton broth, and sometimes veal broth, and beef and mutton boiled together, and old women appointed to look to them in the several rooms. There was also a physician to let them blood, and dressed such as were wounded, and gave the sick physic." The letter was written on the last day of October, about eight weeks after Dunbar, and at the moment 500 were sick in the castle, 600 were alive in the cathedral, and 1600 were dead, whilst the remaining 300 were partly officers sent away to Newcastle, and partly soldiers for whom Haselrig was able to find suitable employment.

It is pleasant to turn to a better use which was now proposed for the castle and the other buildings. A talk of establishing a university in connection with the cathedral had led to definite plans in the reign of Henry VIII., but they fell through. A scheme for a very elaborate college at Ripon had been drawn up in the reign of Elizabeth, but at length came to nothing despite the large amount of time and trouble expended upon it. Copies of this scheme were available, and it no doubt helped to direct the ideas of those who pro-

moted the formation of Durham College. It cannot fail to occur to those who read the petition of "mayor and citizens of Durham and gentlemen of the northern counties," that not the least stimulating circumstance in drawing up the address was the desire to see the stately buildings of Durham rescued from degradation and probable ruin. It was intended to make the castle an integral part of the college: cathedral and prebendal houses being likewise part of the original endowment. Revenues accruing from certain manors, and from all the dean and chapter livings, were bestowed upon the college, and an imposing professoriate was appointed. Such was the material side of the establishment after negotiations protracted over six or seven years. There is a tradition that the scheme was actually floated, that it "thrived apace" for two years, and then fell to pieces at the Restoration. It would be interesting, if true, to think of undergraduates lodged in the castle nearly two hundred years before the University of Durham was founded, but the confident assertion of Hutchinson, the Durham historian, lacks proof. Indeed the probabilities are that the castle was left to go to rack and ruin for the present. The proposed college incurred the unmitigated scorn of Fox the Quaker, who passed through Durham in 1657. He "came to Durham," he tells us in his *Journal*, "where was a man come down from London to set up a college to make ministers of Christ as they said. I went with some others to reason with this man, and so let him see that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the Seven Arts, which was all but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ. . . . When we had thus discoursed with the man he became very loving and tender, and after he had considered of it he never set up his college." It can scarcely be

thought that the criticism of Fox caused the collapse of Durham College. The downfall of the plan was due to the opposition of Oxford and Cambridge, both universities presenting petitions to Parliament which proved fatal to the design.

At the Restoration the old order was brought back with wonderful ease. The Presbyterian Church had been organised in the county with more detail than in most other parts of England, and under the influence of the Sunderland Lilburnes a bitter hatred of the prostrate Church of England was inspired. All this was outwardly suppressed in the Royalist triumph that followed. Charles during the vacancy of the see elected to all the vacant palatinate offices, and the old machinery which had been inactive for so many years was set going again. A waterspout bearing the arms of the see without those of any bishop, suggests that necessary repairs in the castle were commenced at once before the new bishop entered the diocese. Cosin, who as prebendary fled at the approach of the Scots in 1640, was appointed to be bishop. No better choice could have been made, for few knew Durham better or loved it more than the new prelate, who had learned much in many ways during the years of exile.

All the see lands and houses were at once resumed without payment or acknowledgment, and the modern apologist of the Church of England finds it difficult to get over a transaction which ignored the vast sums of money that Haselrig, for instance, had paid for what Parliament alienated. The manor of Auckland cost the intruder more than £6000, and the manor of Wolsingham nearly £7000. So far as the castle is concerned, Cosin was the most effective and wise of all restorers, and the buildings owe very much to his knowledge of the place, his good taste, and his personal

care. We are able to follow the details of his alterations from year to year, since the papers in which everything is specified with scrupulous care were collected by Mr. Mickleton, the Durham antiquary. There must have been a stupendous list of necessary repairs over and above the new buildings which were erected, and Durham must have re-echoed with hammer and axe for many years. An earlier note which has been preserved shows that even before Bishop Morton's time (1632), "dilapidations committed and sustained by Bishop Howson only" were considerable, including "the gatehouse ready to fall." A cryptic allusion in Cosin's own writing shows that the decays of the Civil War period were likewise extensive, for he speaks of "the rebuilding of Durham Castle, which the Scots spoiled and ruined with gunpowder." The exact reference of the "gunpowder" has never been satisfactorily explained. A letter of Sancroft speaks of his rebuilding his prebendal house, "which was demolished during the late rebellion." A list of expenses incurred by the prebendaries shows that the restoration of other houses was even more extensive, so that the general conclusion of rebuilding and repairing on a very large scale seems to be established. Cosin was happy in being able to obtain excellent workmen in Durham, and the boast that until recent days the castle was made in Durham was worthily maintained. His correspondence with Miles Stapleton his secretary, Thomas Arden his steward, and others, relating to the work in progress, enables us to follow the various stages—the porch or "frontispiece" leading into the hall, the flagging for the hall floor, the cant buttresses supporting the hall, the wainscot of the gallery, the new water-supply, the containing wall of the court, the new wall leading to the exchequer, the terraces cut in the keep mound, the

refurnishing of the chapel that Tunstall built. All these are minutely regulated. But the chief glory of Cosin's work was the great oak staircase which was built in the north-western angle of the courtyard. It probably took the place of a turret built by Tunstall. The bishop gave careful directions as to its construction, fearful lest its size might spoil the symmetry of the quadrangle. This danger was not obviated, but the magnificence of the staircase within as it rises tier above tier to the summit compensates for any external loss.

Cosin never got the real pleasure out of his restored castle which he so well merited. He was constantly absent in London, and when he came to the north was rarely very long in Durham. A contest with the citizens over parliamentary representation greatly diminished the popularity he had won when he first came back as bishop, and from that time he rather avoided the city. Yet when he came, says Durham tradition, he was liberal enough in his hospitality, and even in his absence allowed the castle to be used by his officers for important travellers. In this way the Scottish commissioner passing through with a large retinue in 1670 was splendidly entertained. His successor, Bishop Crewe, profited by the lavish outlay of Cosin. Careful management of the episcopal estates was improving them greatly, and a number of contributory causes helped to swell the revenue. Crewe was therefore the richest bishop since the Reformation, and when in 1697 he succeeded to his father's barony, his wealth was very considerable. He extended Tunstall's chapel, and adapted some of the older rooms in the castle. Thus in 1677 Monmouth, not yet a rebel, came to Durham. Two years later the Duke and Duchess of York came on a visit, at the very time that

the "Exclusion" agitation was commencing, and Shaftesbury was bringing in his bill. They were received by the bishop with all possible honour, and this fact, combined with later friendship and correspondence, brought Crewe into at least temporary unpopularity, which was stimulated by his sympathy rather later with the Declaration of Indulgence. However, a memorial of the royal visit is still preserved in the castle, where a portrait of James II. by Kneller, and another of Mary of Modena by Lely, hang in a suite of rooms which Crewe adapted, if he did not build them. Close by them is a portrait of Judge Jeffreys, who went the Northern Circuit (according to the old arrangement) in 1685, and visited Durham. And, once more, in the neighbourhood of these pictures hangs a curious representation of the castle as it was in Crewe's time, showing the gateway before Wyatt's restoration of it, and the Norman windows on the south side of the building before Trevor altered their shape and plated over the weather-beaten stones with eighteenth-century ashler. In the courtyard stands the bishop's coach drawn by six black horses, whilst the trumpeter waits near to give signal of departure.

An amusing story has been preserved in connection with Crewe, and a scene which took place at the doorway of the castle just mentioned. The bishop's action over the Declaration of Indulgence was warmly resented, and when he came down to Durham in 1687 with the express purpose of using personal influence to promote the reading of the Declaration, he summoned Dr. Grey and Dr. Morton to come and confer with him at the castle. They were both prebendaries holding important benefices, and Dr. Grey was a highly important personage owing to family con-

nection and character. What manner of leave-taking followed the interview may be best described from a contemporary document: "He (Bishop Crewe) pressed Dr. Grey (the great ornament of the Church of Durham), and Dr. Morton, to read King James's declaration for a dispensing power in their parish churches, which they declining and arguing against it he angrily told Dr. Grey his age made him doat: he had forgot his learning. The good old doctor briskly replied he had forgot more learning than his lordship ever had. 'Well' (said the bishop), 'I'll forgive and reverence you, but cannot pardon that blockhead Morton, whom I raised from nothing.'" They thereupon took their leave of the bishop, who with great civility waited upon them towards the gate, and the porter opening the wicket or postern only the bishop said, 'Sirrah, why don't you open the great gates?' 'No' (says the Reverend Dr. Grey), 'my lord, we'll leave the *broad way* to your lordship, the *strait way* will serve us!'"

Crewe kept his episcopal jubilee in 1720, and died next year. A replica of a familiar portrait of the bishop, taken probably soon after he came in for the Crewe title, hangs in the dining-room, now the college common room. His arms impaled with those of the see are to be seen on two or three waterspouts, and also in the castle chapel. After his long association with the buildings they fell into comparative neglect in Talbot's time (1721-30). This bishop was unfortunate enough to raise a tempest of ill-feeling against him before he entered the diocese. It was thought that he was trying to arrange leases and renewals in favour of his own family, so that the resentment of all sorts and conditions of men was stirred in a way which finds its most exact parallel

in the storm which broke over Bishop Villiers a century later when he appointed his son-in-law, Mr. Cheese, to the vacant rectory of Whitburn. Talbot consequently deserted Durham in favour of Auckland Castle. Here he gathered round him a band of young men of talent and distinction whom he promoted to important benefices. Butler, Rundle, Secker, Benson were thus brought into the diocese, and a tradition of personal distinction was attached to the prebends in the cathedral, which he filled by appointing such men as Secker. Talbot's portrait hangs in the common room, and his arms are placed with others upon the east front of the hall, suggesting that some kind of repair of that part of the castle was undertaken in his episcopate. His hatchment is displayed on Cosin's staircase.

The same neglect that seems to have characterised Talbot's tenure of the see was remarked by a visitor to the castle during the episcopate of Bishop Chandler. Lady Oxford, travelling to Scotland in the famous year 1745, describes her impressions as follows: "Went to the bishop's palace, which stands on a very high hill, and might be made a very fine place, but at present wants a great deal of repair. Went to Bishop Cosin's library. There are a good collection of books, but no care taken either of them or of the room, which seems to be in some danger of falling." The fact is that Crewe was too old in his later days to come often to Durham, whilst Talbot cannot be proved to have done much beyond attaching his arms to the hall. But the great difficulty in these days was the menacing condition of the whole of the north front, apart from other portions of the buildings. Chandler had a surveyor sent down from London about 1742, by whose direction chain bars were run through the building from north to south, and timbers were added

to prevent the roof from thrusting out the walls. The keep was already ruinous, having never been used, it is believed, since the time of Bishop Fox.

When Butler was appointed bishop in 1750, one of his earliest cares was to press on with the work which Chandler had done imperfectly. A careful survey of the castle was made, and as a result the buildings were put into at least a tolerable state of outward repair. The decay which his predecessor had obviated so unsuccessfully was mainly in the central building, and was due to the defective skill of Pudsey's engineer some six hundred years before. Pudsey depended upon sheer weight to keep his massive edifice erect. By the time that Butler put his hand to the work the north wall was nearly three feet out of the perpendicular in one part, and the whole of the wing, according to one account, seemed to threaten collapse. Butler came to the diocese in 1751, and stayed for a very brief time, it would appear, within the castle. The north wall was rebuilt, and various other changes and improvements were made by him. A correspondence between him and Mr. Sanderson Miller of Radway has recently come to light, and in this we find the grave author of the *Analogy* discussing the most prosaic details of ornamentation and arrangement. The existing character of the common room is entirely due to the conference between the bishop and Mr. Miller, to whom Butler eventually gave leave to do practically what he pleased, in these terms: "I must beg Mr. Miller to settle the whole plan as he thinks best, without giving himself the trouble of writing any more about it. . . . I am sure I shall be pleased with the room in whatever manner Mr. Miller pleases to finish it." Alas! Bishop Butler never saw the result of the architect's journey to Durham, for there is no proof

that he ever came again to the north. A later hand sums up as follows the alterations attributed to Butler: "He pulled down the old tapestry hanging in the dining-room behind the gallery, and stuccoed the walls with ornaments below the cornice, and added some large foliages on the joining of the compartments of the roof. He enlarged and made new the windows looking northwards on to the grass-walk out of that dining-room in the Gothic taste, and made an handsome Gothic chimney-piece of stone. He took down a considerable part of the outside wall of the castle facing the north, which overhung the perpendicular line several inches, and in the place of the wall so thinned he built it up with square stones well cramped with iron. He also floored the great west dining-room above stairs, and new stuccoed the senior judge's apartments, and made new fireplaces in them."

All these changes may have been planned by Butler during his brief stay in 1751, but it is scarcely probable that they were completed before his death in June 1752. Indeed, the arms of Bishop Trevor, his successor, placed above the grate in the "senior judge's apartments," suggest that the alterations proposed by Sanderson Miller were completed by Trevor. The notes just quoted go on to say that Trevor "finished the outside wall of the castle on the right hand going out of the castle on to the terrace walk, and in 1756, to the right hand of the north door, placed in the wall the coat-of-arms of the bishopric impaled with those of Butler, three cups upon a bend cottised." One prominent feature of the castle is certainly due to Trevor, and that is, the refacing of the south front. This had been described in Butler's survey as so weathered that not one single stone remained undecayed. The exact fashion of the twelfth-century Norman work which

Trevor covered over may be seen in the painting of the castle belonging to Crewe's time. The waterspout still bears Trevor's initials, arms impaled, and the date 1754. He did not, however, reside much at Durham, and the whole tendency, so far as the castle went, was to restrict its use to the occasional visits of the bishop at assize time, or to take part in some special function.

Egerton, who held the see from 1771 to 1787, was at pains to improve the breakfast-room inserted by Bishop Neile within the great hall. Neile's suite of rooms so placed were probably those used by the bishop at this time, whereas the so-called senior and junior judges' apartments were mainly used by the judges of assize. And this arrangement was, no doubt, maintained until the castle was handed over to the University of Durham and Neile's rooms were cleared out of the hall. A series of engravings apparently placed by Egerton in the rooms used by him still hang elsewhere within the castle. Egerton made himself very popular with the citizens of Durham by granting a new charter in 1780, the previous charter having been suspended. His aristocratic connections (grandson of the third Earl of Bridgewater and husband of a daughter of the Duke of Kent) brought him much into London society, and when he was at Auckland the house was generally full of guests, but he was rarely at Durham.

As the bishops enlarged and beautified the castle and park at Auckland, Durham Castle proved increasingly a heavy burden, and in consequence the neglect previously referred to continued. The mere living-rooms received most attention, whilst other parts fell into decay. The great north-east tower near the gaol and below the keep, which had been built in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, collapsed in Egerton's

time, and no attempt was made to rebuild it. Above this the keep, which had been surveyed by Butler with a view to keeping out the weather, was entirely neglected, so that in 1789 Bishop Thurlow had the top stories pulled down, leaving the lower part, which fell more and more into ruin until it was rebuilt by the university in 1841. The prisons, which were situated in the great North Gate, descending from thence towards the river, were still maintained, and were visited by Howard in 1774, which was, curiously, the same year in which the north-east tower fell. In his report he says: "The debtors have no court; their free wards in the low jail are two damp, unhealthy rooms, 10 feet 4 inches square. They are never suffered to go out of these unless to chapel, and not always to that; for on a Sunday when I was there I missed them at chapel. They told me they were not permitted to go thither. No sewers. At more than one of my visits I learned that the dirt, ashes, &c., had lain there many months. The felons have no court, but they have a day-room, and two small rooms for an infirmary. The men are put at night into dungeons, one 7 feet square for three prisoners; another, the Great Hole, $16\frac{1}{2}$ by 12 feet, has only a little window. In this I saw six prisoners, most of them transports, chained to the floor. In that situation they had been for many weeks, and were very sick. The straw on the stone floor was almost worn to dust! Long confinement, and not having the king's allowance of 2s. 6d. a week, had urged them to attempt an escape, after which the jailer chained them as above. Common side debtors in the low jail, whom I saw eating boiled bread and water, told me this was the only nourishment some had lived on for nearly twelve months. On several of my visits there were boys, thirteen and fifteen years

of age, confined with the most profligate and abandoned."

The gaol with its unrecorded suffering is the worst part of the history of the castle. Occasional glimpses of a wretchedness, regarded then as a cruel necessity, are all that we get to illustrate the life of the prisoners. Newcastle, Morpeth, and Durham contained the three northern gaols, and at no time can the list of those imprisoned at Durham have been small. The bishops clearly never thought themselves responsible for the state of these unfortunate persons, beyond sending them an occasional benefaction or a meal. In Cosin's accounts such gifts are of common occurrence, and did we possess the household rolls of other bishops, we might find that they were an established custom. As late as 1796—that is to say, more than twenty years after Howard called men's attention to the state of the prisons in England—a petition was drawn up by the debtors in the North Gate. They describe their misery, and beg the sheriff to assist them "at this extreme time of need, being shut up in this gloomy prison, and confined with the refuse and most abandoned of mankind."

Reforms worked slowly, and though under Bishop Barrington an excellent jailer, Mr. Wolfe, was appointed, he was not able to ameliorate the external conditions to any considerable extent. The prisoners had better food, but their surroundings did not improve. A detailed visit paid by the philanthropist Neild in the early years of the nineteenth century has been described by him. Wolfe had converted one of the rooms into a soup-kitchen, which he managed chiefly by contributions from the bishop, dean, and prebendaries. The last-named he persuaded to commute "a profuse dinner to the prisoners in the gaol at the time they severally kept their residences" into a money payment

of five guineas each. The result was that a large sum accumulated, with which the soup-kitchen was maintained, and a good dinner was provided twice a week not only for the gaol but for the Bridewell (on the river bank near Elvet Bridge), whilst any little surplus went to extinguish the small debts for which some of the inmates had been imprisoned. All that was well, but Neild goes on to say that the five cells in which the felons slept "are to be numbered amongst the very worst in the kingdom, and the descent to them is by a flight of forty-one steps from the men's day room." He gives the dimensions of the Great Hole which Howard described, and adds: "There is a part of this prison which seems to have escaped the vigilance of the excellent Howard. This is a third dungeon, on the same level with but divided by a passage from the Great Hole. I expressed a desire to see it, and the turnkey fetched the keys. This dungeon, totally dark, is 7 feet by 6 feet 7 inches, and 7 feet 9 inches high. In the middle of the floor is a large massy wooden grated trap-door, strongly clouted with iron, and with apertures 4 inches square. Guess my surprise, when this door was lifted up, by another dungeon presenting itself. . . . I descended into the lowest dungeon of all by eleven stone steps, which is 10 feet by 9 feet, and 7 feet high to the crown of the arch. . . . Though there was no ventilation whatever in this dungeon, I found it perfectly dry, and less disagreeable than the arched landing-place above it. . . . When the prison was built this place must have been intended as an oubliette." Neild completes his account of the felons' prison by saying, "I have often wished a new gaol was at this place." Public interest was aroused in England generally by Neild's account of the various prisons he visited, and

it is by no means impossible that the demolition of the castle gaol was partly due to his description. At all events, a new gaol was begun in 1809 in Old Elvet, but the prisoners were not moved from the castle until 1819. In the following year the great archway spanning Saddler Street was taken down, and the gaol was demolished, though some of the cells still exist below the houses in Saddler Street.

But to return for a moment to a rather earlier date in connection with the castle. John Wesley was a frequent visitor to Durham, where his "Society" flourished exceedingly. In 1780 he passed through the city on his return from a tour in Scotland, and on this occasion, for the first time, found opportunity to enter the castle. He says: "In the afternoon we took a view of the castle at Durham, the residence of the bishop. The situation is wonderfully fine, surrounded by the river, and commanding all the country; and many of the apartments are large and stately: but the furniture is mean beyond imagination! I know not where I have seen such in a gentleman's house, or a man of five hundred a year, except that of the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin. In the largest chambers the tapestry is quite faded, beside that it is coarse and ill-judged. Take but one instance: in Jacob's vision you see on the one side a little paltry ladder, and an angel climbing it in the attitude of a chimney-sweeper; on the other side Jacob staring at him from under a large silver-laced hat!" The particular piece of tapestry which called down upon it Wesley's criticism is no longer in the castle, but its companion breadth, no doubt, still hangs on the wall of the senior judge's room along with other scenes from the lives of the patriarchs. Wesley's evidence, however, is valuable as showing the increasing neglect to which more than

one reference has been made. No doubt, when the assizes were held, furniture was brought over from Auckland for the time being.

Bishop Barrington, who did so much in many ways for the diocese, made, at all events, one alteration which catches the eye of every visitor. Cosin replaced the gate-house, but lapse of time had necessitated further restoration. Unfortunately Barrington put himself into the hands of Wyatt, who sketched out a recast of the building. He probably took down and reset the Norman arch, rehung the gates, preserved the groining of the doorway above them, and then over all this lower stage he built afresh two upper stories in the worst style of the time. But he had one piece of good fortune, for in making some alterations in Tunstall's gallery he discovered Pudsey's grand doorway, which had been covered up for a long period, probably since the days of Bishop Crewe.

With the episcopate of Van Mildert, who came to Durham in 1826, we reach the close of the long connection of the castle with the Bishops of Durham. It was marked by a banquet in which an unconscious farewell was taken of the older history, much as the banquet of 1503 was a farewell to the mediæval history of Durham. In 1827 the Duke of Wellington was making a round of visits in the north of England. Wherever he made his appearance in this triumphal progress he was received with acclamation. The streets were decorated, addresses were presented, and speeches were made in towns and villages, and at night, balls and parties were given in his honour, and the houses illuminated. At one stage of the journey the duke was the guest of Lord Ravensworth, at whose house a large house-party assembled to meet the hero. Sir Walter Scott, always attached to Durham,

and no infrequent visitor, was one of the Ravensworth guests, and drove over to take part in public and private proceedings arranged to do full honour to the duke in Durham. Fortunately Sir Walter has given us some account of what took place in the castle :

“October 3: Went to Durham with Lord Ravensworth betwixt one and two. Found the gentlemen of Durham county and town assembled to receive the Duke of Wellington. . . . The duke arrived very late. There were bells, and cannon, and drums, trumpets and banners, besides a fine troop of yeomanry. . . . We dined about one hundred and forty or fifty men, a distinguished company for rank and property :—

‘Lords and dukes and noble princes,
All the pride and flower of Spain.’

We dined in the old baronial hall, impressive from its rude antiquity, and fortunately free from the plaster of former improvement, as I trust it will long be from the gingerbread taste of modern Gothicizers. The bright moon streaming in through the old Gothic windows contrasted strangely with the artificial lights within. Spears, banners, and armour were intermixed with the pictures of the old bishops, and the whole had a singular mixture of baronial pomp with the grave and more chastened dignity of prelacy.”

