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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HOUSE OF STANLEY,
FROM THE
CONQUEST,

TO THE

Death of the Right Honorable EDWARD,

LATE

EARL OF DERBY,

IN

1776.

CONTAINING A

GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
ACCOUNT,

OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Description of the Isle of Man.

Preston:

PRINTED BY E. SERGENT,

IN THE

MARKET-PLACE.

MDCCXCIII.

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ST. JOHN'S

barons of Audley; who tells us that the barons of Audley built Healey-castle, in the county of Stafford, upon lands given to them by Hervey de Stafford, as also Aldeleigh, by Thoebald de Verdon; and from these (says he) sprung the family of the Stanleys, EARLS of DERBY, but gives no pedigree or lineal descent thereof.

And though this account from so public an author might be esteemed by some very honourable, as being related to, or descended from a family which made one of the greatest figures in the nation for some ages; yet methinks as the noble House of Stanley hath produced so many brave and gallant persons both in peace and war, the ORIGINAL thereof demands a more particular enquiry and description than Mr. Cambden hath thought fit to bestow upon them, who appears to me to have taken the relation given us of this most worthy family more upon trust, and the credit of others, than any labour or acquired knowledge of his own.

Wherefore, for the honour due to so many brave and worthy persons, the satisfaction of the reader, and (that all the heroic
and

and celebrated actions performed by them, may not be buried in oblivion) I have procured and inspected all the histories, records and manuscripts, of value or esteem, I could possibly obtain either the sight or private use of, with respect to the subject before us.

And have as I think, met with some public prints, as well as manuscripts, of equal antiquity and authority with Mr. Cambden, from whence it will manifestly appear to the reader, that the honourable house we are here treating of, is of greater antiquity and an earlier original (at least in England) than the barons of Audley can boast of; and that Mr. Cambden might upon full enquiry and much more reason have said, that the barons of Audley sprung from the same stock with the EARLS of DERBY, for they were engrafted into it, and sprung from it, as hereafter is shewn.

Mr. Cambden indeed tells us in his survey of Saffordshire, that the Family of Stanley were seated at Audley, situate in the northern part of that county, called the Moorlands, near the head of the river Trent, and about

a mile west of it; that the land was craggy and stony, and thinks that the family might take their name from thence, but does not acquaint us how long the family might have been seated there, nor even who resided there in his time.

But my learned and right reverend author, Bishop Rutter, in his manuscript, now by me, agrees with Mr. Cambden in the situation as before, and observes further, that the original of the Stanleys was of Saxon extraction, as indeed I find by the best and most approved antiquaries, were all the families in England, whose surnames end in ley, ton, and comb; as Bolton, Dalton, Walton, Sefton, and Singleton, &c. Also Stanley, Tyldefley, Townley, Mawdsley, Walmesley, &c. and also Duncomb, Tidcomb, Jacomb, and Edgcomb, &c. and that the family now before us, was seated at Stoneley as aforesaid, and is of opinion that the Stanleys might assume their surname from that lordship, which is very probable with respect to the name, the soil being as above, of a rough and stony nature; that nothing was more common and usual in those early times, than for families to

give

give their surnames to their seats, or to take them from that of their seat, of which we have many instances in our own memory, as well as history.

But how long this honourable house might have been seated here before the conquest, is not discoverable from history or record; but the * reverend and learned author before assures us, that they were here long before the coming in of William Duke of Normandy, and that he was attended in his expedition to England by one Adam de Audley, or Audithley, as the French have it.

And that he was accompanied from Audithley in Normandy, by his two sons, Lidulph and Adam; and that on the Duke's obtaining the crown of England, he gave Adam, the father, large possessions, as indeed he did all his followers, insomuch that † Mr. Cambden observes in his notes on this family, that it is strange to read what lands King Henry III. confirmed to Henry de Audley, the son of Mrs. Stanley (as hereafter) and his family, which were bestowed upon them by the

* Bp. Rutter's M. S. 1066.

† Camb. Brit.

the king, the bounty of the peers, and even of private persons.

And to heighten and increase the grandeur of this favourite family, who had attended and greatly served her husband King William; Queen Maud, his wife, and daughter of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, commonly called Maud the Stranger, gave to Adam de Audithley, the father, the seat of Red-castle, in the county of Salop, with all the lands and tenements thereto belonging, and where it is probable that family resided, to their building of Heatly-castle, in the county of Stafford, upon lands given them by Hervey de Stafford as before; which brought them into that county, and from whence they were first stiled Barons of Healey, but which of them built that castle, and who first possessed it, history does not inform us.

Wherefore having, by this small digression (which I could not well avoid in this place) given the reader an idea of the Barons of Audley's first appearance in England, and settlement there; I shall, for a while, suspend any further mention of them and their posterity,

riety, and return back to the House of Stanley, whose antiquity and situation are in part before described.

The first Lord of Stoneley I met with in history or record, is stiled Henry Stanley de Stoneley, who lived as near as I can compute, about forty or fifty years before the conquest, and some time after; and having issue an only daughter and child named Mabilla or Mabel, he gave her in marriage to Adam, the son of Lidulph de Audley, the elder son of the aforesaid Adam, by whom she had issue a son, named Henry, after her father, on whose decease, Adam her husband, was in her right, Lord of Stoneley and Balterley, as hereafter. (And the said Henry the son was the person mentioned by Mr. Cambden to have had such large possessions confirmed to him by King Henry III.)

And being so possessed of those manors, he some time after exchanged the manor of Stoneley and part of Balterley with his cousin William, the son of his uncle Adam, of Thalk on the Hill, as by the following deed upon record, viz.

I Adam,

I Adam, the son of Lidulph de Audithley, give and grant unto William de Audithley, the son of Adam my uncle, the town or manor of Stoneley, and half the town or manor of Balterley, in exchange for the town or manor of Thalk on the Hill, &c. Testibus, Henrico Preers, Roberto de Audithley, Adam de Capell, and William de Wolve, &c.

Upon which deed in the hands of Sir Rowland Stanley, of Hooton, Baronet, living in the year 1610, is reserved the yearly rent of twelve-pence, payable for ever, from the town or manor of Thalk, to the aforesaid William and his heirs.

And here * Mr. Speed, in his history of Staffordshire, very aptly confirms the above account given by Bishop Rutter, of the Family of Stoneley, by his discovery of another branch of the said house being seated at Stafford, which he calls Thomas Stanley, Esq; and remarks, that he was younger brother, or uncle to the aforesaid Henry of Stoneley, and that his ancestors founded the abbey of Sandewell, in the county of Bucks, and endowed

* Speed's Hist.

dowed it with 38l. 8s. 4d. per annum, which was esteemed a large income in those times, before the reduction of the Roman standard, when every penny was of equal value with seven-pence now.

Which further shews the antiquity, as well as figure, this ancient and worthy family made in the world at that time.

We must observe, that the said Thomas Stanley, of Stafford, Esq. had one only daughter named Joan or Joanna, and that he gave her in marriage to the aforesaid William de Audithley, the son of Adam, as aforesaid, and with her as a marriage portion, gave him the manor of Thalk, which being exchanged as by the above deed; he, in honour of his lady, and the antiquity of her family, made choice of Stoneley for his seat, and called himself Stanley; and from him are descended all the Stanleys we shall hereafter treat of in their order; but respite them a while, and proceed by a short digression, to give the reader an account of the issue and posterity of Mrs. Mabilla Stanley, by Adam de Audithley aforesaid.

The first of which was a son, named Henry, who was the founder of Hilton-abbey, on which he settled large revenues. * He married to his wife, Bertred, the daughter of Ralph Manwaring, of Peover, in the county of Chester, and by her had issue two sons, viz. James and Adam; also two daughters. Adam the second son died young, and James the elder son was the first I have met with in history, stiled Lord Audley, of Healey-castle.

This Lord Audley, is recorded to have been a very brave and gallant man, and an eminent and experienced soldier, being one of the chief commanders at the famous battle of Poictiers in France, under Edward the Black Prince, son to King Edward III. where he gained immortal honour, as well by his bounty as his valour; for the Prince, being a witness of his undaunted courage, superior conduct, and high merit in the glorious and ever memorable victory obtained that day, September 19th, 1357, gave him, in reward of his eminent and distinguished service, 500l. per annum, in England, which he immediately bestowed upon his four Esquires

or

or Captains who served under him, (whereof Sir John Stanley hereafter to be spoken of, is said to be one) of which the prince being informed, was greatly surprized, and asked him if he did not accept his favour; to whom he replied "he did; but that those he had given it to, deserved it as well as he, and wanted it more;" with which answer the prince was so well pleased, that he gave him 500*l.* per annum more*. A noble example of munificence in the prince, merit and generosity in the subject, and worthy the imitation of all brave and generous spirits.

Shortly after this remarkable battle, (in which more of the enemy were slain and taken prisoners, than the prince's army were in number) a truce ensued betwixt England and France, and soon after a peace was concluded, upon which this brave Lord (now Lord Audley, being the second of his name and fifth of his family) was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland; and, I believe, commander in chief of all his majesty's forces in that kingdom, as his grandfather had been; but on his survey and visitation of the country,

* Hist. of the Wars in France.

he was unhappily killed by a fall from his horse at Thomond, in the year 1372; which put an end not only to the life of this brave and valuable person, but to the male issue of his family; with whom I shall, with an observation or two, forbear all further history of them, and proceed as above, with the issue and posterity of William of Thalk; now Lord of Stoneley, which we shall from hence forward call Stanley.

First, Upon the death of this honourable peer, his honour and estate descended to his two sisters above mentioned; some say his two daughters.

Secondly, That his eldest sister or daughter named Margaret, married to Thomas Touchet of Nether-Whitley, in the county of Chester; and in her right become Lord Audley of Healey-castle; who, by the favour of the crown, was dignified with the honour and title of Earl of Castle-haven in the kingdom of Ireland, whose posterity afterwards married the eldest female issue of the first daughter of Ferdinand EARL of DERBY, and thereby became entitled to, and possessed of the barony and estate of *Lord Strange of Knocking.

What

What arms or bearing were used by the House of Stanley to this time I cannot set forth, but suppose, from their inter-marriages with the house of Audley, they might give the same arms.

I could bring down the issue and descendants of this noble family to our own time, but as it is foreign to my purpose, it would only swell the work, and be of little use to the reader. I have chosen to omit all further notice of them, judging what has been said sufficient to shew the farther alliance of the two noble families, and proceed, as promised above, to the new Family of Stanley, seated at Stoneley.

William de Audley, now Stanley, seated at Stoneley by the exchange above mentioned, both of name and estate, had, no doubt, other seats and lands to which his posterity might remove, as they increased in number, by marriage or on other occasions, which I find to be the case, and has rendered their lineal and collateral succession more obscure and difficult to pursue in a regular and steady course,

from

from the goings out of so many several branches from this growing family, as I have met with in the long space of time from the conquest to the present time.

However, I have, I presume, reduced and connected together as well the collateral as the direct line of this spreading house, from the aforesaid William Lord of Stanley, to Sir Rowland Stanley of Hooton in Wirral, in the county of Chester; wherein I have used my best endeavours to be as correct as possible, and flatter myself the reader will be so candid as to excuse and amend any errors, mistakes, or omissions he may observe in the perusal of this work.

William de Stanley, the first Lord of Stoneley, in the county of Stafford, in virtue of the aforesaid exchange, is * recorded (for history is silent therein) to have had a son named William, by Joanna Stanley of Stafford, who succeeded his father William in the seat and manor of Stanley, and part of Balterley, with their appurtenances.

William

* Herald's Office, Chester.

William Stanley the second, and son of the above William, is also recorded to have been Lord of Stanley, and to have had issue a son named William; but by whom, history and record are both silent, being very obscure and defective in those early times.

William the third, and son of the above William, is stiled * Milite or Knight, and is recorded to have had issue two sons, viz. John and Adam, but by whom history as well as record are still silent; neither do I find that John the elder son ever possessed the estate of Stanley, but died without issue, and that Adam the younger son succeeded his father Sir William, in the honour and estate, as is fully manifested hereafter.

† Adam, the son of Sir William, and fourth Lord of Stanley, is stiled Sir Adam de Stanley, Filius William de Stanley Milite, et Pater William de Stanley, and is recorded to have had a son named William, but by whom history and record are still silent on that head.

* William,

* Herald's Office, Chester.

† Same Office.

* William, the son of Adam, and fifth Lord of Stanley, is stiled William de Stanley, in the county of Stafford, Dom. de Stanley, et Dom. de Stourton, in the county of Chester, et Foresturæ Foresta, or chief ranger of the forest of Wirral, by the grant of the tenth of King Edward II. 1316, who also gave him three bucks' heads for his arms or bearing.

He married Joanna or Jane, the eldest daughter and one of the coheirs of Sir Thomas Bamvill, by Agnes his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Alexander Sylvester, Lord of Stourton (from whom Mr. Cambden says, the Stanleys derive themselves, viz. page 560, that Hooton is a manor which in King Richard the Second's time fell to the Stanleys, who derive them from Allen Sylvester) but this is a gross mistake, as well from the account above given, as his own former writing, wherein he fixes the original of the Stanleys, at Stoneley, in the county of Stafford.

Sir Alexander Sylvester was the son of † Ranulph Sylvester, and Ranulph was the son of
of

• Herald's Office, Chester.

† Same Office.

of Allen Sylvester, steward to Ranulph the third, Earl of Chester, who gave him for his feat the manor of Stourton, with the bailiwick of Wirral, and the government of the forest there, and invested him therein by the delivery of a hunting horn, with certain fees and perquisites thereto annexed, to wit, among others, that he should blow, or cause to be blown that horn, at Glover-stone, near Chester, on every Chester-fair-day, in token that the tolls or duties payable for all goods bought or sold in that place during the time of the fair, belonged to him, as a place of privilege to him and all his tenants there, exempt from the jurisdiction of the city; which horn is now preserved at Hooton, by the Family of Stanley, the descendants of the said Jane Bamvill and Sir William Stanley, who by the said Jane had issue two sons, viz. John and Adam, and one daughter, named Sarah de Stanley, who married Roger the son of Roger de Hausket; and Adam the younger brother appears to have died young and without issue; for I meet with no farther notice of him; but John the elder succeeded his father Sir William.

John, the son of the aforefaid Sir William, was the fixth Lord of Stanley, and the fecond of Stourton, and is ftiled Lord of Stanley and of Stourton, and married to his wife, Mabill, daughter of Sir James Hauket, of Stourton-Parva, and by her had iffue one fon, named William.

Sir William the fon of John, and feventh heir male of this fpreading houfe, is ftiled William de Stanley, fenior, Lord of Stanley and Stourton, and the twenty-fixth of King Edward III. 1375, he married Mary the daughter of Hugh Mafley, of Timperley, in the county of Chefter, and fifter to Sir Hamon Mafley, of Dunham-Mafley, by whom he had iffue two fons, viz. William and John.

Of John the fecond fon, afterwards Sir John Stanley, we have herein much to obferve, but fhall refpite for the prefent, and proceed with the direft line, and then return to every collateral branch.

Sir William, the elder brother of John, by Mary Mafley, was the eighth heir of this houfe, and fucceeded his father Sir William,

in honour and estate; and the tenth of Richard II. he married Margery the only daughter of William de Hooton, of Hooton, in the hundred of Wirral, and county of Chester; and by her had issue a son, named William, who is stiled Lord of Stanley, Stourton and Hooton, and grand ranger of Wirral, in the county of Chester.

Sir William the son of the aforesaid Sir William, was the ninth heir male of this honourable house, and succeeded his father in honour and estate; and the fourth of Henry VI. he married Margery the daughter of Sir John Ardern of Hardin, by whom he had issue two sons, William and John.

John the younger son married to the heiress of Greswithen, in the county of Cumberland, from whom are descended the Stanleys of Delegarth and Arnaby in that county, whom we shall herein further describe in due place.

Sir William, father of the said William and John, by Mrs. Ardern, was the first that removed from the old seat of Stanley in the county of Stafford, to Hooton, in the hundred

of Wirral and county of Chester, who, for the enlargement and conveniency of his house, and better accommodation of his family, obtained licence from King Henry VI. to build a turret or tower at his seat of Hooton, with embattled walls.

Viz. Huic Gulielmo de Stanley, milite, Rex Henricus sextus, dedit Licentiam construendi et edificandi Turrum, apud Manerium suum de Hooton in Wirral, per Literas suas Patenus. Datus anno regni suo secundo.

Which house and tower are now standing, to which Sir William, the elder brother of John succeeded, and was the tenth heir male of his family; and the seventeenth of Henry VI. he married to Alice the daughter of Richard Houghton (as I conceive of Lancashire) and by her had issue a son named William.

Sir William, the son of the above William by Mrs. Houghton, succeeded his father Sir William, and was the eleventh male heir in a direct line; he married to one of the daughters of John Savage of Clifton, Esq. and by
her

her had issue two sons, John and William. I cannot discover that John the elder was ever married, but rather that he died young and without issue : But,

Sir William, the second son of the above Sir William by Mrs. Savage, succeeded his father as twelfth heir male of his family. He was stiled senior, and married to his first wife, Margaret the daughter of John Bromley, Esq. by whom he had a daughter, who married to Gerrard of Brinn, in the county of Lancaster ; and Margaret his wife dying, he married to his second wife Agnes, the daughter of Robert Grosvenor of Hulme, Esq. by whom he had a son named William.

Sir William his son by Mrs. Grosvenor, succeeded his father as thirteenth heir male of his family. He married Ann, the daughter of Sir James Harrington, of the county of Lancaster, Knight ; and by her had issue Catherine, William, Peter, John and Agnes.

Peter the second son married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of James Scarsbrick, of Moor-hall, in Bickerstaff, by Margaret
his

his wife, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Atherton of Bickerstaff, which shall be further spoken of hereafter.

How Catharine, John and Agnes were disposed of, history does not inform us, farther than that Sir William, the son of the above Sir William, by Ann Harrington, succeeded his father, and was the fourteenth heir male of his family, and is stiled Sir William Stanley de Hooton. He married Grace, the fourth daughter of Sir William Griffith, Chamberlain of North Wales, and by her had issue two sons, William and Rowland. William died in his father's life-time without issue, and in his government of the Isle of Man, 1545; and Sir Rowland, his brother, succeeded his father Sir William, in honour and estate, being the fifteenth heir male of this noble House, by the stile of Sir Rowland Stanley, of Hooton. He married to his wife, Margaret, the daughter and heir of Hugh Aldersey, of Chester, Esq. and by her had issue a son, named William; but she dying in 1607, he married to his second wife, Ursula, the second daughter and one of the coheirs of Thomas Smith, of the city of Chester,

Chester, Esq. but by her had no issue; this Sir Rowland was created a baronet in the Year 1661. - And

Sir William, the Son of Sir Rowland, by Mrs. Aldersey, was the sixteenth heir male in succession, and married to his wife, one of the daughters of John Egerton, of Egerton, Esq. and by her had issue a son, named William.

Sir William, the son of the above Sir William, by Mrs. Egerton, was the seventeenth heir male that succeeded his father in honour and estate, and married to his wife, Alice, the daughter of Richard Hugh (or Hughes) Esq. and sister and heir to Henry Hughes, and by her had issue a son, named Rowland, with several other children; but how they were disposed of I cannot discover, further than that Sir Rowland, the son of the aforesaid Sir William, by Mrs. Hughes, was the eighteenth heir male that succeeded his father, by the title of Sir Rowland Stanley, of Hooton. He married to his wife, Anne, the daughter of Clement Paston, of Barningham, in the county of Norfolk, Esq.

by

by whom he had issue Mary, who married to Charles Harrington, of Huyton-Hey, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. also Anne, Charlotte, William, Rowland, Dorothy, Elizabeth, Winefrid, Catharine and Agnes. Catharine married to Robert Blundell, of Ince-Blundell, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. how the rest were disposed of, I am not further informed; but that William, his first son, succeeded him by the title of Sir William Stanley of Hooton, son of Sir Rowland Stanley, and the nineteenth heir male of his family: he married Catharine, the daughter of Rowland Ayres, of Hassop, or Arfop, in the county of Derby, Esq. by whom he had issue Rowland, William and Elizabeth who died young, John, Henry, Ann, Thomas, (who takes the name of Massey) Charles and James.

Sir Rowland, the eldest son of Sir William, by Mrs. Ayres, and twentieth heir male of this ancient and honourable house, being possessed of the honour and estate of his family, which he enjoyed with much becoming magnificence and liberality (the characteristic of that antient house; whose
hospitality

James late Lord Strange, which happened on the first day of June, 1771; wherein I flatter myself, the reader will meet with as great variety of history, and as many eminent, valiant, and heroic actions and performances as most, if not any family in England can boast of; so that we may justly observe, that, for antiquity, loyalty and bravery, few or none may compare therewith.

John Stanley Esq. now to be treated of, was the second son of Sir William Stanley, and Mary Mafsey of Timperley, as in the pedigree before noted. He was born about the twenty-seventh year of Edward III. and had, for his patrimony, the old seat of Newton, in the hundred of Macclesfield, in the county of Chester.

This brave and valiant gentleman, was one of the Captains under the command of his relation James Lord Audley, at the famous battle of Poitiers in France, which was fought on the 19th day of September, 1357, by Edward the Black Prince, son to King Edward III. wherein John, King of France, was

was taken prisoner, and brought captive to England.

Soon after this memorable victory, a truce betwixt England and France was agreed upon for two years, during which interval of public action, Mr. Stanley, being of a martial genius, and intent to improve himself in the art of war, visited most of the courts in Europe, even as far as Constantinople; wherein he made such advances in the school of Mars, that his superior skill in arms was generally applauded in every country he passed through; insomuch that the same thereof gave him the character of the most noted champion in single combat of that age; and on his return back through France, the reputation of his bravery so raised the pride and envy of a haughty French combatant, that he followed Mr. Stanley to England, and there challenged the whole nation to produce a person to engage him in arms.

Which being made known to Mr. Stanley, he accepted the challenge; and the time and place of action (by the King's direction) was to be at Winchester, under the walls of

which city he fought and killed him, in the presence of his Majesty, and a numerous crowd of spectators.

This public and gallant action caused King Edward to take great notice of him, and as a reward for his bravery, honoured him with knighthood; which raised his reputation all over Europe, and no doubt gained him the secret good wishes of all the fair-sex present; amongst whom was the heiress of Latham; beautiful, young, and rich, which caused her to be envied of her own sex; but admired by the lovers of real beauty, virtue and merit.

Sir John (for we must now honour him with that title) declared himself her champion and humble servant; and after some time of address, gained an entire conquest of her and all her favours, by an honourable marriage, though with the unwilling consent of her father, whose reasons will be particularized hereafter. In the interim, let us leave Sir John in pursuit of his honours and amours, in which the reader shall be fully informed.

With regard to his honour, some time after his encounter with, and victory over the aspiring French combatant, King Edward the Third died, and King Richard the Second was advanced to the throne; who, in the first year of his reign, honoured Sir John Stanley with a commission to Ireland, to assist in the total reduction of that kingdom.

Wherein, by his prudence and good management, he had such success, that on King Richard's coming there in person, in the year 1379, he brought the great O'Neal, King of Ulster; Rotheric O'Connor, King of Connaught; O'Carrol, King of Uriel; O'Rorick, King of Meath; Arthur Mc'Mur, King of Leinster; and O'Brian, King of Thomond, before him, to make submission and do homage to him, as their sovereign King. And thus *Ireland was entirely subdued to the crown of England, though many rebellions have been severely felt there since that time.

Who, in consideration and reward of the great and eminent services performed by Sir
John

* History of the Wars in Ireland.

John for his Majesty's honour and interest, granted to him by patent for life, the manor and lands of Black-castle, in that kingdom; and, for the peace, good government, and better security thereof, continued him there to the thirteenth year of his Reign, 1389; at which time his majesty returned to Ireland, and staid there all the winter, which gave his cousin Henry Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, (who had been banished by him for six years) an opportunity of returning to England without his licence, or the full time of his exile being expired.

This return of the Duke of Lancaster, who was an enterprizing Prince, of high spirit, as well as blood, and of great power, infomuch that it is said, when he ascended the throne of England, he was the richest subject in Europe; and that the crown was more beholding to him, than he to the crown. All which, of course, must give great anxiety and uneasiness to the reigning king, and the peace of the kingdom; even foreboding no less than a total subversion, from so powerful a rival, as it after fell out. The great wealth of the Duke here spoken of,

of, appears visibly in our days, by the extensive dutchy of Lancaster, which he took care to separate, and for ever distinguish from the crown lands, by erecting Lancashire into a County Palatine, by the name of the Dutchy and County Palatine of Lancaster, (sicut Cestria) annexing to it a court, with a chancellor, attorney-general, council, &c. for the care and preservation of all its rights and privileges, with proper subordinate officers for that purpose.

Wherefore the king being informed of this disagreeable news, and the danger of his majesty's person, resolved to hasten to England and made preparation for that purpose, by appointing his trusty and faithful subject and servant, Sir John Stanley, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland for six years; with a grant to him by patent for life (for supporting his honour and dignity) of one hundred marks a year, payable out of his majesty's exchequer there.

And in the nineteenth year of this king's reign, 1395, he made Sir John Stanley constable of the castle of Roxborrow, in Scotland, a post of great hazard as well as trust, being

being furrounded with enemies on every side, which Sir John bravely repelled, with honour to his prince, and reputation to himself.

But the king his master's affairs being in a declining and doubtful state, and Henry of Lancaster having raised great forces against him, and being joined by many of the nobility, made great progress every where, without resistance; which at last prevailed upon King Richard to return to England, and landed at Barklowly in Wales; where being informed that all the castles, from the borders of Scotland, to Bristol, were delivered to the Duke of Lancaster, and that the army provided for his assistance, (whom he had sent before him for that purpose) had, by his long delay in coming over to them, mostly disbanded themselves; which so discouraged him, that he fell into a deep despair, and the next night secretly, with a few friends, left what army remained, and retired to Conway-castle, in Wales; where, with his friends, considering the desperate state he was reduced to, and how, in some measure to support himself, and retrieve his misfortunes, among other expedients he recalled Sir John Stanley

Stanley from Scotland, to return to his government of Ireland, to secure that kingdom in his majesty's interest; who being informed that the king was then in Conway-castle, took that in his way, to receive his majesty's commands, whom he found in a miserable and despairing condition; forsaken by his friends and soldiery, and the Duke of Lancaster near him with a powerful army; all predicting no less than a sudden revolution; which Sir John Stanley wisely foreseeing, paid a private visit to the Duke of Lancaster, and reconciled himself to him; and then, agreeable to his duty to the present king, proceeded to Ireland, to preserve the peace of that kingdom for his majesty's service.

The next step made by the king, was calling a * Parliament to meet at Westminster, on the seventeenth day of September, from whom he hoped for assistance and relief in his present distressed circumstances.

Representing to them by Sir John Bushie, that the occasion of their meeting was, to

lay before them the many grievances and severe usage he had met with from the Lords; and also their harsh and unkind treatment of the Queen Consort; and that he had called them together for redress thereof, and the reformation of many transgressions against the peace of the land, that the offenders therein might be punished according to their deserts.