Dr. Phillpotts, then a prebendary, and later Bishop of Exeter, was another of those present, and has left in a letter a mention of the banquet which has its own interest : “Sometimes I doubted whether the hero or the poet was fixing most attention. The latter, I need hardly tell you, appeared unconscious that he was regarded differently from those around him, until the good bishop arose and proposed his health.”

Ten years of great political excitement followed this virtual farewell to what the castle had been. Change was in the air; the Emancipation Bill and the Reform Bill were passed. A clamour was raised against the Church and its wealth, and not least against the wealth of the diocese of Durham. The bishop himself pressed on Dean and Chapter the foundation of the University of Durham, which was established in 1832. To the new institution the bishop proved its most kindly patron, and crowned his munificence by drawing up a scheme for the virtual surrender of the castle to the university, to take effect at his death. The bishop had warmly welcomed Archbishop Howley's bill to empower chapters and others to surrender lands and endowments for church purposes. This Act eventually led to the formation of the Ecclesiastical Commission. After the bishop's death the Commissioners formally proposed that the Bishop of Durham for the time being "shall hold the castle of Durham, including all the precincts of the said castle, and all the houses, buildings, lands, tenements, and hereditaments heretofore known or accepted as parcel of the said precincts, and all rights, privileges, ways, easements, and advantages thereto belonging, in trust for the University of Durham." One or two special provisos were attached to the proposal. It was stipulated that "all such officers of the palatinate of Durham as have performed for thirty years now last past and now do perform the duties of their respective offices in any building within the said precincts" should continue to occupy those buildings "so long as any of those duties shall remain to be performed by the officers who held their offices at the time of passing the Act for separating the palatinate jurisdiction from the bishopric of Durham."

To the further fortunes of the castle we shall return in a moment, but the mention of the separation of the palatinate jurisdiction introduces us to another great change which must be duly emphasised. What the palatinate power was in the days of its glory we have seen in connection with Bek and Hatfield. What it was when the Tudors resumed its judiciary authority and began to cut it short we have also seen. That somewhat abridged prestige continued until 1836, when the Act alluded to was passed, enacting that from henceforth all the palatinate privileges should be vested in the Crown. Until this time the old courts, the old offices, the old names had been continued, and the business side of the little kingdom went on very much as before, administered from the same general centre as heretofore in the precincts of Durham Castle. A list of the officers in 1820 will show how varied the machinery must have been :—

Court of Chancery and Exchequer.—Chancellor, Registrar, Deputy-Registrar, Cursitor, Examiner, Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Auditor, Deputy-Auditor, Receiver-General, Exchequer Bailiff.

Court of Pleas.—The Judges of Assize, Prothonotary, Deputy Prothonotary, Sheriff, Deputy-Sheriff, Clerk of Peace, Clerk of Crown, County Clerk, Deputy County Clerk, Gaoler.

Coroners.—Darlington Ward, Stockton Ward, Easington Ward, Chester Ward.

Stewards and Officers of Halmote Courts.—(1) County at large, including Bedlingtonshire, Deputy ditto, Clerk, Deputy-Clerk; (2) Allertonshire; (3) Howdenshire; various Under-Stewards.

Stewards of the Boroughs.—Durham, Darlington, Auckland, Stockton, Gateshead, Sunderland.

Bailiffs of Manors or Boroughs.—Darlington, Auck-

land, Evenwood, Stanhope, Wolsingham, Whickham, Lanchester, Stockton, Sadberge, Middleham, Coatham, Mundeville, Chester, Bedlington.

Durham Castle.—Constable, Steward, Porter.

Auckland Castle and Park.—Keeper.

Darlington Manor-house.—Keeper.

Forester and Keeper of Weardale.

Keepers of Woods.—Birtley, Auckland, Frankland.

These diversified offices were often bestowed in twos and threes upon the same man. Sometimes they were sinecures. Others were posts of considerable trust and emolument. Others still were paid in kind, or by some small money payment. Many of the holders were rarely in Durham. Others were local gentry of position. Others, like the permanent officials of the courts, and also the coroners, resided near the castle. When the Act of 1836 was passed this temporal side of the palatinate, which had been so long centred in the castle, was variously distributed. The Court of Pleas was maintained until 1873, and was then abolished. The Court of Chancery still exists. All the estates were administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the officers were rearranged at their pleasure. Durham Castle went to the university; Auckland Castle to the bishop, who thenceforward was paid a fixed annual income by the Commissioners.

Such was the rearrangement of 1836, and by it the temporal glory of the Bishop of Durham was lost. The castle entered upon an entirely new chapter of history. It was at first the one college in the new University of Durham. For some years it was termed in the calendar "The University College," but when Hatfield Hall was instituted in 1846 the article was dropped, and it has been called ever since University College, though the time-honoured name "castle" has

never departed from the ancient buildings, whose inmates are still "Castle Men." No one can deplore the use to which the castle has been put during the last seventy years. Its condition until that time had too often been one of lifeless neglect, save under the occupation of Crewe, or some other bishop who loved Durham for its own sake. It may be questioned whether during the long centuries of its history the fabric has ever been so carefully tended as in the recent years of its occupation by the university. Large sums of money have been expended upon it. In 1841 the modern keep took the place of the ruinous pile that had lingered so long upon the mound. In 1846 Neile's additions to the hall were taken away, and its proper length restored. In 1905 the central part, which had given such trouble to Chandler and Butler, was once more rendered secure, and ought to outlast not a few of the years to come. Held in trust by the Bishop of Durham for the university since 1837, the buildings have, in 1908, been transferred by Act of Parliament to the Council of the Durham Colleges.

Auckland Castle

“FROM Darlington to Acheland, 8 good Miles by resonable good Corne & Pasture.

“A Mile a this side Akeland Castelle I cam over a Bridg of one great Arch on Gaundelesse, a Praty Ryver rising a vj Miles of by West: and running by the South Side of Akeland Castelle goith a little beneth it to the great Streame of Were.

“Gaundeles rising by West cummith by Westakeland, by S. Helenes Akeland, by S. Andreas Akeland, & by Bishop Akelande.

“The Towne self of Akeland is of no Estimacion, yet is ther a praty Market of Corne.

“It standith on a praty hille bytween 2 Ryvers, whereof Were lyeth on the North Side, and Gaundelesse on the South, and a narrow shot or more benethe they meet and make one streame, and run to the Este: and ech of these Rivers hath an Hille by it. So that Bishops Castelle Akeland standith on a little Hille bytwixt 2 great.

“There was of very auncient a Manor Place logging to the Bishop of Duresme at Akeland.

“Antonius de Beke began first to encastellate it. He made the great Haulle. Ther be divers Pillors of Blak Marble spekelid with White. And the exceding fair gret Chaumbre with other there.

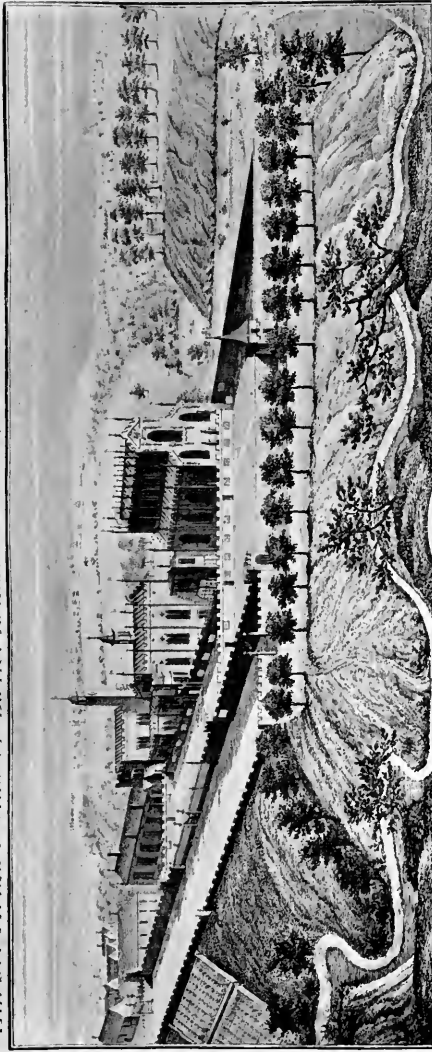
“He also made an exceding goodly Chapelle ther of Stone welle squarid, and a College with Dene and

Prebendes yn it. And a Quadrant on the South West side of the Castell for Ministers of the Colledge.

“Skerlaw, Bishop of Duresme, made the goodly Gate House at entering ynto the Castelle of Akelande. There is a faire Parke by the Castelle having falow Dere, wild Bulles and Kin.”

The words used by “that famous antiquary John Leiland,” in his “Itinerary Begunne about 1538,” to describe the castle and town, give the best possible idea of the position of this most beautiful episcopal residence. At what precise date some kind of building was first to be found on the “little Hille bytwixt 2 great” we do not know, but there is no lack of evidence to support his statement that there was a “Manor Place” here “of very auncient.” The name indicates the original character of Auckland—a land of oaks—doubtless forming part of the great forest of Weardale. About a mile north is Binchester, the undoubted site of an ancient Roman station; the Roman Causey crossed the Deor Street or Forest Way (as the Saxons called the Roman road known as the Northern Watling Street), just below North or Bishop’s Auckland, and on Toft Hill are traces of ancient earthworks, which suggest the existence of some kind of stronghold, some fort and entrenchments, even before the coming of the Romans. These are now so broken up that it is difficult to say what they originally were, but Bailey, writing in 1779, said that one side of the camp was 140 yards in length. The church of St. Andrew, Auckland, commonly called South Church, contains very interesting Anglo-Saxon remains, portions of a cross, &c., which probably date as early as 700. The two Aucklands (*Alclet duas*) are mentioned by Symeon of Durham as part of the territory of St. Cuthbert not restored by successive Northumberland earls after being mortgaged by

THE SOUTHEAST VIEW OF BISHOP AUCKLAND PALACE IN THE BISHOPRICK OF DUBLIN.



*in the Spirit of it, rather in God William Fellow
 Lord Bishops, Gentlemen, and Clergymen of this Country
 one of the present Members of the Chapter, being, &c.
 The present Chapter of this Cathedral being by
 New Buildings and that is, Dublin, 1728.*



*built upon the Ruins of an old Monastery here in 1728, when
 placed in a large and commodious, and in the best
 Manner the late Governor Lord Rochford, the British
 became a most beautiful & happy Building which is much
 Bishop Auckland, & the then quite destroyed in 1728
 Chapter, &c. 1728, in which the late*

BISHOP AUCKLAND PALACE IN 1728.

From an engraving by S. and N. Buck.

Bishop Aldhun and all the congregation of St. Cuthbert to "Ethred eorle, et Northman eorle, et Uhtred eorle." This suggests that the warlike Northumberland lords set a high value on this hillside settlement in "the bishop's high forest between Tyne and Tees." According to the same authority it was King Canute who procured their restoration to the Church.

We cannot, unfortunately, go to Domesday Book for information about Auckland, as the bishopric, being a palatinate, was omitted from the survey, and our earliest account of it is to be found in the Boldon Buke, a survey made only a century later, for Bishop Hugh Pudsey, in 1183. Though this contains no direct reference to a mansion at Auckland, the enumeration of services due by the tenants here and on neighbouring properties suggests that Auckland and Durham ranked even then together as the chief residences of the princely bishops of Durham. These services themselves furnish us with an attractive picture of the half-pastoral, half-forest life of the Auckland of this bygone day, when the bishops of the mighty palatinate were warriors and statesmen first, and churchmen in their moments of relaxation and leisure. It is as a resort at such moments that Boldon Buke presents Auckland to us in its most picturesque aspect. We have the services to be performed by tenants at the bishop's great hunt, and certain "yolwayting" services, by which it is thought some form of castle guard at the manor in which the bishop spent Christmas is to be understood. What these were we can only conjecture, but as it seems clear that they must have represented some sort of watch at Yuletide, it is interesting to note that they are incident to tenure in this manor only, and are not to be found anywhere else in the county. In various districts the services of tenants include the carting of corn, wood, wine, &c., to Durham and

Auckland, and all the villeins of Stanhope were bound to carry venison to Durham and Auckland, which seems to point to regular residence by the bishop at both places as an established custom.

The great hunt or big autumn *battue* was an elaborately organised affair. For a time the bishop and his train lived in the forest (to whose density at this date we have the testimony of a reference later to the roe hunt there), and it must have taxed the resources of the country-side to provide food and service for them. The villeins of Auklandshire had to find on these occasions one rope for each oxgang of land they held, to make the bishop's hall or temporary lodging in the forest, of the length of 60 feet and of the breadth within the posts of 16 feet, with a buttery and a hatch, and a chamber and a privy, as well as a chapel of the length of 40 feet and of the breadth of 15 feet. They had also to make their part of the fence round the lodges. The men of Stanhope had to build and furnish the kitchen, larder, and kennel. The villeins of Auckland had on the departure of the bishop a whole tun of beer, or a half one if it remained [if he remained away?] and had of charity two shillings.

The winding of the horn, the groups of brilliantly clad huntsmen making their way through the glades of the autumn forest, these are the thoughts that come uppermost in reading this record of life in twelfth-century Auckland. But other services had to be paid: the boon-days, the mowing, the making of the hay, the leading it, the reaping, the carrying of the corn, the hens and eggs to be rendered, as likewise the cow in milk, the cartloads of wood, the toll of beer, the payments of cornage, averpenny, wheat, &c., the millstone to be found for the mill, fill in the details of the life pictured for us, year in, year out, from Yuletide and

its "yolwayting," to Michaelmas, and its equally mysterious Michelmath dues, and back again. An unfamiliar sight is recalled by the obligation of Elstan, the "dreng," to find four oxen to cart the bishop's wine. This "dreng" had to go on the bishop's errands between Tyne and Tees at his own cost.

The great hunt did not exhaust the forest obligations of the villeins. They had "to guard the æries of the hawks which are in the district of Ralph the Crafty," and, with the farmers, to attend the roe hunt at the summons of the bishop.

All the villeins and farmers had to work at the mills of Auklandshire; and we are reminded of what must have been a festive occasion for the whole community by their obligation to make eighteen booths at the fair of St. Cuthbert. Other touches are added to the picture by the mention of Luce Makerell's house near the orchard of the lord bishop, and of the Monk Cook's land within and without the park. Bishop Pudsey's grant of land to Monk Cook is given in the *Feodarium* of Durham Priory, and mentions three acres within the Old Park. His property appears again in a grant of Bishop Philip of Poitou (1195-1208), who granted him "thirteen acres of our moor at Auckland between Blindervelle and the land of Robert the Falconer," "in exchange for thirteen acres which we have included in our park." The Old Park occurs again in a deed of 1248.

It was not until Bishop Anthony Bek that any building achievements at Auckland were considered worthy of record. But a previous building of very considerable claim to dignity may well have sunk into insignificance before the "sumptuous" erection which Robert de Greystanes attributes to this powerful prelate, whose anxiety to possess a castellated manor-house may

not have proceeded merely from a desire to find employment for his opulent revenues. It is curious that Greystanes does not use any term suggestive of castellation or fortification, and that we have no contemporary authority for Leiland's statement that Bek encastellated the manor-house; but a fortified residence may well have been felt to be desirable by one who had to contend with his sovereign as well as for him, who had so long and serious a quarrel with the prior, and whose duty, as bishop palatine, of defending the bishopric, brought him into conflict with its sturdy inhabitants, who resented as an infringement of their rights being called to serve beyond its limits against the Scots, who were threatening to overrun them. "The men of the franchise of Durham between Tyne and Tees" petitioned the king against Bishop Anthony in 1302, and must have made out a good case against the ministers of the bishop for violation of ancient rights and customs in connection with the "pleas of the forest of Auckland," and with "the court of the free chase of Auckland," for they were promised redress as to "approvements made within the free chase and without, to the grievous hurt of the said good folk, who had not free entry or outlet, or sufficient pasture for their free tenements," and it was agreed that four men chosen by the bishop, and four chosen by the commonalty, should settle these delicate matters. Such disputes between bishop and commonalty were common enough at this time, but it required all the courage of the sturdy Durham folk to stand up against their powerful bishop. The woodlanders may have had the support of the bishop's enemy, the Prior of Durham, who in 1305 charged Bishop Anthony with unjustly preventing the tenants and villeins of the convent from taking timber in the wood of Auckland.

In 1311, the year following Bishop Bek's death, 120 acres of waste land in the Old Park of Auckland were acquired by John de Penreth; and a dispute as to the tithes of the Old Park is recorded in 1325. Deeds of this period refer to the Wood of West Auckland, the moor and waste of West Auckland, the mills of West Auckland, the mill of North Auckland, and the fulling mill of Auckland. An indulgence of 1314 speaks of a new bridge about to be rebuilt over the Wear at Auckland by William Brak' and others.

Bishop Anthony's munificence had not been confined to the beautifying of his manor-house. We are reminded of another element in Auckland life by the fact that he refounded that college in close vicinity to the castle, which it is said that Bishop Carileph (1080-95) had instituted at St. Andrews to receive the secular priests turned out of Durham. This collegiate establishment was charged by Bek with providing for daily service in the manor-house at Auckland. It appears as if at some later date this college was removed within the castle walls, perhaps by Bishop Boothe (1457-80), as his chancellor mentions "the new college" and its repairs, and Bishop Fox (1494-1528) constitutes a sacrist "in the collegiate chapel within the manor-house"; and so it came to have its "quadrant on the south-west side of the castle" as Leiland tells us.

We have to wait until the episcopate of Richard de Bury before we can glean any information as to the details of the "sumptuous" structure whose surroundings it has been possible in this fashion to reconstruct. But before that date opportunities are vouchsafed to the historic imagination of calling up scenes very characteristic of the princely bishops

whose magnificence had a worthy setting in the stately pile.

In 1209 and 1310 King John visited the castle. In 1311 an act of Bishop Kellawe upon his citation to the council of Pope Clement VI. was dated from the chamber¹ of the lord bishop in his manor of Auckland, and in the following year the same chamber witnessed the sending forth of a challenge by him to all persons to contest his rights if they had any claim so to do. That year Robert Bruce was wasting the bishopric, and a letter from Bishop Kellawe to the Bishop of St. Andrews on 23rd May 1313 mentioned that certain ambassadors to Scotland from Pope Clement VI. and Philip, King of France, had been entertained at Auckland by him. The ravaging of the north by the Scots brought King Edward III. and Philippa his queen to the castle in 1335 and 1336, when they were the guests of the courtly and scholarly Richard de Bury, formerly the king's tutor, and the friend of the poet Petrarch, whose acquaintance had been made by the bishop on one of his many embassies to the Continent. The steward's accounts show him to have spent only five weeks at Auckland in 1335, but to have expended much on hospitality then.

Very pleasant associations are evoked by the name of this lover of books, who surrounded himself with transcribers and illuminators, and whose munificence to the Auckland poor must have made him a welcome visitor to his castle. He distributed five marks to them whenever he travelled between Durham and Auckland. In spite of truces this bishop must have lived in continual expectation of a Scottish invasion until his death took place here on 24th April 1345.

¹ Raine in his history points out that chamber frequently means a whole suite of apartments: we should therefore think of the bishop's suite and king's suite.

It was the battle of Neville's Cross, fought in the following year (17th October 1346), on the Red Hills near Durham, where King David and most of the Scottish nobility were taken prisoner, that put an end to their ravaging for many years. A letter from the prior and convent of Durham to the bishop, Thomas Hatfield, at that date, gives a dramatic account of the whole English army, under the Archbishop of York and other magnates (the prior does not deign to mention by name any magnate but his archbishop), "assembling secretly in your park of Auckland," where they spent the night preceding the battle, the Scotch having taken up their quarters at the prior's summer residence, Bear Park, three miles off. Though absent at this critical moment, we have the evidence of a deed "datum in castro nostro de Aukland viij die mensis Martii anno domini Millesimo cccxlvt et pontificatus nostri primo,"¹ to show that Bishop Hatfield had already been in residence earlier in the year. This is the earliest use of the word castle as applied to Auckland in such a deed.

It is from a bailiff's roll of the manor for 1337, the fifth year of Richard de Bury's episcopate, the earliest bailiff's roll now in existence for any of the manors of the see, that we obtain our first information as to domestic details in the castle. It contains a valuable account of repairs and work done here, as does also another bailiff's roll for 1350, the fifth year of Bishop Hatfield's episcopate. Both these interesting documents have been printed by the Surtees Society in the same volume as the survey made during the episcopate of Bishop Hatfield (1345-81), from which additional information as to holders of land, tenant

¹ In a confirmation made by Bishop Neville, 1445, of charters belonging to Keyper Hospital we find this grant included. (Surtees Soc., 1895, p. 208.)

services rendered, &c., can be obtained, and a translation of them and of later rolls is to be found in Raine's *History of Auckland Castle*. From the bailiff's rolls, besides much miscellaneous expenditure on walls and windows, gutters and roofs, we can extract precious elements of the human drama, perceive some traces of the humbler human lives whose centre was the great castle. The ravages of the Great Plague are to be felt in its effects on the customs and services due from tenants, the value of whose labour was no longer represented at the later date by the money payments for which these had been previously commuted. And yet in the autumn of 1350 the bailiff of the lord bishop apparently managed to exact many services from them at the old rate, though in some instances even he failed to do so. There was no open rebellion of the peasants here, but it may well be believed that tenants who did not dare to defy the authority of the bishop's bailiff would have been glad enough to evade it, and early in the year there occurs an entry which shows that, whether from this cause, or from fear of the plague, certain tenants had tried to flee from the land of the lord bishop and go elsewhere. "From wickedness and from malice aforethought they gave in the iron shoes of their ploughs at Auckland on Thursday next before the Feast of Pentecost. For which cause they were arrested and imprisoned at Durham till Saturday the night of Trinity." A whole world of speculation is opened up by the laconic statement.

The accounts of Peter de Midrigge, Bishop Bury's bailiff in 1337, give the cost of repairs to the steward's room and the hall, the great chapel and little chapel, the lord's (bishop's) room, the turret, the yard by the old bakehouse (this to be "plastered against the coming of the lord"), the granary, the long stable, the great

stable, the candle-house, the king's room, the gable of the king's room, the brew-house, and the salt-house; for making a chimney in the turret, and repairing the chimney in the lord's room; for mending the lock of the great gateway; for plastering the yard at the eastern gate; for mending the great stone wall at the west of the manor, and the stone wall behind the grange; for making a hedge garden (*gardinum de haya*) within the court next the brew-house. The charges for window mending are interesting. We have the expenses for mending the glass windows of the great chapel against Christmas; for plastering the windows of the kitchen; for three ells of canvas bought for the glass window in the gable of the hall against Christmas; for one ell of canvas bought for the window of the chamber over the gateway; and Walter the glazier is paid for mending the glass windows in the gable of the hall. Very numerous and costly are the entries in connection with the kitchen, and as these include two fir trees for scaffolding, the early fourteenth-century shafts to be seen in the kitchen at this day in all probability form part of an apartment for whose building we have the accounts actually here before us. Outside, two carpenters are paid for two weeks' work at mending two bridges in the park, the bridges of Coundonnburn and Eggisclyffburn, and a considerable sum is spent also on the park palings and enclosures, mention being made of the close under the hall. It is noticeable that this bailiff speaks of the manor or hall, not of the castle.

Roger de Tikhill, Bishop Hatfield's bailiff in 1350, mentions the orchard under the castle, and the orchard near the Gaunless; though the steward in 1337 had declared he had no fruit to account for, there being then neither fruit nor tree. In addition to the lord's room, the chapel, the king's room, and other previously

mentioned rooms, he refers to the great grange, to the chamber at the east gate, the room at the end of the hall, and the chamber over the south gate. A stone window is to be made in the western part of the hall, bars of iron supplied for it, and also glass windows for it and all the other windows of the hall.

We do not know in what year of Bishop Hatfield's episcopate his survey of the bishopric was made, but the copy which survives was apparently transcribed in 1381, the year after his death, as it contains a reference to the halmote court held at Auckland manor in the previous year. It mentions the nether orchard on the bank under the castle wall on the southern side, and a plot acquired for enlarging the great garden of the lord bishop. Among meadow names it gives the Leyes, Hallmedow, and the Stile; it refers to nine acres at Gaytbrigg and four at Brakesbank, and four at the eastern gate reserved for game. There is a reference to a parcel of the park opposite the Burnemilne. It contains the same regulations as to forest services, the construction of the bishop's lodging at the great hunt, &c., as Boldon Buke; but "the ward of Auckland" is substituted for "the district of Ralph the Crafty" in the directions as to the æries of the hawks. Roger de Tikhill's accounts show a large sum to have been spent on building a stone wall round the park, and for making 340 roods of ditch round the meadows within the park, with "ryles" from the lord's wood to complete the said work: a memorandum states that he is bound to complete the whole enclosure of the park.

Another chamber in the castle mentioned by name at a later date, is the inner chamber in which Cardinal Langley's death is recorded in 1437. His accounts show that some repairs were executed by him, but these

do not seem to have been important. They contain a reference to the postern gate opening on to the highway on the south side of the chapel, and to a passage extending from the "parlour" to the east end of the chapel. This "parlour" was mentioned in the accounts of the clerk of the works for 1378, when a reference also occurs to "my lord's chamber on the north of the small garden within the manor-house." The accounts for 1387 give the cost of a new under frame for my lord's chamber, and of many repairs to outbuildings.

Building operations at the castle were on certain occasions on a sufficiently magnificent scale to deserve special recognition by the Durham chroniclers. We are told of Bishop Walter Skirlaw (1388-1405) that he "built the bridge of Auckland; he also erected the great stone gates at Auckland from the foundation to the summit of the same building at his own expense." Of Bishop Lawrence Boothe (1457-76) we hear that he "built all the stone gates of the college at Auckland and all the other buildings annexed to the gateway on both sides at his own expense." Building seems sometimes to have been used in the sense of repairing by historians of the castle.

Wars and rumours of wars filled the latter end of the fifteenth century, and the castle's history must have been as distressful and calamitous as might be expected at such a period if we are to believe a letter of 1484 printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and not regard it as a mere piling up of excuses. It is written by Richard III. to the Pope at his appointment of John Sherwood as bishop, and pleads for an abatement of the fees payable by the bishop at Rome upon his elevation, on the ground that in the bishopric he had so many castles and other places to maintain at his own expense, especially in the present most grievous

war with the most fierce and hard nation of the Scots. The letter states that the castles and towns belonging to the Church at Durham were in so ruinous a condition, partly through the negligence of preceding bishops and partly through the devastation committed by the Scots, that the revenues of several years would not suffice to restore them. Any attempts this bishop may have made at restoring them do not appear to have been considered worthy of remark. But Bishop Fox (1494-1501), in spite of the active part he was forced, as bishop, to take in arraying the county against a threatened invasion of the Scots, and of his activity in diplomatic service to his sovereign, is said to have enclosed the deer park.

It was Bishop Ruthall who finally took in hand the repairs that seem to have been so urgently needed, and who started the building of a great dining-hall which he did not live to complete. A delightfully homely picture of his life at Auckland is suggested by a few chance words we have from his pen in the course of very eloquent protestations to Wolsey as to the cost of "refreshing his ruynous howses" in the county. In spite of his great wealth, all his groans seem by no means uncalled for, in view of the heavy burden of hospitality he shows himself charged with, and when it is remembered what his activity in arraying the county, putting its defences into good order, and in providing men-at-arms when he accompanied the king to France, must have cost him.

Writing from Auckland to Wolsey on 24th October 1513, a month after Flodden Field, as to the re-edifying and strengthening of Norham Castle, he says: "But, Maister Almoner, the hospitalitie of this countray agrethe not with the building of so great a worke; for that I spend here would make many

towris and refreshe my ruynous howses, the lyke wherof I trow never Cristenman lokyd on, onlesse they had be pullyd down by men of warre." He assures Wolsey that he will return hither after he has seen the king, "if the wars continue here, and if it be his pleasure." And from attendance on his Majesty we drop to the expenses of housekeeping at the castle, and the consumption of wine there is dilated on for sympathy. Eight tuns of wine had he brought with him, "and, our Lord be thankyd, I have not two tunne left at this howre. And this is fair utterance in two monethys. And schame it is to say how many befis and motons have ben spent in my hows sens my cummyng, besides other fresh acats, whete, malt, fysche, and such bagages. On my faith ye wold marvayle." Had not his fortunes been "somewhat stored before," frugal man, he "would have been much behind; for three hundred persons some day is a small number, and sometimes sixty or eighty beggars at the gate." "And this is the way to keep a poore man in state."

Ruthall is accused of having been avaricious. It is said that on one occasion he sent in to King Henry VIII. accounts dealing with his own estates in mistake for certain accounts of his Majesty's realm, and that Wolsey, who was aware of the mistake, handed the wrong documents in to the king with the laughing comment that these, if they did not show him what he wanted, would at least tell him where to go for what he did want. The bishop is said to have been ill with chagrin at having the extent of his possessions thus exposed. It is perhaps not unreasonable to imagine that so intimate a knowledge of the state of his wine cellar at Auckland as he displayed, may not have been unconnected with some tendency to parsimony on his part, but it must be remembered what

point would be given to the jest of my Lord Almoner with his sovereign by the fact that the exposure was made to very covetous eyes indeed.

Ruthall's building operations at the castle are the subject of some illuminating correspondence published in the *Letters and Papers of King Henry VIII*. In August 1519 we find Thomas Strangways, who filled the post of comptroller of the bishop's household, protesting to the bishop that "there was never so great works so sumptuously and curiously wrought in so many parts within all the king's realm with so little money as I have demanded." After Ruthall's death, Wolsey, whose tenure of the see from 1523 to 1529 does not seem to have been accompanied by any expenditure on the castle, appears to have deprived Thomas Strangways of even the money assigned to him by Bishop Ruthall as legitimately due to him for his services. In 1530 we have the comptroller's angry complaints against Wolsey concerning the wardship of one George Bowys, which had been bequeathed by the late bishop to Strangways "in reward for his labour and expense on the repairs at Auckland," in another document described as "eight years' service done to the bishop without fee or reward." Strangways states that Wolsey had demanded the wardship from him in return for a payment of £600. Echoes of Wolsey's might and power come down to us in Strangway's confession that he had not dared to refuse him, though it was worth much more than £1000. But when even the meagre £600 was withheld, the unfortunate man was reduced to making suit for its recovery, and it is to this we owe the survival of all documents connected with the affair. Many heartburnings must have gone into the erection of the great dining-hall, whose magnificent bay window or oriel forms a principal

feature of the eastern front. Its upper part was completed by Bishop Tunstall (1530-58), the impaled arms of the two bishops and of the see being an important part of the rich decorations of the great window. Perhaps we have in this correspondence of Strangways some explanation of the statement made by Tunstall in his will, that he found the houses belonging to the bishopric in such a state of disrepair that he "had not a house at his first coming to lie dry in," "and by great art and labour" repaired them, his accounts showing that he lost no time in doing this at Auckland, £42, 3s. 4d. for repairs occurring in the roll of the clerk of the works in 1531.

The great breach with Rome was not accomplished without outspoken resentment on the part of the bishopric (or county) of Durham. Bishop Tunstall, the friend of Erasmus, and himself so learned that Godwin says of him "that there was scarce any kind of learning in which he was not excellent," had the courage even to protest against Henry's assumption of the title of supreme head, and to urge that it might be perverted to scandalous meanings. Few men can have experienced more of the chances and changes of fortune than were to be the lot of this highly esteemed bishop as the pendulum swung from one extreme to the other in the ensuing years. It is the comment of the historian Hutchinson, in describing at a later date the stripping of the bishops of the see of their greatest palatine honours, that by that time Tunstall had probably been disciplined by the tyrant into passive obedience. Of the methods pursued by the tyrant's instruments Auckland was to witness an example, and in the *Letters and Papers* a description survives of a hasty and secret but thoroughgoing search to which the castle was subjected in his absence, in May 1532.

It is impossible even at this day to read without indignation of the ransacking scenes which the old walls must have witnessed at the hands of those who were all eagerness to please his Majesty or his subservient tool Cromwell. On 2nd May 1532 the Earls of Westmoreland and Cumberland and Sir Thomas Clifford wrote to Cromwell that on receipt of the king's letters they had repaired without delay to the house of the bishop at Auckland, where his chief abode was, and where most of his substance lay. Their letter tells him how secretly they proceeded, taking from the chancellor, surveyor, and Dr. Ridley the keys of the bishop's lodgings and studies, which they rigorously searched. They are profuse in lamentations because they found but little household stuff or writing of importance, at which they marvel in so studious a man. They think he must have been "prevented" long ago. The disappointment at not unearthing portable property of value is a sinister touch.

Four years later another letter to Cromwell, this time from Thomas Legh, whose methods at the visitation of the monasteries, prior to their dissolution, gained him so unenviable a reputation, shows that the bishop had been constrained to put in practice the wisdom of making friends with the mammon of unrighteousness. Bribe-taking, even bribe-taking to excess, is laid to the charge of the unspeakable Dr. Legh, so the bishop's largesse must have been generous indeed to call forth so unctuous a letter from such a source. Of the scenes by which the passing of the old order was accompanied at Auckland the letter affords also a valuable example. It was written on 26th January 1536, and informs Cromwell: "It would be long to tell you the gentle and lowly entertainment of the Bishop of Durham, meeting us at our entry into his diocese three or four

miles from his house [Auckland Castle], with a great company of his servants, and on our leaving him, conducting us from Auckland more than half the way to Durham Abbey. Both we, our servants, and our company had large rewards, thus setting an example to the people, and especially the abbots, of their duty towards their prince, and how they ought to accept him as their Supreme Head."

The most respected of the bishops at this dread time might find he had no alternative but to promote the very measures against whose adoption he had previously protested, but there were others in the bishopric of a more stubborn disposition. The Pilgrimage of Grace had many sympathisers in Durham, and Auckland had witnessed a very considerable mustering of rebels in the course of Bigod's Rebellion, which took place earlier in the same month of January 1536. George Lumley, son and heir of Lord Lumley, was among those who joined Bigod's enterprise, and it is from his evidence, given when he was a prisoner under examination in the Tower, that we learn what took place. He says that he and his father had fled to Newcastle because they had heard the commons were up, that the bishop had fled from Auckland at midnight, and that it would be best for them to get into some safe place; from Newcastle he seems to have been recalled by hearing that his father's goods would be spoiled unless he went to Lord Latimer. Alarmed for the safety of his father's property, the younger man repaired to Lord Latimer, whom he found at Auckland, with eight or ten thousand men mustering before the bishop's house. Lord Latimer asked him to send word to his father to "come in," and gave him the oath. We learn also that "Sir James Strangwishe,

young Bowes, Sir Ralph Bowmer, and another knight that married with and dwells nigh Lord Latimer, came in with companies." Asked as to the causes of the insurrection, he declared them to be the pulling down of abbeys and reports of taxes on christenings and weddings, and "that no poor man should eat white bread." He adds that "a tall, lusty man" had said at this muster at Auckland: "I hear say that the king doth cry eighteenpence a day, and I trust that we shall have as many men for eightpence a day," and that he thinks this was the Abbot of Jervaulx; his chaplain carried bow and arrows.

Whatever example the bishop might set "to the people, and especially the abbots, of their duty towards their prince," it had not been humanly possible to repress altogether some explosion of resentment felt by "commons" and priests alike at the suppression of the monasteries. But the Abbot of Jervaulx was one of the first to expiate his contumacy with the loss of his head, and a whole batch of rebels were hanged at Durham. The royal vengeance was very terrible, and crushed out the embers of revolt quickly. The doom of the abbeys was sealed. The stables at Auckland¹ would not henceforth be called upon to accommodate the twenty horses and more required to convey the retinue of servants that accompanied the prior on his visits to the castle. Its floors were no longer to be trodden by the sandals of monkish visitors. It was no longer to witness the comings and goings of the priests from the college within its gates, which now became the property of the bishops, after falling into

¹ See *Durham Household Book* (Surtees Soc.), Bursar's Accounts, p. 12; the prior's expenses at Auckland (Feb. 1530-31) with 20 horses, 17 servants, and 2 chaplains, for one night: p. 245; the prior's expenses at Auckland with 16 horses, and again with 18 horses (1533-34): p. 244; "my" expenses at Auckland, and for 8 brethren (novices) for ordination, with 20 horses.

the hands of the king. Tunstall was appointed to preside over the Council of the North, which carried out the dismantling of the monasteries, administered justice, and looked to the defences of the county. Many military and judicial consultations must have taken place under his roof. It sheltered the great bishop as he received blow after blow from King Henry; until the bishopric was suppressed under the boy king, Edward; again, after his restoration to favour under Queen Mary, whose orders to levy forces for the borders, especially horses, we find him informing her he had already anticipated, in a letter dated here 7th August 1559; and witnessed the final rebuff reserved for his extreme old age—Elizabeth's intimation that she would have no use for his services. No successor of his, not even in the bitter days of the Civil War, could ever again witness quite such violent revolutions of fortune's wheel as Cuthbert Tunstall. During his tenure of the see he contributed a great porch and scullery to the castle, as well as his share in the completion of the dining-room; and is said to have built for the reception of Scottish prisoners or hostages that part of the building known as "Scotland." He put the castle into a general state of repair, according to the chronicler.

The Elizabethan bishops had the same difficulties to deal with at Auckland as their contemporaries throughout the kingdom—hindrances to religion in the diocese, obstinate recusants, and the queen's insatiable demands upon Church property. To content her Majesty on the one hand, and on the other to avoid rousing the ill-will of neighbours from whom contributions had to be procured for the defences of the county, or a measure of conformity they were in no wise inclined to give, must at times have made life at

Auckland somewhat harassing. Bishop Barnes, who died at Auckland 24th August 1587, after having "always chiefly resided there," in a letter to the all-powerful Burleigh of 11th February 1575/6, complained to him that the "stubborn churlish people of the county of Durham defaced him by all slanders, false reports, and shameless lies." Bishop Hutton, in January 1594/5, declares that he would rather "give up his post and live a private life, where he would have little to do but pray for the queen's most excellent majesty," than comply with her wishes concerning a certain lease. Bishop Matthew takes up the cudgels for his bishopric in 1596, and protests that "no county in the north is so charged with service as the small handful of the bishopric of Durham." In a letter to Secretary Cecil, of 1601, he laments that "there has been great unkindness between the chief commanders in these parts," and seems to have found great comfort in the company of one John Gibson, who has just paid him a few days' visit at Auckland, because Gibson appears to be more ready and glad to be employed by Cecil than the inhabitants of the bishopric. We hear of a court held by the chancellor upon a stone in the courtyard of the castle in 1579, of institutions by the bishop in "le dyning chambre" in 1584, and can thus localise happenings of regular occurrence; but it is perhaps not unnatural that at this time there is nothing to tell of great occasions or of extensive building operations at the castle.

The seventeenth century, however, was an eventful one in its story. In 1625 the Court of High Commission began to hold, "in an upper chamber in the manor-house of Auckland," those trials of ecclesiastical causes which were to contribute in so lamentable a degree to the exasperation that culminated in the

Civil War. Before the great explosion took place, the magnificent old building enjoyed one final scene of splendid ceremony in 1633, when Bishop Morton entertained King Charles I. on the occasion of his visit to Scotland to receive his crown and hold a Parliament in a manner befitting so dignified a mission. Hutchinson says that the bishop's sumptuous entertainment of the king cost him £1500 a day. The great edifice must have been in every way set in order and prepared to be worthy of its royal guest, as Bishop Neile (1617-31) had spent nearly £3000 upon it in repairs. Of the state kept up on all occasions by Bishop Morton we have several notices. He is said to have brought up many poor scholars in his house, to have had very much plate, and to have been served at his table in very great state, all in silver. Sir William Brereton, whose travels have been published by the Chetham Society, gives an interesting account of a visit to him in 1634, and of the great hospitality maintained by him in "an orderly, well-governed house," of whose grandeur he gives some idea by enumerating its two chapels, the one over the other, the lower made use of on Sabbath days, its three dining-rooms, fair-matted gallery, and "dainty stately park." The fated king, who had on a previous occasion, as a little boy travelling into England from Scotland shortly after his father's accession, broken his journey for a time with Bishop Toby Matthew at the castle, was to return to Bishop Auckland in 1646/7, after Bishop Morton had been expelled by the Parliamentarians. The abode which had afforded him such loyal hospitality, was then in the hands of his enemies, and he, with the soldiers who guarded him, was lodged in a rough inn. The pre-Commonwealth bishops of Durham seem to have been distinguished by the alto-

gether superior way in which they discharged the episcopal duty of hospitality. Perhaps the reason that Charles, in his delicate childhood, was entrusted for a time to Bishop Matthew, may be found in the excellence of Auckland housekeeping in his time. Of Mrs. Matthew we hear that she "was a very gallant woman and a great housewife, insomuch that those who had a desire to bestow good breeding upon their daughters thought themselves happy, and that they had more than half bred their daughters, if they could get them entertained with Mrs. Matthew's service. She sewed a very stately and rich bed, and presented it to the queen, who kindly accepted it."

Another Stuart visitor destined for the castle by James was Arabella Stuart, whose imprisonment in the care of Neile's predecessor, Bishop James, was to have been passed here. But she refused to be banished to the wilds of Durham. This bishop may literally be said to have been a martyr to the Stuart temper. He speaks of himself as going to Bath to cure ill-health, solely brought on by his attendance on her, and Surtees says that his last illness was brought on by the scolding administered to him by James I. at Durham; and that the bishop went back to Auckland to die there, scolded to death, three days after it took place.

Whether sympathies are Royalist or Parliamentarian, there can be but one mind about the treatment meted out to ancient buildings, especially those of an ecclesiastical, or worse still, episcopal character, by the Puritans. Auckland, in spite of Bishop Neile's expenditure in repairs, does not seem to have escaped the universal fate of defacement and destruction. On 8th March 1647 it was sold to that foremost Parliamentarian, Sir Arthur Haselrigg, for £6102, 8s. 11½d. A survey made preparatory to this sale is given in full

by Raine in his history of the castle. This speaks of it as "a very stately manor-house," with two chapels to it, one over the other, built of stone and covered with lead. It makes a special mention of the stately gate-house, and says the several courts, yards, and gardens within the wall cover about five acres. The rooms then in existence must have been very much the same as those mentioned in an inventory taken at Bishop Neile's translation to Winchester in 1628. The park has not much timber older than the Commonwealth, and Cosin says that Sir Arthur "left never a tree or pollard standing"; but in fairness to him it must be noted that Sir William Brereton, whose interesting account of his visit in 1634 has been before referred to, said there was much store of wood, but little timber.

Of the building it would perhaps be safe to say that, if he did not demolish all that was laid to his charge, the whole structure fell into neglect and disrepair while in Sir Arthur's possession. When Bishop Cosin, after the Restoration, set to work to restore the castle, it would appear, however, from the wording of his accounts, that others had had their share in the business of ruining it. Surtees says Sir Arthur "plucked down the old pile and Anthony Bek's chapel, and began a new palace within the east curtain wall, but the whole of this new building Cosin, from some strange superstition, pulled down, and reared almost from the ground the whole palace which now exists on the scite of the old castle." This "strange superstition" as Surtees so contemptuously calls it, is somewhat differently treated by Camden, who, in his *Britannia*, says that Bishop Cosin, because Sir Arthur Haselrigg's palace had been sacrilegiously built with the materials of the old chapel, pulled it

down, and built other apartments to what remained of the old. He further states that the old hall, 75 feet long by 32 broad, and 35 feet high, remains, and other good offices. It is stated in "a view of the estate of the bishopric of Durham," given in Cosin's correspondence, that "the usurpers Sir Arthur Haselrigg *and others* had ruined" the castle, but the details of rebuilding expenses show that Camden's account rather than Surtees' is the correct one. Whether we incline to agree with "strange superstition" as a description of Cosin's action, or to apply the term "sacrilege" to that of Sir Arthur, it is not impossible to understand the feeling that "plucked down" the palace the latter had erected. This is described by Dugdale, who says Sir Arthur "intended to build a new structure of a noble fabric, all of one pile, taking for his model the curious and stately building at Thorpe, near Peterborough, a large, square, four-storied edifice, which Chief Justice Oliver St. John, after the murder of Charles I., erected partly out of the cathedral at Peterborough."

At a later date sacrilegious hands were to attack with stucco and whitewash stately apartments which in the name of improvement and restoration suffered treatment not much less injurious than they had endured at the hand of the Puritan. But though we may set this humiliating reflection in the scales to soften our indignation, it would not be easy to forgive Sir Arthur Haselrigg, "the former faire chappell" of Bishop Anthony Bek, if he really pulled it down to furnish himself with material for a residence of the latest fashion. But opinion is extraordinarily divided on this question. Raine, in his history of Auckland Castle, strongly argues in favour of Cosin's having repaired and not rebuilt the old chapel, though

this is in direct opposition to the statements made in the accounts of Cosin's expenditure published in his correspondence. Raine perhaps shows himself somewhat over-anxious to contradict all previous historians, to defend Sir Arthur Haselrigg, to minimise the damage done by him, and to criticise unfavourably Cosin's building operations. He maintains that Cosin used Sir Arthur's new structure only for repairing the castle, not at all for the chapel; that it was not Sir Arthur who destroyed Bek's chapel, and that no such demolition generally can be laid to his charge as he has been accused of.

It is never possible to read without a thrill of the home-coming of Cavalier families after the Restoration. Though there is no such home-coming to record in the case of Auckland Castle, Bishop Morton having died in 1659 at the ripe age of ninety-five, we are inclined to sympathise as if the old building had been a sentient thing to be cherished, when we read of the zeal with which repairs and rebuilding were put in hand as soon as Bishop Cosin was able to set about the operation. Certainly if the old stones had been sentient things, and conscious of the animosity or contempt they had roused, they would have understood that whether the work now done was altogether judicious or not, much loving care at least was expended to atone for the neglect which cannot be denied, even if the "spoiling and ruining" has been exaggerated.