But this declaration was so far from answering the king's expectation, that the Duke of Lancaster and his friends found means to seize his person, convey him to * Westminister, and the next day to the Tower of London.

Soon after this a Parliament was called by the Duke of Lancaster, but in King Richard's name; in which many articles of misgovernment were laid to his charge, and thirty-three articles drawn up and exhibited against him; upon reading which, he was by the Parliament deposed; but was advised by those about him, rather to resign the government in a voluntary manner, than be forced

* The Hist. of King Richard's reign.

forced to it by compulsion; wherewith he complied on the twentieth day of September, 1399; where it may be truly observed, that this king lost his crown more by his own neglect or indolence, than by the treason of any of his subjects.

After this resignation, and sentence of deposition, being openly read in parliament, Henry Duke of Lancaster was elected king; and on the thirteenth day of October following, was crowned king at Westminster, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by the name, stile and title of King Henry IV.

Upon this king's accession to the throne, Sir John Stanley being still Lord Justice of Ireland, and holding the government thereof in favour of the deposed King Richard, King Henry well knowing his very great power and interest in that kingdom, and his superior skill and experience, as well in the senate, as in the field; thought, for his interest and safety, to receive him into his favour, and a signal token thereof, granted to him and his heirs for ever, by his letters patent, dated at Westminster the first of

January following, the manor of Bydstra in Wirral, and county of Chester, together with Sangham, Sangham-massey, Moreton, Fourd, and Nesson; also several messuages, lands, rents, and services in Nesson, Raby, Leadholm, Mollington, Torret, Chester, Claverton, Neither-Bebington and Lea, near Bartington; with the advowson of the parish church of the Holy Trinity, in the city of Chester; which advowson is still with his successor the present noble EARL of DERBY: but all the lands were sequestered and sold (save Upton) in the time of the unhappy usurpation.

And in the year 1400, the king for his most eminent services in the preservation of the peace of the kingdom, continued him there, and by commission appointed him Lord Licutenant of Ireland for six years.

But the king's enemies began now to shew themselves openly, and formed several plots, not only to disturb his peaceable possession of the throne, but even to cut him off: particularly one contrived by the Abbot of Westminster, who was a kind of book-states-

man (better read in the politics of Aristotle, than those of Solomon) and remembering some words spoken by King Henry, when he was but EARL of DERBY; that is, “That Princes had too little, and the religious too much;” and fearing now he was king he might reduce his words into actions, thought it better to use preventing-physic, than stand the hazard of an after-cure.

Wherefore, the better to perpetrate and effect his studied treason and rebellion, he invited to his house the most factious and powerful of his party, viz. * John Holland, Duke of Exeter; Thomas Holland, Duke of Surrey; John Montague, Earl of Salisbury; Hugh Spencer, Earl of Gloucester; John Bishop of Carlisle; Sir Thomas Blunt, and Maudlin, chaplain to King Richard; who after some conference, resolved to take away the King's life. But this impious plot was happily discovered in the nick of time, and the conspirators, or most of them executed, when taken. And here it may not be improper to remark with a learned author, “That he never knew a plot in his life, but
either

* History of Henry IV.

either a priest or a women, or both, had a hand in it."

And now the hot English blood was no sooner cooled by the above executions, but the Welsh boiled up to a high ferment, by the instigation of one Owen Glendour, an Esquire of Wales, brought up at the inns of court in London (a man of a fiery and aspiring temper) who endeavoured to draw his countrymen the old Britons into a general rebellion against King Henry; and to encourage them therein, insinuated, that this was the critical time to effect his and their liberty, from the English yoke: for that a new conspiracy was formed against King Henry by the Piercys, Earls of Northumberland and Worcester, with Henry Hotspur, and other persons of great power, by whose assistance they could hardly fail of becoming a free people once more, under their own Princes; by which they were so effected, that a triple leauge offensive and defensive, was entered into by Glandour, the Piercys, and the Earl of March, under their hands and seals; whereby it was agreed, that all England and Wales should be divided into
three

three parts; the first from Severn and Trent south and eastward, to be the portion allotted to the Earl of March: secondly, all Wales and the lands beyond Severn, westward, to be the lot of Owen Glendour: and thirdly, all the remainder of the land from Trent, northward, to belong to, or be the Lord Piercys.

Upon this conclusion, the Piercys being joined by a large body of Scotch and drawing to their party the Earls of Stafford and Scroop, the Archbishop of York, with many others of great power, purposed to join the Welsh captain, Owen Glandour, and his Welsh forces.

This formidable conspiracy and powerful preparation, might well give the King great uneasiness, and engage him to procure all possible assistance from his friends and allies; amongst whom he called Sir John Stanley, from the government of Ireland; who, on his leaving that kingdom, appointed his brother, Sir William Stanley, then Lord of Stanley, Stourton and Hooton, his deputy; and on his arrival at court, was immediately

mediately appointed steward of the king's household, and by his advice and assistance, the *king raised a formidable army, which he headed himself, with his son and Sir John under him, and with them marched against the rebels; but took special care they might not be joined by the Welsh; and near Shrewsbury met and engaged the enemy. The fight was very furious on both sides; and though the Scots and the Earl of Northumberland behaved with the greatest bravery, yet victory rested on the king's side; wherein Sir John Stanley, by his known courage (which was eminently distinguished on this critical occasion) and prudent conduct, contributed not a little.

The Earl of † Northumberland was slain in the field; the Earl of Worcester taken prisoner and beheaded; and of the other Officers and Soldiers 6000 were slain in the field of battle. Upon this signal victory, the King caused public thanks to be given to Almighty GOD.

And

* History of Henry IV.

† By the Rebellion of this Earl, the Isle of Man was forfeited to King Henry.

And for the suppression of Owen Glendour and his party, the King sent his son Henry, Prince of Wales, into that country with his whole army ; but before their arrival there, upon notice of the king's victory over Northumberland, Owen Glendour was abandoned by all his followers; and lurking in the woods and mountains, was there starved, and famished to death.

Thus the king was, by the wisdom and good conduct of himself and officers, and the valour and bravery of his troops, happily delivered from the power and malice of all his rebellious subjects in this quarter.

But being informed that the city, castle, and precincts of York, still held out for the late King Richard, then a prisoner in Pomfret-castle, he gave commission to Sir John Stanley and Roger de Leke, to march with the army thither, and reduce that place to his obedience, and seize it for his use; which they accordingly effected.

And the Isle of Man being by Northumberland's late rebellion, forfeited to the king,

he called Sir William Stanley from the government of Ireland, and gave him commission, with a proper force of men and ships, to seize that island to his majesty's use, which he completed; and Sir John Stanley's presence with the King being of the utmost consequence, his majesty appointed his younger son, Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who landed at Carlingford, in that kingdom, the second of August, 1405; and for his better assistance, appointed Sir John Stanley, Attorney-general to that prince.

The year following, 1406, Sir John obtained a licence from his majesty, to fortify a spacious house he was then building at Liverpool, with embattled walls; which, when finished, he called the Tower; being, ever since, well known by that name, and is now standing in good order.

The Isle of Man being now seized into the King's hands by Sir William Stanley, Sir John, in the same year, obtained a grant thereof by patent for life; but in the month of October following such grant, the King

and

and Sir John came to a new agreement; whereby Sir John was to surrender to his majesty, the said grant of the Isle of Man for life; likewise his two patents for life, of the manor of Black-castle in Ireland, and the annual annuity of one hundred marks, payable to him out of his majesty's exchequer in Ireland.

On the sixth of April, 1407, Sir John delivered up the said patents, to be cancelled in the chancery of England; in consideration whereof, the king re-granted the Isle of Man to Sir John Stanley and his heirs for ever, with all the royalties and franchises thereto belonging, together with the patronage of the bishopric there, under the stile and title of KING of MAN, in as full and ample manner as it had been granted to any former lords thereof.

The grant to be held of the crown of England (per homagium legium) and paying to the king, his heirs and successors, a cast of Falcons at their coronation. After such homage made, and carrying the Lancaster sword on the left-side of the king at

every coronation, in full of all duties, demands and services whatsoever.

In the tenth year of this king's reign, he appointed Sir John Stanley, Constable of Windsor-castle, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and continued him in his royal esteem and favour during the remainder of his life, which happened in the year of our Lord, 1413, and the thirteenth year of his reign.

He was succeeded in the throne, by his most martial and heroic son, Henry, Prince of Wales, by the stile and title of King Henry V. with whom Sir John Stanley was in such high esteem, that in the first year of his reign, he appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for six years, as his father had done; and on the seventh of October that year, he landed near Dublin; but on the sixth of January following, he died at Ardee, to the great grief of the family, and the loss of the nation, in so eminent and useful a subject.

By this gentleman's death, the king and
country

country were deprived of one of the most valuable members of society and public spirit: who, through four kings' reign, had made as great a figure, and acquired as much honour, as any of his contemporaries in the British nation.

Agreeable to the character given him by the learned author of the book of Dunmow, that is, That his youth and martial spirit, gave him those fine qualities which compose a complete gentleman, a brave and generous hero, an accomplished courtier, and a lover of his king and country—He was a profound statesman, a wise and just patriot, and an honest politician. In short he was

*Vir illustris in concilio,
Strenuus in omni prelio;
Princeps Militæ in Anglia,
Et in omni reguo Ornatissimus.*

His arms or bearings were those of his family: three stags' heads, together with those of the Latham family, into which he married.

He married Isabel the only daughter of Sir Thomas Latham, of Latham, in the county of Lancaſter; and, (as near as I can collect) about the time of his being appointed Lord Juſtice of Ireland, by Richard II. By her he had iſſue two ſons, John and Thomas, and one daughter named Alice. She married to her firſt huſband Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, who died in the year 1431; and to her ſecond huſband, Sir John Wotton. Thomas the younger ſon married to the daughter and heiress of Sir John Arden, of Elford, in the county of Stafford: and John the elder ſon ſucceeded his father, by the title of John Stanley, Eſq. the ſon of Sir John, who may be juſtly eſteemed the common father of the EARLS of DERBY; for from him they all ſprung, as at large hereafter.

In the interim, before we enter into farther hiſtory of them, give me leave, by a ſhort digreſſion, to give the reader the antiquity and genealogy of the houſe of Latham; as it will not only afford us a clearer hiſtory of the ſeveral worthy families, the Houſe of Stanley intermarried with, but will clear up, and illuſtrate, many occurrences yet unknown to
the

the world, and be of use and pleasure to the reader.

The first of the ancient house of Latham I meet with in record (for history is silent in that point) is stiled Sir Henry de Latham, of Latham, in the county of Lancaster.

This gentleman lived at, or rather some time before the conquest; but who he married I cannot discover; but record is clear that at his death he left a son and heir, stiled Sir Robert Latham; knight, son of Henry.

This Sir Robert Latham, was a very eminent person, and recorded to be the founder of Burfcough-abbey near Latham; and also to have held of the Lord of Widness, in the county of Lancaster, under the fee of * Halton, in the county of Chester, the manors of Knowsley, Huyton, Roby, and Torbuck, on payment of a certain rent, and knight's service, of which more fully hereafter. At his death he was succeeded by his son and heir, stiled also Sir Robert Latham,

* Records of Halton in Cheshire.

Of this second Sir Robert, I have little to remark, but that he succeeded his father in honour and estate, and that he died in the year 1266, and left a son and heir stiled Sir Robert Latham, son of Sir Robert.

Sir Robert Latham, the son, and the third of that name, succeeded his father Sir Robert; but of him little is recorded more than that he died in the year 1324, and left a son and heir named Thomas, but by whom is not said.

This Sir Thomas Latham, I find by record, married the fifteenthth of Edward III. the youngest daughter of Sir Hamon Massey, of Dunham-massey, in the county of Chester, and by her had issue one only daughter, whom he named Isabel; of whom, and her posterity, we have much to observe; but having described and brought down the male line of her family of Latham, we shall next proceed to her and her issue by Sir John Stanley.

Isabel, now Lady Stanley, widow, did, on the death of Sir John her husband, return with her children from Ireland to Liverpool,
and

and lived in the house erected there by Sir John, called the tower, the scite whereof was given to him by her father, and contains about 650 square yards, or 33230 feet; together with several other bargage houses and lands in that town, sometime after her marriage; which was not agreeable to her father; who was in all respects qualified to recommend her, by a fortune equal to any addressees made her, of which she had many superior in worldly fortune, to Sir John.

But fortune herself largely shared her favours to him, with a liberal hand, in the gifts of riches, honour, and dignities, which at this time had their proper influence with her father Sir Thomas; who, by all the accounts I have seen of this affair, intended a plentiful provision for her, but not the gross of his large possessions; as will more fully appear in the following narrative.

Sir Thomas Latham lived in the reign of King Edward III. and he and his lady being highly advanced in years, without any other issue than the above Lady Stanley; and he being desirous of male issue (even when he

was a child) but despairing thereof, by his own lady, had a love intrigue with a young gentlewoman of his acquaintance, whom he kept concealed in a house of retirement near him, until she bore him a son, which accordingly happened; but on due consideration, there still remained some matters of consequence to be adjusted, for the future peace and quiet of Sir Thomas's mind, and the full completion of all his joys and wishes on this grand occasion.

The first of which was, how and in what manner to publish the birth of his young son, and he not so much as suspected to be the real father of him.

And, in the next place, how to amuse and secure his lady from the pangs of a jealous mind, and secure her motherly care of the young infant in such a manner, that he might be nursed and brought up in his own house, free from all suspicion or uneasiness betwixt them.

And, lastly, that he might, with the greater freedom and pleasure, oversee and extend

tend his paternal beneficence to him by acts of charity, and thereby screen himself from the ill-natured reflections of an inquisitive and censorious world.

Wherefore, the better to effect these nice and tender points, he had recourse to a pious cheat, by imparting the whole secret to an old and trusty servant, in whom he could confide; and consulted with him on the most likely and proper means to compass his intended projects.

After several schemes and proposals on both sides, they at last hit upon the following expedient, which they judged the most probable to answer all Sir Thomas's expectations.

Wherein they had considered, that, as an Eagle frequently formed her nest in a large thick wood, in the most desolate part of his park, where seldom any thing were seen but guests qualified for such a dismal habitation; therefore if the child was taken and laid there, as if brought by the Eagle, it

might, on a pretended accidental discovery, complete the whole project.

Sir Thomas approving hereof, made use of the event, and gave directions to the mother to have the infant well fed, and richly drest, early the next morning, at an hour the servant was to call for it; which being done, and given to him, with instructions to lay it at the foot of the tree the Eagle usually frequented, and to cover him secretly from all observation, that he might see and guard him from all outward injury, either from bird or beast of prey; which he performed with all imaginable privacy.

And here permit me, before I proceed further on this head, to leave the child at rest, for a while, in his new apartment; and give the reader, by a short digression, the old story of a child said to be found in an Eagle's nest at Latham, as transmitted to us from generation to generation; which runs in the following terms. viz.

That Sir Thomas Latham and his Lady taking their usual walk in his park, drew
near

near to the desert, and wild situation, where it was commonly reported an Eagle usually built her nest; and upon their near approach thereof, heard the cries of a young child, which they ordered the servants attending to look for, who, on search, reported it was in the Eagle's nest, which they directed to be taken down, and to their great surprize and wonder, was, on examination, found to be a male infant, dressed in rich swadling clothes: and they, having no male issue, looked upon this child as a present sent from heaven, and that it could be no less than the will of GOD, that they should take him immediately under their care and protection, which they accordingly did, and had him carefully nursed and baptized, by the name of Latham; and (according to tradition) he became possessed of that large estate, and at his death left an only daughter named Isabel, whom Sir John Stanley married; and in memory of this event, took the Eagle and Child for his crest, as since used by his noble successors, the EARLS of DERBY.

Thus far goes the old tradition, which on due examination and just information, will

will appear to be meer fable and fiction, and highly improbable, when compared with the relation I shall give of this uncommon transaction, from real fact.

Whoever knows any thing of the nature of Hawks in general, (of which the Eagle is principal) must of consequence know with what fury and violence they strike their prey, killing all they stoop to at one stroke, or before they leave it; and knowing this, must allow it morally impossible, that a bird of prey of that strength and rapacious nature that an Eagle is known to be, should carry a live child to an airy unhurt, which she never attends but when hatching or rearing her young, and then tears all to pieces she intends for herself, or them, as food; which they, while young, are unable to do for themselves.

Besides, would it not be stretching our imagination to a great length, to suppose, that a young child, dressed as this (as in the tradition) is described to be, should be left exposed in the open fields as a prey to all voracious creatures, destitue of
guard

guard or care; which is not reasonable to think, unless in time of plauge, famine, or war, when some thing like this might possibly occur, but none of these articles being alledged in the case before us, nor any infant known to be missing, we may justly conclude the old story to be meer tradition, without any just foundation.

Wherefore, let us return to the babe we left sleeping under the tree, where we may suppose his father Sir Thomas took care he should not lie long, by paying him an early visit; and, on his arrival, found him awake, and in need of assistance, which he hastened to give him, by a speedy return home, and acquainted his lady and family with the strange event, who hastened to view such a miraculous discovery; which, to their no small surprise, filled them with the utmost consternation; and unanimously agreed, that the infant's preservation, in so dismal and dangerous a situation, could be no less than a miracle; and upon finding it to be a male child (which was wanting in the family) the good old lady was enamoured with him, and concluded it to be the will of heaven, that
they

they should adopt him for their son and heir; which was readily agreed to by his father.

And this being a time of the day when superstition and bigotry prevailed more than truth and reason, Sir Thomas had little more to do, than to gild over this pious fraud in the most plausible manner, and to raise and encourage his ladie's imagination and credulity to the highest degree, as an effectual means to accomplish his design.

Which he further promoted, by addressing himself to the good old lady in the following terms: That they having no male issue, and he possessed of an extensive patrimony, was unwilling it should pass into the hands of strangers to his name and blood, (tho' by the marriage of his daughter if she should so long live) that he looked upon this child so wonderfully preserved, as the gift of God to him, and that it could be no less than the will of heaven that he should take this desolate infant into his care and protection. The good natured lady, in pity and compassion, as well as charity, agreed to her husband's proposal;

posal; and had the infant carried home, nursed and brought up with the same care and tenderness, as if she had been his natural mother.

And Sir Thomas seconding and improving the occasion, had him baptized by the name of Oskatel de Latham; a secret then unknown to any but himself and the mother, whose name was Mary Oskatel: and thus far Sir Thomas had, to his great pleasure and satisfaction, completed his project.

But, to give the greater sanction to this supposed miracle, and to remove all suspicion of fraud, Sir Thomas assumed for his crest an Eagle upon wing, turning her head back, and looking in a sprightly manner as for something she had lost, or was taken from her.

This history, of the said Oskatel, and his posterity, was sent me by the same kind hand, Captain Samuel Finney of Fulshaw, in the county of Chester, Esq; but of these articles, more at large hereafter.

In the interim, give me leave to make some remarks of crests in general, and of this here spoken of, and that used by the EARLS of DERBY, in particular; and thereby shew how apt the allusion is to the origin of the family I am to speak of, and how agreeably consistent with the history of the crest used by the noble Family above mentioned, concerning the origin and occasion whereof so many speculations, disputes, and various opinions have been advanced by the curious in their histories of arms and crests.

Crests to our gentry's arms, (as I have observed from all antiquity) have been assumed by them at pleasure, and agreeable allusions appropriated thereto; and ancient medals, signals, statues, inscriptions and paintings, are the surest guides to a right knowledge of antiquity, as these serve to close up the many chasms that are frequently met with, both in the literal and traditional accounts of the ancients.

So truly without these helps, our ideas and conceptions must be lame, confused, and imperfect; this, in my opinion, has occasioned

occasioned the many conjectural accounts that the world has received as facts, for want of proper keys to unlock and expose to light the dark cells of antiquity.

The Eagle, as represented in the Stanley's Crest, has actually made a prey of the child; whereas Sir Thomas Latham's Crest implies a miraculous preservation of it; as the child is supposed to be brought there by that bird of prey, so consequently its safety would be attributed to an extraordinary providential dispensation.

Besides, I cannot find with any shew of probability, that any of the Family of Stanley (of which I have given a particular genealogy) ever assumed the Eagle and Child for their crest before the union of the families of Latham and Stanley; so that consequently, there must be some special and peculiar view or occasion for the assumption of that crest by the Stanley's, rather than that taken by their common ancestor, Sir Thomas Latham, which I shall endeavour to manifest herein, although there remains no room with me to doubt the

veracity of what I have delivered on that head; but shall respite that for a while, and proceed to enquire how it fared with the Foundling Oskatel, whom we left under the care of his kind nurfing-mother, the Lady of Latham.

As he grew in years, he was, as my * author tells us, liberally educated by his father; and when grown a man, made a complete gentleman, being respected and esteemed by all that knew him, as heir to the extensive inheritance of Latham, and was with his fister Ifabel, at the famous tournament by Sir John Stanley, and the French Champion, at Winchester aforefaid; where his majesty was pleased to take fuch notice of him as to honour him with knighthood, by the name and title of Sir Oskatel de Latham, by which title we fhall henceforth fpeak of him.

But in the mean time acquaint the reader, that this gentleman's funfhine of fortune, like a March day, foon changed its afpect; for, Sir Thomas Latham, being now in the evening of life, and intending to fet his
house

* Bishop Rutter.

house in order, considered that his daughter the Lady Stanley, and his most hopeful issue (being now near him) were his legitimate offspring, and by the Laws of God and Nature justly entitled to his large possessions; he therefore settled the goods of them upon that lady and her heirs for ever; and declared Sir Oskatel to be only his natural son.

Sir Oskatel, being thus degraded and supplanted in the hopes and prospect of an immense fortune, was slighted and despised by his unthought of rivals, who, either to distinguish or aggrandize themselves, or in contempt and derision of their spurious brother, took upon them the Eagle and Child for their Crest, in token of their conquest over him, which to me plainly manifests, the variation of the two crests above-mentioned, and the reason of it.

However, Sir Thomas not quite forgetting his affection for, and kind intentions to his Son Oskatel, reserved and settled upon him and his heirs for ever the manors of Irlam and Urmston, near Manchester, in
the

the county of Lancaſter; with ſeveral other large tracts of land and demefnes in that county; alſo the manor of Hawthorn, and many other lands and tenements in the county of Cheſter; and gave him the ſignet of his arms, with the creſt aſſumed by him for his ſake.

By the above reſerve and ſettlement, Sir Thomas raiſed a new family of his own name, and though not in the old feat as he had once intended, yet gave them a large patrimony which enabled them to make a leading figure in the world, to the time of the Uſurpation; when taking part with, and ſharing in the fate and ſufferings of his noble relation the EARL of DERBY, they, as well as he, were greatly reduced, as will appear hereafter.

Thus far we have attended Sir Thomas Latham, through the courſe of his life, and near the exit of it; wherein many curious and remarkable events have been related of him. Let us therefore now leave him to die in peace, at a good old age like a ſhock of corn ripe for gathering in-

to

to the store-house of perfection; and proceed to the issue and descendants of his daughter the Lady Stanley.

Isabel de Latham, now Lady Stanley, had issue by Sir John Stanley the first, two sons, Thomas and John, and one daughter named Alice, who married Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, in the county of Chester; and Thomas the second son married to Maud, the only daughter and heir of Sir John Ardern, of Elford, in the county of Stafford, of whom we shall treat more fully in due place.

And as for our disconsolate friend Sir Oskatel, we shall only observe at present, that tho' degraded and supplanted in a fair inheritance, yet we have brought him to his age, and placed him at the head of a large patrimony and new family of the same name of his father, which his rivals could not boast of.

Wherefore we shall for the present forbear all further history of him, or them, which might throw us into some confusion,
and

and render our history less intelligible; so that having gone through the main or direct line, we shall fully treat of every separate or colateral branch, as they occur in point of time, as near as we can collect, or be informed of.

Beginning first with John Stanley, Esq; eldest son of Sir John Stanley by Isabel de Latham, who was at his father's death (whom he succeeded) of the age of twenty-three or twenty-four years. He was a youth of great genius and vivacity of spirit, being early taken notice of at court, and made steward of the household to King Henry VI. and was in the fifth year of that King, by the name of John Stanley, Esq; made constable of Carnarvon-castle, in Wales; a post of great trust as well as hazard in those remote parts, and unsettled times; but by his prudence and good conduct, he kept the people in peace, and preserved his majesty's interest, though with much care and watchfulness.

For the Welsh were at time (as it were) but young subjects to England, uneasy in
temper,

temper, and on every change of government frequently in tumults and insurrections, occasioned by the late rebellion of Owen Glendour aforesaid, many of whose party and factious principles still surviving, failed not to stir up new commotions, as occasion offered.

Infomuch that King Henry, in the seventeenth year of his Reign, (Mr. Stanley, being then groom of the Bed-chamber to that Prince) gave him, in reward of his loyalty, and faithful services, a grant of all the lands late Nichol's and Saxon's, in the counties of Carnarvon and Flint; also by a new commission appointed him Governor of Carnarvon, and Constable of the castle there for life, with the fee of 40l. per annum; and also constituted him Sheriff of Anglesea for life, with the fee of 20l. per annum, and honoured him with knighthood, by which character we shall treat of him hereafter.

And, in the mean time inform the reader, that by his vigilance and prudent management he not only suppressed all insurrections,

but reduced the country to full obedience and tranquility.

In which he was greatly assisted by one John Dumbill, a valiant captain, who had served under his father when governor of the Castle of Roxburgh, in Scotland, and was for his good and faithful service in Wales, retained the King's servant, with a pension of 5*l.* per annum, for life, payable out of the King's Exchequer at Chester.

This Dumbill was the son of one Dumbill, of Oxton, in Wirral, in the county of Chester, and the original ancestor of the Dumbills of Lime, in that * county; and, (as far as I can collect) was appointed by Sir John Stanley, his Lieutenant in that government during his absence.

Thus Sir John, having made all very peaceable in Wales, resolved to visit the Isle of Man, where affairs were in some disorder; leaving the conservation and care of the people under his government, to his trusty friend, Captain Dumbill.

And

* Sir Peter Leicester, in Cheshire.

And on his arrival in the Isle of Man, we find him stiled in their earliest records (for before his time there were none extant) Anno quarto regalitatis nostræ, which was the ancient stile of their court rolls, and continued down to the time of Thomas the second EARL of DERBY; who, for great and wise reasons, shewn when we come to treat of him, declined the title of King, and only used that of Lord of Man, and the Isles.

Sir John, now of mature age, and great experience in life, wisely considered, that a just regulation of the laws were a lasting happiness to the people, and the best security to the prince, in result whereof he consulted the judges, and others well skilled in the ancient government, laws, and customs of that island.

And by their advice convened the whole body of the people to a certain place in the centre of the country, (since called the Tinwald) where their grand annual court hath ever since been held on the twenty-fourth of June, for the promulgation of the laws and statutes made for the future government

and observance, some of which remain to this time, which we shall treat more fully of when we come to describe the government of that isle, and the several officers necessarily employed therein.

Sir John having adjusted and completed his system of government there to his own and his subjects security and satisfaction, put the same in motion by proper officers, over whom he appointed John Letherland, Esq; (a neighbouring gentleman of Lancashire) his lieutenant, a gentleman well used to, and (as a justice of the peace) well acquainted with the distribution of justice; and then returned to England.

On his arrival at court, he was by commission appointed one of the judges itinerant for the county of Chester, but died soon after.

He married Isabel, the only daughter of Sir John, and sister to Sir William Harrington, who dying without issue, she became heiress to her brother, and mistress of the fine seat of Hornby-castle, near Lancaster,

ter, with its appurtenances; and by her Sir John had issue two children, a son named Thomas, and a daughter named Alice, who married Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dutton, in Cheshire.

The character given this gentleman by the learned of that age, assures us that he was a man truly great, of a masterly genius, beloved by his prince, and an honour to his country; a kind husband, a tender parent, and a true friend.

And was succeeded in honour and estate, by his only son Sir Thomas Stanley, (who had been knighted some time before his father's death) and was in the same year he died, made lieutenant of Ireland for six years, as his grandfather had been: he called a Parliament in that kingdom, for redress of many grievances, in the year 1432; but being called to England by his majesty's command, left Sir Christopher Plunket, his deputy, and on his coming to court was comptroller of his majesty's household, but by his absence, the King's minority, and the absence of the military men in France, the Irish
were

were grown very insolent, infomuch that he was obliged to return to that kingdom, which he did in the year 1435; and with the power of Meath, and other assistance, he took Moyle O'Neal, prisoner, and slew great numbers of the Irish; and about Michaelmas after he came to England again, and left Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, and brother to the Earl of Shrewsbury, his deputy; and the eleventh of Henry VI. he was upon an inquisition post Martem, his father found to hold (as heir to Sir Robert, de Latham, of Latham) of the Lord of the Manor of Widness, in the county of Lancaster, in the time of Edward II. in the following words, viz.

Thomas Stanley Milite, Comptroller, Dominus Robertus de Latham, Tenet et Dom. de Widness, Maneria de Knowsley, Huyton, Roby, et Torbuck, pro una fæda Militis dat de relievo, cum accederit five pounds.

This Fædary is extracted out of the records of Halton, tempe Edward II. et Henry VI. And the eighteenth of Henry VI.

VI.

VI. he was appointed by William de la Poole, Earl of Suffolk and sole judge of Chester for life, to be his deputy. *Quam Diu sibi placuerit.*

And the year following, (the nineteenth of Henry VI.) it appears by record, that whereas William de la Poole, was made judge of Chester for life, he now maketh Sir Thomas Stanley, and William Ruckley, of Eaton his Lieutenant Justices, and that they shall receive 40*l.* per annum, per manus camerary; dated the eve of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the nineteenth of Henry VI.

And in the twenty-sixth of Henry VI. being then comptroller of the king's household, he with others, obtained a grant of all the goods and chattles of Humphrey, Duke of Lancaster, with power to dispose of them without account.

And the next year he with John, Lord Viscount Beaumont, and others, were commissioned to treat with the Scots, for a truce betwixt both realms, and he was the year after

after appointed one of the conservators of the same for the King of England.

And in the twenty-eighth of Henry VI. he was put in commission, with the Earl of Wiltshire, and others for the custody and defence of the town and castle of Calais, and the marches adjacent, with the tower of Reisbank, for the term of five years.

And the next year he was again made one of the conservators of the truce with Scotland, which was to hold good from the fifteenth of August, 1451, for three years, and of the continuance of the same to the twenty-first of May, 1457.

And in the same year, he was made sole judge of Chester, and continued therein to the thirtieth of that king's reign; and that year was again commissioned to treat with James, Earl Douglas, of a new truce with Scotland, which was to hold to the fourteenth of July, 1458.

And in the thirty-fourth of that king's reign, he was created Baron Stanley, and
made

made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household.

In the thirty-fifth of Henry VI. he was, by the King's appointment, made one of the council to Edward, Prince of Wales.

And in the thirty-seventh of Henry VI. the King sent orders to Sir John Manwaring, to deliver certain state prisoners then in his custody, and particularly named to this Lord Stanley, for their greater security, which was accordingly done.

In the year 1460, he was again appointed one of the ambassadors to treat with those of Scotland, on affairs of the greatest moment; but dying the latter end of the year, the nation was deprived of this very great and valuable person, and the King of one of his best subjects.

A character of this noble Lord seems needless; his brave and worthy actions, and the high trusts reposed in him through the whole course of his life, have fully manifested his perfections, beyond what we can possibly

sibly say of him; yet, that we may not be wanting to do justice to his merit, nor deficient in the commendations, as given him by his contemporaries, of so eminent a patriot; they inform us, that he inherited all the amiable qualities of his father and grandfather; that he was brave in the field, wise in the senate, just to his prince, an honour to his country, and an ornament to his family; being the first ennobled by royal favour, from their original; to his time.

He married Joan, the only daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Goushill, by whom he had issue three sons, Thomas, William and John; and three daughters. Margaret, the eldest, married to Sir William Troutback, of Cheshire; Elizabeth, the second, to Sir Richard Molyneux, of Sefton, in Lancashire; and Catharine, the youngest, to Sir John Savage, of Clifton, in Cheshire; all sisters to Thomas, first EARL of DERBY, who, in the second of Edward VI. was made Judge of Chester, and continued therein to the first of Henry VII. when departing this life, he was succeeded in honour and estate, by Thomas, his eldest son; who was first summoned

summoned to Parliament, the twenty-fourth of May, the first of Edward IV. by the stile and title of Baron Stanley, of Latham, and was made Steward of the King's Household that year.

And in the fourteenth of that king's reign, being then Steward of his Majesty's Household, he was retained by indenture to serve his Majesty in his wars with France, for one year, with forty men at arms, and three hundred archers,

At this time John, Lord Scroop, whose ancestors had formerly been Lords of Man, made complaint to the King, that this Lord Stanley bore the arms of that island. No decision could be made therein at that time, for the reasons hereafter recited, by the King's letter, under his sign manual, dated the first of May, 1475.

The King's Letter.

“ EDWARD, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, remembering the pretence

and claim of John Lord Scroop, shewed unto us, for the bearing of the Arms of the Isle of Man, which now our right trusty and right well-beloved Thomas, Lord Stanley, steward of our household beareth, for briefness of time, having no convenient season to know the determination of the same, and providing so, no variance therefore be had now in our voyage, have willed and desired that for the times and seasons, that the said Lords shall continue in our service in our realm of France, Dutchy of Normandy, or elsewhere beyond the sea; and also unto our and their returning next to this our realm of England, or either of them, that the said Lords shall abstain and forbear the use and wearing of the said Arms of the Isle of Man; whereunto for the said desire, it is agreed, alway foreseen, that the said will, desire, abstinence and forbearing, be not prejudicial in that behalf unto the said Scroop nor to his heirs, nor be of none effect, strength or virtue, but for the time above expressed."

And in the twenty-second of Edward VI. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, being sent
with

with an army against the Scots, this Lord Stanley, commanded the right wing, consisting of four thousand, and took Berwick by assault, though with the loss of a great many men.

As he stood firm to Edward IV. so after his death he was no less faithful to his son, Edward V. which the Duke of Gloucester (then protector to the young King) took so ill, that he had a design to murder him, and the young King his nephew, as is clear by his taking the Lord Hastings from the council-board, in the Tower of London, and causing his head to be struck off.

For at the same time, one of the soldiers struck at the Lord Stanley, with a halbert; and had he not suddenly stooped under the table to avoid the blow, it had certainly cleft his head, and as it was, he lost much blood; all which might have been prevented, in case the Lord Hastings had given heed to a prophetic dream of this Lord Stanley, the night before; which was, that a Boar, with his tusks, had so gored and raised them both, that the blood ran about their shoulders, of which he gave the Lord Hastings speedy notice.

tice, with an invitation to come away, and with him to ride as far as they could that night; but he was not so fortunate to regard the warning given him, and so lost his head.

And, although the Lord Stanley had the good luck to save his, yet he was committed to prison; but as soon as that barbarous Duke got possession of the crown, by the murder of his two nephews, in the Tower of London, the Lord Stanley was released and set at liberty; King Richard fearing that his son George, Lord Strange (a valiant captain) might cause an insurrection, to set him at liberty, and put in danger his possession of the crown.

Therefore the King, to ingratiate himself with this Lord, and, if possible to bring him over to his interest, on the sixteenth of December, in the first year of his reign, made him Constable of England, for life, with the fee of 100l. per annum, payable out of the King's revenue, in the county of Lancaster, with power to make a deputy; and also had him installed a Knight Companion of the most noble Order of the Garter.

But

But the Lord Stanley having married to his second wife, Margaret, the Countess of Richmond, and widow of Edmund, Earl of Richmond, by whom he had one son, named Henry, Earl of Richmond, who, in right of his mother, claimed a title to the Crown; of which, notice being taken by King Richard, and that he was then in France, soliciting assistance from that King, to recover his right; which, together with what assistance he might reasonable expect from the great power of his father-in-law, the Lord Stanley, might render his possession of the crown precarious, and greatly disturb his peace.

Therefore this noble Lord began to be suspected as a well-wisher to the interest of Prince Henry, and the Countess his mother, was commanded to put away all her old servants, and forbid to send any messages to, or receive any from, the Earl her son.

But the Lord Stanley wisely concealed all his sentiments in this critical conjuncture; and the better to cover and secure himself from the suspicions and jealousies of that tyrannical

rannical King, requested leave to retire into the country on his private affairs, and to raise forces for his Majesty's service.

But the King knowing his great interest, and fearing that under that pretence, he might give aid to his rival, the Earl of Richmond, refused his consent, until he gave up George, Lord Strange, his son and heir, as a hostage for his loyalty.

However, on the Earl of Richmond's landing, he failed not to meet him on the day of battle, with what forces he had collected; but he himself had a private meeting with the Earl, the day before, at Atherston, about six miles short of Bosworth; coming thither with great privacy, and the next day approaching the field of battle, he openly appeared with his forces in favour of the Earl; upon which the King sent him the following message: That unless he did forthwith repair to his presence, he would put his son, the Lord Strange, to death, (who marched with him in the rear of all his forces, guarded by one troop of horse and some foot.) To which the Lord Stanley answered, That the King might

might do his pleasure; and if he did put him to death, he had more sons alive, and was determined not to come to him at that time; upon which he had resolved to put him to death, but was told by his Lords, and others about him, that his Majesty had a greater work in hand; and that it was not a time to think of executions, but of defence, upon which the Lord Strange was spared.

The battle speedily ensued, and remained doubtful for some time, until Sir William Stanley, of Holt-castle, and brother to the Lord Stanley, came with three thousand fresh men, who turned the whole action in favour of the Earl of Richmond, and gave him a complete victory, wherein King Richard was slain, with a great number of his followers.

Amongst the spoils of the field was found, (what * Lord Bacon calls) an ornamental crown, which Richard used to wear on particular occasions; and some say, Lord Stanley, (but this great author, and others of

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great

* Lord Bacon's History.

great authority say, Sir William Stanley) put it upon the head of Henry, Earl of Richmond, and proclaimed him King, by the name of Henry VII. all crying aloud, King Henry! King Henry!

This memorable and glorious battle (if any may be allowed that epithet) where so many lives were lost, was attended with most extraordinary consequences to the nation; for by it they were delivered from the most wicked, arbitrary, inhuman and tyrannical prince, that ever sat on the throne of England; and, as an additional blessing, it laid the foundation of friendship, regulation and union between the two ancient houses of York and Lancaster; betwixt whom, more blood had been shed, than in all the wars with France.

The same * year, on the twenty-seventh of October, King Henry created Lord Stanley, EARL of DERBY, and constituted him one of the Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Steward of England,

upon

upon his own coronation, the thirtieth day of the same month.

On the fifth of March following, he had a grant of the high office of Constable of England for life; with a fee of 100*l.* per annum, payable out of the King's revenues in Lancashire, as before.

In the second of Henry VII. he was one of the godfathers to Prince Arthur, the King's first-born son; and in the third of Henry VII. one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High-steward of England, on the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, consort to that King.

In the sixth of Henry VII. he was commissioned, with George, his son, to borrow money in the county of Lancaster, for the support of the King's expedition into France.

The eleventh of said King's reign, he was one of the guarantees of that peace, made between that King, and the Archduke of Austria; and same year, was one of the

Lords that assented to the peace made with France, at the Staples on the Sea, near Bologne, in 1492, but died in the year 1504, the nineteenth of Henry VII. as appears by his will, dated the twenty-eighth of July that year, and the probate thereof on the ninth of November following.

Wherein he, by the title of Thomas, EARL of DERBY, Lord Stanley, Lord of Man, and Great Constable of England, bequeathed his body to be buried in the midst of the chapel, on the North aisle of the church of Burfcough, near Latham, in the county of Lancaster, of his ancestors' foundation; where the body of his father and mother, and others of his ancestors lay buried; having moulded a tomb to be there placed, with the personages of himself, and both his wives, for a perpetual remembrance to be prayed for.

And likewise appointing, that the personages he had caused to be made for his father and mother, his grand-father and grand-mother, and great grand-fathers, should be

set upon the arches of the chancel within that priory, in the places provided for the same.

And though he had formerly given to the prior and convent of that house, large gifts in money, jewels and ornaments, and likewise made great reparation there, he further bequeaths unto them twenty pounds, to the intent that they should be obliged by their deed, under their convent seal, to cause one of the canons of that house, daily to say Mass, in the before-mentioned chapel, for his soul; also, for the soul of his lady (then living) after her decease; likewise, for the soul of Eleanor, his former wife; and for the souls of his father, mother, ancestors, children, brethren and sisters; also, for the soul of William, then late Marquis of Berkeley, and for the souls of all those who died in his, or his father's service; and every Mass before the Lavatory, audibly to be said for the said souls appointed by name; and all others in general, *de profundis clamavi*, and such other orisons and collects as are used to be said therewith.

And

And furthermore he willed, that his son, Sir Edward Stanley, should have and enjoy the castle of Hornby, so long as he lived; but departed this life the ninth of November next ensuing.

This noble Earl married to his first wife, Eleanor, the fourth daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and by her had issue six sons and four daughters, of all which in their order.

Thomas and Richard, his two first sons, died young; and George, his third son, married Joan, the only daughter and heiress of John, Lord Strange, of Knocking, near Shrewsbury, and was summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Strange, the twenty-second of Edward IV. Place as in Strange, the twenty-ninth of December, twenty-eight of Edward I. and afterwards to the twelfth of Henry VII. inclusive.

And before his said marriage, he was one of those noble persons who received the honour of Knighthood, by bathing with Prince Edward, the King's eldest son, the eighth of April,

April, and fifteenth of Edward IV. and in the first of Henry VII. he was made one of the Lords of the Privy-council; and in the second of Henry VII. he was appointed one of the principal commanders of the King's army, at the battle of Stoke, near Newark, and shared greatly in the honour of that victory, then obtained against the Earl of Lincoln, and his adherents, patrons, and supporters of one Lambert Simnel, who pretended to be the eldest son of Edward IV. and thereby claimed a right to the crown, prior to, and exclusive of King Henry VII. and his Queen, and eldest daughter of King Edward IV.

In the seventh of Henry VII. he was retained by indenture, to serve the King in France, with ten⁰⁰ men at arms, five demy lances, twenty-four archers on horseback, and two hundred and forty-seven archers on foot; each man of arms to have his costrel and page, for one year, from the day of his first muster, and so long after as it shall please the King; and to muster the same at Guildford, in Surry, on the first of June; and after such
muster,

muster, on his arrival at Portsmouth, to receive of the treasurer of war, the conduct-money, for bringing his said forces to Portsmouth, viz. sixpence for every one of them, for as many twenty miles as are between the houses from whence any of them departed, and the said town of Portsmouth; and also to receive for each of the said men at arms, garnished with his custrel and page, eighteenpence per day; and for every of the said demy lances, ninepence per day; and for every of the said archers on horseback, or on foot, sixpence, &c.

Soon after the above action, he was made one of the Knights Companions of the most noble Order of the Garter, and in the ninth of Henry VII. upon the ^Siege of Norham-castle, by the Scots, he advanced with the Earl of Surry, and many others of the nobility, against those bold invaders; but the enemy being retreated before they came up, nothing of note was performed.

He was at the Staples on the Sea, near Bologne, in France, the third of November,

1492. And on the fifth of December, in the thirteenth of Henry VII. He departed this life, at Derby-house, now the college of arms, on St. Bennet's-hill, London; (his father then living,) and was buried in the parish-church of St. James, Garglick-hithe, London, near to Eleanor, the Countess of Derby, his mother.

He left Issue, by Joan, his Wife, two sons, Thomas and James; and two daughters; Jane and Elizabeth. Jane married Robert Sheffield, Esq; and Elizabeth died young; and of his two sons, more hereafter. In the interim, I cannot well omit an inscription I met with in the church of Halvington, in the county of Middlesex; as it relates to him, though I suppose occasioned by some encomiums on his father, who had an estate there; but is so defaced with time, that I could not fully take it off; however, as far as I could make it out with certainty, it is as follows.

“ He married his first son George, to no farm nor grange,
 But honourably to the heir of the Lord Strange;
 Who lived in such love, as no man else had,
 For at the death of him, divers went almost mad;
 At an ungodly banquet, alas! he was poisoned,
 And at London, in St. James’s, Garlick-hithe,
 lies buried.”

William his brother, and fourth son of Thomas, EARL of DERBY, died young and unmarried.

Edward, his sixth son, stiled Sir Edward Stanley, was a gentleman of the sword, by which he acquired both honour and fortune, as afterwards will appear.

James, the sixth son of this noble Lord, was Dean of St. Martin’s, in London, and made Bishop of Ely, the twenty-second of Henry VII. also Warden of the Collegiate Church at Manchester, in the county of Lancaster; and lieth buried in the chapel of St. John Baptist, by him built, on the North-side, of that church, with the following inscription on his tomb, viz. “ Of
 your

your charity, pray for the soul of James Stanley; sometime Bishop of Ely, and Warden of Manchester; who deceased out of this transitory world, the twenty-second of March, in the year of our Lord, 1525. Upon whose soul, and all Christian souls, Jesus have mercy."

His four daughters before-mentioned were Joan, Catherine and Anne, who all died young and unmarried; but Margaret, his fourth daughter, married Sir John Osbaldeston, of Lancashire.

This Lord married to his second wife, the most noble Margaret, daughter and heiress to John, Duke of Somerset; and widow of Edmund, Earl of Richmond; and the happy mother of King Henry VII. but by her had no issue.

This great and noble Lord, died in the Year 1504, the nineteenth of Henry VII. as above; and was succeeded by Thomas, his grandson, eldest son of George, Lord Strange, and his next heir; of whom before

I proceed further, I have some curious remarks, and events, to relate of the late very eminent Lord; which I doubt will be acceptable to the reader, but I conceive they will not so properly fall in order, nor be so well understood, as in this place.

Therefore, as they have relation to his brother, Sir William Stanley, I request leave, by a short digression, to give you the history of that brave and gallant gentleman; who, to the great surprize of the world, suffered death, by Henry VII. and then return to a further description of the great EARL of DERBY'S posterity and successors, as before promised.

The first notice I meet with in the history of Sir William Stanley is, that he was second son of Thomas, Lord Stanley, and brother to the aforesaid EARL of DERBY; that his feat was at the Castle of Holt, in the County of Flint, and that the fourteenth of July, and the ninth of Henry V. a writ was issued out to him and others, to call to an account John Leigh, of Booths, for an arrear of one
hundred

hundred and forty pounds, due from him, as late sberiff of the county of Chester, to the King, and then unsatisfied.

But the King dying that year a new writ was issued to the same persons, against the said John Leigh, dated the sixth of Henry VI. to bring him to account for the very great arrears then due from him to the King, and yet unsatisfied

And as the world at this time, were great strangers to the office of a sberiff in those days, and as this proceeding against that gentleman, may appear novel to many readers, give me leave to observe, from the information I have met with on that subject, that the sberiffs of this county, were at that time receivers of the King's rents, forfeitures, amercements, &c. and were looked upon as officers of high trust.

The next office of note, I find Sir William for his good services advanced to, was Chamberlain of the city and county of Chester, by patent, bearing date the first of Edward
IV.

IV. and continued therein, to the tenth of Henry VII. (though Sir Peter Leicester, thinks this Sir William; was of Hooton, but speaks doubtfully of it) saying, as he conceives, but I take it for granted, that Sir William Stanley, here spoken of, was brother to Thomas EARL of DERBY; for I find upon search, that Sir William Stanley, of Hooton, his contemporary, and one of the King's carvers, was by patent of the twenty-sixth of February, in the fifth of Edward IV. made sheriff of Cheshire for life: and this appears to me, to have confused Sir Peter, by the affinity of the name, and long continuance in office, not rightly distinguishing the men, nor the offices they severally executed.

From hence we come next to meet Sir William Stanley, at Bosworth-field, where he found King Richard and the Earl of Richmond, hotly engaged in battle, for the crown of England, and the victory doubtful, until he, with fresh forces, gave the honour of the day to the Earl, and proclaimed him King, as aforesaid.

Soon after this victory, King Henry took his
his

his journey to London, where he was met and welcomed by the Lord-mayor and Sheriffs, and many other of the principal citizens; by whom being attended, he went in great state to St. Paul's church, and there made an offering of three standards.

The service of the church being over, he went to the Bishop's palace; from whence after some time, he went by water to Westminster, and there with great solemnity, was anointed and declared King, by the stile and title of King Henry VII. and remained in profound peace for some time; but these days were not of long duration. For one Lambert Simnel, by the persuasion and encouragement of his school-master, Richard Simon, a priest, set up his title to the crown against King Henry; taking upon him, and pretending to be Edward, Earl of Warwick, eldest son of King Edward IV. and lately escaped out of the Tower of London, where he had been imprisoned.

He gained great credit with many of the nobility and gentry affected to the House of York,

York, who were ready to take his part, and even saluted him King.

But, especially the Earl of Licnoln and the Lord Lovell, with many others, raised an army in his favour, which, in a little time, was defeated at Stoke, near Newark, by George, Lord Strange, and others, as above.

Young Lambert and his tutor, Simon the priest, were taken prisoners, but both their lives spared; Lambert, because but a child, and Simnel, because a priest, but kept prisoner for his life. Lambert was taken into the King's kitchen to turn the spit, and afterwards made one of the King's falconers. This impostor and his adherents being thus defeated, King Henry remained in peace till the year 1493; when the Dutchess of Burgandy, sister to King Edward IV. and an inveterate enemy to King Henry, and the House of Lancaster, disturbed his peace, by setting up one Perkin Warbeck, to personate and take upon him to be Richard, the younger son of Edward IV.

This Perkin made a great noise in the world, and stood longer, being better supported, and more powerful, than Simnel; having been sent by the Dutchess to Portugal, and from thence to Ireland, and to the Court of France, where he was entertained as a prince, and had a guard assigned him. He at last returned to the Dutchess of Burgundy, his pretended aunt, who received him as such, and professed openly that he was her true nephew, and not only assigned him a guard of thirty persons, but clothed them in murrey and blue, and called him the White Rose of England, which in time proved his overthrow, and it is probable, gave that future distinction used betwixt the white and the red rose, the former being made use of in favour of a spurious pretender; for on which report, many in England resorted to him, and amongst the rest, Sir Robert Clifford (an old acquaintance of Sir William Stanley) was sent by the party to acquaint the Dutchess, with the great respect the people of England had for Perkin; and upon conferring with him, Sir Robert wrote to his friends in England, that he knew him to be the true son of King Edward IV.

Upon this, King Henry, agreeable to his usual prudence, sent spies into Flanders, to discover the conspirators, and their designs; and being known by their countrymen there, were all taken and put to death, except Sir Robert Clifford, who made his escape; and returning to England, submitted himself to the King's mercy; hoping, from the secrets he knew, and the discovery he was able to make, of the open and private abettors of that conspiracy, to merit the King's pardon and favour.

And, the better to ingratiate himself, he accused his old friend, Sir William Stanley, then Lord Chamberlain; affirming, that in a conference betwixt them, touching the pretended son of Edward IV. Sir William should say, "That if he certainly knew the young man called Perkin, to be really the son of Edward IV. he would never draw his sword or bear arms against him."

These words being considered of by the judges, seemed to express a very fickle loyalty to King Henry, (for who could tell how soon he might be persuaded that he did know it)

it) besides that, the uttering of such an expression, was in itself, found to be disloyal to the King; and withal struck upon a string which always sounded harsh in the King's ears, as preferring the title of York to that of Lancaster.

Be that as it may, Sir William was arraigned, brought to the bar, and tried; and, whether trusting to the greatness of his service, the King's favour, his own innocency, or the lightness of his crime, his pleading was very trifling, denying little of what he was charged with; and thereby, as it were, confessing himself guilty, was adjudged to die.

Accordingly, on the sixteenth day of February, 1495, he was brought to Tower-hill, London, and there beheaded; and all his estate, real and personal (which was very great) was confiscated to the King. And there are not wanting some who believe, that this was a greater motive to forward his death, than any thing he either said or did; avarice being, on many occasions, too visible in this King's administration, and to have had a large share in the prosecution of the above unfortunate gentleman.

For there were found in his castle of Holt, in the county of Flint, in Wales, forty thousand marks of money; besides plate, jewels, household-goods and stock of cattle of great value; and also, a yearly income of old rents on land of 3000*l.* per annum. By Joyce, his wife, daughter of Edward, Lord Powis, he had issue one son, named William, of whom more hereafter; also one daughter, named Jane, who married Sir John Warburton, of Arles, in the county of Chester, one of the Knights of the body to King Henry VII.

This was that great Sir William Stanley, who of his own power and interest, raised and brought three thousand horse and foot to the rescue of that prince, when his life, honour, and hopes of a throne, were all in visible danger; gave him victory, and crowned him King in the field.

How could it then enter into his head or heart to put him to death, who had done for him all that mortality could possibly do? saved his life, vanquished his enemies, and gave him a crown; and all his crime founded
upon

upon a doubtful and unguarded expression, reported by a treacherous friend, a rebel, and a traitor to his King, by his own confession, to save his own life; and therefore should have been the less regarded, where the duty, loyalty, and most worthy actions of so deserving a subject, were in competition with it.

From this unhappy event, mankind may learn how cautious they ought to be in opening their mind too freely, even to the most intimate friend, where the discovery may either touch or concern their life, reputation, liberty, interest, or peace of mind, when he shall think fit to disclose and aggravate their most innocent words and meanings, by a malicious and invidious construction.

But it may be said it was not the Earl of Richmond that did this, but the King of England; and I think it is a maxim, that the King in many cases is not at liberty to shew mercy as a private person may.

But be that as it will, beheaded he was, and from the pinnacle of honour, on a sudden brought

brought to the block. A shocking thought! that nothing less than loss of life could atone for words, without action, or even evil meaning, without a forced construction. And I think on this occasion I may observe with a learned poet, that our God and soldier are alike adored, just at the brink of danger; and the danger over, they are often both alike requited; our God is forgotten, and our soldier slighted. Loss of favour, exile from court, and all public employments might have been born with; but death gave a short period to all his glory and most renowned performances for the public good, and the service of his King and country.

And I think it is allowed by the best philosophers, that death is the same thing to a coward, as to the valiant man; but with this remarkable difference in point of honour and everlasting fame, that the brave and gallant man falls in vindication of his prince, religion, laws, liberties, and country; and the scoundrel abandons all in fear of losing a life that he neither deserves, nor can save.