Bishop Cosin was appointed to the see in December 1660, and in September of the following year his secretary, Myles Stapylton, is able to write to Mr. William Sancroft of the installation of the episcopal household at the castle; a letter from the bishop himself to the same correspondent in that month even mentioning the presence of his daughters there. The

secretary's letter, dated 6th September 1661, after telling of the bishop's coming, states that all his goods are safely arrived, that "his library is a setting up, the greatest part of the bookes he hath here being up already, and the rest will be set up in a day or two's time; the place he hath chose for it is the long gallery at Awkland." It is clear that Surtees altogether over-estimated the demolition for which Sir Arthur Haselrigg was responsible.

An account of the bishop's expenses to 1668, published in his *Correspondence*, says that by that date he had expended £17,500 in repairing and rebuilding Auckland Castle and the castle of Durham, which latter "the Scots spoyl'd and ruined with gunpowder." Of this sum "£6000 was expended in erecting from the ground and consecrating a faire large new chappell at Auckland Castle, the former faire chappell there having been totally pulled down by Sir Arthur Haselrigg." This new chapel, with all the splendid inventory of books, plate, and ornaments for the service of the altar with which he adorned it, was to furnish his last resting-place, and it was here, under a stone on the floor, that he was buried in 1672, all the country assembling to do honour to the loyal and warm-hearted churchman who had so munificently cared for his Auckland home.

No details had been too small for him to attend to, and in one of his letters we find him giving minute instructions about the gravelling of its paths. The park, from which we find Bishop Morton, in the very last year before the Rebellion, despatching so many presents of venison to Viscount Conway and others, had lost its herd of wild bulls and its bucks. The bishop not only did much replanting, he stocked it again with deer, though not with the bulls—or bisons,



AUCKLAND CASTLE FROM THE WAIKATO RIVER

Photo. by Spooner.

AUCKLAND CASTLE.

as they were described in the survey of 1647. This speaks of them as all destroyed but two or three. So with the Rebellion had disappeared the "bulles and bukkes" mentioned as early as 1503 by Bishop William Sever, and the bulls have never been replaced.

The deeds and letters relating to Cosin's work, published in his *Correspondence* and in Raine's history of the castle, though they give abundance of instructions, are not on all points explicit enough to clear up the questions of damage done respectively by Sir Arthur Haselrigg's "plucking down" and Cosin's repairs and renovations, but show to what a complete remodelling the then existing buildings were in many cases subjected.¹ The existence of more than one chapel, dining-room, great room, &c., add to the difficulty of elucidating this matter.

An elaborate account of the ceremonies with which, after his death in London in 1672, his body was brought to the chapel at Auckland, is to be found in a letter from George Brereton to Secretary Williamson, of 30th April 1672.² "On Saturday, the 27th, the greatest part, and especially the chief of the gentry of the county palatine, with many of the clergy, met the corpse at the River Tees. When they came within a mile of Durham, the proceeding being ordered in the like sort as it was in London, the chief mourner and his six assistants put on their gowns and hoods, and at

¹ Cf. *Correspondence*, ii. 366. By articles of agreement of 3rd March 1663, John Langstaffe, of Bishop Auckland, freemason, agreed "before 29th September next to take down the aishler in Sir Arthur Heselrigg's building and remove it, and take away all the old buildings before the great chamber or hall (now used for a dining-room) at Auckland Castle, and bringe up the front wall of the said great chamber or hall with rustic aishler of the said new building, and remove the windows from the backe side of the said great chamber to the fore side of it, and make the one newe windowe of the same forme on the east side . . ." &c.

² *S. P. Dom*, 1671-72, p. 397.

the entrance of the city the Mayor and Aldermen stood in their liveries within the west gate, and then followed the hearse to the castle, where the whole company alighted from their horses, and the prebendaries, whereof the Bishop of Bristol was one, received them. Thence they went to the church to evening prayer, in this solemn manner: First, two conductors in black gowns with staves in their hands; then the poor people of the hospitals of Durham and Auckland founded by the deceased; next, servants to gentlemen, esquires, and knights, all in mourning; next, divers clergymen of the diocese in their canonicals; after them five chaplains, and next the Bishop of Bristol in his episcopal robes; then the great banner carried by Miles Stapleton, Esq., the crozier by York Herald, and the mitre by Norroy King-at-Arms, before the corpse, which was borne by eight men in gowns, the pall lying thereon being supported by four of the prebendaries, and the bannerols by four gentlemen of quality, the chief mourner and his six assistants following it, and after them the Mayor and Aldermen of Durham, with a multitude of the gentry residing thereabouts, the whole choir of the cathedral in their habits meeting it also, and falling into the proceedings next after the chaplains, and thus going to the upper end of the body of the church; the conductors, poor people, and servants dividing themselves, so that the rest, entering the choir, placed the corpse in the midst, where it continued till Monday morning, and was thence solemnly carried to Bishop's Auckland in the same manner as into Durham, and as fully attended, all the deputy lieutenants of the county palatine being there; at which place the proceeding was made from the Market Cross on foot to that sumptuous and beautiful chapel by him likewise built, and furnished

with gilt plate and other utensils for the altar there to the value of £1000, left by him to his successors for sacred purposes in that chapel for ever, where, after a sermon by Dr. Isaac Basire, one of the prebendaries of Durham and Archdeacon of Northumberland, it was interred with all due rites by the before-mentioned Bishop of Bristol."

The bishop, in addition to the sums already shown to have been spent by him at Auckland, bequeathed to his successors the college adjoining the castle, which Sir Arthur Haselrigg had purchased from the owners and forfeited to the king, who graciously bestowed it upon the bishop in his private capacity. The gift of this place, "so near adjoining to Auckland Castle that the bishops cannot conveniently live there without it," added considerably to the comfort of residence at the castle.

We are fortunate in possessing one more vivid little picture, of an intimate and domestic character, of proceedings in the castle at a supremely critical moment in the history of the English Church and English nation. When James II. issued his Declaration of Indulgence, refusal to read it was general in the diocese, though the dean, Denis Granville, who followed James into exile, and the bishop, Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, were remarkable for the zeal with which they had supported the king's measures. In a copy of Granville's *Remains*, belonging to his friend the non-juring scholar and antiquary, Thomas Baker, there occurs the following note, which throws an interesting light upon the course events took in the castle on this memorable occasion: "When the king's Declaration was appointed to be read, the most condescending thing the bishop ever did with me, was coming to my chamber (remote from his), to prevaill with me to

read it in his chapel at Aukland; which I could not do, having wrote to my curate not to read it in my living at Long Newton. But he did prevail with the curate at Aukland to read it in his church, where the bishop was present to countenance the performance. When all was over, the bishop, as a penance, I presume, ordered me to go to the dean, as archdeacon, and require him to make a return to court of the names of all such as had not read it, which I did, though I was one of the number." A more suggestive description of the position in which the English clergy were placed at this moment could not well be imagined.

The bishop suspended thirty ministers in his diocese for their refusal to read, but subsequently justified the charges of time-serving which had previously been brought against his assiduous promotion of the projects of James, by the promptitude with which he proceeded to transfer his allegiance to William III. It was in the year of the Revolution that Bishop Crewe erected the organ and organ-loft in the chapel, but his generosity in money gifts and bequests, great as it was, at Auckland as elsewhere, cannot obliterate the memory of his servility and disloyalty.

The old castle has not been destined again to witness such epoch-making incidents as have been recorded in these pages, though the change which raised it from the official rank of country mansion of the bishopric to that of the palace of the see, when, in 1832, Bishop van Mildert resigned his palace at Durham to found the new university there, was indeed, in its own way, an almost revolutionary innovation. By this change the castle, the only one remaining unconfiscated of the six castles and eight manorial residences of the ancient bishopric of Durham, had

assigned to it an importance of which its vast extent, and its truly palatial situation on the lofty eminence that overlooks such a splendid park and magnificently wooded landscapes (as well as its long career as rival with Durham in the affection of its bishops), renders it in every way worthy.

All that has to be recorded in those later happy years, which atone for their lack of history by their abundance of peace and quiet, is mainly of an architectural interest. With historic buildings, neglect can be salutary or the reverse, and the same may be said of the benevolent attentions of the improver. Auckland has had its share of both kinds of neglect and attention. In 1737, that indefatigable traveller, the second Earl of Oxford, wrote of it as a fine old building, but very much out of repair; he adds, "The chapel a very good one, and finely fitted up by Bishop Cosin, but nothing done to any part of it since his time; there is a very large dining-room upstairs, and there has been a very long gallery, but great part of it is now converted into bed-chambers." This was the second occasion on which he had visited the place: on a previous visit, in 1725, he had been chiefly struck by the way in which he had found Bishop Cosin's arms everywhere, both in the windows and on the walls of the palace and chapel, and with the inscription recording the rebuilding by him over the south gate. On both occasions he did not fail to remark the extreme beauty of the little park and of its situation and surroundings, as well as the fortunate way in which the building is sheltered from the east wind by the large hill which screens it.

The neglect of which the earl writes was followed by a period of attention. Bishop Trevor (1752-71), who probably found the castle as Cosin left it, and as it appears in the plate dated 1728 in Raine's history,

began the present south front; and the Gothic archway by which the park is entered from the town, where Skirlaw's gate formerly stood, was built by him in 1760. His successor, Bishop Egerton (1771-87), finished the south front begun by him, repaired the great room, erected a lodge and gate at the north-east entrance, lowered the walls of the court and bowling-green which had been rebuilt by Bishop Butler in 1750, and extended the park walls. Bishop Shute Barrington (1791-1826) spent much money on renovations which were carried out under the directions of James Wyatt, who considerably reduced the height of the great drawing-room by erecting a stucco ceiling, and enclosed the south front by a stone screen or range of low pointed arches, with a large central gateway. Various alterations and restorations were made in the chapel by Bishop van Mildert (1827-28) and Bishop Lightfoot (1879-89).

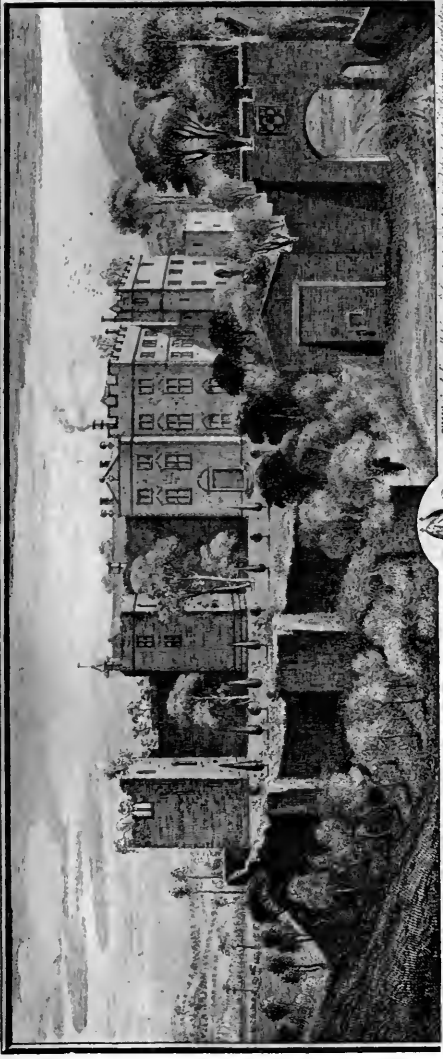
Rose Castle

WHERE the sluggish Caldew winds among fertile meadows on its way to the Eden stands Rose Castle, the seat of the Bishops of Carlisle. Built in the local red sandstone, weathered and stained by time, it still (although restored in a style of architecture not altogether pleasing) forms a Turneresque picture, standing above terraced lawns and gardens that slope down into a wooded valley, with a surrounding landscape circled in the distance by a long belt of famous hills. To the south rise the great peaks of the Lake District, Skiddaw and Helvellyn, to the south-east Saddleback, to the east Crossfell, to the north the Northumbrian moors and the Cheviots, and to the west, abruptly descending to the Solway, the Great Criffel. The castle in this sheltered vale could only tell to the learned eye that its perfect peace is quite a recent picture, that nearly every darker current of English history has washed up to its abbey-like walls. James VI., looking at the Johnstones' home at Lochwood Tower, is said to have exclaimed, from the somewhat narrow royal point of view, "The man who built this must have been a knave in his heart!" and the pious antiquarian, as he enters the precincts of Rose Castle under the old gateway, with its sunk embattlement, and looks at the Strickland Tower, the early building about which the subsequent dwelling rose, to his left, might very well reflect that the people among whom a bishop's

habitation needed to be of this strength must have been a knave in its heart. The history of Rose Castle is, as long as they existed, interwoven with that of the Borders, of which Carlisle, the head of the bishopric, six miles away, was the military centre. Situated at the edge of the country which the Norman kings were able to conquer, Cumberland was for some time after the Conquest a subject of dispute between England and Scotland, and afterwards its whole history was coloured by the fact of its position as a Border county.

Carlisle had been destroyed by the Danes in 877, and was not restored until the end of the eleventh century by the second of the Norman kings. The Saxon Chronicle relates that William Rufus went northward with a large army to Carlisle, restored the city and drove out Dolfin, its governor, built the castle, garrisoned it, returned south, "and mickle many churlish folk with wives and cattle thither sent to dwell in the land to till it." This castle built at Carlisle commanded the passage of the Eden and the old Roman road from Scotland into the plain of York, while about twenty miles to the north-east was Bewcastle, the other key to Scotland and Cumberland, on the second Roman road. These two castles guarded the western marches so far as armies were concerned; and for "moss-troopers" the natural path to and fro also lay through this district, in the valley formed by the Eden between the Pennine range and the mountains of Cumberland. William Rufus therefore introduced southern settlers, and built many castles to defend these parts; and Henry I., after trying the effect of an earldom of Carlisle, established in 1133, no doubt with this political view, the bishopric of Carlisle, then with the rest of Cumberland under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction perhaps of Durham, perhaps

THE NORTH-WEST VIEW OF ROSE-CASTLE, IN THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND.



THIS CASTLE, as well as the tower, was built by the Marquis of Eglinton, who was created Duke of Buccleugh, in the year 1702. It was designed by Sir James Gribb, an eminent Scotch architect, and is one of the finest specimens of the modern style of architecture in the north of England. The castle is situated on a high rock, and is surrounded by a high wall, which is in some places more than 100 feet high. The towers are of a square form, and are decorated with windows of various shapes and sizes. The central building is of a more modern style, and is surrounded by a garden and other buildings. The castle is now a ruin, and is in a state of decay. It was destroyed by fire in the year 1746, and has since been in a state of ruin. The castle is now a ruin, and is in a state of decay. It was destroyed by fire in the year 1746, and has since been in a state of ruin.



As the Right Royal Father in God,
 George Fleming, Baronet,
 Lord Bishop of Carlisle,
 has bought the same, and has purchased most of the
 English, French, and
 Saml. & Nathl. Buck

ROSE CASTLE IN 1739.
 From an engraving by S. and N. Buck.

of Glasgow, both sees claiming it. Henry, moreover, married the Scottish king's sister, and carefully preserved peace. On his death, however, David I. of Scotland, partly under pretext of aiding his niece, the Empress Matilda, to obtain the English throne and partly to enforce his son Henry's claim to the earldom of Northumberland as heir of Siward, obtained the help of many of the English barons and invaded England as far as Yorkshire, ravaging as he went. He received a crushing defeat at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, and in 1157 Henry II. persuaded his successor, Malcolm IV., to renounce his claim to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland.

The Scots did not again interfere in England until the revolt of Henry II.'s sons in 1174, when William the Lion came south to give his aid to the rebellious princes. There were further difficulties in the early thirteenth century, but there was no important breach with Scotland from this time until Edward I.'s undisguised attempt to annex it to the English Crown, and the ruthless severity of his methods set the sword permanently between the two nations. Taking advantage of the dispute over the Scottish succession, Edward I. established his overlordship over Scotland, and then managed to make the English yoke even more galling than it necessarily was, with the result that his nominee, Balliol, finally tried to throw it off, and made an alliance with Philip IV. of France, against whom Edward was at war. In revenge the English king marched north, attacked the rich and important town of Berwick-on-Tweed by land and by sea, and massacred its inhabitants: 17,000 persons, it is said, were put to the sword, and for two days "the city ran with blood like a river." The churches, as usual in Border warfare, were plundered and defiled.

From the time of this raid of 1296 until the accession of the King of Scotland in 1603 to the throne of England, the flame of war between the two kingdoms was ever ready to burst forth. If the Scots lacked any just cause for invasion they always found such pretexts as the misfortunes of the dynasty of the Red Rose, or, with perfect impartiality, the efforts of Perkin Warbeck to re-establish in his own person the dynasty of the White Rose; and, until the Reformation alienated Scotland from France, the latter nation, in the event of a war with England, could always count on a distracting sally from the former. As the English put the point of honour in punishing every Scottish raid, and the Scots in returning every English raid, the Borders were, from the beginning of the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century, no place for men who were at the same time peaceful and honest. The constant and simple plan of each army was to burn and destroy as far within the enemy's country as it could get, but sometimes also to lay waste its own borders and retire, so that the invading force should be compelled to do likewise for lack of sustenance. Thus peculiarly exposed, the history of any place on the Borders is quite different from that of other English and Scottish towns.

The counties of Northumberland and Cumberland on the English side, Berwickshire, and Roxburghshire, Dumfriesshire, Peebles, and Selkirk on the Scottish side, formed the frayed edges of the two kingdoms. They were divided into east, middle, and west marches, over which were placed wardens, by the English over the English counties, by the Scots over the Scottish, the wardens generally being of local families. The heads of the famous Douglas clan, one of whom as "a dead man" won the battle of Otterbourne, were

almost hereditary wardens on the Scottish side, and after the fall of the house of Douglas in 1455 the office was, until the end of the sixteenth century, in the hands of one or other of the great Border houses that succeeded to the fame of the Douglases—the Scotts of Buccleuch, the Kerrs of Cessford and Farniehurst, the Homes, Maxwells, and Johnstones, all famous names in Border history and legend. The Kerrs or Scotts were generally wardens of the middle march, the Homes and sometimes the Earls of Angus of the eastern, and the Maxwells or Johnstones of the western. On the English side the office of warden of the western marches was often in early times in the hands of the Bishops of Carlisle, that of the eastern usually in those of the Percies.

The private feuds of these families were even more responsible for the horrors of Border life than was the constant open warfare. There were feuds between the Scotts and Kerrs, the Maxwells and Johnstones, the Graemes and Armstrongs of Liddesdale (just to the north of Carlisle), the Redes and Halls of Redesdale, and in Tynedale between the Herons and Carnabies; and when the great Northumbrian house of Percy was not engaged in combat with the Douglases across the Border, it was generally at feud with the Nevilles at home.

Harry Percy, "the Hotspur of the north," in the early fifteenth century, had a reputation that stirred envy in Prince Henry of England in his better moments: he "kills me some six or dozen of Scots at a breakfast, washes his hands, and says to his wife, 'Fie upon this quiet life! I want work.' 'O my sweet Harry,' says she, 'how many hast thou killed to-day?' 'Give my roan horse a drench,' says he; and answers 'Some fourteen,' an hour after; 'a trifle, a trifle.'"

The crown of Border anarchy was the raid of the obscure cattle-thief. To control the Borders, special laws were made for the marches, and the sixteenth-century codes reminded Dr. Hodgkin of those of the barbarians who overran the Roman empire, the chief provisions of both being against cattle-lifting and the feud. It is true that, when England and Scotland were at peace, Border thieves were supposed to be handed over by the respective wardens, but the latter seem often to have connived at their misdoings, and there was until 1552 a strip of land between the Esk and the Sark (again not very far from Carlisle) which, as it was claimed by both nations, was known as the Debatable Land, where the "broken men" of both countries found refuge. Here flourished outlawed families like the Graemes, who—

"Sought the beeves that made their broth
In England and in Scotland both."

The ladies of the Scotts of Harden had spurs for dinner when the larder was empty, and the housewives of Cumberland laid a sword on the table. One of the best tales of Border life is that of the rescue of "Kinmont Willie" by the bold Buccleuch. Kinmont Willie, one of the most redoubtable Border thieves, had been, for some reason, taken prisoner by the English during the truce between England and Scotland in 1596, and was imprisoned in Carlisle Castle, no doubt to swing later on the spot known fondly to the moss-trooper as "Hairibee." He was saved from his natural end, however, by the daring of Buccleuch, who, with his clansmen, rescued him under the very eyes of the warden, and got clear of Carlisle by fording the Eden swollen by rains. As the English saw the Scottish horses struggling to land on the further bank

they could only rub their eyes and conclude that Buccleuch was the son of a witch. But, for this deed, James VI. was summoned by his imperious relative to surrender the bold Buccleuch, who was brought before the queen and questioned, in the most awful Tudor way, how he dared to storm her castle of Carlisle. It is a tradition in the Buccleuch family that their bold ancestor replied in the grand manner: "What is there, madam, that a brave man dare not do?"—a reply that might have served as a motto for the Borders and was well calculated to delight Elizabeth. She turned to her attendants and remarked without exaggeration: "With 10,000 such men our brother of Scotland might shake the firmest throne in Europe."

The knights of Branksome Hall, the poet tells us—with exaggeration—

"Lay down to rest
With corslet laced,
Pillow'd on buckler cold and hard;
They carv'd at the meal
With gloves of steel,

And they drank the red wine through the helmet barr'd."

Particularly barbarous and rude were the middle and western marches, where agriculture gradually became disused. Although numerous strong castles guarded these regions, each individual had to be in many ways his own policeman, and there were developed, in very early times, castellated manor-houses and the peculiar strongholds known as pele towers, Norman keeps on a small scale. Into the "barnkyn," or wooden palisade surrounding these peles, the neighbouring herdsman drove their cattle, when the lights flashing from tower to tower along the march told of an enemy's coming raid.

The Bishops of Carlisle probably lived in their cathedral city in the twelfth century. In 1217, when

Carlisle was in the hands of the Scots, the Government of Henry III. wrote to the Archbishop of York to beseech him to improve the state of the Church of Carlisle, as "the bishop is in the utmost need, and hardly has where to lay his head." Four years later Bishop Hugh of Carlisle had leave to take twenty oaks in the Forest of Inglewood for building his houses at Carlisle, and in 1230 Henry III. granted Walter Mauclerk, then bishop, the old barony of Dalston, that is, the manor of Dalston, the advowson of the church, the whole soke with the woods and mills and the forest. In this grant the manor of Rose, or La Rose as it was then called, was no doubt included, for in this year Geoffrey de la Rose, servant of the Bishop of Carlisle, is mentioned in a patent roll. This mention of Geoffrey has not been hitherto noticed, and dates the bishop's house earlier back than diocesan historians have thought. Moreover, although it is possible that the bishop had already built a manor-house here, the mention in 1230, the year of his acquirement of Dalston, makes it more probable that he had merely taken over an existing building on the site. Camden assigns a Roman station to this spot. "Rose Castle," he says, "is probably on the site of Congavata, where the second cohort of the Sergi kept guard, for Congavata signifies in British 'the valley of the Gavata,' now contracted into Caude."