However, in deference to royal authority,
give

give me leave to observe, what has been offered in mitigation of his Majesty's proceedings in this extraordinary and critical case, wherein it is said he underwent many struggles and conflicts of mind, before Sir William was brought to trial.

But it is probable other substantial reasons might be assigned for his Majesty's concern and uneasiness in this point; as knowing the very great power of his brother the EARL of DERBY, who, had married his mother, and had been eminently serviceable to him, and who on this melancholy occasion, had retired to his country seat, and that the grief and affliction that noble person must naturally lie under, for the untimely loss of so worthy and near a relation (and seemingly on so slight an occasion) might produce a resentment prejudicial to his own safety and peaceable possession; and the King's future conduct seems to confirm the aforesaid reasons.

For his Majesty appearing desirous to justify himself to the world, and especially to this great Lord, his Brother, upon what ground, and for what reasons, he had taken off so valuable

luable and eminent a person as Sir William Stanley, and to keep well with the said Earl, resolved the ensuing summer to pay him and his Mother a visit, at their seat of Latham, in Lancashire.

Of which, LORD DERBY being apprized, made suitable preparation for the reception and better accommodation of his Majesty and his retinue, by enlarging his house at Knowsley, by the stone building, and repairing and beautifying the other part; and also that of Latham.

And considering that there was no certain or constant passage over the river Mersey, to Old Warrington, but by Latchford, or Orford, and those very precarious, as well as dangerous; his Lordship determined to build a bridge over that river, that his Majesty might pursue his progress without stop or hazard.

To effect which, he purchased a road, from the cross ways leading from Sankey and Winwick, (now called Market-gate) to the river, through the field, now called
Bridge-

Bridge-street; and at the bottom thereof, erected a spacious stone bridge, and threw up a cause-way cross the marshes to the rising ground on the Cheshire side, and kept the same in repair all his life, and his successors after him, to the time of William, EARL of DERBY, brother and successor to Earl Ferdinand, who refused to repair or amend the same; of which more hereafter.

In the interim, the King arrived at Knowlley, on or about the twenty-fourth of June, 1495, and from thence went to Latham, where having spent about a Month with his Mother and Father-in Law, he returned to London, well satisfied with his reception.

Having now gone through what I had to observe of this noble Lord, and his brother, Sir William Stanley, with regard to the time of the public transaction before related, I shall as promised, return to Thomas, Lord Strange, eldest son of George, grandson and successor to the above Earl.

This noble Lord succeeded his grandfather in the Earldom of Derby, and had his livery

of all the lands his father died seized of, the ninth of July, and nineteenth of Henry VII. and also of the Isle Man.

In the twenty-third of Henry VII. on a treaty of marriage between the Lady Mary, third daughter to Henry VII. and the Prince of Spain, the King binds himself to Maximilian the Emperor, for the performance thereof, when they should come to age, in 250,000 crowns, and that Henry, Prince of Wales, should do the same; also Thomas EARL of DERBY, and other nobles, were bound in 50,000 crowns, for the like performance.

In the fifth of Henry VIII. he attended that King in his expedition to France, in which they won Therwain, and Tournay, and obtained a glorious victory.

In the twelfth of Henry VIII. on the Emperor's coming to England, and the King meeting him at Dover, this EARL of DERBY, rode betwixt that Monarch and the King, from thence to Canterbury; bearing, by the King's command, the Sword of State.

The

The year after, he was one of the Peers that sat on the trial of the Duke of Buckingham, and was in most high esteem in all the country, as well as at court, where he was not only beloved, but admired.

With regard to the Isle of Man, which I promised to take notice of in this Lord's life, he wisely considered, that it was given to his ancestors by King Henry IV. the chief of the House of Lancaster, to whom, and to whose posterity his family had been steady friends and adherents; but now that Edward IV. chief of the House of York, and his posterity, were come to the throne, it could be no less than the highest prudence, as well as policy, to drop a title which might one time or other occasion jealousy and mistrust between him and his Prince, under whom he must claim that title; therefore to avoid all disputes, and even suspicion of inclining to favour one house more than the other, he contented himself to make use of no other title than Lord of Man and the Isles, which his successors have continued ever since.

This

This noble Lord gave up his life the twenty-fourth of May following, the thirteenth of Henry VIII. at Colham, in the county of Middlesex, and was buried in the monastery of Sion, in that county, according to his will; by which he ordered his body to be buried in the priory of Burscough, in the county of Lancaster, if he happened to die in that county; but if he died elsewhere, then to be buried in the said monastery of Sion, or in the college of Asherugg, in the county of Bucks, as his executors should think fit; and that his body should be buried according to his honour, but without pomp or excess.

And further, by the said will it appears, that he had four thousand marks with his lady on their marriage: and he bequeaths to his daughter for her marriage portion, two thousand sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence; and to his well-beloved brother, James Stanley, Esq. an annuity or annual rent of fifty pounds by the year, for his life, payable out of his manor or lordship of Bydston, in the county of Chester.

And

And whereas his uncle, Sir Edward Stanley, Knight, Lord Monteagle, enjoyed of his gift and grant, the castle and demesnes of Hornby, and other manors, for the special love, trust and kindness he then found and supposed he had for him; and which estates he held on certain conditions. He now wills that for the great unkindness he has since found, and does still find in his said uncle, and that he has not observed or performed the said conditions, he shall have none of the rents and profits thereof, but that the said gifts, grants, &c. be null and void.

And he further wills and appoints, that his lieutenant of the Isle of Man, and other his officers and servants there, shall be continued till his heir comes of age; and that they have the wages they then had, for the term of their lives; and the said wages to be doubled to them till his said heir come of age.

And he constitutes for his executors, his trusty friends, Sir Hugh Hesketh, Bishop of Man; Sir Henry Halsal, Steward of his Household;

Houſhold; Sir Henry Sherman, Clerk, Dean of his chapel; Thomas Heſketh, Eſq. Sir Edward Molineux, Clerk, and Parſon of Seſton; Richard Heſketh and Richard Snede, Gentlemen; Richard Halfal, Clerk, and Parſon of Halfal; but none of them ſhall give any releaſe or acquittance without the conſent and agreement of them all.

He appoints for ſuperviſors of his will, Thomas, Lord Cardinal, Archbiſhop of York, and Chancellor of England; Hugh, Biſhop of Exeter; Geoffrey, Biſhop of Cheſter; John Veſſey, Clerk, Dean of the moſt honourable Chapel; and Thomas Lark, Parſon of Winwick.

By Ann, his wife, daughter of Edward, Lord Haſtings, ſiſter to George, the firſt Earl of Huntingdon of that name, he had iſſue three ſons; George and Henry, who died young, and Edward his ſucceſſor, then in the fifteenth year of his age; alſo one only daughter, who, after his death, married Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Suffex.

As this noble Lord hath in his will taken
notice

notice of his brother, James Stanley, Esq. and of his uncle, Sir Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle, it may not be improper in this place, and during the minority of the young Lord, his son, to relate what we have to observe of them.

* Of James Stanley, his brother, second son of George, Lord Strange, I meet with little remarked of him, but that he had a son styled Sir George Stanley, Marshal of Ireland, but by whom it is not said; but is supposed to be of the ancestors of the Stanley's of Ireland.

And with regard to Sir Edward Stanley, his uncle, and fifth son of Thomas, the first EARL of DERBY—this gentleman's active childhood and martial spirit, brought him early to King Henry VIII.'s notice and company: the camp was his school, and his learning was a pike and sword. His Majesty greeting him, wherever he met him, with "Ho! My Soldier!"

Honour

Honour floated in his veins, and valour danced in his spirits; but no where more visibly, nor with greater courage, lustre and magnanimity, than at the battle of Flodden-Field, in Scotland, the fifth of Henry VIII. where he commanded the rear of the English army, and was attacked by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, both which were slain in the field, together with the King of Scots. By his high accomplishments in the art of war, and the valour of his archers, he forced the Scots to descend the hill, (their strong hold) which caused them to open their ranks, by which they were put into such disorder, as gave the first hopes to that day's victory, which was, in a great measure, owing to the valour and good conduct of the brave general, Sir Edward Stanley, as will afterwards appear.

The King of Scotland slain in this battle, was that King who married Margaret, the eldest sister to King Henry VIII. from whom descended King James I. of England. There were slain in the battle, besides the king, three Bishops, two Abbots, twelve Earls and seventeen Lords; with a very great number
of

of Knights and Gentlemen, amounting to about eight thousand, and nearly as many taken prisoners.

Upon this signal and complete victory, obtained by the superior skill and conduct of the heroic Captain Stanley, he was highly advanced in the King's favour, and soon after, as high in the world. Upon which the King was pleased to confer upon him the following congratulating letter, viz.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved :

“ WE greet you well, and understand by the report of our right trusty cousin and Counsellor, the Duke of Norfolk, what acceptable service you, amongst others, did us by your valiant towardness in the assistance of our said cousin, against our enemy, the King of Scots; and, how courageously you, as a very hearty loving servant, acquitted yourself, for the overthrow of the said late King, and distressing of his malice and power, to our great honour, and the advancing of your no little fame and praise, for which

we have good cause to favour and thank you, and so we full heartily do; and assured you may be, that we shall in such effectual wise remember your said service in any your reasonable pursuits, as you shall have cause to think the same right well employed, to our comfort and weal hereafter. Given under our signet, at our castle at Windsor, the seventeenth day of November, and fifth year of our reign."

Sir William Molineux, of Sefton, had also the like congratulatory letter, upon the same occasion, for his eminent services therein.

This most valiant and worthy gentleman, appeared like the north-star in its glory: he was a man of great command in Lancashire, the image of whose mind was as peculiar as the elegant portrait of his body; nobly forgiving his enemies, if reconcilable; and refusing ignobly to be revenged of them if obstinate. This noble mind, advanced by his heroic education, made him acceptable at court, as well as in the country, where his hospitality was renowned, his equity and prudence beloved, and his interest large and commanding.

commanding. In him was seen the idea of the true English gentleman; in favour at court, in repute in the country; at once loved and feared. His usual saying was, "That he never saw fear, but in the backs of his enemies." In a word, he lived in all capacities a public good, and died a common loss.

And here justice as well as respect to the ancient and worthy house of Norris, of Speke, calls upon me to acquaint the reader with the bravery of Sir Edward Norris, son of Sir William Norris, who was slain at the battle of Muslebarrow, in the time of Henry VII. This valiant and heroic gentleman, Sir Edward Norris, commanded a body of the army under General Stanley, at Flodden-Field, where he behaved with so much courage and good conduct, that he was honoured by the King his master, with the like congratulatory letter above-mentioned, for his good service in the victory of that day; in token whereof, he brought from the deceased King of Scot's palace, all or most of his princely library; many books of which are now at Speke, particularly four large folios, said to contain the records and laws of Scotland at that

time, and worthy the perusal of the learned and judicious reader. He also brought from the said palace, the wainscot of the King's hall, and put it up in his own at Speke; whereon are seen all the orders of architecture, viz. Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite, and round the top of it is this inscription, "Sleep not till thou has well considered how thou hast spent the day past; if thou hast well done, thank God for't; if otherwise, repent you."

Thus having, in the fullest manner I am able, set forth the eminent and renowned behaviour of the martial sons of the two neighbouring and worthy Houses of Molineux and Norris, I cannot omit informing the reader, that they came into England together with William, Duke of Normandy, dignified with the honour of Knighthood, and have hitherto made useful and leading members of the state, in their several stations of life.

With regard to these gentlemens' leader and chief commander, the brave Edward Stanley, the King keeping his Whitfuntide the year ensuing at Eltham, in Kent, and Sir
Edward

Edward being there, his Majesty commanded, that for his gallant actions against the Scots, where he won the hill, relieved the English from their distress, and vanquished all that opposed him; also, as his ancestors bore the Eagle in their crest, he should be proclaimed Lord Monteagle, which was accordingly then and there done; upon which he gave to the officers of arms, five marks, besides the accustomed fees; and likewise to garter, principal king at arms, his fee.

Whereupon he had special summons to Parliament, the same year, by the title of Baron Stanley, Lord Monteagle.

Twice did he and Sir John Wallop land with only eight hundred men, in the heart of France; and four times did he, with Sir Thomas Lovell, save Calais: the first time by intelligence, the second by stratagem, the third by valour and resolution, and the fourth by hardship, patience and industry.

In the dangerous insurrection by Ashe and Captain Cobler, his zeal for his prince's service, and the welfare of the state, was above scruple;

scruple; his army being with him before his commission; for which dangerous piece of loyalty, he asked pardon, and received thanks.

Two things he did towards defeating the rebels, whose skill in arms exceeded his followers, as much as their policy did his leaders: first he cut off their provisions, and next he stirred up jealousy and sedition amongst them, which gave his Majesty time, by pretended treaties, to draw off the most eminent of the faction, and to confound the rest.

This most martial and heroic captain (soldier like) lived for some time in this strange opinion, that the Soul of Man, was like the winding up of a watch, that when the spring was run down, the man died, and the soul determined.

But of this heathenish notion he was convicted, and being informed, that the Soul of Man was a ray of Divinity clothed with flesh, and that what was divine, could never die; but, upon the dissolution of the body, or unfitness for its continuance therein, the soul
of

of man returned to the Almighty Being who first gave it, according to the doctrine of Moses, *Gen. c. ii. v. 7.* "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."

Convinced of this divine truth, he afterwards lived and died in the fear and love of God, and in the belief and precepts of his Redeemer, the holy Jesus,

This noble Lord married to his Lady, one of the daughters of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; by his second wife, a daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, Governor of Calais, and by her had issue a son, named Thomas, who was some time Bishop of Man, by the title of Thomas Stanley, son of Edward, the first Lord Monteagle. He sat as Bishop of that island, to the time of his father's death; and then becoming Lord Monteagle, he resigned that Bishopric.

This Thomas, Lord Monteagle married to Lady Ann, the daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althrop, in the county of North-

Northampton, and by her had issue a son, named William; who was the last male issue of this noble family. He left at his death, an only daughter and child, named Elizabeth, but by whom history is silent; but record informs us, that she married to Edward Parker, Lord Morley, and by him had issue a son, named William.

This William was by King James I. created Lord Monteagle, by the title of Lord Morley and Monteagle; and must be allowed by us, and all posterity, to have been born for the good of the whole kingdom: for by an obscure letter sent to him, and by him produced to the King and Council, in the very nick of time, a discovery was made of the most detestable treason, that malice and wickedness could possibly contrive or project. For it being known that the King was to come to the House of Peers to pass some bills, this dark and ænigmatical letter insinuated, that the King and the whole House were to be destroyed in a moment.

This caused strict search to be made round the House of Lords, and there was discover-
ed

ed an unknown cellar under it, wherein was lodged a large quantity of gunpowder, with a person ready (with a candle in a dark lantern) to set fire to the train, upon a signal given him. Thus, by the said letter, the good Providence of God, and the caution taken, was prevented the destruction of the King, and the flower of all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, when just upon the very brink of ruin

Having here finished the remarks we proposed, let us return to Edward, the young son of Thomas, the second EARL of DERBY, whom his father supposed he had left under the care and ward of the most hopeful and promising trustees, being no less than nine ecclesiastics, and four lay-gentlemen, by which he judged sufficient security was provided for his son's right and the preservation of the immense estate he had left him.

But such is the pride, avarice and depravity of human nature, that the greatest caution mankind can possibly take, oftentimes prove too slender to procure justice and equity, when private interest and advantage come in

competition with them. An instance of which, will appear in the case before us.

No sooner was the said noble Lord laid at rest, but the most dignified of his choice (whom the world might justly have expected the most consummate justice and rectitude from) immediately made himself friend of the Mammon of unrighteousness; and instead of fulfilling the trust reposed in him, took care to divest his young pupil of his just right, by securing to himself several large manors in the county of Lincoln, and elsewhere, which the Earl his father had held from the crown, by lease for life, which expiring on his death. The good and pious Cardinal wisely took the opportunity of his ward's minority to procure grants thereof to himself; which brings to my mind an old maxim in the Oeconomy of Life, "He that trusteth to a Lord for his honour, and to a Priest for his charity, is in danger of being deceived by the first, and starved by the latter." The verity whereof the noble Lord before-mentioned had an ample specimen of, in both the characters, in the person of Cardinal Woolsey, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor

Chancellor of England, and his most worthy trustee.

In the nineteenth of Henry VIII. this young Lord being then of age, was one of the principal persons appointed to attend the same Cardinal Woolsey, in that remarkable embassy to Francis, King of France, then at Amiens, touching the making a war in Italy, to set Pope Clement VII. at liberty, at that time a prisoner to the Duke of Bourbon, upon his sacking of Rome.

And in the twenty-second of Henry VIII. having then livery of his lands, was one of those noble Peers that subscribed that memorable letter or declaration to the said Pope Clement VII. representing, That having for a long time expected his answer concerning the King's marriage, they were obliged to repeat their request, although the justice of the cause, and the approbation of the learned of the most celebrated universities in Europe, were sufficient, without any intreaties, to prevail on his Holiness to confirm the sentence of the divorce of Queen Catharine, which King Henry then desired.

And if he should refuse, his Supremacy in England would be in great danger: and that they could make no other construction of it, but that they were left to seek their remedy elsewhere.

And in the twenty-fourth of Henry VIII. he waited on that King at his interview with the French King at Bologne; and in the said year, on the coronation of Queen Ann Bullen, he in his own barge attended her from Greenwich, on which occasion he with the Marquis of Dorset, were made Knights of the Bath, and after the ceremony was over, he was cupbearer to that Queen.

In the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. on the insurrection of the northern men, called the Pilgrimage of Grace, the King directed his letters to this Earl, to raise what forces he could, promising therein to repay all his charges; and, as Mr. Hollingshead observes, by the faithful diligence of the EARL of DERBY, with the forces of Lancashire and Cheshire, they were kept back and brought to peace and quiet, though they were a very
great

great number out of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the north parts of Lancashire.

The thirty-third of that King he marched into Scotland with the Duke of Norfolk, with an army of twenty thousand men, where meeting with little or no resistance, they burned several towns and villages, and so returned to England.

And in the thirty-eighth of that King, when the High Admiral of France, accompanied by the Bishop of Euxaux, the Earl of Nantville, the Earl of Villars, and others, came on a splendid embassy to England, the EARL of DERBY, by the King's command, received them at Blackwall, and conducted them to his Majesty at Greenwich. And on the death of King Henry, and the accession of Prince Edward his son, by the title of King Edward VI. the EARL of DERBY, and the Marquis of Dorset (afterwards Duke of Suffolk) were on the twenty-second of May, 1547, elected Knights of the most nobly Order of the Garter. And in the fourth of King Edward VI. the EARL of DERBY, was one of the Peers' party to the articles of peace,

peace, made by King Edward, with the Scots and French; wherein the Emperor was also included. And,

In the sixth of this King, he made an exchange with his Majesty of his house called Derby-house, on St. Bennet's-hill, near Doctors-commons, London, built by Thomas, the first EARL of DERBY, for certain lands adjoining to his park, at Knowsley, in the county of Lancaster, of which he was Lieutenant during this King's reign.

After the above exchange, he purchased a piece of land, in Channon-row, near Westminster, and thereon erected a new house, and called it Derby-house, which being since sold by William, EARL of DERBY, elder brother to the late Earl James, is built into a court called Derby-court; and upon the death of King Edward, and Queen Mary's Accession to the throne, he was in the first year of that Queen, * appointed by her, Lord High-steward of England, from the day of her Majesty's coronation, which was performed on the fifth of October that year,

* Sept. 29, 1553.

year, with great solemnity. And upon advice of her Majesty's appointment, he set out from his seat of Latham, in the county of Lancaster, to wait on her Majesty, the eighteenth of August, most nobly attended; having upwards of eighty Esquires, all clad in velvet, and two hundred and eighteen Servants in liveries, with whom he arrived at his new house, in Channon-row, Westminster, in the greatest pomp and magnificence.

In the year 1557, he received orders from the Queen and council, to muster what forces he could raise to march against the Scots, then assisted by the French King, which he readily complied with; and was one of the noblemen that attended Philip, Prince of Spain, on his landing into England, to be married to Queen Mary, who before her marriage gave the house on St. Bennet's-hill, London, called Derby-house, and now in the crown, by virtue of the above exchange, to Gilbert Dethick, the then garter and principal king of arms; Thomas Hauley, clarencieux; king of arms

of the south parts; William Harvey, alias Norroy, king of arms of the north parts; and the other heralds and pursuivants of arms, and to their successors, all the capital mesuage or house, called Derby-house †, with the appurtenances, situate in the parish of St. Bennet and St. Peter, then being in the tenure of Sir Richard Sackville, Knight, and parcel of the lands of Edward, EARL of DERBY; to the end, that the said kings, heralds, and pursuivants of arms, and their successors, might dwell together, and meet, confer and agree among themselves, for the good government of their faculty, and that their records might be more safely kept, &c. Dated the eighteenth day of July, in the third year of Philip and Mary, 1555.

Upon the above Queen Mary's death, and Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, although she knew the EARL of DERBY, to have been one of the late Queen's Privy-council, yet she was so well apprized and satisfied of his justice, prudence and loyalty, that she appointed him one of her Privy-council; and in the first year of her reign, gave him, and others of that body, commission

sion to take particular care that all persons enjoying any office or place of trust under her Majesty, should take the Oaths of Supremacy.

Likewise in the said first year of that gracious Queen, he had granted to him by patent, the high office of Chamberlain of Chester, for six years; and the next year was made one of her Majesty's most honourable Privy-council.

But at this time being aged, weak and infirm, he retired to his seat of Latham, and there gave up his life to the Almighty Author of his being; and with humble resignation, submitted himself to his Divine will.

By his will, bearing date the twenty-fourth of August, 1572, he bequeathed his body to be buried in the parish church of Ormskirk, Lancashire; and ordered, that a chapel should be there erected, and a tomb prepared for that purpose, agreeable to his dignity, which hath ever since been the common repository of his family and successors; the ancient monastery of Burscough, where his

6 S ancestors

ancestors were laid, being totally demolished in the dissolution of abbeyes and monastrys; and departing this life at Latham, on Friday the twenty-fourth of October next following, his body lay in state to the fourth of December after; during which time, all necessary preparations were made for his noble funeral, which will be related hereafter.

In which interval, give me leave to relate his marriages and issue, with his sumptuous and hospitable manner of living, which exceeded most, if not all, the noblemen in England at that time, and even since.

This noble Earl married three wives: first, Dorothy, one of the daughters of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, by whom he had issue three sons and four daughters, viz. Henry, his first son; Thomas, his second son; and Edward his third son, of all which in their order.

Ann, his first daughter, married Charles, Lord Stourton, and he dying, she married Sir John Arundel, of Lamborn, in the county of Cornwall. Elizabeth, his second daughter,

ter, married Henry, Lord Morley. Mary, his third daughter, Edward, Lord Stafford; and Jane, his fourth daughter, Edward, Lord Dudley.

To his second wife he married Margaret, the daughter of Ellis Barlow, of Barlow, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. and by her had issue one son and two daughters; George, who died young and unmarried; Margaret, his eldest daughter, married John Jermin, of Ruthbrook, in the county of Suffolk, Esq. and after his decease, Sir Nich. Ponitz; and Catharine, the youngest, to Sir John Knivet.

To his third wife he married Mary, the daughter of Sir George Cotton, of Cumbermere, in the county of Chester, by whom he had no issue. After his decease, Mary, his widow, married Henry, Earl of Kent.

Henry, his eldest son, succeeded him in honour and estate, of whom more hereafter. Sir Thomas Stanley, his second son, married Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir George Vernon, of Hadden, in the county of Derby, by whom he had issue,

a son, named Edward, on which occasion he made the following settlement by deed, bearing date the fourth of Elizabeth; wherein it is declared, That the several manors and lands lying in the counties of Warwick, Devon and Oxford; also Dunham-massey, Bowden, Rungey, Hale, Æton and Darfield, in the county of Chester, now the estate of him the said Edward, EARL of DERBY, shall appertain and belong to Sir Thomas Stanley, his said second son, for life.

Remainder as a moiety to Lady Margaret, his wife, for life; remainder of all to the said Edward Stanley, their son, for life; remainder in sale-male to Henry, the first son of him the said Earl; remainder to the heirs male of the said Sir Thomas Stanley; and remainder to the heirs male of the said Edward Stanley, son of the said Sir Thomas, and dame Margaret, his lady.

This Edward Stanley, the son, became (after the death of his father) Sir Edward Stanley, of Ensham, in the county of Oxford, and possessor of all the said manors and lands, by virtue of the said settlement; of whom more hereafter in due place. But

But first proceed to Edward Stanley, the third son of the said Earl. He was a gentleman of the army in the service of Queen Elizabeth, under the command of the brave Earl of Leicester, in Holland; where, at the siege of Zulphen, he acquired great reputation by a most uncommon action of valour and undaunted courage. In the attack of a fort of the said town, a Spaniard brandishing his lance at him, he caught hold of it, and held so fast, that he was drawn up by it into the fort; at which the garrison was so intimidated (supposing all the enemy were following him) that they fled, and left the fort to him; for which hardy and valiant action, the Earl of Leicester knighted him, and gave him forty pounds in hand, and a yearly pension of one hundred marks, payable in England, during his life.

But so it is (as observed by the learned) that

“ The fortunate have whole years,
And those they choose;
But the unfortunate have only days,
And those they lose.”

For who could imagine that so gallant a man, and so well rewarded as he was, could forget his duty to his Sovereign, and take up arms against her in favour of Spain, whither he was obliged to fly, and die in exile and disgrace, either not knowing or forgetting the Spanish proverb, which they verified in him by flight and contempt; "That they love the treason, but hate the traitor."

Having given the reader the marriages and issue of the noble Peer aforesaid, likewise of his sons and daughters, let us now attend his funeral obsequies, which was conducted with the greatest magnificence; a particular description whereof I met with in the hands of an obscure person near us, and may prove acceptable to all, as well as entertaining to the curious; a transcript whereof I shall give verbatim, viz.

First, after his decease, his body was wrapped in searcloth, then in lead, and afterwards chested. The chapel and the house, with the two courts, were hung with black cloth, garnished with escutcheons of his arms, and on Saturday before the funeral,

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the body was brought into the chapel, where it was covered with a pall of black velvet, garnished with escutcheons of arms, and thereon was set his coat of arms, helmet and crest, sword and target; and about him was placed the standard, great banner, and six bannerets.

On Thursday in the morning before the sermon, Henry, then EARL of DERBY, his son and successor, being present, with the Esquires and Gentlemen his attendants, and the three chief officers of his house, viz. his Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller, standing about the body with white staves in their hands, clarencieux, king of arms, with his rich coat on, published this thanksgiving and stile of the defunct, in form following.

All honour, laud and praise to Almighty God, who through his divine goodness, hath taken out of this transitory world, to his eternal joy and blifs, the Right Honourable Edward, EARL of DERBY, Lord Stanley and Strange, and Lord of Man and the Isles, Chamberlain of Chester, one of the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy-council,

cil, and Knight Companion of the most noble Order of the Garter.

Next, of the manner and order of the hearse, wherein the body lay during the service.

At Ormskirk in Lancashire, two miles from Latham, was erected a stately hearse, of five principals, thirty feet in height, twelve feet in length, and nine feet in breadth, double railed, and garnished in the order and manner following.

First, the top parts and the rails covered with black cloth, the valence and principals covered with velvet; to the valence a fringe of silk, the majesty being of taffety, lined with buckram, had thereon most curiously wrought in gold and silver; the atchievement of his arms, with helmet, crest, supporters and motto, and four buckram escutcheons in metal, the top garnished with escutcheons and jewels in metal, six great burial paste escutcheons at the four corners, and at the uppermost part, the valence set forth with small escutcheons of his arms, on buckram in metal,

tal, with the garter; the rails and posts also garnished with escutcheons, wrought in gold and silver, on paper royal.

The hearse was placed between the choir and the body of the church, which was also hung throughout with black cloth, with escutcheons thereon, not only of his own arms within the garter, but also impaled with the three Countesses his wives. Every thing being ready on Wednesday at night before the burial, the order of the procession on Thursday after (being the day appointed) was in manner following.

- I. Two Yeomen Conductors, with black Staves in their hands, to lead the way.
Morgan ap-Roberts. Thomas Botel.
- II. Then all the Poor Men in Gowns, two and two, to the number of one hundred.
- III. Then the Choir and Singing-men, to the number of forty in their surplices.
- IV. An Esquire bearing the Standard, with his Hood on his head, and horse trapped

to the ground, garnished with a Shaffron of his Arms within the garter on his forehead, and four Escutcheons of Buckram Metal, on each side two.—Peter Stanley.

V. Then the Defunct's Gentlemen, mounted on comely geldings, in their Gowns, and Hoods on their shoulders, to the number of eighty.

VI. The Defunct's two Secretaries riding together, as the other gentlemen before.—Gilbert Moreton. Gabriel Mafon.

VII. Then the Knights and Esquires in like order, two and two, in number fifty.

VIII. Then the Defunct's two Chaplains, with Hoods on their shoulders, according to their degrees.—Bachelor of Divinity. Master of Arts.

IX. The Preacher, being the Dean of Chester, his horse trapped, and a Doctor's Hood on his shoulders.—Doctor Longworth.

X. The Defunct's three chief Officers of his Household,

Houſhold, viz. the Steward, Treafurer and Comptroller, with white Staves in their hands, Hoods on their ſhoulders and their horſes trapped.—William Maſſey. Sir Richard Sherborne. Henry Stanley.

XI. Then an Eſquire, bearing the great Banner of his Arms, with his Hood on his head, and his horſe trapped and garniſhed with Eſcutcheons, as before.—Ed. Norris.

XII. A Herald of Arms, with his Hood on his head, his horſe trapped as aforeſaid, wearing the Defunct's Coat of Arms of Damask, and bearing his Helmet of Steel, Pannel gilt, with Mantles of black Velvet, the knots gilt, and on a wreath or torce of his Colours, ſtood his Creſt, curiouſly carved, painted and wrought in Gold and Silver.—Lancaſter Herald.

XIII. Next a King of Arms, with his Hood on his head, wearing his Coat of Arms, richly embroidered with the Arms of England, his horſe trapped and garniſhed as aforeſaid, bearing the Shield of Arms of the Defunct, within the garter, and thereon a Coronet.—Norroy King of Arms.

XIV. Then another King of Arms, riding in like order, bearing the Defunct's Sword, with the pummel upwards, the hilt and chape gilt, with a Scabbard of Velvet.—
Clarencieux.

XV. After them another King of Arms, riding in like order, bearing another of the Defunct's Coat of Arms, being wrought as before - mentioned. — Garter, George Leigh, Esqr.

XVI. Then, on the left side of him, rode a Gentleman Usher, with a white Rod in his hand, his horse trapped, and Hood on his head.—Edward Scafebrick.

XVII. Then the Chariot wherein the Body lay, was covered with black Velvet, garnished with Escutcheons, drawn by four horses, trapped with black, and on each horse was placed four Escutcheons, and a Shaffron of his Arms, and on each horse sat a Page, in a black Coat, and a Hood on his head; and on the fore seat of the chariot sat a Gentleman Usher, in his Gown, his Hood on his head, and a white Rod in
his

his hand; and next the body, rode four Esquires, being assistants to the body, with Hoods on their heads, and horses trapped to the ground.—Robert Baxter, Robert Dalton, R. Bradshaw, John Preston.

XVIII. And on the outside of them, about the said chariot, six other Esquires, with Hoods on their heads, and their horses trapped, each of them bearing a Banneret, not only of the Defunct's Arms, but also the Arms of such noble houses whereof he was descended, viz. the Arms of Thomas, the first EARL of DERBY of that name, Lord Stanley and of Man, empaled with the Arms of Eleanor his wife, daughter of Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, and sister to Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury,

XIX. The second Banneret was that of Geo. Lord Stanley and Strange, the son and heir of the said Thomas, empaled with the Arms of Jane his wife, daughter and heiress of John, Lord Strange, of Knocking.

XX. The third Banneret was the Arms of the
second

second EARL of DERBY of that name, Lord Stanley and Strange, and of Man, empaled with the Arms of Anne his wife, daughter of Edward, Lord Hastings, and sister to George Hastings, the first Earl of Huntingdon, of that name.

XXI. The fourth Banneret was the Arms of the Defunct, empaled with the Arms of Dorothy, his first wife, and daughter of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Surry, and Earl Marshal of England, Lord Mawbray, Seagrave and Bruce.

XXII. On the fifth Banneret the Defunct's Arms, empaled with the Arms of Margaret, his second wife, daughter of Ellis Barlow, of Barlow, Esqr.

XXIII. And on the sixth Banneret, the Defunct's Arms, empaled with the Arms of Mary, his third wife, daughter of Sir George Cotton, Knight, Vice-chamberlain to King Edward VI.

XXIV. Next after the chariot, proceeded the chief Mourner in the Mourning-robcs of
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an Earl, and on each side of him rode a Gentleman Usher, with white Rods in their hands, hoods on their heads, and their horses trapped.—Richard Ashton, Marmaduke Newton, Gentlemen, Ushers.—Henry, EARL of DERBY, chief Mourner.

XXV. On the left side of him, and somewhat behind, rode the Gentleman of Horse to the Defunct, his Hood on his head, his horse trapped, and leading in his hand the horse of estate, all covered and trapped with black Velvet.—John Ormston.

XXVI. Next after rode eight other Mourners, being assistants to the chief mourners, their Hoods on their heads and shoulders, and their horses trapped with fine cloth to the ground. — John, Lord Stourton, Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir Pierce Leigh, — Butler, Esqr. — Ratcliff, Esqr. Alex. Rigby, Alex. Barlow, Wm. Stopford, Esqr.

XXVII. Then a Yeoman bare-headed, in a black Coat, on foot.

XXVIII. Two sons of the principal Mourners
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in Gowns, and Hoods on their shoulders, each of them having a Gentleman to lead their horses. — Wm. Stanley, Esqr. Franc. Stanley, Esqr.

XXIX. Two Yeomen Ushers, with white Rods, on foot.

XXX. Then the Defunct's Yeomen, two and two, to the number of five hundred.

XXXI. Then all the Gentlemens' Servants, two and two; and thus being whiffled all the way, by certain Yeomen in black coats, with black Staves in their hands, proceeded to the Church-door, where the servants attended to receive the horses. Being dismounted, those gentlemen that preceded the Corpse, entered into the Church, and received their places according to their degrees, leaving the hundred poor men without, on each side of the way.

Then the body was taken out of the chariot by eight gentlemen in gowns, with Hoods on their heads, assisted by four Yeomen in black Coats, and borne into the Hearse, where

where it was orderly placed upon a table three feet high, covered with black cloth, and upon him was not only laid a Pall of black Velvet, but also his Coat of Arms, Sword and Target, Helmet and Crest.

Taken out of the chariot, by William Oriel, Jasper North, Francis Banes, John Meare, Thomas Starkey, John Byron, Edmund Winfanley and James Bradshaw, Gentlemen.

And thus the body being placed, the principal Mourner entered the hearse, where was prepared for him at the head of the Defunct, a Stool, with a Carpet and four Cushions of black Velvet, to kneel and lean upon.

Then entered the other eight Mourners, and took their places within the uttermost part of the hearse, on each side of the body, four on one side, and four on the other, each of them having a Cushion of black Velvet, to lean upon, and their Stools covered with black Cloth, and a Cushion of the same to kneel upon. At the feet of the Defunct, without the rails, stood the two Esquires, holding the Standard and great Banner; and on each

side of the hearse, the other Esquires, with the Bannerets; and behind the principal Mourner stood three Kings of Arms, and the four Gentlemen Ushers; and between the Standard, and at the great Banner, stood the Lancaster Herald of Arms, wearing the Defunct's Coat of Arms.

And thus the body being placed, and every other estate according to their degree, Norroy, King of Arms, pronounced the Stile of the Defunct as before-mentioned; which ended, the Dean of Chester began his Sermon, and after the Sermon, the Vicar began the Commemoration, and after the Epistle and Gospel, the Offering was commenced in Manner following.

First, Henry, now EARL of DERBY, being principal Mourner, offered at the Altar for the Defunct, a Piece of Gold, having before him Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy, King of Arms and Lancaster Herald of Arms; and on each side of Garter, a Gentleman Usher and Esquire, to bear the chief Mourner's Train.

After

After him proceeded the other eight Mourners, two and two, according to their Degrees; and in like order, he, with the other Mourners, repaired to their places, where he remaining a smale time, went to offer for himself, having Clarencieux and Lancaster Herald only before him; and having thus offered, staid betwen the Vicar and Lancaster Herald of Arms, to receive the Atchievements of his Father, offered up by the other eight Mourners, in manner and form following.

First, The Lord Stourton and Sir Rowland Stanley, offered up the Coat of Arms, having before them Clarencieux King of Arms.

Secondly, Sir Peter Leigh, Knt. and Thomas Butler, Esq; offered the Sword, bearing the pommel forward, having before them Norroy, King of Arms.

Thirdly, John Radcliffe and Alexander Barlow; Esqrs. offered the Target of his Arms, and before them went Clarencieux.

Fourthly, Alexander Rigby and William
U 2 Stopford,

Stopford, Esqrs. offered the Helmet and Crest, having before them Norroy, King of Arms.

Which ended, the principal Mourner repaired to his seat, and on each side of him a Gentleman Usher, with his Train borne by an Esquire; and before him Clarencieux, King of Arms, where he remained until the Offering was ended.

Then offered the other eight Mourners for themselves, viz.

The Lord Stourton and Sir Rowland Stanley, having before them Clarencieux, King of Arms.

Sir Peter Leigh, Knight, and Thomas Butler, Esq; and before them Norroy, King of Arms.

John Ratcliffe and Alexander Barlow, Esquires, having before them Clarencieux, King of Arms.

Then Alexander Rigby and William Stopford,

ford, Esquires, having before them blue Mantle Pursuivant of Arms.

Thus when the principal Mourner and the eight Mourner's Assistants had offered and were placed again as aforesaid; then offered the four Esquires, assistants to the Defunct, having before them Lancaster Herald of Arms.

Then the Standard offered by the Esquire that bore it, and before him blue Mantle, Pursuivant of Arms.

Afterwards the great Banner offered by the Esquire that bore it, and before him blue Mantle, Pursuivant of Arms.

Which Standard and Banners being offered by them that bore them, they put off their Hoods, and took their places amongst the rest of the Mourners, being Gentlemen.

Then offered the Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller, with their white Staves in their hands, and Lancaster Herald of Arms before them.

Then

Then all the other Knights, Esqrs. and Gentlemen, wearing black, proceeding in order two and two, according to their degrees.

Afterwards the Yeomen, Ushers, and after them the Defunct's Yeomen two and two.

The Offering being ended, the hundred poor men were placed to proceed homeward on foot, and Gentlemen, on horseback; then Garter, principal King of Arms, the principal Mourner, with the other eight Mourners, two and two; then the Yeomen on foot, two and two.

THE BURIAL.

After whose departure presently the body was by the eight Gentlemen, and four Yeomen carried to the grave, and before it, Clarendieux and Norroy, King of Arms, and Lancaster Herald of Arms; and above the body, the four Assistants and the six Esquires, bearing the Bannerets.

After the body went the Steward, Treasurer and Comptroller, with two Gentlemen
Ushers,

Ushers, and two Yeomen Ushers; who, when the body was buried, kneeling on their knees, with weeping and tears, broke their white Staves and Rods over their heads; and threw the shivers into the grave.

That done, the six Esquires delivered up the six Bannerets, which were presented with the rest of the Atchievements; orderly placed over, and about him; and departed to Latham-hall, where they received their offices and staves again of their new Earl, now their Lord and Master.

Having brought this great and honourable Earl to his last home (the Grave) let us not bury him there in total oblivion; but with Sir William Dugdale, Mr. Cambden, Mr. Hollinshead, Mr. Stow, &c. lament his death, and not quite forget the memory of so eminent and noble a servant to his prince and country, but endeavour to transmit to posterity, for their example and imitation, his most renowned, steady, and faithful behaviour and conduct, under two Kings and two Queens, as well in peace, as in war.

It appears from all our Historians, that he lived in the greatest splendor and magnificence, without any dependance on the court. His greatness supported his goodness, and his goodness endeared his greatness. His height was looked upon with a double aspect; by himself, as an advantage of beneficence and by others, of reverence. His great birth raised him above private respect, but his great soul never above public service.

He was kind to his tenants; liberal to his servants; generous to his friends; and hospitable to strangers; he was famous for house-keeping, and his extensive charity: infomuch, that Queen Elizabeth would jestingly say, that he and my Lord of Bedford made all beggars by their liberality.

His House was orderly and regular, a college of discipline, instruction and accomplishment, rather than a palace for entertainment; his and his lady's servants being so many young gentlemen and ladies, trained up to govern themselves by their example,

ample, who they knew understood themselves perfectly.

His provisions were natural, all necessaries, bred and provided of his own flock, rather plentiful than various, solid than dainty, that cost him less, and contented more. His table was constant where all were welcome and none invited. His hall was commonly full, his gates always; the one with the honest gentry and yeomen, who were his retainers in love and observance, bringing good stomachs to his table, and resolved hearts for his service; the other were the aged, decrepid, and industrious poor, whose cravings were prevented; the first being provided with meat, the second with money, and the third with labour.

In this northern insurrection against her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, he offered to raise Ten Thousand Men at his own charge, for the suppressing thereof; but his appearance in the field was sufficient, the holding up of his hand being as effectual as the displaying of a banner. In a word, Mr. Camden observes, that hospitality lieth buried

in this Earl's grave, (1572 the time of his death) from whence may the Divine Power raise it and all mankind to everlasting blifs, when there will be no poor to be relieved, nor bounty wanted to relieve.

He had two hundred and twenty servants in a cheque roll for forty two years, and twice a day sixty old aged and decrepid poor, who were fed with meat; and on every Good-friday for thirty-five years, he fed two thousand seven hundred persons with meat, drink, and money. Every gentleman in his service had a man and horse to attend him, and his allowance for the expence of his house only, was four thousand pounds a year, besides the produce of his two large parks, and very great demesnes; insomuch, that his house was stiled the Northern Court. Neither was he munificent upon other men's charge; for once a month he looked into his income, and once a week into his disbursements, that none should wrong him, nor be wronged by him. The EARL of DERBY (he would say) "shall keep his own house, that frugality, justice

justice and good management, might as well consist with greatness, as length with breadth,"

Therefore it was observed of him, and the second Duke of Norfolk, that when they were dead, not a tradesman could demand the payment of a groat that they owed him; nor a neighbour the restitution of a penny that they had wronged him of.

It is a maxim that the grass groweth not where the Grand Signior's horse treads, nor do the people thrive where the noblemen inhabit; but here every tenant was a gentleman; and every gentleman my Lord's companion—such his civility towards the one, and his kind usage of the other.

Noblemen in those days esteemed the love of their neighbour more than their riches; and the service and fealty of their tenants, more than their money. They would commonly say, Let the underwood grow, the tenants are the support of a family; and the commonality are the strength of the kingdom. Improve thriftily, but force not
X 2
violently,

violently, either your bounds or rents, above your forefathers. Two things he abominated, depopulating inclosures, and avaricious and unworthy enhancement of rents.

But now the landlord hath the sweat of the tenant's brow in his coffers; then he had the best blood in his veins at his command. The grand word with this noble Peer, was on my Honour, which was esteemed sufficient security for any engagement whatsoever, and was the only assertion he used; it was his privilege that he needed not swear for a testimony, and his renown that he would not for his honour.

Great was this exalted family's esteem with the people, and eminent their favour with their sovereign, which was ever employed in obliging their liege people, improving their interest and supporting their throne; for, though they had a long time been Kings of Man, and with the hearts of the people, yet were they as long faithful subjects to England. In a word, he had no sloth or neglect to be surprized; no vanity of discourse to lose his master; no partiality

lity to be biassed, no discontent to satisfy, nor no passion to be misguided. In fine, he lived in all capacities, a public good, and died a common loss; leaving in his family that best legacy, a good example, and in his country, that lasting monument, a good name.

The late very great and eminent Lord, whose prudence, conduct, and most remarkable life and actions we have been just describing and treating of, was succeeded in his honours and immense estate by his eldest son Henry, Lord Stanley and Strange of Knocking; who after his father's decease was fourth EARL of DERBY of this family, and was summoned to parliament and took his seat in the most honourable House of Peers, the eighth of February after his father's decease.

And being a nobleman in sedate years, great learning, and exalted genius, as well as of leading quality and consummate experience in all the maxims and policy of public, as well as private life, he made an early figure at court, where his royal mistresses

treſs was pleaſed to diſtinguiſh and promote him by marks of her princely favour; knowing him to be a perſon of the utmoſt probity, undoubted loyalty, and ſteady adherence to her perſon, intereſt and government.

In token whereof ſhe dignified him with the honour of the Garter, and conſtantly made choice of, and preferred him in all momentous and critical affairs of ſtate, as one whom ſhe could rely on, as her truſty friend and faithful ſervant.

The next appearance whereof was by ſending him at the head of a commiſſion (with ſome other Peers) to Flanders, to treat of a peace with the Prince of Parma, then General to the King of Spain, with whom her Majeſty had been long at enmity.

Soon after his return from that country, the Queen was pleaſed to honour him with carrying the enſigns of, and inveſting the King of France with the moſt noble Order of the Garter.

The twenty-ninth of her reign, her Majesty was pleased to appoint him by her royal commission, to be (with some other Peers) one of the Judges for the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, then a prisoner in the Castle of Fotheringay, in the county of Northampton, where she was arraigned, tried, and adjudged to die, and was there, accordingly, beheaded.

Some time after that transaction, in the Year 1564, her Majesty determined to honour the ancient University of Cambridge with her royal presence; in order to which she was pleased to appoint this noble Earl and his Lady, to attend her thither, where they arrived on Saturday the fifth of August, the same Year; and on the Queen's entrance into that College, the Countess of Derby was preferred to bear up her Majesty's train.

Likewise, on that Queen's visitation of her University of Oxford, this noble Earl was appointed to attend her Majesty's person to that place, where on Friday the
sixth

sixth of September, 1566, his Lordship was complimented by that learned body, with the degree of Master of Arts.

And in the thirty-second of the same Queen, he was by special commission, constituted Lord High-Steward of England, and sole Judge for the trial of Philip Earl of Arundel, for Treason.

And in the year 1588, the Queen was graciously pleased to grant to him by patent for five years, the high office of Lord-chamberlain of Chester.

Some time after this, he determined to visit his Isle of Man, and in order thereto, came to his house at Liverpool, called the Tower, where waiting a while for a passage, the *Corporation did themselves the honour to compliment him, by erecting and adorning in a rich manner, a sumptuous Stall or Seat, for his reception at Church, where he several times honoured them by his presence.

Upon

* Records of Liverpool.

Upon his return from the Island, he retired to his seat at Latham, and I do not find he appeared at court any more; for by his will, bearing date the twenty-first of September, 1594, he ordered his Body to be buried in his chapel at Ormskirk, and departed this life at Latham, the twenty-fifth of the same month, and was deposited in the said vault, according to his desire.

This noble Earl married to his lady, Margaret, the only daughter of Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, by his wife, Eleanor, one of the daughters and coheirs of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, and younger sister to King Henry VIII. and by her had issue four sons, William, and Francis, who died young and unmarried; also Ferdinand, and William, successively EARLS of DERBY after him; also one daughter, who died young, and unmarried.

Upon his demise, he left, besides the above issue by his own lady, three natural children, by one Jane Halsal, of Knowsley,

one son named Thomas, and two daughters, Dorothy and Ursula, for whom he made a liberal provision. Dorothy, his first daughter, married Sir Cuth. Halsal, of Halsal, in the county of Lancaster, and Ursula, his second daughter, married Sir John Salisbury, of Sterney, in the county of Derby.

Thomas his son, by Jane Halsal, was stiled Thomas Stanley, of Eccleshall Esq; on whom he also settled the manor of Broughton, and other lands, near Manchester, which his successors sold to Mr. Cheetham, of Smedley.

He was succeeded by Ferdinand, his eldest son, in honours, and the Baronies of Stanley and Strange, and fifth EARL of DERBY, and also to his very great and noble estate. But such is the frailty of human nature, the malice and wickedness of our fellow-creatures, and the infinite variety of chances and accidents attending human life, that all the care and caution mankind is able to use, is not sufficient to guard against them, no nor riches, nor
power;

power; neither of which were wanting in the noble person we are now treating of.

He went off the stage of this world in the flower of his age, to the great loss of his prince, family, and country, and indeed universally lamented; being of an exalted genius, as well as birth, and allowed by all to be one of the most hopeful peers of the age; and that which added greatly to the general affliction, was the uncommon and surprizing manner of his death, as hereafter mentioned.

His royal mistress, the Queen, had at that time many seditious and rebellious subjects, who, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes, fled to foreign countries. Amongst whom was one Richard Hackett, who was sent by these fugitives to prevail upon this noble and loyal Peer, to assume and set up a title and claim to the Crown of England, in right of his descent from Mary, the second daughter of Henry VII. and younger sister to King Henry VIII. and at that time Queen Dowager of France, whose grandmother

was this Earl's mother; threatening, that unless he undertook this projected enterprize, and withal conceal him, the messenger and instigator of it, he should shortly die in a most wretched manner; but if he complied therewith, he might be assured of powerful assistance.

But this dutiful and loyal Earl, having no design or intention of claim against her Majesty, nor inclination to disturb her peaceable possession at the hazard of his own life, honour, and opulent fortune; considered the proposition made to him as a snare laid for his destruction, and therefore rejected it with scorn and indignation.

However, these villainous menaces proved not altogether vain, for within four months after, this noble Earl died a very miserable and surprizing death, being seized and tormented by vomiting matter of a dark rusty colour, insomuch that he was supposed by the learned in the practice of physick and others, to be poisoned, or else bewitched.

For there was found in his chamber, a little image made of wax, with hairs of the colour of his in the belly of it, which occasioned many and various speculations, conjectures, and constructions concerning the nature, meaning and effects thereof; but I have met with no remarks from the curious of that age, touching the real being, existence, or power of witches and wizards, then or at any time in the world, nor of any observations made by them upon this extraordinary event, therefore submit so critical and obscure a point to be discussed by the learned of our own times; and proceed to inform the reader, that his gentleman of horse was greatly suspected to have had a large share in this wicked scene and removal of his noble and indulgent master out of this world; for the same day the Earl took his bed, he fled away with one of his best horses, and was heard of no more.

His vomit was so violent and corroding, that it stained the silver and irons in the chimney of his room, upon which he had vomited; and when dead, though his body
was

was wrapped in searcloth, and covered with lead, yet it so corrupted and putrified, that for a long time after, none could endure to come near the place it was laid in, till his burial.

By his will, bearing date the twelfth of April, the thirty-eighth of Elizabeth, he bequeathed his body to be buried in his chapel at Ormskirk, which was accordingly done the sixth of May following. His death was universally lamented, and greatly increased by the manner of it. He was good to his tenants, kind to his friends, charitable to the poor, a generous master, a loving and indulgent husband, and a tender and affectionate parent; and had been honoured by his royal mistress with the noble Order of the Garter.

He married Alice, one of the daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althrop, in the county of Northampton, by whom he left issue three daughters, his heirs general. The lady Ann, his first daughter, being at his death, thirteen years eleven months old, and afterwards married to Grey Bruges, Lord Chandois; the Lady Frances eleven years and four months, after

after married to Sir John Egerton, son and heir of Lord Elsmere, then Lord Chancellor of England; and Elizabeth, the youngest, seven years eight months old, after married to Henry, Lord Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon — of all whom in their order.

This noble, but unfortunate Lord, (in the uncommon manner of his death) was succeeded by his younger brother, Sir William Stanley, in the barony of Stanley, and Earldom of Derby, but neither in his estate nor in the Barony of Strange of Knocking, the first being divided betwixt him and his nieces, the heirs general of his late brother, as hereafter; and the second devolving upon the said heirs general, with all the estate appertaining thereto, was separated from, and invested in them, exclusive of the House of Stanley, to whom the Barony of Strange of Knocking subsided and became extinct; as more fully will be shewn in its proper place.

Sir William aforesaid, was that great Sir William Stanley, of whose travels, martial exploits, and bravery abroad, which this county (especially) gives us many large accounts,

counts, as well in story, as song, and frequently made themselves merry therewith; but being abroad at his brother's decease, and not certainly known whether he was living or not, the very great estate he was as heir at law entitled to, (being at this time in its full extent) he found on his return all settled upon his brother's daughters aforesaid, under the guardianship of four Bishops, and four temporal Lords, who possessed every branch of it to their wards' uses, without any regard to him, which, with the Barony of Strange, and the Isle of Man, was no less than a princely patrimony, for extent, income, and power; but he, unhappy gentleman, was refused admittance by the said guardians to any share of it.

In this melancholy case, having but few Friends, less Money, and powerful Adversaries, who had little or no knowledge of him, (nor indeed few others, by reason of his long absence) yet kind Providence, the Guardian of all who are in distress, and over powered by might, knew his just cause, raised him friends and assistance to enter his claim in law to his birth-right.

In which several of the old tenants in and about Latham, Dalton, Newburgh, &c. who knew him from a child to be their natural and rightful Lord, supplied him with money to recover what was his right, or so much as he was justly entitled to.

Upon which a dispute and contest in law arose betwixt the said Earl and the heirs general, touching the claim and title to all the late Earl's estate in England, and also to the Isle of Man, whereupon the Queen apprehending that under the present unsettled state thereof, not only that many renegadoes of the English and Scotch, but the Spaniards also, her declared enemies, might resort to that island, to the great disturbance of her peace, and the tranquility of her government.

For the security and prevention of which, her Majesty thought proper to commit the charge and care of that island to her trusty friend and servant, Sir Thomas Gerrard, (after by her created Lord Gerrard, of Bromley, in the county of Stafford) until the controversy then depending betwixt the

parties claiming, should be determined by law.