As England did not yet comprise Cumberland, there is no Domesday record for these parts, and we do not know if the manor of La Rose existed in Saxon or Norman times; and this casual allusion in 1230 seems to be the earliest hint of its existence.

The episcopal residence throughout the thirteenth century, however, was chiefly at Linstock, a place about two miles away from Carlisle, in the parish of Stanwix.

Here Bishop Irton died in 1292 ; here in 1294 Bishop Halton entertained the Archbishop of York and his suite ; and here Edward I. and his second wife, Margaret of France, were guests in 1307.

The bishops had also a house at Newcastle, and they acquired in the fourteenth century residences far away at Horncastle in Lincolnshire and at Melbourne in Derbyshire, where throughout the Middle Ages they were accustomed to fly for shelter when Scottish invasions made their chief seat untenable. Bishop Irton was resident at Rose in 1282, and a man was imprisoned here on a charge of murder in 1287. From 11th September to 15th October 1300 Edward I. made it his headquarters ; Queen Margaret stayed here, and from here the king issued the writs for his famous Parliament at Lincoln.

The first bishop of this see, Æthelwulf, Prior of Nostell in Yorkshire, and confessor of Henry I., inaugurated the connection of the bishopric with Border history. In 1136 Stephen had to appease David I. by giving the earldom of Carlisle to his son Henry, and the Scots drove out Bishop Æthelwulf, and made Carlisle the point of support for their ravages into Tynedale and Yorkshire. Æthelwulf appealed to the papal legate, who went with him to Carlisle and persuaded David to restore him ; but after his restoration Æthelwulf found it expedient to conduct himself as a nominee of David rather than of Stephen.

The existence of Æthelwulf's successor, Bernard (1156-86), was questioned by Le Neve and others, because, during the subsequent vacancy of the see, its custody was for some time given to the foreign prelate, Bernard, Archbishop of Ragusa or Sclavonia, and it has been thought that there had been no Bishop Bernard but the latter. As Chancellor Ferguson,

however, points out, there are charters by Bishop Bernard of Carlisle in the registers of the religious houses of Wetheral and Lanercost long before the date at which the custody of the bishopric was given to Archbishop Bernard.

The whole history of the bishopric during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries might almost be given in a list of Border raids. William the Lion vainly besieged Carlisle during Bernard's episcopacy, in his invasion of 1173-74. Henry II. was at Carlisle in 1186, the year of Bernard's death, and offered the see to Paulinus of Leeds, who declined it, although the king offered to raise its revenues by 300 marks yearly, and the vacancy lasted (not counting an excommunicated clerk elected by the Chapter) until 1219. In 1200 King John granted its revenues to the above-named Archbishop of Slavonia, in 1205 gave them to Alexander de Lucy, and in 1214 first to Aymery, Archdeacon of Durham, and then to the Prior of Carlisle.

Alexander II. of Scotland in 1216 captured Carlisle, and the English Government wrote to the Archbishop of York to complain that the canons of Carlisle (subsequently for these wrong-doings substituted by more amenable prebendaries) were adherents of the King of Scots and of other enemies of the realm, had submitted to Alexander II. and paid him fealty, although he was interdicted and excommunicated, and at his instance had chosen an excommunicated clerk as their bishop, although it was so important to England that the head of this Border Church should be a friend; and the archbishop was besought to improve the state of this Church, "as no suitable person can be found to take that bishopric." The papal legate Gualo ended the long vacancy in 1219 by appointing one of the many

foreigners who were to hold English sees during the reign of Henry III.—Hugh, Abbot of Beaulieu in Burgundy. Bishop Hugh was one of the sureties for the truce made at York between Henry III. and Alexander II. Directed, no doubt, by the Archbishop of York, who had been requested by the king to dispossess the canons of Carlisle in favour of the new prebendaries, he won this epitaph from the hand of a neighbouring monk at Lanercost Priory: “Hugh, Bishop of Carlisle, who cruelly dispersed the chapter of that church and fraudulently divided its possessions, died of surfeit (*ingurgitatus*) by the judgment of God at the abbey of La Feste, in Burgundy, as he was returning home from the Roman Court, without *viaticum* and miserably, on Ascension Sunday.” The cause of this uncharitable judgment, suggests Hutchinson (*History of Cumberland*), was that the bishop, soon after his accession to the see, had caused the convent of Lanercost to relinquish a reserved rent, issuing out of the church of Burgh-upon-Sands, as not having been obtained by canonical rules.

Walter Mauclerk, who succeeded in 1223, was presumably the first episcopal owner of La Rose. A prebendary of Carlisle and also Sheriff of Cumberland at the time of his nomination (those were the days of mixed functions), he continued to hold the latter office after he had received the episcopate. He had been John’s ambassador to Rome when the case between the king and the barons was set before the Pope, and was subsequently high in Henry III.’s favour. He was made treasurer in 1232, but shortly afterwards fell into disgrace through the intrigues, it is thought, of Peter, Bishop of Winchester. Walter Mauclerk set out for Rome to appeal to the Pope because he was deprived of the office of treasurer of certain custodies previously

granted him by the king and £100 in silver; but was arrested by the king's officers on board a vessel at Dover. The Bishop of London, who was a witness to this outrage, excommunicated all concerned in it. Mauclerk ultimately regained the king's favour, but he resigned his bishopric in 1246 and became a Preaching Friar at Oxford, where he worthily ended his days in 1248.

His successor, Sylvester de Everdon, was the first but not the last Bishop of Carlisle to give way to the weakness of admonishing kings. Bishop Merks is said to have wasted his advice on Richard II., as Ussher did on Charles I. Everdon had been Henry III.'s chancellor, and hesitated to take this bishopric when it was offered him in 1246, being, as he said ("and probably not without cause," remarks his biographer), unworthy, but finally made up his mind to accept it. Rather unaccountably, he and Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury—the queen's uncle and a Savoyard, who spent nearly all his time in Savoy and merely collected the revenues of his English see—with Aymer de Valence, the Bishop-elect of Winchester, a Lusignan, half-brother to the king, whose election was long opposed and caused general scandal, and William Bingham, Bishop of Salisbury, an unlearned bishop, consented to be deputies from the bishops to the king, requesting him to respect the liberties of the English Church, particularly in the matter of elections. As angry as he was no doubt surprised, Henry III. answered, according to Matthew Paris, that the charge was true; he grieved for it, and was repentant. Moreover, he would correct his past errors and commit no wrong in future. Canterbury, Salisbury, and Winchester, were all unworthy men whom he had raised, and they were his accomplices, and had better resign to save their souls. Turning to Everdon he said, "And you, Sylvester

Carlisle, who for a long time were in the Chancery, it is well known to all that you were the least of my clerks, although I have preferred you to be bishop over many theologians and reverend persons." He wound up by bidding them all "Repent and resign lest you should be eternally damned; and I, chastened and saved by such an example, will henceforth take care to promote no unworthy person."

Succeeding kings were of no finer material; and it is doubtful if Bishop Merks (whose story will be related further on) might with safety, even if he had been so inclined, have made the speech he is purported to have made to Richard II.

The four bishops refrained from resigning their charges, but seven years later Sylvester de Everdon fell from his horse and broke his neck. Thomas de Vipont, a member of the family of the Earls of Westmorland, was bishop from 1255 to 1258. Robert de Chauncy, his successor, had been physician to Queen Eleanor, and was at the time of his nomination to the see of Carlisle, Archbishop of Bath. Like Walter Mauclerk, he was Sheriff of Cumberland, but had been superseded in this office by 1272, when the acting sheriff lodged information with the Lord Chancellor that the Bishop of Carlisle had forbidden his tenants to swear fealty to the king. The bishop successfully disproved this charge, and subsequently, on the occasion of the sheriff distraining the Abbot of Holme Cultram in his diocese for payments to the Crown, took the opportunity of excommunicating his quondam foe—a short-lived satisfaction, for the excommunication was revoked by a writ of prohibition. He won the good word of his neighbours at Lanercost, who pronounced him to be "an ardent upholder of the dignity of the Church, a lover of mankind, prompt to do kindness,

and, as the whole world could attest, open-handed and generous." On Chauncy's death in 1278 the canons of Carlisle elected William de Rotherfield, Dean of York, to be bishop, but again the offer of this see was rejected. The prior and convent thereupon, without waiting for a second *cong e d' lire* from the king, elected Ralph de Irton, Prior of Guisborough, and were consequently summoned to pay 500 marks to the king for this irregularity. The matter was ultimately referred to the Pope, who quashed the election as uncanonical, but proceeded to duly appoint Irton, and the king confirmed the election on the payment of  100 by the Chapter. Ralph de Irton (bishop from 1280-92) was a commissioner for the collection of tenths in Scotland, one of Edward I.'s commissioners to consider the matter of the Scottish succession, and one of the plenipotentiaries appointed to contract a marriage between Prince Edward of England and the Maid of Norway. He again was in no very good odour with the monks of Lanercost; and when, in 1280, the clergy of the diocese granted the bishop the tenths of their churches for two years, the monkish scribe broke out into Latin verse on their wrongs: "Desolate flock, long time" (two years) "widowed of a pastor, he ought to nourish, not to fleece you! Desolate flock, ill-fed, you ought now to be comforted, not oppressed!" and at the bishop's death, after a long bitter journey in the snow from the Parliament in London to his palace at Linstock, the scribe wrote for his epitaph: "A clever and prudent man, and very avaricious, who turned visitations of his churches into wells of profit for himself, and dishonestly extorted every year throughout his diocese a mulct from simple priests for completing the fabric of the great church of his see."

John Halton, Prior of Carlisle, who was appointed bishop in 1292, took a great part in Edward's Scottish wars, was sent many times as ambassador to Scotland, and in 1297 was appointed Warden of Carlisle Castle, an office he held for many years. In revenge for Edward I.'s doings at Berwick, a Scottish army had crossed the English Border, ravaged Redesdale and Tynedale, burned the monasteries of Lanercost and Hexham and the surrounding villages, and driven home a great booty. Edward, however, marched forward, won his great victory at Dunbar, and soon had all Scotland at his feet and all its fortresses in his hands. Robert Bruce swore fealty on the sword of St. Thomas in the cathedral of Carlisle in the presence of Bishop Halton. Then followed the War of Scottish Independence under the leadership of Wallace, who won back the whole of Scotland within the twelvemonth, only to lose it again by 1304 and his life in 1305; but under Robert Bruce, who was crowned in 1306, the Scots made a new attempt to rescue their country. The Bishop of Carlisle was now appointed one of the commissioners to absolve all persons guilty of offences against the Scots, whether wounding the clergy or spoiling churches; and in Carlisle Cathedral the papal legate, Cardinal Petrus Hispanus, "revested himselfe and the other bishops which were present, and then, with candels light and causing the bells to be rung, they accursed, in terrible wise, Robert Bruce, the usurper of the crowne of Scotland, with all his partakers, aiders and maintainers."

During a truce in the war, in 1314, Edward, brother of Robert Bruce, burst with an army into the vale of the Eden, and stayed three days at the bishop's house at Rose, while he sent the greater part of his army to burn all the surrounding towns and churches,

take captives, and lead away the cattle they should find in the Forest of Inglewood and its neighbourhood. They struck no blow at Carlisle, because it was so well manned. They must have emptied the bishop's fishponds and driven away his deer in their course, for in 1319 Edward II. gave an order for him to have fifty pickerels from the king's lake of Ternewathelan, in the Forest of Inglewood, for stocking the fishponds at La Rose, and to have twelve hinds and twelve does from that forest for stocking his park there, as these had been destroyed by the Scots. "The Scots did all these evils," writes the Lanercost chronicler, revealing the audacity of Scottish hopes, "because the men of that border would not pay them tribute." In consideration of the great services and sufferings of the aged bishop, he was allowed in 1318 to appropriate the church of Horncastle in Lincolnshire, which was of his gift, that he and his successors during the Scottish raids might have a haven of refuge and be able to support themselves. John Halton was one of the plenipotentiaries to treat with Robert Bruce in 1320; but in the following year Bruce led a new invasion of England, and began by again laying waste Cumberland. He burned all Allerdale, the bishop's house at Rose was again given to the flames, and he spoiled the monastery at Holme Cultram, "although his father's body was buried there." At Lancaster, where he sacked the religious houses of the Dominicans and Franciscans, he was joined by another army under the Earl of Murray and Lord James Douglas, and together they plundered and burned until they came round again to Carlisle, which they surrounded for five days, "trampling down and laying waste by themselves and their animals as much of the corn as they could," and returned to Scotland after a successful

circular tour of rather over three weeks. Edward II.'s invasion in 1322 found the country still desolate, and moreover Robert Bruce repeated his raid in this year.

The temptation to Bishop Halton to secede to the Scottish side must have been almost as great as that to which his predecessor had succumbed, as is shown by the case of Andrew de Harcla, who, having defended Carlisle against Bruce in 1315, and been created Earl of Carlisle by the king in reward for his valour and loyalty, finally deserted to King Robert. The vengeance of Edward II., however, soon fell, and Harcla, betrayed, met the horrible fate of treason. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered; one quarter was suspended from the top of the tower of Carlisle, another from the top of the tower of Newcastle, a third on York Bridge, a fourth at Shrewsbury, while his head was reserved to adorn London Bridge. In the month of Harcla's death, March 1323, a truce for thirteen years was made between England and Scotland.

Besides all the bishop's troubles with the Scots, he had his mansion outside the north gate of Newcastle thrown down by the bailiffs and burgesses of that town in 1298, and they took a piece of his land for the town ditch. He died in 1324, and the Chapter of Carlisle proceeded to elect William Airmin, Canon of York; but the Pope set aside their election, and appointed John Roos (or Ross). Bishop Roos complained that he had no residence capable of accommodating himself and his household. The clergy of the whole bishopric were in 1327 discharged the payment of all dues to the Crown for tenths owing to their impoverishment from Scottish inroads, for the Scots had taken advantage of the death of Edward II. to make a new invasion, despite the truce. England acknowledged the independence of Scotland by the Treaty of

Northampton, but this treaty was repudiated by Edward III. on attaining his majority, and he adopted the Scottish policy of his grandfather. On the death of Robert Bruce in 1329 he recognised Edward Balliol as King of Scotland, and sent an English force to help him to obtain possession of his kingdom. The English victories of Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill followed, and besides supremacy over the whole of Scotland Edward obtained for himself the Border counties, with Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow. The opposition of the Scots to Balliol, however, was so general that he had soon to take refuge in England, and beseech help from his overlord. Bishop Roos died at Rose in 1332. He is remembered as having ill-treated the prior and convent of Carlisle, seizing their rents and appropriations, and on a trivial pretext excommunicating the prior. He was succeeded by this prior, John de Kirkby, the great warrior-prelate of Carlisle.

John de Kirkby's episcopal parts were quite thrown into the shade by his military gifts, although, like Robert de Chauncy, he probably fulfilled this most important duty of a mediæval bishop, the keeping up of a great hospitality. One can imagine that armed retainers sat at his table on the days as in some baronial hall, and that "the sheep and the beeves and the kine" that smoked on his board may have quite well been, like the repasts of the neighbouring lairds and lords, driven over from the opposite border. He in 1336 obtained the king's leave to fortify his house at La Rose, but perhaps never availed himself of it, as will be explained later. He mounted a Cumberland nag in 1337, and led a contingent to aid in an English raid into Teviotdale and Nithsdale, where he burnt and laid waste in a thorough manner for twelve days, when,

vehement rains and floods preventing its further progress, the whole party returned merrily to Carlisle. For this deed, we are told, the Scots held the Bishop of Carlisle in the greatest detestation, and, in their return raid, turned aside, after burning the hospital of St. Nicholas in the suburbs of Carlisle, to burn the bishop's manor at Rose "and everything on their way there."

The luck of the Scots had, for a short spell, turned. Edward III. was engaged in France, and not only did they manage to win back many of their strongholds, but to do a good deal of damage on the English borders.

In the year of David II.'s return to Scotland, John de Kirkby, who was by this time a warden of the marches, was again pardoned payments to the exchequer for tenths, "in consideration of his unwearied labours and heavy losses in the king's service" in this office. Soon after, however, David's army was defeated, and he captured, at the Battle of Neville's Cross; and in 1345 the indefatigable Bishop Kirkby helped to raise the siege of Edinburgh, then in English hands, and assisted in repelling an invasion of Cumberland. In a fray in the latter the bishop was unhorsed, but managed to mount again and put the foe to flight. In the following year, nevertheless, the greater part of Cumberland, again including Lanercost Priory and the unfortunate manor of Rose, was burnt and destroyed by the enemy. Bishop Kirkby cannot have been a very edifying, and was probably a very rough, possibly a very extortionate bishop. Anyway, like Bishop Halton, he had his enemies at home. He and his suite were attacked by his flock at Penrith in 1333, and four years later were mobbed and wounded by rioters in the suburbs of Carlisle at Caldewstones. On his death in 1352

another dispute sprang up as to the nomination to the see. The Chapter obtained the king's licence in the regular way, and elected John de Horncastle; but the Pope consecrated Gilbert de Welton, whose appointment was confirmed by the king.

Edward III. in 1355 proclaimed himself the successor of Balliol, and made the invasion remembered as his "Burned Candlemas" in the Lowlands of Scotland; and in 1356, anticipating Scottish reprisals, Gilbert de Welton obtained from the king the second licence to fortify Rose, which is from this time called a castle. The facts that in 1346 the Scots were said to burn the "manor" not the castle of Rose, and that, even if Bishop Kirkby had commenced the work of fortification, it was probably thrown down at this time, rather point to Strickland's Tower having been fortified by Bishop Welton, not by Bishop Kirkby. Chancellor Ferguson, in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society*, has given an account of the architectural history of Rose Castle (in which, however, he says that Bishop Kirkby's work of defence was "doubtless continued by his successor, Gilbert Welton"), and as these Border manor-houses were all much of the same form, we can make some sort of a picture of what Rose Castle must have been like at this time. The Strickland Tower still shows all the features of the old Border pele-tower. They were complete houses in themselves, and were usually composed of three stories of but one room in each, and there was no communication between the outside and the ground floor excepting through a trap-door in the usually vaulted roof of the latter. This ground floor had no other openings than loopholes, was only used for storage, or a dungeon, and could only be entered by the foe by making a breach in its massive

walls. Once in, the invader would proceed to smoke out the occupants of the upper stories. The owner and his family entered at the first floor, which was sometimes reached by a long ladder drawn in after them, sometimes by an external stone staircase. Today a very beautiful stone stairway leads from Paradise Walk at Rose Castle to the ivy-clad Strickland Tower. This first-floor room filled even more than the place of the great hall of a mediæval house. It was the general eating and dwelling room, kitchen, and servants' bedroom; and moreover, as in the Strickland Tower, often had a recessed bay that served as an oratory. A piscina for holy water in the wall of the recess still marks its purpose. The room above was a sleeping-room for the family and a state reception room. Above all was a small circular watch-tower that soared like a fine chimney-stack over the rest of the building. The top of the containing wall was fretted by crenellations or embrasures, through which missiles or molten lead might be poured down on the enemy; and the windows throughout were often merely loopholes.

These towers were frequently found outside, but not connected with, fourteenth-century houses, and to them the family took their last retreat, and there made their last stand against the invader. The wooden palisade of earlier times was replaced by trenches, or deep wide moats round thick stone walls embattled like the towers. The only approach was by the drawbridge let down from an embattled entrance-gate, where the warder kept watch from his room over the gate. Other towers were built on the wall, and the whole was often again surrounded by another wall with towers, drawbridge, and moat. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, the house itself

developed, and tended to be built right round a quadrangular courtyard. The most important room in the house was the hall, so important that it became the generic name for manor-houses. In it was lived the promiscuous domestic life of the Middle Ages. It commonly occupied the whole height of the building, and was in the centre of the principal front, opposite you as you entered the courtyard under the gateway. In the smaller rooms there were fireplaces, but the hall was lighted by a great fire in the middle of the room with an outlet for smoke in the roof. The stone or tiled floor was covered with straw or rushes, on which the servants or strangers who received the hospitality of the house slept at night. At one end of the hall was the *daïs* where the chief dining-table was set. Long tables stood against the two sides; and over the screen that separated the hall from the entrance passage at the servants' end was a minstrel's gallery. The hall at Rose Castle in the fourteenth century was to the south of the Strickland Tower and to the east of the courtyard. On the north side of the courtyard was the council chamber, called Great Paradise, with a room or cellar under. To the west of this council chamber was the chapel in its present position, with the constable's tower and portcullis beyond. On the south side of the courtyard were the kitchen and offices. These buildings all stood within the inner wall, and were surrounded by an outer turreted wall, in which was the gatehouse, that is still standing, though the warder's room is gone. The whole was surrounded by a moat, and a fountain in the centre of the courtyard supplied the inhabitants with water. The informal "Old English Garden" was a great feature in the precincts of fourteenth-century manor-houses, but it is unlikely that Bishop Kirkby or Bishop Welton cul-

tivated rose and lily, hollyhock and peony, for the ever-present foe to trample under foot.

Bishop Welton was one of the commissioners appointed to treat for the ransom of King David of Scotland; in 1359 he was a warden of the western marches, and in 1360-61 a commissioner in the negotiations to establish peace between England and Scotland. On Welton's death the prebendaries of Carlisle, again with the king's licence, elected one of their number, Thomas de Appleby, and again the Pope declared the election void, but then, as his predecessor had done in the case of Irton, himself, in 1363, appointed Appleby. Bishop Appleby also was a warden of the western marches, and a commissioner for proclaiming on the Borders the articles of a truce with France and Scotland.

Owing to Edward III.'s difficulties in France, a truce of fourteen years was made in 1369 between England and Scotland, and it was renewed in 1380; but Border forays still kept war smouldering until it was stirred up again in 1385 by an invasion of Richard II. and a simultaneous Scottish invasion of Cumberland. Both parties laid waste all the country behind them, and as the Borderers, according to their custom, retired with their cattle and household goods into their forests and morasses, the English army had shortly to retire for lack of provender, and was reduced to a state of famine before it saw again the green valleys of Yorkshire.

Richard II. after this was busy enough at home, and Border affairs were abandoned to the Percies, whose whole energies were employed in keeping at bay the Douglases. In the famous skirmish at Otterbourne "proud Percy" was led captive away, and Earl Douglas, though slain, won the day by his

name. After this fight until the accession of Henry IV., England and Scotland were technically at peace, but Henry IV., immediately after his accession, invaded Scotland to obtain the homage of Robert III.; and the replies of the Scots soon gave the Percies an opportunity to revenge at Hamildon Hill the shame of Otterbourne.

In 1406 came the capture of Prince James of Scotland by Henry IV., and occasional raids took place until James was released on the death of Henry V. The Scots throughout the fifteenth century helped the enemies of England, however, and Border life continued much on its old plan.

On Bishop Appleby's death in 1395 the persistent Chapter elected William Strickland, but were compelled to accept instead, in 1396, Robert Reed, Bishop of Dromore, a Dominican friar, who, however, was translated in the same year to the see of Chichester, and gave place to the monk of Westminster, Thomas Merks. Almost as plainly as the Strickland Tower, the magnificent rose-gardens of Rose Castle tell one side of the history of the bishop's house. The first bishop who came into possession probably adorned it with carved and painted roses, the symbol of the Virgin Mary, patron saint of his church of Carlisle, and so the house came to be called La Rose, for there is no better explanation of its name. Old writers have suggested that this was given from the British name Rhos, a marshy place, or from the sweetness of its situation, or from the colour of its walls. Rose, however, is not situated in a marshy place; the second guess is a little far-fetched; and in the third case we should have almost expected it to be called the Red Rose, for roses are not confined to one colour. Uncommon as was in the Middle Ages the practice, now so usual,

of calling houses by fancy names, the almost disused custom of christening rooms was common; and Rose in 1230 was little more than a room. A sculptured flower on the fourteenth-century gateway announces its title, and to-day the gardens are full of the device. The hedge of York and Lancaster roses, which, says Canon Venables, "can never be forgotten by those who have been fortunate enough to see them in their July glory," recalls to the learned eye, in the same way as the border of a mediæval manuscript recalled the illustrated history to the unlearned eye, the tale of the semi-mythical Bishop Merks, the prophet of the Wars of the Roses. This prelate, probably one of the most evil influences on the life of the reckless and irresponsible Richard II., is described in three chronicles as the king's companion in his most dissolute ways, "in potationibus et aliis non dicendis." He rarely, probably never, visited his diocese, as he was so much employed by the king both in his pleasures at home and in his business abroad. The one creditable fact of his life preserved by history is that he alone of Richard's supporters spoke on the king's behalf in the first Parliament of Henry IV., when there was question of further sentence on Richard; and he is at least an exception to this one of his greatest panegyrist's aphorisms—

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones;"

for, 200 years after his death, he was remembered only as the pattern of a loyal subject. The Merks myth seems to have been first formed round a doubtful nucleus of historical fact by the loyal subjects of the Tudors. It was created by Walsingham, mentioned by Hall, and Holinshed invented, in the Thucydidean manner, a long speech for the Bishop of Carlisle.

In the paraphrase of this speech in Shakespeare's play, *Richard II.* (entered at Stationers' Hall in 1597), the moral of loyalty is impressively drawn: the bishop braces the passive king to fight for the cause of royalty, with the lofty sentiments of some Becket or Wolsey—

“My lord, wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes,
But presently prevent the ways to wail.

Fear and be slain; no worse can come to fight,
And fight and die is death destroying death;
Where fearing dying pays death servile breath.”

Again, when Norfolk's return is mentioned, Carlisle has one of the gems of the play to utter—

“That honourable day shall ne'er be seen.
Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought
For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks and Saracens,
And, toil'd with works of war, retired himself
To Italy; and there at Venice gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long.”

Finally, when Bolingbroke announces his intention of ascending “the regal throne,” the bishop makes his famous speech—

“Marry, God forbid!
Worst in this royal presence may I speak,
Yet best beseemeth me to speak the truth.
Would God that any in this noble presence
Were enough noble to be upright judge
Of noble Richard! then true noblesse would
Learn him forbearance from so foul a wrong.
What subject can give sentence on his king?
And who sits here that is not Richard's subject?
Thieves are not judged but they are by to hear,
Although apparent guilt be seen in them;
And shall the figure of God's majesty,

His captain, steward, deputy, elect,
Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
And he himself not present? O forfend it, God,
That in a Christian climate souls refined
Should show so heinous, black, obscene a deed !
I speak to subjects, and a subject speaks,
Stirr'd up by God, thus boldly for his king.
My Lord of Hereford here, whom you call king,
Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king :
And if you crown him, let me prophesy,
The blood of England shall manure the ground,
And future ages groan for this foul act ;
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars
Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound ;
Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny
Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.
O, if you raise this house against this house,
It will the woofullest division prove
That ever fell upon this cursed earth.
Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so,
Lest child, child's children, cry against you ' Woe ! ' ”

Political interest had greatly changed since the days of Bishop Merks. Under Henry VIII., uniting as he did the blood of York and Lancaster, there could no longer be any dispute about the succession, any rival or pretender to the Crown. Encouraged, almost enforced, by the Tudors, a universal loyalty to the monarch sprang up, and became a religion that all the mistakes of the first two Stuart kings could not destroy, that was only disabled when the Protestant revolution started by Henry VIII. overturned Charles I. in 1649, and died a hard death in the cold-blooded common-sensed middle of the eighteenth century. Inspired partly by time-serving, partly by devotion, everybody referred to Queen Elizabeth with Oriental unctuousness. Bishop Robinson of Carlisle, in 1601, shortly after the

staging of his great predecessor, ended a letter to Secretary Cecil by praying for the preservation of "the spring of our joy and breath of our nostrils."

Nevertheless, so afraid was Queen Elizabeth of similar plots against her own state and person that in a play treating of such a subject an apotheosis of the loyal bishop was mere prudence. Sir John Hayward published the first part of his *History of Henry IV.* in 1599, and got into great trouble with the queen, who insisted that his treatment of the deposition of Richard II. had a political bearing and that she was meant by Richard II., suspected the Earl of Essex, her old favourite, of inspiring its production, had Hayward tried before the Star Chamber and imprisoned, and wished to have him racked until he confessed the truth. Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff, completed the legend of Thomas Merks in his history of English bishops (*De Praesulibus*, published in 1601). The fate of Merks as known to history is that, after the Parliament of 1399, whether on account of his speech there or for subsequent plotting, he was committed to the custody of the Abbot of St. Albans, who was ordered by writ of 28th October 1399 to deliver him into the hands of the bearer, that he might appear before the king and council. He was degraded from his bishopric, was translated by the Pope to a see in Greece, and, as there was in his new diocese "no clergy or Christian people" and the bishop was "in notable poverty," Henry IV. in 1401 gave him leave to acquire from the Pope benefices, other than bishoprics, worth 100 marks yearly, and later on gave him permission to acquire benefices worth 300 marks yearly. He was instituted rector of Todenham in Gloucestershire in 1404, and died incumbent of this country living in 1409. Shakespeare thus gives Henry IV.'s sentence,

making even "cankred Bolingbroke" bear witness to the bishop's merits—

"Carlisle, this is your doom :
Choose out some secret place, some reverent room
More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life,
So, as thou liv'st in peace, die free from strife ;
For, though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen."

Godwin, however, invented this version: "Peradventure," he says, "in some kinde of favour and admiration of his faithful constancy (for vertue will be honoured even of her enemies), peradventure also to this ende, that by forcing him to live miserably they might lay a punishment upon him more grievous than death, which they well saw he despised, the Pope (who seldom denied the king any request that he might afford good cheape) was easily entreated to translate forthwith this good bishop from the see of Carlisle, that yielded him honourable maintainance, unto Samoïs in Greece, whereof he knew he should never receive one penny profit. He was so happy as neither to take benefit of the gift of his enemy, nor to be hurt by the masked malice of his counterfeit friend: Disdaining (as it were) to take his life by his gift that took away from his master both life and kingdom, he died shortly after his deliverance, so deduding also the mockery of his translation, whereby things so falling out, he was nothing damnified."

A hundred years later the supporters of the cause of the Pretender again dragged Bishop Merks's name from oblivion. Dr. Higden, who wrote a treatise called *A View of the English Constitution*, and made in it an allusion to the conduct of Bishop Merks, called forth an anonymous reply, entitled *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England Asserted*, in which the

bishop's conduct is alluded to as "so glorious an example of Fidelity and Fortitude." This book, in its turn, called down the wrath of the prolific pamphleteer, White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, in the form of letters to the then Bishop of Carlisle. In these letters, for the first time in its existence, doubt was thrown on the Merks myth. Kennett showed, indeed, that the evidence for Merks even being present at the Parliament in which he is said to have made his great speech is not of the most satisfactory. He carried scepticism too far, however, for a contemporary and accurate chronicle, the *Traïson et Mort de Richard II.*, narrated, as its editor points out, that in this Parliament the Bishop of Carlisle alone, among the king's supporters, spoke on his behalf; and, although he cannot have made any speech very much like the speech he is purported to have made on that occasion, it is possible that Bishop Merks has a rightful claim to this one good deed, of all his good and bad deeds, that men have remembered.

His successor at Carlisle, in 1400, was the William Strickland whom the Pope had rejected in 1396, but now provided without waiting for the royal assent. Henry, however, would not acknowledge him until he had been elected by the Chapter. The new bishop secured an enduring monument at Rose Castle by rebuilding the old pele tower and giving his name to it. He also contributed to the fabric of Carlisle Cathedral, and was a benefactor to the town of Penrith, where he founded a chantry and provided a water-supply by building a watercourse. He died in 1419, and was succeeded by Roger Whelpdale, formerly Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and author of books on logic and mathematics.

This was a great change for Carlisle, whose bishops

had hitherto been soldiers and statesmen, but had counted no learned man. He was, moreover, succeeded by a series of scholars. William Barrow, Bishop of Bangor, was translated here on Whelpdale's death in 1422. He was commissioner for entering into a truce with the Scots at Hawden Stank. He died at Rose Castle in 1429, and was succeeded by Marmaduke Lumley, one of the Durham Lumleys. Lumley suffered so much from the depredations of the Scots, that it is said he was straitened to support his episcopal dignity. He was translated in 1449, however, from this exposed station to the more peaceful and profitable see of Lincoln.

His successor, Nicholas Close, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, had already been employed to conclude a treaty with the Scots, and was subsequently commissioned to see that it was observed by the wardens of the marches. In a political poem of 1450, which gives the names of friends of the Government who were most hated by the people, he is mentioned—

“The bisshop of Carlyle shal synge Credo ful sore ;
To suyche fals traitours come foule endynge.”

Close was not kept long in durance vile at Rose. He was translated to the see of Coventry and Lichfield in 1451, and was succeeded by William Percy, a son of the Earl of Northumberland, at Carlisle. Percy, also, was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He died in 1462, and was succeeded first by John Kingscott, who was bishop for one year, and then by Richard Scrope, who died in 1468.

Edward Story, chaplain and confessor to Elizabeth wife of Edward IV., and again Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, followed. He was trans-

lated to Chichester in 1477. Richard Bell, Prior of Durham, was the next bishop, and built the tower at Rose called by his name. His successor, in 1496, was William Senhouse, or Sever, Abbot of St. Mary's, York, who in 1502 was translated to the see of Durham, and died in 1505. It was now that England under Henry VII. began to offer Scotland the hymeneal offices of the priest as an alternative to the sword, and Bishop Senhouse was in the commission to treat of the marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV. of Scotland, that in 1603 was to bring about the union of the crowns of England and Scotland.

Roger Leyburn, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and for some time Archdeacon and Chancellor of Durham, was the next bishop. He died in 1507, and John Penny, Abbot of Leicester and Bishop of Bangor, was translated to Carlisle. During his episcopate English and Scots met each other in hostile array by land and sea, and the Borders continued to flourish on desolation. Invading England in aid of France after the formation of the Holy League, James IV. was defeated and slain at Flodden with the flower of his nobility; but Henry VIII.'s ambitions lay on the Continent, and he never thought of following up this victory; and war once more degenerated into raids often secretly encouraged, and sometimes officially led, by the wardens of the marches. There is no further record of the burning of Rose Castle, however, as the Tudor wardens of the marches were at least strong enough to protect the immediate neighbourhood of Carlisle. The wars that subsequently touched Carlisle and Rose Castle were due to the loyalty of the district to the Stuarts, and to the cropping up in a different way of the old connection of the bishops with dispossessed Royalities.

John Penny died in 1520, and John Kyte, Arch-

bishop of Armagh, received in 1521, through Wolsey's influence, the titular archbishopric of Thebes and the bishopric of Carlisle. Bishop Kyte is a minor example of fidelity to lost causes. A personal friend of Wolsey's, the cardinal in his prosperous days "conversed freely" with Kyte, who followed the path Wolsey was forced to pursue in the matter of Henry VIII.'s divorce. Afterwards, when the cardinal was living in poverty at Esher, Kyte sent him "dishes to eat his meat in and plate to drink in, and also his clothes to occupy." Kyte had been ambassador to Spain in 1519, and was in 1522 appointed councillor and treasurer to the warden of the marches, Lord Dacre, who was organising inroads into the northern kingdom. He writes in this year to his patron, in the note of low cunning beloved of Tudor statesmen (when they were not, on the other hand, giving utterance to sentiments of superhuman loftiness), that Philip Dacre, Sir William Percy, Lord Ocle, and four knights, with men from Berwick and elsewhere to the number of 2000, slew Lanse Kerr, one of the worst Borderers in Scotland, and forty persons with him, and brought his son and heir and a great prey in safety to England, losing but one man: Would Wolsey send them letters and thanks? and when "slack" they must have money. If Wolsey would send no letters of thanks the bishop must give them money. In June he wrote to complain that English thieves did more damage than the Scots, and to ask for 1000 bowmen to be sent to the Borders near Carlisle. "There is no man which is not in a stronghold," he wrote, "that hath or may have any cattle or movable in surety through the bishopric"—Durham—"and from the bishopric till we come within eight miles of Carlisle, all Northumberland, likewise Exhamshire"—Hexham-

shire—"which longeth to your grace worst of all; for in Exham self every market day there is fourscore or 100 strong thieves, and poor men and gentlemen seeth them which do rob them and their goods, and dare neither complain of them by name, nor say one word of them. They take all their cattle and horse, their corn as they carry hit to sow or to the mill to gryne, and at their houses bid them deliver what they will or they shall be fired and burnt."

Kyte had no sympathy with the Reformation, but the thin thread of the episcopal history of Carlisle runs in and out of the series of great events that changed mediæval into modern England. Whatever may have been the reasons that led Henry VIII. to wish for a divorce from Katharine of Aragon, the incident served to show the king what an obstacle the Papacy might be in the way of his imperious will. He never had any desire for doctrinal change. Edward VI. was a true Protestant, as Mary Tudor was a true Catholic; but neither Henry VIII. nor his younger daughter were touched by Puritanism, with its terror of idolatry. They liked to see in their own chapels the crucifix, the candles burning at the feet of the saints, and the high altar before which the Host was elevated. There was one thing, however, that they liked better, and that was power. The Crown must be the supreme source of jurisdiction, and as this was incompatible with the limits claimed by the papal jurisdiction, England had to be rid of the Papacy.

It was only the fact that the Reformation was in the air that enabled Henry VIII. and Elizabeth to cut England adrift from Rome, but they themselves had no wish for help from the Reformation, and afterwards only adopted reformed usages in a limited way, when compelled by their political necessities. They sought

only to bring the Church directly under their rule, to make it an instrument of government instead of a State—and often a hostile State—within the State; but the religious history of the sixteenth century is that of the gradual creeping in of Puritanism. Henry VIII. began by attacking Wolsey for the abuse of his legatine powers, and then demanded that both Houses of Convocation should recognise himself as the “Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and clergy of England.” Parliament decided that “the king’s Majesty hath as well the care of the souls of his subjects as their bodies, and may by the law of God by his Parliament make laws touching and concerning as well the one and the other”—a decision that severed the national Church from the universal Church. The king altered his coronation oath so as to swear not generally to uphold the rights of the Church, but to uphold the rights of the Church of England, and laid the question of his divorce before the two Houses of Convocation. Cranmer declared his marriage with Katharine of Aragon to have been void from the beginning, the Pope’s dispensation invalid; and early in 1533 the king married Anne Boleyn. The universities declared that the Pope had no authority in England by divine right, the papal revenues in England were transferred by Act of Parliament to the Crown, Peter’s Pence abolished, and the bishops forbidden to receive their pallium from Rome. The king added to his titles “Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England,” and he was given by Parliament the right of visitation over the Church. All these measures were merely constitutional, but, with the Pope and emperor set against him, Henry VIII. was compelled to turn for allies to the natural enemies of the emperor, the petty princes of Germany, among whom Puritan practices

were full-blown. English ambassadors attended the meeting of the Schmalkaldic League in 1535, in which it was agreed not to recognise the great council announced by the Pope; and the new allies wished England to follow them in a reformation of doctrine of which the Scripture was to be the only standard. Henry VIII., under German influence, now gave licence for the free circulation of the Bible, and ordained that a copy should be placed in every church. Bishoprics were given to men who, like the existing Archbishop Cranmer, had the new theological views, and in the Convocation of 1536 the worship of images, the use of indulgences, and the doctrines of transubstantiation and purgatory, were declared to be contrary to Scripture, which was all that a man needed for salvation.

Finally the king laid ten articles before the Convocation, by which the Bible and the three oldest Creeds were stated to be the only sources, and three Sacraments only, baptism, penance, and the Lord's Supper, were recognised, though the Real Presence in the bread and wine of the Sacrament and the invocation of saints were not yet made heresies. These articles were to be explained to the laity, and children were to be taught in English the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. The whole aim was to admit the light of common day into the Church. The king now, however, proceeded to put into use the power of visitation given him by his Parliament. The religious houses in the country, especially in the north, still preserved their loyalty to Rome, and moreover their riches made them well worth plundering; but the charge on which they were suppressed was that they sheltered immoral or irreligious living. They were called upon to surrender, and their possessions were

confiscated. This action at last brought home to the common people that a great religious revolution was proceeding in their midst. The north of England at once rose, and under the banners of St. Cuthbert and the Five Wounds marched south, with Robert Aske as their leader, in the Pilgrimage of Grace, "to go to London on pilgrimage to the king's Highness, and there to have all the vile blood of his Council put from him and all the noble blood set there again; and also the faith of Christ and His laws to be kept, and full restitution to the Church of all wrongs done unto it." They were readily dispersed by promises; but they very shortly gave the king a pretext for severely punishing them. The Bishops of Carlisle were very small cogs in these great wheels. All the religious in the diocese of Carlisle except those of Holme Cultram and St. Mary's, Carlisle, were turned adrift, and the Pilgrimage of Grace found many partisans in Cumberland, the inhabitants in their inconsequent way regarding their own shrines with great reverence, although they were always quite willing to destroy those of their neighbours. Sir Thomas Wharton wrote to Cromwell that one riot was found to have been at the command of the Bishop of Carlisle; and the temperate suggestion was made that it would be well to send some of "the most virtuous and learned men of the kingdom to preach and teach in all parts there, and to appoint the Bishops of York, Durham, and Carlisle to be present at their sermons."

The punishments meted out to the lay rebels were far more severe, and more in keeping with the Tudor nature. Martial law was proclaimed in Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, and North-west Yorkshire; and Henry VIII. wrote to say that Clifford and Dacre were to cause "such dreadfull execution to be doon

upon a good nombre of th' inhabitants of every toune, village, and hamlet, that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging them up in trees, as by the quartering of them and the setting of their heddes and quarters in every toune, greate and small, and in all suche other places, as they may be a fearfull spectacle to all other hereafter, that would practice any like mater."

Soon the great religious houses met the fate of the smaller ones. Bishop Kyte died in 1537. He was as well cut out for the pursuits of peace as of war. A letter from Sir William Kingston at Blackfriars in 1536 to Lord Lisle throws light on the bishop's simple life. The letter encloses a purse of wood for Lady Lisle "so that it may endure to keep money, for almost I can wear none purse for lack of money, and I have done with play, but with my lord of Carlisle, penny gleek, this is our pastime." Kyte, like his patron Wolsey, was a great builder, and to him is due the very beautiful Tudor tower on the west of the old quadrangle at Rose. On the tower is his monogram, and his arms impaled with those of his archbishopric of Armagh. He is said to have built the whole western side of the quadrangle, and probably, says Ferguson, divided the great hall, cutting off a private dining-room from one end, constructed private apartments for himself in his new wing, and built the long gallery that was then coming into fashion and was such a feature in Tudor and Jacobean houses. These galleries, it is thought, were used for display of collections of armour or art treasures, or for indoor exercise. Rose Castle became, indeed, such an eligible residence that one warden of the marches chose to turn out Bishop Meye and lie here instead of at Carlisle.

Under Kyte's successor, Robert Aldridge, the "Old Learning" came into fashion again. The Pilgrimage of Grace seems to have given the king pause. He enforced the changes that he had already made, but forbade the marriage of priests, subjected theological publications to a severe censorship, and looked with a favourable eye on the old religious ceremonies. In 1539 the retrograde Bill of the Six Articles was passed, approving of the doctrine of the Real Presence, private masses, auricular confession and vows, and forbidding the marriage of priests and the giving of the cup to the laity. After the king's disappointment with Anne of Cleves, Protestant doctrines fell into complete disfavour, and their upholders were sent to the block. Aldridge was one of the bishops who supported in Parliament the Statute of the Six Articles. Whereas the king confounded many of the bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his learning, York, Durham, and Carlisle were, for the first time since the changes, able to show themselves "honest and well-learned men." Bishop Aldridge, a scholar of the new type, was a great friend of Erasmus's, by whom he was described when a young man as "a youth of smooth eloquence," and with whom he carried on a learned correspondence in the universal tongue that saved the mediæval scholar so much labour at languages, Latin. All the Tudors delighted in the use of this scholarly speech, and in 1527 Aldridge had been employed by his university to compose three letters in Latin to Henry VIII. He collated manuscripts for his friend Erasmus, whose guide he was when the latter was in England. Leland the antiquary, who was his contemporary, and may have visited his castle of Rose, though he mentions it very cursorily in his *Itinerary* ("Bishop Kight built hit very fresh" is the sole

remark that he makes), sang the praises of Aldridge's "arts and eloquence" in Latin verse in his *Encomia Virorum Illustrorum*. He was appointed schoolmaster at Eton in 1515, and in 1540, although as bishop he had charge of the treasure for the fortifications at Carlisle, he chose to appear at the king's Privy Council held at Windsor, "rather to linger at Eton than for any just cause," and exposed himself to the callous command to return to his diocese "for the feeding of the people both with his preaching and good hospitality." A scholar, possessed by the burning "fever of the spirit" of the humanists of that time, Aldridge must have suffered a living death among the dull wits of his Cumbrian flock, who, as some one said, equalling the Caribs in the art of stealing, resembled the Hottentots in ignorance and brutality. Aldridge's attitude to the Reformation reminds us of the contemporary English scholar, Sir Thomas More; but, unlike More, he was no candidate for martyrdom, and managed to live unmolested through the many religious choppings and changes almost until the accession of Elizabeth.