In the mean time the true and real title of the said Isle of Man was called in question, and being brought before her Majesty's Attorney-general, and other learned council, they upon examination declared, That the right thereof, solely belonged to her Majesty, and that the Sanleys, EARLS of DERBY, had no good title to that island, by reason that King Henry IV. soon after he obtained the crown, upon the outlawry of William Scroope, then Lord thereof, bestowed it upon Henry Percy, then Earl of Northumberland; and upon his rebellion about six years after, granted the same by patent to Sir John Stanley for life.

But Northumberland not being attained by Parliament, nor his possessions adjudged to be confiscated; and for that some short time after, the King and Sir John agreed, that those letters patent to him for life, should be surrendered and cancelled, which was done as before recited, and that he should have an estate thereof in fee; so that considering

dering the grant for life was before such time as the King was legally entitled thereto by Northumberland's attainder, they pronounced that the King could not pass any estate for life; and also that the other grant which had its foundation from the surrender of the estate for life, could not be of any validity.

Whereupon, the Queen, agreeable to her wonted goodness, having considered the many eminent services performed for her Majesty and her royal predecessors, by the honourable and noble House of Stanley, and their long enjoyment of that island, without any interruption, was graciously pleased to drop and withdraw all supposed right she might have thereto, as suggested by the said gentlemen of the law, and to refer the parties claimant to the decision of the courts; and upon this head the Isle of Man rested under her Majesty's care, most of the remaining part of her reign.

But the proceedings at law in England touching the right to so many and great estates there, and the filial portions and ad-

vancements of the said three ladies, were prosecuted for six or seven years with the utmost vigour; and in all that time no definitive sentence could be obtained in favour of either of the parties.

This tedious and delitery proceeding by the court at law, added to the very great esteem and high value her Majesty entertained of the great worth and merit of the said Earl William, as a faithful subject, a wise counsellor, and a brave captain, with the heavy expences he laboured under for the recovery of his paternal right, together with her Majesty's concern for the re-establishment of the ancient, honourable, and most worthy House of Stanley, gave her Majesty great perplexity and anxiety of mind.

Wherefore, for her Majesty's ease, and the removal of her royal concern, and the accomplishment of her kind intention to so many loyal and dutiful subjects and relations, she, like a nursing mother, meditated a reconciliation of all differences, disputes and controversies subsisting between them; and, by the assistance and advice of Cecil, Lord Burleigh,

Burleigh, Sir Robert Cecil, principal secretary of state, and many other kind friends and relations to the honourable and noble House of Derby, her Majesty effected her princely and benign intention, by being graciously pleased to propose a reference of all matters, pretention and clashing interests of the several claimants, to which she was so happy as to obtain their several and united consent.

And for this good purpose, the following noble persons were by her Majesty's powerful interest nominated and appointed referees and arbitrators thereof—The right honourable Cecil, Lord Burleigh; the right honourable Thomas, Lord Buckhurst, Lord High Treasurer of England; the right honourable the Earl of Dorset; the right honourable Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury; the right honourable Clifton, Earl of Cumberland; George, Lord Hundson; and the right honourable Cecil, principal secretary of state, and then Earl of Salisbury; being the noble and well affected friends as well of the said William, EARL of DERBY, as of the said young ladies, daughters to Ferdinand, late EARL of DERBY. Which

Which said honourable persons, having heard the said parties themselves, their learned council, officers, agents and servants, with other useful friends authorized to appear therein, advisedly heard and considered the several rights, titles and claims of all the parties; and did, by the consent of the parties and their council, officers and friends, for the appeasing, ending and extinguishing of all variances, claims, titles and controversies then moved and grown; or which might afterwards arise or grow between the said parties, or any of them, touching the said premises in question; agree, order and determine, amongst other things, that such and so many of the said castles, manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, late parcel of the possessions of the said Ferdinand, late EARL of DERBY, in the towns, hamlets, villages and places hereafter mentioned; and in every of them, should be assured, conveyed and enjoyed, by and unto such person or persons, and for and during such estate and estates; and with and under such limitations, powers, liberties, declarations and savings, and in such manner and form as hereafter mentioned, limited and expressed.

Which

Which said order and agreement so made by the honourable persons aforesaid, as well the said William, EARL of DERBY, and the Countess Elizabeth, his wife, and rest of the issue male, descended from the honourable House of Derby, and the said ladies, Ann, Frances and Elizabeth, daughters of the said late Earl Ferdinand, before and until their several marriages; and since their said marriages, their said husbands and they did, and yet do hold themselves well contented and satisfied. All which orders and agreements were confirmed by act of parliament, passed the fourth of James I. as hereafter.

By which act and agreement, were appointed and yielded to the right honourable William, EARL of DERBY, the ancient seats of Latham and Knowsley; with all the houses, lands, castles and appurtenances in Lancashire, Cumberland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, and many in Wales; also the manor of Meriden, in the county of Warwick, with the old seat in Channon-row, Westminster; (now Derby-court) also the advowson of the parish-church of the Holy Trinity, in the city of Chester.

And

And to the said heirs female, the daughters of the said late Earl Ferdinand, the baronies of Strange of Knocking, Mohun, Barnwell, Basset and Lacy, with all the houses, castles, manors and lands thereto belonging; with several other manors and large estates lying in most counties of England, and many in Wales.

For the better and further assurance thereof to every party, and the prevention of all future disputes, there were nineteen recoveries suffered in the common pleas, London, in one term, and seventeen at Lancaster, in one assize; and thus was composed and brought to final issue, all disputes and controversies touching the lands and numerous estates in England and Wales, exceeding in extent and value most of the subjects in the King's dominions; by which the reader will easily judge what a terrible breach was made therein by the said division.

And though affairs at home were, after much labour, struggle and expence, accommodated and established as before; yet the most princely branch (the Isle of Man) remained

remained unsettled; the said ladies claiming the same right to that (as heirs to their father) as they had done to those in England and Wales; and the disputes and contests in law, touching the right and title thereof, continued almost as long as those had done in England.

But the right thereto being brought upon the carpet by Earl William, and his title strongly asserted by him, the decision thereof in some time came before the learned judges of the several benches; who upon a full hearing of the council on both sides, declared the patent by King Henry IV. granting the Isle of Man to Sir John Stanley, and his heirs for ever, was warranted by the common law, and that the heirs general would take it before their uncle.

Whereupon the said Earl was constrained to come to a treaty and agreement with the said heirs general; as also with Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, then chancellor of England, and Alice, his wife, widow of the late Earl Ferdinand, who had married the said chancellor, for the purchase of all their several

claims and interest, in and to the said island, or any part or parts thereof; which he at length affected and got into possession of the same.

Upon which he applied to his Majesty King James I. and from him obtained a new patent or grant, confirming to him and his heirs for ever the said Isle of Man, with all the honours, powers, privileges and regalities thereto belonging, or any wise appertaining, in as full and ample a manner as it had been granted to, or enjoyed by any former lord thereof.

Which said letters patent, together with the said agreement, made with all the parties aforesaid, the said Earl had confirmed by a special act of parliament began at Westminster the nineteenth of March, the first of James I. and continued to the ninth of February, the seventh of James I. as by the said act, wherein he settled the Isle of Man upon himself and the lady Elizabeth, his wife for life, and to the survivor of them, and after to James, Lord Stanley, his eldest son and heir, and the heirs male of his body; and
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in default of such issue, to Sir Robert Stanley, his second son, and the heirs male of his body; and in default of such issue, then to the right heirs of the said James, Lord Stanley, for ever, with a proviso, that neither he, nor any of his successors, should either by will, deed, or any other instrument in writing, give, bargain, contract, sell, assign or transfer the said island, or any branch thereof, from his or their own issue.

But in default of such heirs, then to the right heirs of the said Sir Robert Stanley, under the said limitations and restraint as by record thereof, returned into the chancery of England, by writ of certiorari, bearing date the thirtieth of July, the eighth of James I. appeareth that the noble Lord, whose life and actions we have here treated of, was the sixth of his family, and was by Queen Elizabeth, honoured with the noble Order of the Garter, and the first of James I. was, by patent, made chamberlain of Chester, for life; in which office he appointed Henry Townshend, Esq; his vice-chamberlain, and after him succeeded Sir Thomas Ireland, of Bewsey, and after him

Roger Downs, of Wardley, Esq; and after him Orlando Bridgeman Esq. who continued to the year 1640. when a new patent passed, joining with his father, James, Lord Stanley, for both their lives, and the survivor of them.

But some Years before this last patent, viz. 1637, his lady being dead, and he grown old and infirm, and desirous to withdraw himself from the hurry and fatigue of life, in which he had been very largely engaged, and greatly encumbered (as hath been related) and his son James, Lord Stanley, now advanced to the honour of Strange also, (as hereafter) having married the most noble lady Charlotte, daughter to Claud de Tremouille, Duke de Tremouille and Travers, in France, a lady of high birth and agreeable fortune, and his son, the Lord Stanley and Strange, being a person of exalted genius, highly qualified with learning, and all the accomplishments of a noble mind and spirit, his kind and indulgent father was pleased to honour and dignify him agreeable to his quality, by the assignation and surrender of all his estate to him, and put him in
possession

possession thereof, reserving to himself only one thousand pounds per annum, during his life, as by the following deed.

“ Know ye that I William, EARL of DERBY, Lord of Man and the Isles, &c. being lawfully seized of and in my demesnes as of freehold of sundry houses, castles, lands, tenements and honours, as well in England and Wales, as in the Isle of Man; do by this my sufficient deed, under my hand and seal, bearing date this eleventh day of August, 1637, grant and surrender to my son James, Lord Stanley and Strange, and his heirs, all my term for life, interest and estate whatsoever, of, in, and unto the same lands, tenements and hereditaments, whereof I was so seized,” &c.

Whereupon the Earl purchased a convenient house on the side of the river Dee, near Chester, whither he retired, and passed the evening of his life in quiet, peace, and pleasing enjoyment of ease, rest and freedom of body as well as mind, agreeable to the practice and sentiments of the wise senators of Rome, who, on like occasions, used to retire

to their rural seats, as given us by one of their own poets, viz.

“ How blest is he, who tired with his affairs,
Far from all noise and vain applause prepares
To go, and underneath some silent shade,
Which neither cares nor anxious thoughts
invade;
Does for a while, alone himself possess,
Changing the court for rural happiness.”

This Earl married the lady Elizabeth, daughter to Edward, Earl of Oxford, by whom he had issue two sons, James and Robert, (before mentioned) also three daughters, first Elizabeth, who died young; second Ann, who married Sir Henry Portman, of Orchard, in the county of Somerset, and after his death, Sir Robert Carr, Knight and Earl of Ancram, in Scotland. The third daughter (another Elizabeth) who died young; and James his eldest son and successor we shall take notice of in due place; in the interim, Robert his second son married a daughter of Lord Witherington, by whom he had issue, who are all long since extinct; as hereafter appears.

This noble Lord died in his retirement at his said house near Chester, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1642; and from thence was conveyed to Ormskirk, and there deposited with his noble ancestors. But before we proceed we have further to observe, that during this Lord's life, whose eyes we have closed, in the midst of all his contests and struggles of life for a share of the great and immense estate of his ancestors, was applied to for the repair of Warrington-bridge, erected by his noble and renowned ancestor, Thomas, EARL of DERBY (as before mentioned) and by them repaired and amended as occasion required; together with the causeway leading from it to the rising ground on the Cheshire-side, to his time; as before.

But he being under the calamitous state of continual suits, contests and daily expence in law, for the recovery of his natural right, and then not possess of any, or but a small pittance thereof, refused his assistance to the amendment of that bridge, then much out of order.

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Upon which the gentlemen of Cheshire consulted the judges at Chester upon that subject, who advised, that enquiry might be made by them against the next assizes, if any lands or tenements were settled and appropriated by any of the noble family of Derby, for the maintenance and support thereof, and report the case to them as it appeared upon the said enquiry; which being fully made, and nothing found settled for the purposes aforesaid, they were advised by the said judges to consult together with their neighbours of Lancashire, of some proper means for the support, and reparation thereof.

Upon which a meeting was held by the gentlemen of Cheshire and Lancashire, to consider of this public affair wherein both the counties were greatly concerned; the result whereof was, That as it had been built and hitherto preserved at the good pleasure and generosity of the House of Stanley, without any obligation upon any of them for the continuance thereof, that for the future, one county should repair one half thereof, and the other county the other half (as I am informed it is at this time) for the original
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and remarkable structure and benefit whereof (which begot the present town of Warrington) they and all the ancient and present landlords round it are greatly indebted to the noble and illustrious House of Derby.

To whom succeeded James, Lord Stanley and Strange, his eldest son and heir, who was called to *parliament by writ from King Charles I. in 1627, the third year of his reign, by the stile and title of Sir James Stanley, Knight of the Bath, and Chevalier de Strange, without any local place, and as such sat in the House of Peers several parliaments, when his father sat there as EARL of DERBY.

Of this noble Peer we have much to observe, and shall as near as we are able from manuscript, history and record, give the reader the particulars of his most remarkable life, and every memorable transaction thereof in their proper order of time, beginning first, with the character given of him by Sir William Dugdale; who tells us, that setting aside the great state he lived in, and

his wonderful hospitality and beneficence to his neighbours, friends and servants; he was a person highly accomplished with learning, prudence, loyalty and true valour; and was one, if not the first of the Peers that repaired to King Charles I. at York, when the seditious, insolent and rebellious Londoners, had drove his Majesty from Whitehall; and though he did not usually follow the court, or design to advance his honour or family by a complimentary and obsequious attendance of that kind; yet, when he saw his Majesty's affairs required his assistance, he thought himself obliged both by his religion and allegiance, to serve him to the utmost of his power, with his life and fortune; and made him a tender of both.

And although he observed the ministers of state about his Majesty looked coldly and distant upon him, perhaps thinking him either too great or too popular (in their opinion) to be much favoured or employed in that critical juncture; yet his Lordship (*Magna Submissis robere Mentis*) prudently concealed his sense thereof, and with the plainness and integrity of his loyal mind, offered himself ready

ready to observe his Majesty's commands upon all occasions.

And in his own words tells us, that in the beginning of that war in 1643, he thought himself happy to have the general applause of his neighbouring gentlemen and yeomen, as they would choose to follow him as they had done his ancestors; but whether this was more to continue a custom, or the love of his name or person, was hard to say.

But this he knew, that he had raised three thousand good men, who went with him out of Lancashire, to attend and serve his Majesty, and that he was extremely grieved to see the King in so bad a condition, which made him spare neither pains, cost nor hazard, to assist him in so just a quarrel; he lent the King all his arms, and his Majesty gave him his warrant to receive as many from Newcastle.

But somebody was in the fault, his Majesty's warrant not being obeyed, nor he supplied with arms and amunition as was expected; his Majesty also allowed and ordered him a sufficient sum of money for his ser-

vice; but some of his servants about him thought fit to keep it for other uses. "I shall not, says he, enter into particulars, but only say, that this might shew the King my good intention in the discharge of a good conscience, and the preservation of my honour, in spite of envy and malice."

The first considerable debate wherein he eminently and perhaps enviously shewed himself, was, concerning the most convenient place for setting up the King's Standard, York, Chester, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, and Oxford being in proposition, his Lordship having heard the several reasons and opinions offered, and well weighed and considered the arguments for their support; at last, with a quiet and calm humility interposed to the following effect: that with humble submission to his Majesty and his council, he conceived Lancashire to be a convenient place to erect his Majesty's Standard in, and raise a considerable army; urging, that as it lay in the centre of the northern counties, to which the loyal parties of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Cheshire, Shropshire, North-Wales, and Nottinghamshire, might

might have ready and easy access; that he apprehended the inhabitants of that county both gentry and commons (at least for the greatest part) well inclined to his Majesty's just cause; that the people are usually very hardy, and make good soldiers, and that he himself, (though the unworthiest of his lieutenants) would to the utmost of his estate, contribute to his service; and that he durst promise three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to be furnished out at his own charge; that he made no doubt but in three days to enlist seven thousand Men more under his Majesty's pay, and to make up an army of ten thousand men in Lancashire, to which the accesses from other counties might in a short time arise to a considerable army; and that he hoped his Majesty would be able to march to London walls, before the rebels there could form an army to oppose him.

These things thus proposed, his Majesty and council took time to consider and resolve what to do on that momentous affair; and a few days after, it was concluded, with much dissatisfaction to the party that favoured

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ed not his Lordship, that the standard should be set up at Warrington, in Lancashire, where his Majesty's army might have the convenience of both Cheshire and Lancashire, for the quantites of both horse and foot.

His Lordship upon this resolve was dispatched to Lancashire, to prepare for his Majesty's reception, and to dispose the country to be ready for his service. Immediately on his return to Lancashire, he mustered the county in three places, on the heaths by Bury, by Ormskirk, and by Preston; where at the least twenty thousand men appeared to him in each field, most whereof were well armed with pikes, musket, or other weapons. His Lordship intending to have done the same in Cheshire, and North-Wales, where he was lieutenant, but these things which by his lordship were really intended for his Majesty's service, were by the envy, jealousy, or prejudice of some at court, insinuated to serve other purposes, suggesting that the Earl was a popular man; that he was no favourer of the court, but rather a male-content, that those noised musters which he had made, were preindications of his ambitious designs;

designs; that it was dangerous trusting him with great power in his hands, who too well knew his near alliance to the crown; that his ancestor, the Lord Stanley, though he appeared with Richard III. and gave his son George, Lord Strange, as a pledge of his loyalty, yet turned the battle against him, and put the crown upon the head of Henry VII. That his uncle, Ferdinand, had declared too boldly his pretensions to the crown; that his lady was a Hugonot, bred up in the religion and principles of the Dutch; and that for these and other good reasons it was not safe for his Majesty to put himself too far into his hands, or trust him with too great a power. These invidious and injurious insinuations, notwithstanding the King's good inclinations towards him, so far prevailed and puzzled his council, that they persuaded the easy good-natured King to change his resolution, and to set up the royal standard at Nottingham, to divest the EARL of DERBY of the lieutenancy of Cheshire and Wales, and to join the Lord Rivers, newly made an Earl, in commission with him in Lancashire.

This sudden and unexpected turn in his Majesty's council being suggested to his Lordship from York, gave him some trouble and anxiety of mind; yet, agreeable to his great temper, he quickly recovered himself, and with great equanimity, spoke to this effect. "Let my muster be happy, tho' I be miserable; and if they consult well for him, I shall not be much concerned what becomes of me."

"My wife, my children, my family and country, are very dear unto me; but if my Prince and my Religion be safe, I shall bless even my enemies who do well for them though in my ruin." Then with the advice of his friends, whose council he always used in cases of difficulty, he dispatched a gentleman to York, with letters to his Majesty, signifying that he had read the express of his Majesty's good pleasure, as he ought to do with submission and due obedience, that though his enemies would not give him leave to serve his Majesty, they should never so far provoke him as to desert him; that if he might not according to his birth and quality he permitted to fight for him, he
would

would never draw his sword against him; that he did submissively resign the lieutenancies of Cheshire and North-Wales to his Majesty's disposal, but besought him to take away that of Lancashire also, rather than subject him to the reproach and suspicion of a partner in the government.

These letters being received and perused by his Majesty and council, had only this effect: that the Lord Rivers was removed, and the Earl left in the single command of Lancashire. But the unkind and impolitic usage of this noble Lord (though by him suffered with the greatest resolution) was by the country, who had the greatest veneration for his family, highly resented, which proved very prejudicial to his Majesty's interest; many gentlemen in the north, who were well inclined to his Majesty's cause, seeing the contempt and ill usage of the EARL of DERBY, either remained neuter, or revolted to the Parliament with all their dependencies; suspecting (as indeed it fell out) that the EARL of DERBY being laid aside, the country would never follow any other commander, and that the King's inter-

rest would dwindle and be soon lost. These divisions and disappointments his Lordship tells us, made the ill affected in Lancashire grow proud, and the meaner sort thought it a fine thing to set up against the great ones; and the Parliament being quickly informed of these disagreeable circumstances and bad management of the King's affairs, immediately offered his Lordship what power and command he would accept of in their service, which his Lordship rejected with scorn and indignation.

Yet, the same bait took with many others that formerly had no inclination to the Puritanical Faction; Ashton of Middleton; Holland of Heaton; Holcroft of Holcroft; Heywood of Heywood; Birch of Birch, and several others; who, supposing on this flight of the EARL of DERBY, that the whole country would be at their devotion; took commissions from the Parliament, and with all speed garrisoned and fortified themselves in Manchester, the Parliament encouraging and assisting them with money and amunition.

The royal Standard being about this time set up at Nottingham, and the country not coming in as expected, the King began now to reflect on the ill usage of the EARL of DERBY, and by an express under his own hand, desired him to raise what forces he could in Lancashire, and come with them to him. To this his Lordship answered, that the rebels had seized Manchester; that many of the country had joined them, and others had declared for a loose and undutiful neutrality; that the face of things was greatly altered by his Majesty's march another way, and that he could not now flatter his Majesty with the access of such aids as he might have done a few months past; however, notwithstanding all the discouragements he met with, he would use all his endeavours to raise what forces he could for his Majesty's assistance; and for that purpose his Lordship issued out his warrants for an appearance of all his own tenants and dependants, but durst not venture to make a general muster of the county, for fear of waking the late suspicions which were yet scarce asleep. From amongst his tenants and relations he very soon raised three regiments of foot, and

three troops of horse, and cloathed them at his own charge, and armed them out of his own magazine; and when they were in readines to march, his Lordship posted to the King at Shrewsbury, to receive his commands. His Majesty guessing the dangerous consequence that might ensue by leaving a nursery of rebellion behind him at Manchester, ordered those forces to attack that place, and required the Earl, then with his Majesty, to give direction to Colonel Gilbert Gerrard, an old soldier, to draw before the town. The Colonel obeyed his orders, but the waters being then so swelled, he found it difficult to fix commodious posts for his horse and foot, which occasioned some delay in the intended attack of the town; and therefore the Earl himself was, by his Majesty's special command, sent thither from Shrewsbury, to give a speedy onset, and whether he carried the town or not, to march up to the camp.

The Earl had not been four hours before the town ere he summoned them to submit to the King's clemency, and to give up the place upon honourable terms, but they with great obstinecy refused all offers of mercy;

on which is Lordship gave orders for a storm upon the town the next morning at four o'clock, but that very night about twelve, his Lordship received letters from his Majesty, intimating, that the Earl of Essex was at the head of the rebels, and now marching from London towards him with a formidable army; that he stood in need of those forces under his Lordship, and that if the town was not carried, he should not hazard any of them by an assault; that if he carried the battle against Essex, those small garrisons would fall of themselves; and that his Lordship would, on receipt of those letters, forthwith advance to him with what forces he had.

Upon this, though his Lordship made no doubt to have gained the place by an easy assault, and thought it would highly reflect upon his honour to quit it reinforced, yet, complied without dispute or delay, to obey the King's commands, well knowing how his enemies at court would interpret any accident that might occur in any attempt contrary to the orders he had received; he therefore, to the wonder and regret of all his officers and soldiers, gave directions for a speedy

speedy march by five o'clock in the morning, and in two days brought to his Majesty three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse; well hoping that he might have commanded the troops raised at his own expence, as a brigade in his Majesty's service.

However, his enemies, and probably no friends to the King, so far wrought upon his Majesty's too easy and credulous temper by secret, unjust and malicious whispers, that he took the command of those troops from the Earl, and disposed of them to other officers, for which his Majesty only gave him for his reasons, this specious pretence; that it was necessary his Lordship should attend his charge in Lancashire; and the motion of the rebels there; therefore desired him to hasten back, and to do all in his power to prevent the growth and increase of their forces in that county.

This noble Lord, though a person of great temper, yet of as great a spirit, was so ruffled at this unkind usage, that he was scarce able to contain himself; but in a little time recovering from his great surprize, replied to his

Majesty,

Majesty, "Sire, If I have deserved this indignity, I deserve also to be hanged; if not, my honour and quality command me to beg your justice against those persons, who in this insolent manner, abuse both me and your Majesty; and if any man living (your Majesty excepted) shall dare to fix the least accusation upon me that may tend to my disservice, I hope you will give me leave to pick the calumny from his lips, with the point of my sword."

His Majesty, with a smooth countenance, appeared to entertain no displeasure against his Lordship, but said, "My Lord, my affairs are troubled; the rebels are marching against me, and it is not now a time to quarrel amongst ourselves; have a little patience and I will do you right." Though his Lordship did with all moderation contain himself, and used all endeavours to cover the dissatisfaction he was under, on the manifest dishonour done him on this occasion, yet the matter could not be so privately carried on, but it was soon spread through the whole court and army. His Lordship's friends spoke plainly out, and his soldiers refused to march

or serve under any other commander but his Lordship; who, by his wisdom and temper, composed the minds of his friends, and prevailed upon his soldiers to pay obedience to their officers.

The rebels in Lancashire were not ignorant how things passed at court, and thought it now a proper time to re-attempt his Lordship with fresh offers of power and command; and to this purpose procured a new express from the Parliament to his Lordship, importing, "That he could not but be very sensible of the great indignity put upon him at court by the King's evil counsellors; that those enemies were the enemies of the nation; that they struck at religion and all good men, and would permit none but Papists, or people popishly affected, to be near his Majesty; that it was the whole intent of the Parliament to remove men of such desperate and pernicious principles from his person, and to secure the true Protestant Religion; that if his Lordship would engage in that good cause, he should have command equal to his own greatness, or any of his ancestors."

The purport of these letters, raised a greater indignation in his Lordship, than all the slights and indignities he had received at court, whereupon he vouchsafed them no other answer, than that he gave to the colonel who brought the message — “ Pray tell the gentlemen at Manchester, and let them tell the gentlemen at London, that when they hear I turn traitor, I shall hearken to their propositions, till then, if I receive any other papers of this nature, it shall be at the peril of him that brings them.”

The rebels in Lancashire had, by this time, garrisoned Lancaster and Preston, and in a manner commanded all the county; and his Lordship having divested himself of his arms and magazines, was not in a condition to make much resistance against them; yet he used all diligence to fortify his own house at Latham, and secretly got in men, horse and ammunition, and had in a month's time, raised a good troop of horse, and two companies of foot; and being advised that three captains of foot with their companies were advanced to Houghton-common, within six miles of Latham, his Lordship with what

forces he had, marched out against them, and after half an hour's fight, defeated and took the three captains prisoners (one whereof was Venables, who was afterwards employed by Oliver Cromwell, against Hispaniola). By this defeat so unexpectedly given to that party, he made himself master of all their arms, and struck such a terror in the country, as greatly raised his Lordship's reputation, insomuch that great store of horse and foot came daily and joined him, whereby he soon began to confine the rebels to their garrisons.