Henry VIII., however, had destroyed for ever the religious unity of his kingdom. Protestant ideas, which had feebly raised their heads at the printing of Tyndale's Bible, had been crushed, but thus deliberately reintroduced, germinated, and began to show signs that they would be the great question of the age and of many succeeding ages in England as on the Continent. Questions that were only matters of statecraft to the powers that be became questions of their soul's salvation to the earnest-minded subjects of the Tudors. On the death of the king, the supreme power fell into the hands of a reformer, Edward's VI.'s uncle, Protector Somerset. Cranmer had for the first time a free hand. Bishops were forced to preach

against the Pope, feast-days, and pilgrimages, and to inculcate faith not works; and an ardent attack was made on image-worship. The Six Articles were repealed, and the Common Prayer-book was drawn up as the definitive expression of Anglican feeling. As the time was not yet ripe for Puritanism, however, there were revolts and demands for the restoration of the Mass, the Sacraments, the images of the saints, and the religious houses; but they were easily put down by the strong Protector. Even on Somerset's fall the enthusiastic Puritanism of the king kept the movement in progress, and persecuted foreign Protestants fled to England, where they were welcomed and allowed to disseminate their doctrines. Calvinistic teaching was encouraged; the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Sacrament fell into disfavour; high altars were removed from churches, and plain wooden communion tables, put in their places, reminded the participant that the Lord's Supper was only a commemorative observance.

Already the great question of Church government, that was to be of such importance in the succeeding century, the dispute between Episcopalians and Presbyterians, was heralded. Mary Tudor on her accession immediately stopped all secularisation of the Church, unedited preaching, and interpretation of the Bible. Catholic bishops were restored, Protestants imprisoned, the Mass and images restored to the churches, and the Book of Common Prayer abolished. After the suppression of Wyatt's rebellion the queen led her people back into the fold of the Pope, and revived the laws against those that strayed. Then followed the martyrdoms that the pilgrims of 1537 had demanded, and that would no doubt have been popular enough at that time, but, less than twenty years later, raised a storm of popular horror, so much ground had

the Reformation gained. Elizabeth, on her accession, found that she had at once to make some concessions to Puritan feeling, and so forbade the elevation of the Host in the Mass. Again the Crown was made "in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as civil, supreme." Protestants who had fled abroad during the evil days of Queen Mary returned, built up in the faith by their communion with their fellow-believers over the seas, and ready to labour at the work of reformation at home. Throughout her reign Elizabeth found it necessary to placate the Puritan party. The Prayer-book of Edward VI., with some modifications, that made it less offensive to Catholics and maintained the Real Presence, was enforced by the Act of Uniformity; and the queen ordered the removal of images, and allowed, although she held it in disfavour, the marriage of priests. In most points of ritual, however, she clung to the old ways. The thing that she really cared about was to secure the royal supremacy over the Church, and none might hold a public office, ecclesiastical or lay, who would not recognise this. Thirteen bishops and many of the clergy resigned because they could not bring themselves to do so.

Bishop Aldridge of Carlisle died in 1556, and was succeeded by Bishop Oglethorpe, who crowned Queen Elizabeth when, the see of Canterbury being vacant, the Archbishop of York, and possibly the Bishop of Durham, refused to do so. This service Elizabeth always remembered with gratitude, and afterwards said, when receiving Bishop Robinson's homage for the bishopric of Carlisle, "that she must ever have a care to furnish that see with a worthy man, for his sake who first set the crown on her head." Bishop Oglethorpe, however, was a Catholic in his heart, refused the following year to take the Oath

of Supremacy, and was deprived. From this time reforming bishops sat in the northern see, and Carlisle Cathedral soon showed advanced Puritan usages, to the great distaste of the diocese. The bishopric was offered, on Bishop Oglethorpe's deprivation, to Bernard Gilpin, rector of Houghton-le-Spring in Durham, and a well-known member of the reforming party; but he declined it, as he was wisely unwilling to put his own house in order. He had there, he said, many friends and relations "at whom I must connive in many thinges, not without hurte to myselfe, or else deny them manie thinges, not without offence to them." In the end another Protestant, the Yorkshireman John Best, was elected, and tried to force Puritanism down the throat of an obstinately Catholic people. At his general visitation in 1561, it is said, many of his clergy refused to appear and take the oath of allegiance to him, and, protected by Lord Dacre and the Earl of Cumberland, continued to elevate the Host in their parish churches. The bishop complained that "God's glorious gospel" could not take effect in the counties under the rule of Lord Dacre and the Earls of Cumberland and Westmorland. He wrote to Grindal, the Bishop of London, that there was a great dearth of preachers in his diocese, and that he had no help from his cathedral church, where the prebendaries were all "ignorant Priests, or old unlearned Monks, put in at the dissolution of the monasteries"; and one of them had fled abroad, as many of the papists now did. Since Best had been bishop, Grindal wrote to the queen's secretary he "had met with very ill dealings in that country, replenished with Papists and such like: which perhaps was the cause that Bernard Gilpin prudently declined the bishopric . . . And there were two especially of

whom he complained. Grindal thought," writes Strype, "that if these were touched by the authority of the Lords, it would be a terror to the rest; for, as he said, 'there were marvellous practices to deface that bishop in his lawless country, and by him, the cause;' meaning, that by defacing him, they intended to deface the *cause* of the reformed religion itself." In the end Bishop Grindal, himself a Cumbrian, of Coupland, "obtained a commission for the Church of Carlisle; wherein he was appointed the chief, if not only commissioner: but he sent to Smith (*i.e.* Sir Thomas Smith the Dean, I suppose) to solicit the secretary that he might have two or three more joined in commission with him. And this commission I make no doubt," continues Strype, "our bishop managed with the most earnest application, to do service to his superstitious country and to give a countenance and authority to the godly bishop there in the promoting of good religion."

Mary, Queen of Scots, took refuge in England in 1568. Flying without a single woman attendant, she crossed the Solway in an open boat and came to Carlisle, where, by Elizabeth's order, she was detained. Looked upon as the champion of Catholicism and by English Catholics as the rightful owner of the crown, Mary's vicinity had a good deal to do with the Rising of the North in 1569 in favour of the old faith. The people burned the Common Prayer-book and the English translation of the Bible, and re-established the Mass. The hated Bishop Best, left in charge of Carlisle Castle, only escaped death at the hands of the rebels by the timely return of Lord Scrope. The Reformation made great strides after the suppression of this rising. Best had at one time Queen Elizabeth's licence to arm himself and his dependents against the

inhabitants of his diocese; but Richard Barnes, his successor (1570-77) was better able to maintain his authority. Barnes had been one of Grindal's chaplains, and his reforming policy is identical with that of Grindal. Grindal had even had scruples about accepting the bishopric of London because of the Popish pomp and circumstance that would thereby be entailed on him, and had particularly objected to his prelatical garments. He had decided, however, to wear the garments, but always to preach against them. Employed by the queen in the visitation of the north to enforce the Oath of Supremacy, he had taken care to have "all the utensils and instruments of superstition and idolatry demolished and destroyed out of the churches where God's pure service was to be set up; such as the roods, that is the images of Christ upon the cross, with Mary and John standing by; also images of the saints, tutelaries of the churches, to whom they were dedicated, Popish books, altars, and the like." Under his former chaplain all the plate and vestments of the churches in the diocese of Carlisle were done away with or dispersed, and cups replaced popish "chalices" for the Communion. The next bishop, John Meye, was one of the commissioners in Cumberland of the Court of High Commission, to which Elizabeth had delegated her supremacy over the Church. Before him were brought even such offences as ringing a bell in time of flood to provoke people to prayer. Under Henry Robinson, bishop from 1598 to 1616, mentioned once or twice above, a man was put to death at Carlisle for exercising his functions as a Roman Catholic priest. Henry Robinson died of the plague at Rose Castle in 1616. Robert Snowden, bishop from 1616 to 1621, was, it is thought, the first married Bishop of Carlisle.

With the accession of James I. a change began in the relations of the spiritual and temporal power. Through Scottish influence and the growth of Puritan feeling the Tudor Church settlement was threatened, and the Presbyterian party that gained ground believed as firmly as the Catholics did that the Church should be independent of and even superior to the State, that God alone was Head of the Church, and that in any other hierarchy differences could only be in degree, not in kind. James I., although a firm Protestant, had been so disrespectfully treated by the Presbyterian party in Scotland, who called him "God's silly vassal," that he hated it, and had come to the conclusion "no bishop, no king." It was inevitable that the English Presbyterians should be disappointed when, at the Hampden Court Conference in 1603, the king thanked God "for bringing him into the promised land where religion was purely professed, where he sat among grave, learned, and reverend men, not as before, elsewhere, a king without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave him to his face," and refused even to discuss a change in Church government. James's clemency to Catholics nearly caused Puritan discontent to blaze forth. When, under Charles I., Puritanism had grown stronger still, and the king was even more firmly convinced that it was to his interest to keep it down, the great Civil War came. James I., strengthened by his English position, had already reintroduced episcopacy into Scotland, but the legislative power of the Scottish Church remained in the General Assembly of the clergy. Under Charles I., Laud became the king's adviser, Scottish sees began to be filled with men of English episcopalian ideas, and the king made an attempt to enforce the English liturgy. The beginning of the end came

from Scotland, when Charles I. and Laud issued for the Scots the English Prayer-book, modified so as to accentuate the points that the Scots objected to in it. Its enforcement was the signal for riots, and an anti-episcopalian army gathered at Berwick, won the "First Bishops' War" in 1639, and then dictated their own terms. In the "Second Bishops' War" of 1640 the Puritans in the English army refused to fight their co-religionists, and the victory of the Scots decided the final victory of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Strengthened by Scottish support, the English opposition now compelled Charles I. to impeach Laud, and to consent to the execution of the other minister of his despotism, Strafford. The bishops of Carlisle until this time had kept pace with the country. Richard Milburne was only bishop for three years (1621-24). His successor, Richard Senhouse, chaplain to Charles I. when Prince of Wales, and to James I., and preacher of Charles I.'s coronation sermon, was killed by a fall from his horse (like Sylvester de Everdon) in 1626. Francis White, who was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle in 1626, made himself famous for his writings against Papists. The great day of the polemical pamphleteer was beginning, and White, employed by James I. to dispute in his place against the Jesuit Fisher, wrote such pamphlets as *The Romish Fisher caught in his owne Net*. He and his elder brother, Dr. John White, were in their turn attacked by treatises bearing such felicitous titles as *White dyed Black*, titles so characteristic of the literary style of the seventeenth-century polemical writer. Barnaby Potter, who was in 1628-29 consecrated Bishop of Carlisle, is connected with the relieving interest in this serious century. He was on terms of intimacy with the Caroline poet Herrick, and the praises of his two

beautiful daughters, Amy and Grace, were sung in the *Hesperides*, the face of "Handsome Mrs. Grace Potter" receiving this quaint commendation :—

"In all that admirable round,
There is not one least solecism found."

Although Potter also had been chaplain to Charles I. before his accession, and was afterwards his chief almoner, he approved of Strafford's attainder, and took the popular side in the religious disputes. Three officers on tour in the northern counties in 1634 came to Carlisle, visited its cathedral, and complained of its Puritan usages. The cathedral, they said, was "nothing near so fair and stately as those we had seen, but more like a great wild country church; as it appeared outwardly so was it inwardly, ne'er beautiful nor adorned one whit. The organs and voices did well agree—the one being like a shrill bagpipe, the other like a Scottish tune. The sermon, in the like accent, was such as we could hardly bring away, though it was delivered by a neat young scholar, sent that morning from Rose Castle, the bishop's mansion, which lies upon Rose and Caldew rivers—one of the bishop's chaplains, to supply his place that day. The Communion also was administered, and received in a wild unreverent manner."

Bishop Potter died early in 1642, before the outbreak of the Civil War, and his successor, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, to whom Charles I. in this year gave the bishopric of Carlisle *in commendam*, because his Irish possessions were destroyed by the revolt there against Strafford's rule, really played to that king the part ascribed to Thomas Merks towards Richard II. He tried to find a solution of the great question of Church government that was exercising everybody's

mind, and suggested an arrangement that almost threw over episcopacy to save the ship of state, an arrangement that Charles I. afterwards declared himself willing to accept. By it the mistrusted bishops were only to be *primi inter pares*, superintendents of councils of presbyters, and not to act without their advice. Shortly afterwards the king, "betrayed by his Privy Council, deserted by his judges," appealed to five of his bishops, among whom was the Archbishop of Armagh, for counsel in the matter of Strafford's attainder; and "even in that day of dereliction and terror, two of those bishops rose superior to all the alarms of earthly evidence, and did advise their wretched sovereign not to do anything against his conscience, and those two were Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Juxon [Bishop of London]." Afterwards, when it was spread about that Armagh had persuaded Charles to consent to Strafford's attainder, the king in a great passion replied "that it was false, for after the bill was passed the Archbishop came to me saying with tears in his eyes, 'Oh sir, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience, and pray God that your Majesty may never suffer by the signing of this bill.'"

Ussher attended on Laud from the time of his attainder till his end on the scaffold, bore him many messages from the king, and was engaged to take him these last words from Strafford: "Desire the archbishop to lend me his prayers this night, and to give me his blessing when I go abroad to-morrow, and to be in his window, that by my last farewell I may give him thanks for this and all his former favours." Ussher knelt beside Strafford in his last devotions on the block, and then went to report to the king "that he had seen many die, but never saw so white a soul

return to his Maker." His name was included in the Ordinance (20th June 1643) summoning the Westminster Assembly of Divines, but he refused to attend, and preached against the legality of the Assembly, summoned as it was without the consent of the king. The Commons "proceeded to inflict the severest punishment they could upon him, by confiscating his noble library, then deposited at Chelsea College," and he of course subsequently lost, like other bishops, the revenues of his see. Dr. Parr's account of the archbishop's behaviour at Charles I.'s execution inevitably recalls the attitude of his predecessor on the question of the trial of Richard II. He was staying at Lady Peterborough's house near Charing Cross on the day of the king's execution, and "divers of the Countesse's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting at Whitehall. As soon as his Majesty came upon the scaffold some of the household came and told my Lord Primate of it, and askt him if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling, but was at last perswaded to go up; as well out of his desire to see his Majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads the king was in his speech; the Lord Primate stood still and said nothing, but sighed, and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards Heaven, seemed to pray earnestly; but when his Majesty had done speaking, and had pulled off his cloak and doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizards began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now about to be executed, grew

pale and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him (who thereupon supported him) he had swooned away."

Subsequently the archbishop's widespread fame as a scholar led Cromwell to extend to him his protection. In 1654 he was nominated as one of fourteen bishops to draw up a list of fundamentals in religion as a basis of toleration, but he declined to act. On his death, two years later, he was buried, by the Protector's order, in Westminster Abbey. Nicolson and Burn, the historians of Cumberland, say that Cromwell gave Ussher this tribute "out of an honourable respect to so learned a champion of the Protestant cause"; but, remarks Hutchinson, "he was a wretch whose soul could not be touched with such sentiments; hypocrisy or some low and selfish view entitled him to display this honour and pomp at the interment of a man whom he and his creatures had starved to death." The historian of the Restoration, Bishop Burnett of Salisbury, wrote of Ussher, that "he had a way of gaining people's hearts and of touching their consciences that look'd like somewhat of the apostolical age reviv'd," but "he had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses: and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. . . . But though he prayed for a more favourable conjecture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of those things very heartily, yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: and it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to dye, for he prayed often and with great humility that God would forgive him sins of omission." The Irish primate seems to have had the

scholar, almost the Hamlet temperament, and the part he played in his stirring times, though an honourable, was an ineffectual one. But he was celebrated then, and is still used, for his historical researches. He threw new light on to early Irish history and on to the history of the creed, the Ignatian problem, and other patristic points; and his name is still to many people a household sight (as his system of scriptural chronology was employed in the Authorised Version of the English Bible), and is the greatest connected with the bishopric of Carlisle.

Ussher had restored the Royalist traditions of the bishops. The diocese had all along been sympathetic, and the city itself and the bishop's castle also remained faithful throughout. Carlisle Castle was garrisoned for Charles during both Bishops' Wars, and as the Scots entered England by Berwick, and for a long time the main current of the Civil War rolled away from Cumberland, it became a camp of refuge for the king's party. In October 1644, however, manned by a garrison of 700 men, it was besieged by the Scottish commander, General Leslie, on his way back from capturing Newcastle, with a force of 4000. Failing to take it by storm, Leslie sat down and starved out the garrison. The heroic defenders, with a spirit which may well be contrasted with that of a hundred years later, were in the following June eating dogs, rats, and hempseed, with a very occasional slice of horse, and held out eleven days after the defeat of the king at Naseby had taken away all hope of their being relieved. Even then they kept up the traditions of the best days of the Borders by plying the solemn Scotch envoys with their one remaining cask of ale until the latter were too drunk to treat.

After the surrender of Carlisle, Colonel Hevering-

ham's regiment turned aside to Rose Castle, which was said to be a strong place, and was defended by its constable and a garrison of twenty or thirty men. Rose Castle at this time was still built in the mediæval way on its quadrangular plan. It had five towers, and was surrounded by a turreted wall. It was captured by the parliamentary forces, and subsequently used to detain Royalist prisoners. Carlisle Castle was garrisoned by the Scots, who pulled down and mutilated most of the cathedral buildings in order to destroy popery, and also to obtain materials for the repair of the city defences. The Cavaliers made an attempt to reconquer Carlisle in the autumn of 1645, but failed.

All England was now in the hands of the Scots and the parliamentary forces, but Carlisle was evacuated at the end of 1646, in return for a sum of money paid by the Parliament to the Scots, for the former had begun to feel anxious at this encroachment of the latter on England.

In 1647 the English army presented its ultimatum to Charles I., insisting on the abolition of episcopacy. Charles I. refused to agree, fled to Carisbrook Castle, and was kept there as a prisoner. In 1648 Royalist risings commenced and the second Civil War began. The Cavaliers seized Berwick-on-Tweed and Carlisle. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, the Royalist colonel-general of the five northern counties, appointed a Cumberland gentleman, Sir Philip Musgrave, commander-in-chief in Cumberland and Westmorland and governor of Carlisle. "Sir Philip went to the Borders and some of his countrymen came secretly to him, and by his order sixteen men entered Carlisle, and presently made themselves masters of the place. . . . There was then so great rain and unusuall high floods, as Sir Philip could by no means pass the rivers until May the first

(this he apprehended to be ominous), but at his coming to Carlisle, many gentlemen of the county, and from severall other parts, came speedily thither," and the castle was garrisoned by the Scots, now, however, in the royal interest; for the Scots were alienated from the Parliament since it had deserted Presbyterianism. The parliamentary forces held Penrith, and in June Sir Marmaduke Langdale's forces met another Royalist army under the Duke of Hamilton at Rose Castle and marched south. Hamilton, however, the last hope of the Royalists, was defeated by Cromwell at Preston on August 17, and the second Civil War came to an end. On 1st October following Carlisle surrendered. Rose Castle, like Carlisle, had again come into Royalist hands and was manned with forty men. It was besieged by a commanded party of 200 foot. The governor refused two summonses to surrender and the castle was then stormed and taken after a siege of two hours. It was burned by order of Major Cholmley, and never received again its turreted wall and never again was built round its old quadrangular courtyard. "Rose Castle, the bishop's best seat," wrote Fuller, "hath lately the rose therein withered, and the prickles in the ruins thereof alone remain." It is difficult to decide into which of the two sieges of Rose Captain Philip Ellis fits. After the Restoration, in 1662, it was certified to the king that Captain Philip Ellis, of Rose Castle, Cumberland, was zealous and orthodox, had raised troops at his own expense for the late king, served four years without pay, was at the siege of Carlisle, stood a siege in his own castle, which was taken, lost more than £3000, was imprisoned for twenty-six weeks, and subsequently refused all offers of service from the Parliament. At the sales of bishops' lands in 1649 Colonel Heveringham, or

Heveningham, above-mentioned, one of the high court of justice that in the preceding January had tried Charles I., purchased the manors of Dalston, Rose Castle, and Linstock, the possessions of the see of Carlisle, and is said to have had the offices at Rose Castle newly fitted up for his own habitation. At the Restoration Heveningham, who had refused to sign Charles I.'s death-warrant and petitioned the Lords four times for mercy, was sentenced to death. He was reprieved owing to the efforts of his relations, the Careys, Earls of Dover, but he was kept prisoner at Windsor Castle until his death in 1678.

The restored bishopric now became the reward of faithful Royalists. It was first offered, in 1660, to Dr. Richard Gilpin, rector of Greystoke, who refused it because he would not sign the Solemn League and Covenant; and then to Richard Sterne, who had been Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, and chaplain to Archbishop Laud. He was arrested and imprisoned, as Cromwell, then a burgess of Cambridge, happened to know that he had conveyed the plate of his college to the king at York. He was released, but his livings were taken from him. Preferred to the see of Carlisle in 1660, Sterne soon came into ill odour with the remaining Puritans, and contemporaries and subsequent historians have painted him white or black according to their religious aspect. "Among all the bishops," wrote the Presbyterian divine, Baxter (author of the still well-known book *The Saints' Everlasting Rest*), in indignation, after the Savoy Conference, at which the Presbyterian and Episcopalian parties met in 1661 to discuss Church government and the liturgy, "Among all the bishops, there was none had so promising a face as Dr. Sterne, the Bishop of Carlisle. He look'd so honestly, and gravely, and soberly, that

I scarce thought such a face could have deceived me ; and when I was intreating them not to cast out so many of their brethren through the nation, as scrupuled a ceremony which they confessed indifferent, he turn'd to the rest of the reverend bishops and noted me for saying 'in the nation.' 'He will not say in the kingdom,' saith he, 'lest he own a king.' This was all I ever heard that worthy bishop say. But with grief I told him that half the charity which became so grave a bishop might have sufficed to have helpt him to a better exposition of the word."

Sterne was translated to York in 1664, and although he had undertaken the very necessary restorations at Rose, and actually rebuilt the chapel, the work had been so badly carried out that it had to be done over again, and he was sued by his successor, the worthy Bishop Rainbowe, for dilapidations. Rainbowe complained to the king that his predecessor had had as much money for fines of leases and casualties as might have repaired or rebuilt the castle, but had only fitted up the few rooms that had survived its destruction in the Civil War, and built some outhouses, leaving the rest as a burden to his successor. In the end Sterne was forced to pay £400 as dilapidations.

Dr. Rainbowe, an example of the best type of priest of that time, had been a staunch and more or less open adherent to royalty, episcopacy, and the liturgy under the Commonwealth. He had lost his Mastership of Magdalene College, Cambridge, but at the Restoration was successively made chaplain to Charles II., Dean of Peterborough, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Though a good, he was not a great man, but he met, as they used to do, an enthusiastic biographer with a pleasing literary style. In 1664, "beyond his wishes," says this biographer,

he was elected Bishop of Carlisle. "His truly Primitive temper put him upon the declining of that high and honourable Employment in the Church; the great Care of so many Souls as would thereby be devolved upon him, affrighted and deterr'd him a while from embracing that Honour which so many court in vain. . . . Overcome at last with the Desires and Arguments of his Friends, he accepted of that Honourable Dignity." The trouble about dilapidations in which he was almost immediately embarked with his metropolitan was, we are told, "both repugnant to his Meeke Nature, and was (in his Thoughts) unbecoming Persons of that Sacred Character." After this suit was concluded he rebuilt the chapel at Rose Castle and made several other additions and conveniences there. "But tho' these Edifices were costly as well as Troublesom; yet there was another sort of Building which he was more intent upon, the Building of God's Church in the Spiritual Sense." He determined in his own life to set his clergy "a Copy as legible as his human Frailties would permit it to be written." "Pursuant of his Pious design, he Preached not only in his Courses at the Cathedral, but often there also upon occasional days; as also frequently at his own Chappel at Ross [Rose], at Dalston Church, and the adjacent Chappels, till hindred from this performance by the Gout; the Racks of this were not probably more troublesom than their Consequence." He made the paths of religion into pleasantness by giving about 20s. to the poor at Carlisle, when it was his turn to preach there, "that his liberality might tempt them to listen to his Doctrine. His allowance to the Poor of Dalston Parish (within the limits of which Rose-Castle stands) was 30s. a Month, besides what was given them at his Castle-Gates, and to Sick People; not to mention what was

given them at Sacraments, and upon other Occasions. In Dear Years, when his own stock of Corn was spent he ordered Barley to be bought at 12s. or 14s. *per* Bushel, and to be given to the Poor; which came then in such great numbers to the Gates, that the Porter who served them, having sometimes the curiosity to tell them, affirmed, that he often serv'd Seven or Eightscore people in one and the same day." "How often," exclaimed the preacher of his funeral sermon, "have the Loins of the naked blessed him, for being warmed with the fleece of his Sheep." "The Government of his private Family," continues the biographer, "was modelled in imitation of that of the Church; that is, Regular. Four times a day was God publicly call'd upon by Prayers in that Family; twice in the Chappel, which part his Lordship's Chaplains perform'd; and twice in the Dining-Room; the later of these, at Six in the Morning and Nine at night, was the usual Task of our Right Reverend and Worthy Prelate himself, if not disabled by Sickness. As if he who was the Master of the Family, would open it every Morning, and lock it up every Night, by the Key of Prayer." After an episcopate of nearly twenty years, the King of Terrors found the good bishop prepared to receive him, "not as an Enemy, but as a welcom Friend"; only, we are pathetically told, "He had indeed begged of God that he might over-live Lady-Day, because it would much conduce to the Profit of his then Consort, and since Mournful Widow. And this seems to have been granted to him, since he survived the return of that time no more than one day." This last story shows that the bishop's benefactions had entailed the life of poverty on himself and his family.

Rainbowe's successor, Thomas Smith, is remembered

as a great benefactor of Carlisle city and see. As Dean of Carlisle he had rebuilt the deanery and presented the cathedral with an organ, so that the parishioners no longer had to listen to the instrument likened by the three officers to the bagpipes: and as bishop he endowed Carlisle Grammar School, the Chapter library, and the cathedral treasury. Altogether he spent over £5000 in buildings and charities. He altered the house and stables at Rose, and built a new tower and court walls there and a pigeon-cote. All over the country Jacobean architecture, with its picturesque juxtaposition of classical and Gothic details, was giving way to a more correct use of the orders of architecture; but Cumberland seems never even to have heard of the orders of architecture, for Thomas Machell, Vicar of Kirkby Thore and a local historian, claims to have been the first who introduced "regular" architecture into these parts. He assisted Bishop Smith in rebuilding Rose Castle. "He seems," says Ferguson, "to have made a new central front entrance into what was formerly the Constable's Tower, to have formed his door with cornice and frieze over, balanced in due course with windows on each side: to have inserted similar windows in the Bell Tower."

Bishop Nicolson, who in 1702 followed Bishop Smith, and who had been Secretary of State to Charles II., was in a different way a benefactor to his diocese through his literary labours. Bishop Rainbowe had been a good scholar, but it was almost in the mediæval schoolman's way. Bishop Nicolson inaugurated the more modern type of bishop, who is of lay importance and uses his leisure in the service of secular scholarship. He himself published a collection of Border Laws in 1705, and his collections of MSS. relating to Cumberland have been used in all succeeding

histories of that county. He is said to have been "a drinking fellow and boon companion" at Oxford, but was a great worker; and he reminds us of the delightful divines that Thomas Love Peacock drew, who managed to be worthy pastors of the flock of Christ and yet *Epicuri de grege porci*. Chancellor Ferguson has thus drawn Nicolson's character from his hitherto unpublished journals: "A man of great personal strength, capable of riding enormous distances, and who thought nothing of preaching in the cathedral and of then walking out to Rose; who, as archdeacon, spent his holidays in hunting, and was not above taking an interest in a cock-fight" (by the by, there is a cockpit belonging to Rose Castle): "fond of a good dinner, a scholar, an antiquary, a linguist, ambitious and pushing, afraid of no one, a man who would have his own way."

At the time of the fall of the Stuarts in 1689, he was only Archdeacon of Carlisle, but a great power in the diocese, and addressed a sensible and characteristic letter to the clergy, many of whom were staunch Jacobean: "The short of our case is, the late king was pleased unexpectedly to leave us; and their present Majesties have stepped into the throne as the next lawful successors. And where is the mischief of all this? You and I are not called upon to give our assent to every vote that is passed in either House of Parliament in the management of this matter, and I hope we never shall. But I think we ought thankfully to join in the last result of their councils, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, are honestly and legally seated on the English throne. And this may be done without an unnecessary acquainting the world with our opinion whether the royal dignity has devolved upon them by right of succession or they have obtained it by a new grant from the

people." He is said to have been a Tory in early life, but changed in order to court "ye figure of ye Loggerhead at Lambeth," and indeed got into trouble for his officiousness in the Whig interests. The election at Carlisle caused immense and quite modern excitement, and Bishop Nicolson is said to have threatened his cathedral choir with dismissal if they did not vote for the Whig candidate, Montague. The bishop was very nearly disturbed in his house at Rose by the feeble Jacobite rising of 1715.

The Scots, still faithful to the Stuarts, entered England this way to reinstate the Pretender, James Stuart, on the English throne. The bishop wrote to Archbishop Wake that the rebels had acknowledged their intention of paying him a visit, "and to that end hovered a whole day on the banks of the Eden, five miles below Carlisle. But as Providence ordered the matter, the rains had then so swelled the waters there, that they were not fordable. This preserved my beef and mutton for the present. They sent me word that these provisions were only kept in store for the Earl of Mar, who they said would assuredly be with me in ten days' time. His Honour (or Grace) is not yet arrived; and I begin now to fancy that he'll hardly ever bring any great retinue this way. . . . Our greatest danger, as we think, is from the return of the poor hungry Highlanders, should they be scattered into parties (as 'tis ten thousand to one but they will be) by General Wills, and left to make the best of their way back to their own old reeky cells in the Braes of Athol." If the "poor hungry Highlanders" had returned by way of Rose, one imagines that the bishop would have given them an example of the Church militant in the eighteenth century. One can see him merrily discovering the lance that Bishop Kirkby bore when he laid aside the

crook, and, calling out in his clerkly way, "Give them the beef and mutton? *Pessimo medius fidius exemplo! Pro aris et focis!* that is, for beef and mutton and fires to roast them," sally forth like the Reverend Gilbert Folliot, when Captain Swing burst into Chainmail Hall, and put the "rascally rabble" to flight.

Bishop Nicolson was translated in 1718 to Londonderry, and succeeded at Carlisle by Samuel Bradford, who, says Chancellor Ferguson, "found his way down to his see about a year after he had been appointed, and spent a fortnight in making a visitation of it." He was translated to Rochester in 1723, and succeeded by John Waugh, who was in 1734 succeeded by Sir George Fleming, fifth son of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, Westmorland. Sir George Fleming died at the advanced age of eighty in 1747. He was historically incorrect enough to make no movement for the White Rose in the '45. In November 1745 Charles Edward Stuart landed on the coast of Scotland, and with a few raw and undisciplined troops marched south to Carlisle. On November 9 the Mayor of Carlisle was summoned to provide billets for 13,000 of the prince's soldiers, but refused to do so; whereupon the Young Pretender's forces besieged the city, which, unused to war as it had grown, surrendered on the 15th following. James III. was proclaimed king at the market cross, and the prince received the keys of the city. An indignant Georgian patriot wrote a lampoon on the incompetent deputy to whom the incompetent mayor had resigned his charge, a lampoon that swelled to its climax in the apostrophe—

"O front of brass, and brain of ass!"

This great success was the only one of the war. The prince's army swelled by the way, and he arrived

safely at Derby, and was himself eager to press onward to London, but was obliged to take the advice of his generals and fall back on Carlisle. From this time the Jacobite cause was doomed, and Charles Edward, accepting his fate, on December 21 left a garrison in Carlisle that there was no gleam of hope of relieving. At the end of the month, the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of George II.'s army, entered the city. The rebel garrison could obtain no conditions of surrender, but it was not until the autumn of the following year that the ninety-six prisoners of war met their end on Gallows or Harriby Hill, the old "Hairibee" of the moss-trooper. Rose Castle, according to Sir Walter Scott, had had its share in these adventures. After the capture of Carlisle by Prince Charlie, a detachment of his troops is said to have gone on to Rose, as they had heard that it was worth plundering. On being informed, however, that the birth of the bishop's granddaughter had just taken place within its walls, Captain Macdonald, its leader, mercifully refrained from making any further entrance than into the coachyard, where he and his men were regaled with beef, cheese, ale, and other cheer. On hearing that the infant was at that moment being christened, the captain took the white cockade from his bonnet: "Let her be christened with this cockade in her cap," he said; "it will be her protection now, and after, if any of our stragglers should come this way: we will await the ceremony in silence." The heroine of this episode, Rosemary Clerk, narrated it in 1817, and stated that the white cockade was still carefully preserved, and that she had been taught by this event to respect all Scotchmen, and Highlanders in particular. With black ingratitude, however, she afterwards gave it to George IV.

The prince is said, but very improbably, to have nominated, while he was there, a young priest called Cappoch to be Bishop of Carlisle. This priest, according to a libellous *Life and Character*, written by "a gentleman who attended the prisoners at Carlisle both before and after their condemnation," was a mixture of Friar Tuck, Autolykus, and a Byronic hero. At school he had been "so unlucky" that his master could not manage him, and had gained so bad a character in Manchester, his native place, "that no Body would have any Concern with him." He went to the University of Oxford, and, after being sent down, led a variously disreputable existence, "associating only with Nonjurors and Jacobites, and all such as were disaffected to the Government." He forged a bishop's handwriting in order to recommend himself as a curate, and became chaplain in the Manchester Regiment of the Young Pretender's army. As chaplain he had been more dissolute than any of the prince's soldiers. "After he was made Bishop of Carlisle by the Young Pretender, whenever he preach'd or read Prayers, he us'd to wear a Hanger by his side, and patrol'd the Walls of the castle every night with a Firelock, the same as the rest of the Rebel Officers." He was taken prisoner by the Duke of Cumberland at Carlisle, but was quite undismayed. He spent his time in Carlisle Gaol instructing his fellow-prisoners how to cut their irons by means of a case knife, a drinking glass, and a silk handkerchief; and by that means seven of them got loose. When the "bishop" (probably, it is suggested, this was a *soubriquet* given him at the mess of the Manchester Regiment) was informed that he was to die, "it made very little impression upon him." He jeered at those who were downcast. "Ye puppy," he observed to

one (using the very word of Autolycus), "we shan't be tried by a Cumberland jury in the other world." The anonymous biographer unwittingly shows, even on his own statements, that Cappoch had more in him than he chose to let appear, and this baffling speech shows that he was no more a subject for the moralist in the street than for a Cumberland jury. After he was tied to the gallows he read a treasonable sermon, prayed for the Pretender, his son, and all the Stuart family, called King George a usurper, handed his sermon to the sheriff, and underwent his penalty. He and the other offenders were hanged for seven minutes, drawn in the antique way, before their own eyes, and their heads placed on Carlisle Tower. The surgeon to whom he is said to have sold his body on the eve before his trial for two shillings and a bottle of wine, perhaps made a fair bargain.

The '45 gives for the first time a sentimental association to Carlisle. While the Scottish Borders are still haunted by the ghosts of those whose bodies, slain in war or feud, lie deep in Yarrow, so that Wordsworth wandering by the literary stream longed for the merry minstrel's strain, the great fortress-city by the Eden, the point from which all the destroying armies set forth and the place where one and all the captured Border thieves met their end, in defiance, moreover, of the implication of two famous beatitudes on peoples that leave no annals and have few laws but obey them, managed to be called, until most of her troubles were over, "Merry Carlisle." The '45 gave her a ballad such as were spun in the "dowie dens of Yarrow." The maiden who is seeking her lover comes upon all that remains of him stuck on Carlisle gate.

“ His lang, lang hair in yellow hanks
Waved o'er his cheeks sae sweet and ruddie ;
But now they wave o'er Carlisle yetts
In dripping ringlets clotting bloodie.

My father's blood's in that flower top,
My brother's in that harebell blossom ;
This white rose was steeped in my luve's blood,
An' I'll ay wear it in my bosom.

When I first cam by merry Carlisle,
Was ne'er a town sae sweetly seeming ;
The white rose flaunted o'er the wall,
The thistled banners far were streaming !

When I cam next by merry Carlisle,
O sad, sad seem'd the town, an' eerie !
The auld, auld men came out and wept ;
' O maiden, come ye to seek yere dearie ? ' ”

This ballad marks the change in the spirit of the age. One of the greatest charms of the early Borderers was the lightness in which they held their lives. Even a hundred years before, the maiden would not have found Carlisle sad and eerie after a batch of executions. The starving garrison at the end of the Civil War summoned up spirit enough to play practical jokes. But now the prosperous, civilising years had done their work, made bloodshed less common and more feared. The predatory priest who dared to assume the title of Bishop of Carlisle was the last person to swing with a jest in his mouth on “ Hairibee.”

In the following year Richard Osbaldeston, Dean of York, royal chaplain, and one of George III.'s early tutors, was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle. He was very little at Rose Castle, and was in 1762 translated to the see of London. Dr. Lyttleton, who succeeded him at Carlisle, was furious at the condition in which

Rose Castle had been left. Before he came down his servant wrote him this delightful letter :—

“I know not how to proseed to get this house in any order for your Lordship’s coming. hear is a great deail wants to be Done, Severall windows being very Bad, Ready to fall, Several Dores not fit to Stand, Espeachily in the Brewhouse, where the Derns and Dore are Just Downe, the flowrs Extraimly bad, in Sume of the Rums Large hols and Sunk Just Ready to Brack through. . . . I have Considred abought Hanging the Rums, and as there is Space betwine the walls and the Hangings and the Rats are so very plenty thay will most Likley Eate the Hangins at the first putting up; and I find all the Bords yousd abought this house are from the Trees Cut downe hear. if I Could get Some thin Bords to put the Paper upon it wold be Dryar and Secure from the Rats, and I believe not much more Expençe. . . . I am very Loth to Trouble your Lordship with what I Sopose cannot be Recalld, yet I thinke it my Duity to Say your Lordship has not had Justes Done you in the appraisment of the Goods, it is not Possabil for me to menchon how many yousless and Worthless things hear be, but hear is a ould painted oyle Cloth with very great hols in it; the maid in the House says it never was yousd in ye Late Bishops time, but Cramd into a Littel Closset; it is of no valle, but it is vailed to your Lordship at 12 shelings. there is fore plain Shelves in a Closet by your Lordship’s Bedchamber maid of the Bords, timber Cut Downe hear; I believe a man wold put them up in two Days, thay are vailed at £3.10.0—in Shorrt it is all of a peece, the Best and only furniture fit for your Lordship is the Mahogany Tables and Drayrs and 12 very ordenerly Chiars in the Best Paller, but new by the Last Bishop. hear was not

a pot or Saspan in the Kitchen but what was as Black with inside as with out, Eait out with Rust and Canker. . . . I gave your Lordship account of the Beads before, I only wish your Lordship Could Seein them when I Did, they are all aird and cleand as well as they Can be, but thay will only be ould Rags. . . . The Chimlys have not bein Sweept for Severall years past till now. . . .”

Two months later, the new bishop, by this time installed in the scene of desolation, where, as in the Giaour's palace—

“The lonely spider's thin, grey pall
Waves slowly widening o'er the wall,”

wrote to his brother of London to complain that the wines in the cellars of Rose, sold to him as sound, proved in great part “as sour as berjuice,” and closed his epistle with the rather petty postscript:—

“I should have been obliged to your Lordship to have told me that you would not leave your Chaplain's old Surplice in the Chapel here, that a new one might have been provided against my coming. My Chaplain has been forced to read Prayers without one ever since I came, and this in the sight of half the County, who have been to visit me.”

Osbaldeston replied that he was concerned at the sourness of the wine, that his agent should restore the money, and that having spent £1000, or perhaps double that sum, at Rose Castle and elsewhere in the bishopric, he had not expected to be called on in the rude manner he was for dilapidations. He added a postscript that he had found no surplices at Rose, nor indeed books, cushions, or other furniture proper for the chapel, which, with part of the communion plate he left there, was not of less expense to him than

the sum of £100, "and this I judge the County of Cumberland knows, and is visible to that half of it that has visited you."

The spirit of the combatants now became hotter. As the Bishop of London directed that the claret in the castle should be distributed amongst his friends in Cumberland as a present, the Bishop of Carlisle wrote to accuse him of insinuating that the wine was not sour, and to say that such a suspicion raised his contempt more than his anger. He had only taken over the claret as a favour, he said, and the port had to be filtered before it could be drunk; but was he to pay so expensive a compliment as to make no demand for dilapidations, although they mounted to £200 or £300? To this long letter the Bishop of London laconically replied that the sum demanded in the estimate, "tho' seemingly demanded, I suppose, is not expected to be paid, as it never will be by, my Lord, your most humble servant, RIC. LONDON."

Carlisle spiritedly replied that it might be of importance to both of them, "but will certainly be so to your Lordship, that the Dilapidations be settled soon, for the House suffers by every Storm (a whole window and much glass beside being blown out of the frames before I left Rose), and the Banks of the River (already in a ruinous condition) will receive much more damage by the winter Torrents, and the Demand on this Article be proportionately increased."

Bishop Lyttleton is said to have repaired Strickland's Tower and to have built a new kitchen. He was succeeded in 1768 by Edmund Law, in whom the see of Carlisle obtained the ministrations of a great light in Georgian theology. He was a Whig, a latitudinarian, and a disciple of Locke, whose works he edited in 1777. Master of Peterhouse, and professor

of casuistry at Cambridge, the publication in 1745 of his *Consideration of the State of the World with regard to the Theory of Religion* marked the start of the "Cambridge School" of theology, of which Paley was a still greater light. It is recorded that he almost invariably spent the summer months at Rose Castle, as he was fond of the natural beauty of the place, and "it restored him to the country, for which he had a great attachment." After his death, in 1787, John Douglas was for four years Bishop of Carlisle, and was then, no doubt to his joy, translated to Salisbury, so much nearer to London. Douglas was by way of being a man of letters about town. He was a member of the "British Coffee House Club," and of the "Literary Society," to which Burke, Johnson, and Goldsmith belonged, that met at the Turk's Head in Gerard Street, Soho. He had written in 1750 a pamphlet vindicating Milton from the charge of plagiarism made by William Lauder, a Scottish schoolmaster; and as his advice afterwards led to the laying of the Cock Lane Ghost, he became quite celebrated for his detective powers. Goldsmith poked mild fun at him in *Retaliation* as—

"The scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks."

He took down the great oak Jacobean staircase and landing at Rose Castle, and replaced it by one in fir, to give the hall "a more neat and modern appearance."

After him, in 1791, came Vernon, "the first," says Chancellor Ferguson, "of a series of Bishops of Carlisle, Vernon [Vernon Harcourt], Goodenough, Percy, Montagu Villiers, Waldegrave, and Goodwin, who lived at Rose Castle, made it their home, bound up with their dearest family interests, and did not



ROSE CASTLE (FRONT); EARLLEY, 2018 J.

Photo. by Spooner

ROSE CASTLE.

reckon it a mere summer residence." Vernon Harcourt became Archbishop of York in 1808, and was succeeded by Dr. Goodenough, Dean of Rochester, who is mentioned in Mathias's *Pursuits of Literature* as "good Palæmon, worn with classick toil." Besides being a prominent preacher, Dr. Goodenough was a distinguished botanist, and his herbarium, for long in Carlisle Museum, is now at Kew Gardens. "Traditions still linger," writes Chancellor Ferguson, "of the stately presence and commanding figure of Dr. Goodenough as he appeared for the first time in his cathedral." He was the last Bishop of Carlisle to wear a wig.

Bishop Hugh Percy succeeded him in 1827, and is largely responsible for the castle at Rose as it now stands. He called in the pioneer of the Gothic revival, Rickman, and rebuilt much of the palace, including Rainbowe's chapel, in the Gothic manner, spending, it is said, £40,000 of his own money on the gardens and outbuildings. The terraces and rosary were planned and set out for him by the noted horticulturist, Sir Joseph Paxton. Bishop Percy was a bishop of the Nicolson type, in the fainter nineteenth-century way. A practical farmer and a judge of horses, he used to drive four-in-hand from Rose Castle to London to take his seat in Parliament. He was succeeded in 1856 by Villiers, in 1860 by Waldegrave, and in 1869 by Harvey Goodwin. With these four Bishops of Carlisle, again to quote Chancellor Ferguson, "the courtly Percy, the aristocratic and unfortunate Villiers, the saintly Waldegrave, and the hard-working and energetic Goodwin, a new régime came in; the dry bones were made to live, churches were built, livings augmented, abuses reformed, religious and charitable organisations founded." Bishop Goodwin was succeeded on his death in 1892 by John Wareing Bardsley,

and he in 1905 by the present Lord Bishop, John William Diggle.

All old houses are haunted by memories, but Rose Castle possesses a visible *revenant* in the old Tudor tower on the west front. One Pettenger hanged himself in its upper room; and still, if by midnight you stray on the terrace beneath, you may discern the form of his ghost looking out of—

“The lattice that flaps when the wind is shrill,”

and you may see the long cord hanging from his neck. This hangman's rope is not an unfitting device for the secular history of Carlisle; but the more pleasant and proper symbol of its ecclesiastical history is the one it adopted, the flower of the *Rosa Mundi*, the rose in the garden beside you.

[The authorities for this article, besides original sources and local historians, are chiefly: Chancellor Ferguson, *History of Carlisle* (Diocesan Histories); Canon Venables, *Episcopal Palaces of England*; *Dictionary of National Biography*; *Rose Castle* (*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological Society*); *Notes & Queries*.]

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