About this time Lord Molineux coming to Lancashire to recruit his regiment, much shattered at Edge-hill and Brainford fights, Lord Derby applied to him for the assistance of his forces, in order to reduce the garrisons in those parts, which much annoyed that part of the country, and greatly impeded his Majesty's service; to which Lord Molineux agreed, and with their joint forces marched from Latham-house in the dark of the evening to Lancaster, without halting, being about thirty miles, and appeared before the town at break of day, and summoned

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ed the garrison to surrender, who refusing to comply, the town was immediately stormed, and taken at the second assault, in which the soldiers were rather backwards in engaging, which the Earl perceiving, took a half pike in his hand, and calling out to them, said, "Follow me;" on which some gentlemen volunteers joined him, which the soldiers perceiving, cheerfully followed and entered the town, in which twenty soldiers were wounded, and that gallant, loyal and worthy gentlemen, Mr Blundell of Crosby, had his thigh shattered by a musket ball.*

After taking the town and demolishing the works, his Lordship refreshed his men three days, and began his march the third evening towards Preston, where arriving early the next morning, he sent a summons to the Mayor to surrender the town to his Majesty's use; who refusing to obey the summons, the Earl gave orders to assault the works in three places, by Captains Chisenhall, Radcliff and Edward Rawsthorne. Captain Chisenhall entered first, and being supported by the reserve, the town, after about an hour's fight,

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was

* Lancaster taken 18th of March, 1642.

was subdued, and about six hundred of the enemy killed, and the rest made prisoners, except some who escaped by way of the river, which was fordable. † His Lordship having demolished the works of this town also, and judging that an useless garrison was not only a loss to his Majesty's service, but a plague to the country, by pillaging and oppressing them; and having refreshed his soldiers four or five days, called a council of war, at which he proposed a march to Manchester, then the chiefest garrison the rebels had in the county; urging, that now the enemy were under great consternation, and the works of the town inconsiderable to resolved men; that there were a great party in the place well affected to his Majesty's cause, and he was advertised, that on the appearance of the King's forces, they would shew themselves.

Therefore if it pleased the Lord Molineux and the other commanders (by whose assistance the late happy actions were atchieved) to march with him to Manchester, he would either reduce the town, or lay his bones before it.

This

† Preston taken 21st of March, 1642.

This proposal met with some opposition, but after a short debate it was carried for a march, and the army advanced that night as far as Chorley; but before two o'clock in the morning, Lord Molineux was, by his Majesty's command, called up to Oxford, with his regiment. Lord Derby with much importunity, intreated his stay but for four days, that he might attempt something upon Manchester; which the Lord Molineux and the other officers with him, flatly refused; producing their commissions to make up their regiment and broken companies, out of the forces newly raised by the EARL of DERBY.

—No doubt but this usage must be very shocking to that great Lord, who, being not only deserted by his auxiliaries, but deprived of his own forces, was left alone to secure himself by a retreat to his house at Latham; at which his and the King's enemies taking new courage, united all their scattered forces into one body, and assembled at Wigan, a town newly garrisoned by his Lordship, and trusted to the command of Major-general Blaire, a Scotch gentleman, recommended to him by the King; which town they took
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and plundered, to the very utensils and plate belonging the communion-table, which one of their puritanical teachers (Tyldefley) hung round him, as the spoils and plunder of an heathenish idol.

All these discouragements, sufficient to have sunk the spirits and shaken the loyalty of the most affectionate and dutiful subject in the world, served only to excite his great and loyal mind, with thoughts how to retrieve all past misfortunes; and when any about him took the liberty of reflecting upon the court, he was observed to silence them with that passage of Tacitus,

“ Pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et fama metus.”

Whilst his Lordship was engaged in new contrivances to advance his Majesty's service, he received an express from the King, importing that his enemies had formed some projects to seize the Isle of Man; that they had a party in the island in confederacy with them; and without his speedy care, it was in danger of being lost; then thanked him for
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his many good services in England, and besought him to hasten speedily thither, for the security of that place.

Upon his Lordship's perusal of these dispatches, he spoke to his lady with more than ordinary quickness and concern, saying, "My heart, my enemies have now their will; having prevailed with his Majesty to order me to the Isle of Man, as a softer banishment from his presence, and their malice."

His Lordship, who always knew how to obey, and never disputed the King's commands, was upon this occasion, under inexpressible grief and confusion of mind, being as it were at a loss how, and in what manner to act at so critical a juncture, with regard to his Majesty's commands, and the service he was capable of doing him in England; reasoning with himself in the following manner: "I that have, with the few that durst take my part, hitherto kept the greatest part of Lancashire in subjection to his Majesty in spite of his enemies, must now abandon my family, friends, and country's safety, to the malice of a wicked multitude,

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itude, without either mercy or compassion."

But (as his Lordship's memoirs go on) it being now known that the Queen was at York with great forces, I was advised and requested by the loyal gentlemen then with me, to go to her Majesty, and represent to her our distressed situation, and the necessity of giving us speedy help and relief, which I complied with, and left the few forces I had in Lancashire, under command of Lord Molineux.

In my absence the enemy possessed themselves of the whole country, saving my house and Sir John Girlington's; and a misfortune happening at Wakefield, which prevented the Queen from sending any part of her forces to our assistance; and the Lancashire troops yet remaining, taking a march towards York, in hopes of meeting me there, were disappointed, which verified the old proverb, that "Ill fortune seldom comes alone."

For at this time a report was spread, that the Scots intended to assist the Parliament, would

would land in the north, and in their way endeavour to take the Isle of Man, which might prove of ill consequence to his Majesty's affairs, to which I gave not much heed, but continued my desire to wait on the Queen at Oxford (where the King then was) and during my stay there, I wrote the following letter to my son Charles, Lord Strange, and had enlarged, but was suddenly called away, viz. "That I had received letters from the Isle of Man, intimating great danger of a revolt there; for that many people following the example of England, began by murmuring and complaining against the government, and from some seditious and wicked spirits, had learned the same lesson with the Londoners, to come to court in a tumultuous manner, demanding new laws, and a change of the old; that they would have no bishops, pay no tithes to the clergy, despised authority, and rescued some who had been committed by the governor for insolence and contempt, &c. It was also reported that a ship of war which I had there for defence of the island, was taken by the Parliament ships, which proved true; and that it was judged by her Majesty and those with her (as Lord

Goring, Lord Digby, Lord Jermin, Sir Edward Deering, and many others) that I should forthwith go to the island, to prevent the impending mischief in time, as well for his Majesty's service, as the preservation of my own inheritance."

Thus far I have digressed to take off that objection often asked, that when every gallant spirit had engaged himself for the King and country, why I left the nation, deserted his Majesty's service, and became neuter? with many such like invidious and malicious suggestions, to my prejudice; but I bless GOD I am fully satisfied of my own conduct and integrity of heart, well remembering all those circumstances, as well as the wicked insinuations of my implacable and restless enemies.

How others may be satisfied herewith, I know not, but think this short relation, for want of time to set things in a fuller light, may rather puzzle the mind of the readers, if any should chance to see it but yourself; but you, my son, are bound to believe well of your father, and I to be thankful to Almighty
GOD,

GOD, that you so well understand yourself, and me; as for others, I am unconcerned whether they understand me or not.

Upon the above advice, by her Majesty and friends, I returned to Latham, and having secretly made what provisions I possibly could, of men, money and ammunition, for the defence and protection of my wife and children, against the insolence and affronts of the enemy, prepared for my speedy voyage to the Isle of Man; taking with me such men and materials, as might answer those ends I was sent about.

Leaving my house, children, and all my concerns in England, to the care of my wife, a person of virtue and honour, equal to her high birth and quality, who being now left alone, a woman, a stranger in the country (and as the enemy imagined) without friends, provisions or ammunition for defence or resistance, concluded, that Latham-house would fall an easy prey to them, for which purpose they procured a commission from the Parliament to reduce it either by treaty or force.

But before I proceed to acquaint the world with the conduct and bravery of this most heroic and noble lady, in defence of herself, family and friends, give me leave to attend her husband, the puissant EARL of DERBY, to his principality of Man, and relate from his own memoirs, the state he found that place in, with his conduct and management thereof, and his observations of that island and people, also his instructions, by letters from thence to his son, the Lord Strange, advising and instructing him in the government of that island when it should descend to him, with the conduct and management of himself and family, in the course of his life.

My coming to the Isle of Man proved in good time, for it was believed by most, that a few days longer absence would have ended the happy peace that island had so long enjoyed. When the people knew of my coming, they were much affected with it; and on my arrival found, that my lieutenant, Captain Greehalgh, had wisely managed the business by patience and good conduct, and observing the general disorder, had wisely considered, that the people were to be won as
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tame wild beasts, and not by violent wrestling, lest they should turn upon you and know their strength; and who, tho' a powerful prince, if a multitude rise against him, being alone, or with a few, can well stand against them? As it is not therefore good that the common people should know their strength, so is it safest to keep them ignorant of what they may do, but rather give them daily occasion to admire the power and clemency of their Lord; and this to be done as often as he exerciseth Justice and Mercy; the one without too much rigour (but still according to the laws) and the other with softness, fit objects, and upon those to make his own act; for every act of grace, or whatever is good and pleasing, must come immediately from himself; and never let it be known that any particular person hath power or occasion to persuade you to do what is good and just; and if you be jealous that they would think such an one your adviser, be sure some time to deny that man something, that notice may be taken of it; and shew the world that Reason and Justice are the rule you are governed by; but if in any thing you are obliged to be harsh, of that let another

ther bear a share; and when you deny or afflict, let another's mouth pronounce it.

The Captain before my coming had imprisoned a saucy fellow in the face of the rabble, who cried aloud, that they would all fare as that man did, which he warily seemed not to fear and only threatened to lay every man by the heels that continued to behave in the same manner he had done; well knowing that if he punished him at that time, the rest would have rescued him, which would have let them see their own power, and how little his staff of office could annoy or hurt them. He then adjourned the court to another time, and wished them for the future to put their complaints in writing; and with good words promised to redress all their just grievances, and for that purpose would send over to me, without whom he told them no law could be changed; with which they were well pleased, and so departed.

Here you may observe the benefit of a good Governor; and indeed of any servant in any office of trust; for the first judgment we make of a great man's understanding is
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in the choice of his servants and followers; for if they be good and faithful, then he is reputed a wise man, as having knowledge to discern, and for want of this caution and care, many great families in England are ruined.

The Earl of DERBY's Character of Captain GREEHALGH, and his Reasons for his Choice of him for Governor.

“ First, that he was a Gentleman well born, and such usually scorn a base action. Secondly, that he has a good estate of his own, and therefore need not borrow of another, which hath been a fault in this country; for when governors have wanted, and been forced to be beholding to those who may be the greatest offenders against the lord and country, in such case the borrower becomes servant to the lender, to the stoppage, if not the perversion of justice; next he was a deputy Lieutenant and Justice of Peace for his own country; he governed his own affairs well,

well, and therefore was the more likely to do mine so; he hath been approved prudent and valiant, and as such fitter to be trusted; in fine he is such that I thank God for him, and charge you to love him as a friend."

When the people are bent on mischief it is folly rashly to oppose them without sufficient power and force; neither is it discretion to yield to them too much; for reason will never persuade a senseless multitude; but keeping your gravity and state, comply with them seemingly, and rather defer the matter to another time, with assurance that you will forward their own desires, by which you may gain time, as if convinced by their reasons and not the fear of any danger from them; and by the next meeting you may have taken off some of their leading champions, and either by good words or fair promises softened them to your own will; remembering that tumults are easier allayed by daring and undaunted men, than by wiser ones; for commonly the people more esteem the breast, than the brain, and are much sooner compelled than persuaded.

It is fit to have charity for all men, and think them honest; but as it is certain that the greater number of men are bad, I may fear that few are good; the sure way for a right knowledge of this I took to be, by appointing a meeting in the heart of the country, which I did, and there wished every man to tell his grievances freely, and I would hear all complaints, and give them the best remedy I could; by which I thought those who had entered into any evil designs against me or the country, might have time to find some excuses for themselves, and lay the blame and charge upon others.

And thus I chose rather to give them hopes and prevent their falling into violent courses before I could be provided for them; and indeed I feared so many were engaged by oath and covenant, after the new way of Scotland, that it would not be easy to make them sensible of their error; nevertheless matters were not so ripe as I could have wished, and it was not amiss to address myself even to the chief actors in the business, telling them somebody was to blame; that I apprehended the people were misled, and

that it would be an acceptable service in those who could bring them off it; and that if the common fort could be persuaded of their mistake, it would hinder my further enquiry into the business; upon which some really confessed their faults, and discovered to me the whole design, by which I made one good step, by dividing the faction, remembering the old proverb, "*Divide et impera;*" upon this each parish gave me a petition of their grievances, and I gave them good words, promising to take the same into consideration; upon which they appeared easy, and departed. After this I appointed another meeting at Castle Peel, where I expected some wrangling, and met with it; but had provided for my own safety, and if occasion were, to curb the rest; for in such cases it is good to be assured, of which notice being taken you will deal with them much better; otherwise the old saying is very true, "That he who is not sure to win, is sure to lose." Many busy-bodies spoke Manx only; which some officiously said, should be commanded to hold their peace, to which I objected, for I came prepared to give them liberty of speech, knowing by good experience, that

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those people were their mother's children, loving to speak much, and should be dealt with as such; giving them liberty to put themselves out of breath, and they will be sooner quiet, and be more content if you deny them after much speaking, than if you prevent it.

It is good in all business where you must appear in public, to appear in such a manner as may gain you the respect and praise of the people, and so just that all may look upon you. I resolved to give them liberty of speaking in their own way (for to reason with them was in vain) provided they crossed not my motions, which I was careful should be just and lawful.

And to bring my designs to pass, I had spies amongst the busy ones, who after they had sufficiently spoke ill of my office, began to speak well of me, and of my good intent to give them all satisfaction their grievances required; that they were assured I loved the people, and that if any were so unreasonable as to provoke me, they would run a great hazard; that I had power to maintain my actions, and there was no appeal.

When I took occasion above to commend the worth of the present governor, I did it as a rule to you in the choice of your counsellors; and remember this benefit by council, that all good success will be your glory, and all evil your excuse, having followed the advice of others, your counsellors are not likely to be better than yourself, but if they were, know this, that to ask council of one's betters tieth to performance; otherwise to ask council is to honour him of whom it is required, and you are at liberty to do as you please.

While I was here I became acquainted with one Capt. Christian, who I observed had abilities sufficient to do me service; and being recommended to me by a friend, I enquired more of him, and was told he was a Manx man born, and had made himself a good fortune in the Indies; and he offered himself on these terms; that being resolved to retire into his own country, whether he had the place of power or no, he would be content to hold the staff of government until I made choice of another, and would then willingly resign, and as for the pay, he valu-
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ed that so little, that he would do the service without any, or what pleased me.

He was an excellent companion, and as rude as a sea captain should be, but something more refined and civilized by serving the Duke of Buckingham about a year at court. Thus far I cannot much blame myself, but think if I had a jewel of value I prized it at too high a rate, which he knew very well and made use thereof to his own ends, abusing me and presuming of my support in all his actions, which from time to time he gilded over with such fair pretences, that I believed and trusted him too much.

Also I gave too little heed to complaints against him which was my fault, for which I have been whipped, and will do so no more. While he governed for some years, he pleased me very well, and had the quality of the best of servants, for whatever I bid him do, he would perform, and if it succeeded ill, would take it upon himself, but if well, would give me the glory of it. This he did while I continued my favours to him, the denial of which would have been as ungrateful

grateful as unwise in me, if I should not thereby have obliged him to me as the only means to keep him good.

But such is the nature and condition of man, that most have one failing or other to fully their best actions, and his was that condition which is ever found with drunkenness, viz. avarice, which is observed to grow in men with their years.

He was ever forward in making many requests, which while they were fit for me to grant I did not deny; but indeed a good servant would rather be prevented by his Lord's generosity, than demand any thing of himself, and chuse to be enriched, as if enforced, rather than pretend to it, and ascribe the benefit to the honour of his office, and not to merit.

But I observed the more I gave, the more he asked, and such things which I could not grant without much prejudice to myself and others; so after a while I sometime refused him, on which it was sure to fall out, according to the old observation, "That when
a prince

a prince hath given all, and the favourite can well desire no more, then both grow weary of one another." Ill servants like some diseases are easily cured when known, but are dangerous if undiscovered.

Thus far having attended the noble Lord Derby to his Principality of Man, and related his transactions there, with the great confusion, disorder, and sedition he found the people in on his first coming thither; and also observed his great prudence, judgment, and temper in calming their passions, healing their seditions, and reconciling them in duty to their King, in obedience to himself, and in friendship and unity with one another: let us therefore for a while leave him in peace, and the good esteem of his subjects, and return to the great and noble LADY DERBY, and her children, at Latham-house, and enquire of their welfare during his absence: whom he had left upon the very brink of danger, and for ought he knew, utter destruction.

We have already informed the reader, that before his Lordship left England, he had

had been advertised that the rebels had got a commission from the Parliament to reduce Latham-house, by treaty or force, which induced him to make all possible provision of men, money and ammunition, for the support and defence of his noble family and their friends, who had kindly offered their best assistance; of which the great LADY DERBY being informed, and also of the malicious designs and evil intentions of the enemy against her, used all diligence to get into the house more men, arms and provisions and to keep it at least so long as to procure honourable terms to quit it; but this was done by her with all possible speed, privacy and caution, that the enemy might not alledge her gathering of forces as an act of public hostility, and therefore hasten their approach, before her levies were got in readiness.

A true and genuine ACCOUNT of the famous and
ever memorable

SIEGE

OF

LATHAM-HOUSE,

In the County of Lancaster.

BEGUN THE

Twenty-eighth of February, 1644; and carried on by the Parliament army, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, General; assisted by the Colonels Egerton, Rigby, Ashton, Holcroft, and Major Morgan, Engineer, to the twenty-seventh of May, 1644; when Colonel Rigby, then commander in chief, thought fit to withdraw the forces, and march to Bolton: during which time the house was defended by the renowned and most noble LADY CHARLOTTE, Countess of Derby, governess, by the assistance of Major Farmer, and the Captains Farrington, Charnoch, Chisenhall, Rosthern, Ogle and Molineux Radcliffe; by whose valour and good conduct, she made so brave and noble a defence, as to occasion the raising of the siege.

“COLONEL Ashton of Middleton, Colonel Egerton of Shaw, Colonel Holcroft of Holcroft, and Colonel Rigby, with their regiments, and Sir Thomas Fairfax from Yorkshire, with his troops, was called to their assistance, to besiege or take by storm (for ought they knew) an unarmed Lady in her own house: but that which the heroic Lady most feared was, that they intended a sudden assault, from the multitude of their forces then in view; and that her own men being but raw and unexperienced, would be thereby terrified, and not make a worthy resistance.

“She therefore caused her men to be listed under six captains, whom, for their courage and integrity, she chose out of the gentlemen that were in the house to her assistance, viz. Captain Farrington of Werden, Captain Charnock of Charnock, Captain Chisenhall of Chisenhall, Captain Rosthern of Newhall, Captain Ogle of Prescot, and Captain Molineux Radcliffe. These she desired to train, instruct, and encourage her men, being yet unskilful and unfit for service.

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“ These Captains received all their orders from Captain Farmer, whom her ladyship had made Major of the House; and he received his orders from her Ladyship. He was by nation a Scotchman, very skilful in the art of war, having been long in the School of Mars in the Low Countries; a man of true courage and approved conduct. This worthy gentleman had the misfortune to be afterwards slain in the battle of Marston-moor, serving there under Colonel Chiffenhall.

“ This martial and heroic Lady commanded all the affairs of the house to be managed with the greatest privacy, and permitted none to go out of the gates, but those she could trust and rely upon, both for prudence and loyalty; the rest were so concealed, that when the enemy drew near to Latham-house, they dreamed of no other resistance but from her own servants.

“ In the interim the officers of the enemy being advanced to Ormskirk, two miles from Latham, Sir Thomas Fairfax, as commander in chief, sent on the twenty-eighth of Feb-

ruary, 1644, a trumpet and a gentleman of quality with him, to desire a friendly conformance with the LADY DERBY, to prevent, if it might be, all the mischief that would ensue by a misunderstanding and breach betwixt her Ladyship and him. To this her Ladyship consented.

“Whereupon Sir Thomas Fairfax, and some gentlemen with him, immediately came from Ormskirk to Latham, and were admitted to her Ladyship; but in the mean time by the advice of Major Farmer, to prevent a surprize, or sudden assault, her Ladyship caused all her soldiers to be placed in very good order, under their respective officers, from the main guard in the first court, down to the great hall, where her Ladyship had ordered Sir Thomas Fairfax, to be received; and had placed all the rest of their men in open sight, upon the walls, and the tops of the towers, in such manner, that they might appear to be, both numerous, and well disciplined; in hopes that this unexpected appearance of so much strength within, might give some terror to the enemy without; as she feared their great number
without,

without, might discourage her new raised soldiers within.

“ Sir Thomas Fairfax and the gentlemen with him being arrived at the house, were admitted, and received by her Ladyship with the greatest civility, when after a short respite, Sir Thomas acquainted her Ladyship, that they were commanded by the Parliament to reduce that house to their obedience, and that they were commissioned to offer to her Ladyship an honourable and safe remove with her children, servants, and all her goods (arms and cannon only excepted) to her Lord's house at Knowsley; and that she should enjoy one moiety of her Lord's estate in all places of England, for the support of herself and children.

“ To this her Ladyship answered, that she was there left under a double trust, one of Loyalty and Faith to her Husband, the other of Allegiance and Duty to her Sovereign; that till she had obtained their consent, she could not give up that house without manifest disloyalty and breach of trust to them both; therefore only desired one month's
time

time to know their good pleasure; and if she obtained their consent, she would quietly yield it up; if not, she hoped they would excuse her, if she endeavoured to preserve her honour and obedience, though in her own ruin.

To this Sir Thomas Fairfax replied, that it exceeded their commission to give to her Ladyship any further respite for consideration than that one day, and so departed, observing in his recess from the house, the situation and strength of it, and the order and regular disposal of the soldiers, perhaps either conceiving the number to be greater than they really were, or suspecting the resolution and courage of the common soldiers of his own party, or being a person of greater honour and generosity than his confederates, judged it ignoble and unmanly to assault a lady of her high birth and quality in her own house, without any other provocation than keeping her Lord's house by his command; a lady that had left her country and kindred for the enjoyment of the Protestant Religion.

“ And agreeable thereto, at the first council of war after their return from the said conference, he declared himself against a present storm, (urged by some) and advised a regular siege, which advice was greatly advanced by a circumstance that occurred during the time of the treaty with the Lady; a captain of the Parliament party then before the house, observing one of her Ladyship’s * Chaplains whom the Earl had left with her as a person well able to assist her with his council, and would be faithful to her in all her concerns; who had received their education together, and were not only well acquainted, but intimate and familiar with each other. At the close of the before-mentioned parly with the Lady, the Captain getting an opportunity of free discourse with the said Chaplain, attempted by direction from the commander of that party, to gain from him the secrets of that council, by which the Lady had resolved to keep the house, and conjured him by virtue of their ancient friendship, to tell him truly upon what confidence she proceeded to reject the offers made her by the Parliament, and think

* The Rev. Mr. Rutter, afterwards Bishop.

think to defend her house against so great a strength as was then before it encamped in the park.

“ To this the Chaplain deriving on the same design with his Lady, to avert a sudden assault, answered, that upon a firm promise of secrecy, he would acquaint the Captain with the truth and mystery of that council, viz. “ That the Lady had but little provision of victuals in the house; that she was oppressed with the number of her soldiers; that she would not be able to subsist above fourteen days for want of bread to supply them; that she hoped they would give a sudden onset to the house, not from the multitude and courage of her soldiers to give them a repulse, nor upon her own strength to discourage the enemy to raise a siege, she must inevitably be forced to surrender the place.

“ The Captain, as the Chaplain imagined he would, as soon as he came to the council, imparted the conference with the Chaplain, as the grand secret of the Lady and her Captains; to which Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the

the Colonels with him giving credit, laid aside all thoughts of a sudden force, and resolved on a close and formal siege.

“ Fourteen days being expired, Sir Thomas sent a summons by a trumpet to the Lady to surrender the house immediately, supposing upon the infallible advice of the chaplain that her provisions were then all spent; but by this time her soldiers were well hardened, the walls well lined, the cannon well fitted, and the Lady resolved to make a brave defence, and set the enemy at defiance.

“ And therefore, by the trumpet was returned, the following answer, “ That as she had not lost her regard for the Church of England, nor her Allegiance to her Prince, nor her Faith to her Lord, she could not therefore as yet give up that house; that they must never hope to gain it, till she had either lost all these, or her life in defence of them.”

“ Whereupon, Sir Thomas Fairfax seeing the Lady's resolution for a vigorous resistance, and that the chaplain had only abused the

credulity of the confident captain, left Colonel Egerton commander in chief, and with him Major Morgan, as engineer, to manage the siege; himself with his own troops being commanded by the Parliament to other service.

“ Latham-house stands upon a flat, upon a moorish, springy, and spumous ground, was encompassed with a strong wall of two yards thick; upon the walls were nine towers, flanking each other, and in every tower were six pieces of ordnance, that played three one way, and three the other. Without the wall was a mote eight yards wide, and two yards deep; upon the back of the mote between the wall and the graff was a strong row of palisadoes around; besides all these there was a high strong tower, called the Eagle Tower, in the midst of the house, surmounting all the rest; and the gate-house was also two high and strong buildings, with a strong tower on each side of it; and in the entrance to the first court upon the tops of these towers were placed the best and choicest marksmen, who usually attended the Earl in his hunting and other sports, as huntsmen,

men, keepers, fowlers, and the like; who continually kept watch with scrued guns and long fowling pieces upon those towers, to the great annoyance and loss of the enemy, especially of their commanders, who were frequently killed in their trenches, or as they came or went to or from them. Besides all that is hitherto said of the walls, towers, mote, &c. there is something so particular and romantic in the general situation of this house, as if Nature herself had formed it for a strong hold or place of security; for before the house, to the south or south-west, is a rising ground so near it, as to overlook the top of it, from which it falls so quick, that nothing planted against it on those sides, can touch it further than the front wall; and on the north and east sides, there is another rising ground, even to the edge of the mote, and then falls away so quick, that you can scarce at the distance of a carbine shot, see the house over that height, so that all batteries placed there, are so far below it, as to be of little service when engaged against it (of which more hereafter) only let us observe for the present, that the uncommon situation of it may be compared to the palm of a man's

hand, flat in the middle, and covered with a rising round about it, and so near to it, that the enemy in a two year's siege, were never able to raise a battery against it so as to make a breach in the wall practicable to enter the house by way of storm.—Now let us see how the enemy proceeded in their attack upon it, after the departure of Sir Thomas Fairfax.

“ Colonel Egerton pushed on by the inveterate malice and spite of Colonel Rigby, gave orders for drawing a line of circumvallation round about the house; which being observed by the Lady and her Officers, they resolved to give them some disturbance in their first approaches, and in a council agreed to make a sally upon them with two hundred men, under the command of Major Farmer, which was carried on with so much bravery and resolution, that they beat the enemy from all their trenches, and pursued them to their main guard, and even as far as prudence and good conduct would permit, without hazard of being intercepted in their retreat by the enemies horse.

“ This sally was made on the twelfth of March, 1644; wherein were killed, about sixty of the enemy, and near as many more made prisoners, with the loss only of two men. After this smart attack by the besieged, the enemy doubled all their guards, and drew new lines about the house at a greater distance (as one effect of the situation above described) called in all the country, and made the poor men work in the trenches; where great numbers of them were slain by the frequent sallies from the house.

“ In about five weeks they finished their new line, and then ran a deep trench near to the mote, and there raised a very strong battery; whereon they placed a large mortar piece (sent them from London) from which they cast about fifty stones of fifteen inches diameter into the house; also grenadoes (otherwise bomb-shells) of the same size; the first of which falling near the place where the Lady and her children, with all the commanders, were sat at dinner, shivered all the room, but hurt nobody.

“The Lady and her Commanders observing the soldiers to be somewhat terrified with the frequent shooting of those unusual and destructive fire-balls, resolved at a council of war, to make a strong sally, and attempt the taking of that mortar-piece.

“Besides which, the enemy had twenty-nine short cannon, and five longer for grenadoes; with several others, from which they fired upon the house many days, particularly on the twelfth of April, when a cannon-ball came through the Lady’s chamber window, but did little damage. Upon this the sally above resolved upon, was put into execution. The van was commanded by that brave and loyal gentleman, Captain Molineux Radcliffe; the main body by Captain Chisenhall; and the reserve by Major Farmer. In this order they assaulted the enemy’s trenches with so much bravery, that after half an hour’s sharp dispute, they made themselves masters of all their works, nailed up and overturned all their cannon, and those that they found upon carriages, they rolled into the mote, and brought the mortar piece into the house, and continued masters of the enemy’s works
and

and trenches all that day; and with the utmost pains and diligence, endeavoured to destroy and render useleſs, every one of them.

“ During all this ſharp and bloody fight, the heroic and moſt undaunted Lady Governeſs, was without the gates, and ſometimes near the trenches, encouraging her brave ſoldiers with her preſence; and as ſhe conſtantly began all her undertakings with prayers in her chapel, ſo ſhe cloſed them with thankſgiving; and truly it was hard to ſay, whether ſhe was more eminent for courage, prudence or ſteady reſolution, or juſtice, piety and religion: and I think we may juſtly infer, that the good Providence of Almighty God, watchfully protected her from the evil deſigns and wicked machinations of her incenſed and inveterate enemies; who, as the priſoners informed us had, about the time of our ſucceſsful ſally, projected to ſcale the walls on every ſide of the houſe with their whole army at one time, and to deſtroy the COUNTESS of DERBY, and all that belonged to her.

“ The enemy having rallied their ſoldiers, reſpoſſeſſed themſelves the night following of
their

their trenches; and for five or six days wrought with all their force to repair the breaches that had been made; in which, notwithstanding, they were three times dislodged and scattered, by vigorous sallies from the house.

“ Colonel Rigby, in the mean time, taking occasion from the late defeat, accused Colonel Egerton of neglect and indolence in carrying on the siege, and got commission from the Parliament to be commander in chief; and to give him his due, though a rebel, was neither wanting in care or diligence to distress the house. He denied a pass to three sick gentlemen to go out of the house, and would not suffer a midwife to go into the house to a gentlewoman in travail; nor a little milk for the support of young infants, but was every way severe and rude, beyond the barbarity of a Turkish general. For a fortnight together he was permitted to carry on his works without much disturbance, the house being in want of powder to make frequent sallies.

“ But that defect being supplied, which they got in by a sally, the Lady proposed to
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the council of war, to make a fresh assault upon all their trenches; which being agreed upon, Captain Edward Rosthern led the van, Captain Farmer the main body, and Captain Chisenhall the reserve; who shewed their usual courage and resolution; beat the enemy from all their works, cleared the trenches, and nailed up all their cannon; in which service they slew one hundred and twenty of the enemy, with the loss only of three soldiers, and five or six wounded.

“The enemy having lain four months before the house (in which time, by the confession of prisoners taken in the several sallies, they had lost above two thousand men) Colonel Rigby sent the Lady a summons of another nature than those formerly sent by Sir Thomas Fairfax, or Colonel Egerton, “That he required and expected the Lady would forthwith deliver up the house to the service of the parliament; that there was no hopes of any relief from the King’s forces, which were then in a low and desperate condition, and that if she refused to deliver it up, upon that summons, she must hereafter expect the utmost severity of war.”

“ Her Ladyship having communicated this summons to the council of war, did, with their unanimous consent, return by the trumpet who brought it the following answer (for she refused to give any answer in writing) “ Trumpet, said she, tell that insolent rebel Rigby, that if he presumes to send any other summons to this place, I will hang up the messenger at the gates.”

“ The EARL of DERBY being at that time in the Isle of Man, and alarmed with the distress of his Lady and children, well knowing her great and noble mind, that she would rather chuse to perish than give up herself and them to Rigby’s mercy and disposal, hastened from that island with all possible quickness, and with the utmost speed, implored his Majesty’s favour for the relief of his Lady and distressed Children. His Highness, Prince Rupert, having at that time happily obtained a victory over the rebels at Newark, his Majesty gave orders that he should march through Lancashire to the relief of York, then besieged by the enemy, and to quicken his Highness in his march, the EARL of DERBY gave his soldiers a largess,

gers, or carefs, of three thousand pounds; which he had raifed upon his Lady's jewels, conveyed to him out of Latham-house by a fally.

“ His Highness, the Prince, entered Lancashire at Stockport-bridge, where he defeated a party of the enemy, commanded by Colonel Duckenfield, and some sent from Manchester to guard that pass. Rigby now hearing that the Prince had entered the country, and fearing a visit from him, thought proper on the twenty-seventh of May, 1644, to raise the siege of Latham-house, and march with all his strength, being about two thousand men, to Bolton, a garrison of the enemy; which with the forces he found there, and some access from other places, made up an army of three thousand; two thousand five hundred foot, and five hundred horse: with these he resolved to give defiance to the Prince; having there the advantage of high and strong mud walls, with which, and a large ditch under them, the enemy had many months before environed that town.”

The SIEGE and TAKING of
BOLTON,

In the County of Lancaster.

On the Twenty - eighth of MAY, 1644, by his
 Highness, PRINCE RUPERT,
General and chief Commander of the Army of his Uncle,
 KING CHARLES I.

“**T**HE Prince being advertised that the siege of Latham-house was raised, and that Rigby the late besieger with his army was fortified in Bolton, resolved to do all that lay in his power to avenge the affronts and abuses put upon, and suffered by the brave and most noble LADY DERBY; to whom he knew himself nearly allied by consanguinity of blood; therefore leaving their garrison of Manchester, he hastened to Bolton, which being but of a small circuit, and defended with three thousand men, his Highness rightly judged, would make a vigorous resistance; however having called a council of war, ordered his post, and prepared for a storm, he gave directions for the assault, which was performed with much gallantry and resolution by his men; but being

ing greatly annoyed from the walls by the enemies cannon, and the multitude of the defendants, were obliged to retreat, and quit the assault, with the loss of two hundred men.

“ His Highness being greatly irritated and ruffled by this repulse, but especially by the barbarous cruelty of the enemy, who murdered his soldiers taken in the storm in cold blood, upon the walls before his eyes; with which he was highly provoked, and called a second council of war, wherein he proposed a second onset; the EARL of DERBY considering how much he was concerned for his Lady and Children, who, unless the town was taken, would upon the Prince's departure, be again immediately besieged, requested his Highness to allow him two companies of his old soldiers, then under the command of Colonel Tyldefley, and to give him the honour to command the van, saying, he would either enter the town, or leave his body in the ditch. His Highness appeared unwilling to hazard a person of his worth in so desperate an action, yet upon his importunity complied with his request; and things being prepared

prepared and ready, the Prince gave orders for an assault on all parts of the town where it was possible to make any approaches.

“ The EARL of DERBY with his two hundred men marched directly to the walls, and after a quarter of an hour's hot dispute, entered the first man himself, who being bravely seconded with fresh supplies, the town was instantly attacked on every quarter; Rigby himself got away, but left two thousand of his men behind him, most of whom were slain upon the place, the Prince forbidding to give quarter to any person then in arms, because they had so inhumanly murdered his men in cold blood.

“ This action was performed on the twenty-eighth of May, 1644; and the sudden and surprising conquest of this town (just after so smart a repulse) was chiefly attributed to the courage and resolution of the brave EARL of DERBY, animated by a just concern for the sufferings of his noble Lady and Children; and to the bravery of the two hundred Lancashire men he had the honour to command on that occasion, who all fought

fought with equal ardour for the relief of their noble Lady Miltrefs, being all tenants and neighbours sons raised, clothed, armed and trained by that valiant Earl, but ungenerously and disgracefully taken from him by the King at Worcester; whose weak and easy temper proved afterwards the ruin of himself and his brave subject, the EARL of DERBY; who once in all appearance had interest and power sufficient, if a right use had been made thereof, to have delivered his Majesty from the power and malice of all his enemies.

“ The Prince having obtained this seasonable victory over the rebels in Bolton, sent all the colours taken there, by Sir Richard Lane, to the LADY DERBY, which her Ladyship received as a singular honour as well as comfort, and caused them to be hung up in Latham-house, as a happy remembrance of GOD’s mercy and goodness to her and her family.

“ From this place, after some days rest, his Highness was prevailed upon to march to Liverpool, to reduce that town, where the ene-

my had a strong garrison, under the command of Colonel Moor, a worthy member of that rebellious junto, who sat at Westminster, and took upon them to order and direct all the public affairs and government of the kingdom.

PARTICULARS

Of the SIEGE and TAKING of

LIVERPOOL,

On or about the Twenty-sixth of JUNE, 1644,

BY THE SAME PRINCE.

With a Description and Situation of the Town.

“UPON the Prince’s arrival near Liverpool, he was informed that it was well fortified with a strong and high mud wall, and a ditch of twelve yards wide, and near three yards deep, inclosing the town from the east-end of the street called Dale-street, and so northward to the river; and from Dale-street end east, and south-east, being a low marshy ground, was covered with water from the river, and batteries erected within to cover and guard against all passage over or through that water. All the street ends to the river were shut up, and those to the land inclosed with strong gates, defended by cannon. All useless women and children were sent to their friends in the country, on both sides the river. There was also a strong castle on the south, surrounded

with a ditch of twelve yards wide, and ten yards deep, from which to the river was a covered way, through which the ditch was filled with water, and by which when the tide was out, they brought in men, provisions and stores of war, as occasion required.

“ In and upon this castle were planted many cannon, as well to annoy the besiegers at a distance, as to cover the ships in the harbour; which was then where the dock is now, and at the entrance whereof was a fort of eight guns to guard that, and to prevent all passages by the river side at low water. Besides all these advantages of defence, there was one most unhappy circumstance to many distressed families, but very lucky to the besieged; for in those distracted, confused and rebellious times, great numbers of the English Protestants had been massacred in Ireland, and those who escaped with life, obliged to fly to England for refuge and safety, bringing with them all the effects they possibly could for support; amongst which was great quantities of wool, with which the besieged covered the tops of their mud walls which saved them greatly from the small shot
of

of the besiegers. The garrison within was numerous, and stored with arms and ammunition of all kinds, and in this state thought themselves able to give the Prince a hearty welcome on his visitation.

“ Liverpool is situated upon a ridge of land, on the east side of the river Mersey, running from the north side of the town for about a mile to the south side thereof, where it falls to a flat; but in its form, for the most part, declines on the west side to the river, and on the east side to the country.

“ The town was at that time but small, either in appearance or reality to what it is now; however the fortifications of it then included most of all the town, as it is at present: the river is about a mile broad, from bank to bank, and of depth sufficient for reception of the largest ships up to the town: the country near it is high land, which renders it unfit to sustain a long siege.

“ This made the Prince upon his near approach and view of the town, being unacquainted with its situation (one side declining

to the country, and the other to the river, as before-mentioned, so that he could see but little of it) to compare it to a crow's nest; but ere he became master of it he said it might have been an Eagle's nest or a den of Lions.

“ He fixed his main camp round the beacon, a large mile from the town, and his officers in the villages near it; from whence he brought a detachment every day to open the trenches and erect batteries: the latter were mostly placed upon the ridge of ground running from the north of Townsend-mill, to the present copper works and mills, and the trenches in the lower grounds under them. He relieved his trenches and batteries from his camp, twice every twenty-four hours, and from them he battered the town, and attacked the besieged and their works very frequently by way of storm, but was always repulsed with great slaughter of his soldiers for the space of a month, or thereabouts; when some observed, that the besieged on the north side deserted their works and guard of them; but others say, that Colonel Moor observing that they must be taken, to ingratiate himself with the Prince, to save his house and effects
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at Bank-hall, near it, gave directions to the soldiers to retreat from those works; but be that as it may, deserted they were on the north side, and the Prince's army entered the town on that side about three in the morning, and put all to the sword they met with, from their entrance to the High Cross, which stood where the Exchange now stands, where they met with a regiment of soldiers from the castle, drawn up in battle array, who beat a parley and demanded quarter; which on treaty they were allowed, but without any other articles than prisoners of war, and surrender of the castle, with their persons and arms; upon which they were all sent to the Tower, St. Nichols's Church, &c. the Prince taking possession of the castle himself."

His Highness having reduced Liverpool, was intreated by Lord Derby to take Latham-house in his march to York, and there refresh himself and his men for a few days, which he was pleased to comply with; and on his coming to Latham, found that house most strangely shattered by the enemies cannon and mortar pieces. However he was, with all his chief commanders, treated agreeably

to the greatness of his person and merit, and with all the expressions of thankfulness by the EARL of DERBY and his most renowned Lady, for his seasonable relief of them and their family.

The Prince having viewed, and well considered the commodious situation of Latham-house, and the strength of the towers, with their regular position for the defence of one another, the walls, &c. gave directions for adding to them bastions, counterscarps, &c. and all other out-works necessary for the better defence thereof upon another siege when it should happen; and then, at the request of the LADY DERBY, gave the government and keeping of the house, to the care and conduct of Captain Edward Rosthern, whom the Prince made Colonel of a regiment of foot, and gave him two troops of horse for its defence.

Captain Chisenhall, another of those brave commanders who had well deserved honour, not only in the siege of that house, but on other remarkable occasions, was also by the Prince made Colonel of a regiment of foot, and marched with his Highness to York.

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The Prince having now recruited his army with men, arms and ammunition, and all other necessaries for his march, desired the EARL of DERBY to return to his charge of the Isle of Man; as being probably better acquainted with those undeserved jealousies and suspicions still subsisting against him, than the Prince himself was; and of the apprehensions some great ones about the King had of a misapplication of too much power entrusted to him who had so near an alliance to the crown; therefore urged the Earl to a compliance with his request, and to take his Lady and Children with him, not knowing yet what might be the issue or success of the war in England; adding, that the children of such a father and mother might, in their generation, become as useful and serviceable to their Prince, as their parents had been.

Some time after this, the battle of Marston-moor being lost by the Prince, it was not long before the enemy, as expected, sat down again before Latham-house; which, though strengthened with such out-works as the Prince had directed, was much weakened within, by the consumption of their provisions

sions by the Prince's army, and the want of powder and match, which his Highness had borrowed for the supply of his army on their march from thence to York.

However, the new governor, Colonel Rosthern, was neither wanting in care or diligence, nor in any other good offices for the supply of the garrison with provisions and all other necessaries for sustaining a siege; and it was a great advantage to him, that the EARL of DERBY, on his return to the Isle of Man, had left with him in the house, the Chaplain, whose fidelity and great capacity his Lady had long and fully experienced; and also another gentleman of good understanding and integrity, to attend all the affairs in England; both to be assistants to him the Governor, by their counsel and services, and to raise what money they possibly could out of his estate, for the constant pay of the soldiers. These two gentlemen made the best use of the opportunity they had whilst the house was open, and raised a very considerable sum of money, by which they furnished the garrison with provisions, ammunition, and all other necessaries.

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This being done, the Governor disposed the soldiers to their respective officers: commanders of horse were Major Munday and Captain Kay; and those of foot were Captain Charnock, Captain Farrington, Captain Molineux Radcliffe, Captain Henry Noel, Captain Worrall and Captain Roby.

By this time (July, 1645) the enemy were again advanced, with four thousand men, to their head quarters at Ormskirk, under their old General Egerton; for Rigby, upon the loss of his men at Bolton, was laid aside; and upon the Governor's (now Colonel Rostern) information of their advance and strength, he ordered out a strong party of horse and foot; the first was commanded by Major Munday, the foot by Captain Molineux Radcliffe, and the rear was brought up by the Governor himself. In this order they attacked the enemies camp and quarters with so much courage, resolution and bravery, that they took all the guards of the enemy both horse and foot, routed their whole body, (of whom they killed and took many) the General himself with difficulty escaping, by flying away in his shirt and slippers.

But that which was of greatest advantage to them was, the enemies magazine of powder, which was taken and brought to Latham, which was their great increase of store for support of the siege which afterwards ensued. In this exploit Colonel John Tempest, who served only as a volunteer, did most worthy and excellent service. The Governor animated the whole action, and indeed exposed himself to more hazard and danger than he ought to have done, as chief commander.

This gallant attempt and success so amazed the enemy, and encouraged the troops of Latham, that for three weeks (in which time the enemy were largely recruited) they continued masters of the field, and after braved the enemy every day in their head quarters for twelve months together; and notwithstanding their great numbers and utmost endeavours, they were never able to advance nearer than Ormskirk; where they were in a manner as much besieged, as the others were in the house.

But the ammunition of the garrison being now almost spent, and they out of hopes of recruit-

recruiting their store from Manchester, &c. as formerly, and their intelligence with some friends there being discovered, they were obliged to suspend all action abroad, and suffer the enemy to make nearer approaches, and confine them closer within their own bounds.

Major Morgan, being the enemies engineer, drew a line a flight-shot from the house, not intending either to batter or storm it, but only to hinder them from going abroad, and to straiten and prevent them from getting in provisions, or any other supplies. The trench of his line was three yards wide and two yards deep; and upon the rampire of the ditch he raised eight strong forts, wherein their soldiers might lie with some security, and be able to relieve one another upon sallies from the house.

Upon the north-side of the house, which was the lowest ground, he run a deep trench near the very mote, hoping thereby to lay it dry, and then to undermine the house; but there being within it some skilful colliers, who had as much experience in mining and drawing of water as he was master of, and they being employed by the governor to op-

pose him, always wrought counter to him; and keeping full chambers of water above, they at pleasure opened them and drowned both his works and men, to their entire disappointment and confusion.

And thus, by the diligence, skill and courage of the besieged, was this house full two years most gallantly, and bravely defended, against all the contrivance and force of the enemy; wherein by their own confession they lost at least six thousand men, and the garrison about four hundred.

The King himself was at this time upon his march for the relief of his brave and loyal subjects in Latham-house, and with intent to have transferred the war to Lancashire, but was unhappily defeated at Rowton-heath, near Chester; upon which misfortune he gave orders to the Earl's Chaplain before-mentioned (whom he had sent for to give him a state of the house and country about it) to advertise the governor, that it was his Majesty's pleasure he should accept a treaty with the enemy, and endeavour to procure from them as good terms as they could possibly

bly obtain, since it was not in his power to relieve them. Small comfort from the father of three kingdoms, to tell his children he was not able to succour them in their distress; which gives us a fatal instance of division in council, and the want of resolution and steady adherence to our best friends, which appears through the course of this history, with many others, to have been the true cause of the unhappy Prince here spoken of; who seems to have fallen under the observation of a learned poet, That,

The fortunate have whole years,

And those they choose;

But the unfortunate have only days,

And those they lose.

However, his Majesty's commission, by the Chaplain, being got into the house, the Governor, like a wise and prudent commander, resolved to accept the first opportunity of a treaty which the enemy might offer; which being induced thereto either by their long sufferings in that memorable siege, or being ignorant of the true state of the place, which for ought they knew, might be furnished with
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all necessaries for many months resistance; and they despairing of success, requested that commissioners might be appointed on both sides, to treat of a surrender.

Whereupon, commissioners were appointed, and a place of meeting agreed upon, wherein those on the part of the besiegers offered, That if the governor, and officers with him, would surrender the house and all the cannon, they should be permitted to march away with bag and baggage, drums beating and colours flying; that the LADY DERBY and her Children, should enjoy the third part of the Earl's estate, for their support and maintenance; and that all his goods should be safely conveyed to his other house at Knowsley, and there secured, for his Lordship and family's use; that all gentlemen in the house should compound, at one year's value for their estates; and that every Clergyman in the house, should enjoy half the revenue of his living, and should live quietly, without any oath being imposed upon them.

These terms were judged reasonable, by two of the Commissioners appointed by the garrison,

garrison, but the third would by no means consent, unless they might take away the cannon also; whose indiscretion and obstinate perverse humour, broke off the treaty, to the ruin of the besieged; for that very night, after the return of the Commissioners, an Irish soldier in the garrison went down by the wall, and swimming over the mote, got to the enemies camp, and immediately informed the commanding officers there, that the rejection of their proposals, and the breaking of the treaty, were highly displeasing to the garrison; that there was not bread enough in the house for two days, nor any other provisions or stores to hold out the siege any longer.

Upon this information, the enemy next morning summoned the garrison to an immediate surrender of the house and themselves prisoners, upon the bare terms of mercy, which the soldiers, being all in confusion, resolved to accept of, notwithstanding all the intreaties by the governor to the contrary, who gallantly and bravely proposed to them, to join him, and fight their way through the enemy, sword in hand, and either by that
means

means to save themselves with honour and reputation, or bravely die in the attempt. But the worthy and valiant Governor, not being heard by them, the house was yielded up to a merciless enemy, and all the rich goods therein, became a booty to them. The rich silk hangings of the beds, &c. were torn to pieces, and made fashes of; the towers and all the strong works razed to the ground and demolished, and all the buildings within it, leaving only standing two or three little timber buildings; as a monument of their fury and malice.

And thus was ruined and brought to destruction (partly by the obstinacy and indiscretion of one man, and the treachery of another) even to a cottage or heap of rubbish, the ancient, noble, and almost invincible House of Latham, whose Antiquity, famous Siege, and most heroic and gallant Defence, can never be forgot whilst History remains in the world.

No more ought to be buried in oblivion, the heroic and most gallant behaviour of those brave and martial spirits, who were instrumental and assisting in the ever memorable
defence

defence of that place: and although none of them (except Captain Farmer, Major Munday, and Captain Kay) were bred in a military way (unless as a county militia) yet I think it may with modesty and justice be asserted, that no officers of any degree bred in the School of Mars, or elsewhere, ever shewed more conduct, courage and magnanimity, than those brave and worthy gentlemen (to their honour and everlasting fame let it be recorded) who defended Latham-house against the powerful attacks of a formidable enemy, assisted by a far superior force, and in an open country for supply.

The Prince having before this time refreshed and recruited his army (by the assistance of Lord Derby) with men, arms and ammunition proper for his march to York, urged that brave Lord to return to his charge in the Isle of Man, to which his Lordship complied.

Having given the reader the particulars of the memorable siege and surrender of Latham-house, dispatched his Highness Prince Rupert to the relief of York, and sent the

EARL of DERBY and his worthy family as exiles to the Isle of Man, I cannot omit a few thoughts and animadversions upon these subjects.

As to the Prince's advice and intention to the Earl and his family, I look upon it as meant with sincerity and without deceit; but the reasons offered to induce it, I esteem no less than mere chimera and court cant, calculated with no other view or intent, than to asperse, degrade and vilify that noble Lord, and to fix upon and stigmatize him with infamy and disgrace, as a person carrying on private designs and views for his own interest, separate from those of his royal master.

In this light I have inspected and considered the actions and conduct of his whole life, as well before as since the commencement of the unhappy war then subsisting; and I cannot discover in the course of it, the least inclination or tendency in any of his actions, to aggrandize himself or family at the expence of his Prince's honour, interest or safety; but on the contrary, that he had, agreeable to the tender made by him to his Majesty

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at York, on his first appearance there, assisted him to the utmost of his power; with his person, interest and fortune, to the total destruction of the first, and entire consumption of the latter.

But let us go yet a little farther, and consider that frightful article of his near alliance to the crown, as one reason given us for his exclusion from all favour, power or trust under the King; and having duly weighed the nature thereof, we shall find it as light upon the balance as the former; consisting more in imagination than reality; more in pride, envy, malice, calumny and court faction, than any evil designs or intentions of the great and noble Lord here aspersed, villified and contemned by the court parasites; who, being in favour, power or trust with the Prince, admit of no rivals; and that calumny, defamation and detraction, are with them esteemed fashionable and courtly accomplishments. Lastly,

Let us consider that the latent and dormant title to the crown by the EARL of DERBY, on which so much stress appears to

be laid, was at that time postponed and removed to so great a period of time, that nothing less than downright rebellion could have revived or supported his pretensions. Add thereto, the ancestors of the Royal Family now on the throne, being then in full life; nay, one of them then was his Majesty's General, the King himself having issue both male and female, which rendered any project or attempt of this kind, utterly impracticable; and the loyal endeavours of that noble Lord to promote his Majesty's interest in those perilous and rebellious times, plainly contradict all those invidious, malicious and scandalous suggestions and insinuations then spread abroad by the enemies of the noble personage here mentioned.

That like causes usually produce the same or like effects, is an established rule with respect to men as well as things; from whence it is observed, that those favourites who have advanced themselves at court, by mere dint of address, and by mean and unbecoming arts of flattery and sedulity (unknown and scorned by men of real abilities) have been always fatal to the nation; and where the actions

actions and resolutions of men of integrity, loyalty and good abilities, willing to serve their King and country, have been discouraged, and treated with indignity and contempt, then the peace, unity and welfare of the whole hath generally suffered violent convulsions and uncommon changes, if not the total ruin of the Prince, as in the case before us.

And with respect to the great and noble Lord here treated of, who may be esteemed of the number of those, discouraged and treated with contempt by his Prince, or the sycophant courtiers about him, he acted steadily and zealously, on principles of liberty, and the common good of mankind: he maintained them in all seasons, and was ashamed to be at ease while his King and country suffered, and the vigour with which he exerted himself against those to whom both owed their sufferings (unhappily for him and his noble family) brought on his own, (much to be lamented) hard fate well known to the world.

Having

Having just left the famous House of Latham in ashes, I have only to remark that many curious and notable transactions occurred during that Siege that could not properly be related in the common course of that account, but, however, well deserves to be remembered, and I doubt not but the knowledge of them will be as acceptable to the reader as those of the siege.

Give me leave to acquaint you that the reverend and worthy Chaplain of the house, Mr. Rutter, managed all correspondence and intelligence by cyphers and characters: wherein he first made use of a woman, one Widow Read, of that neighbourhood, to bring in and carry out dispatches of that nature, by the assistance of fallies appointed for that purpose, upon a signal given by her to the house when she wanted to come in.

This secret and most hazardous service she most faithfully carried on for above a year, but was at last most unhappily taken with cyphers about her; some for his Majesty King Charles, some for the Lord Byron at Chester, and others to some correspondence

pondence at Manchester; upon which she was required to tell to whom those characters at Manchester particularly were directed (for the enemy could not discover or interpret them) but she stoutly denied and refused to confess any thing relating to them; then she was threatened with severe punishment if she would not declare what she knew of them; but still persisting in her integrity, she was burnt with matches betwixt her fingers so long, that three fingers of each hand were burnt off; yet, the woman, beyond the resolution of her sex, or of any woman upon record; suffered all those tortures with invincible patience, and would discover nothing.

Amongst the officers, the brave and gallant Captain Molineux Radcliffe, merits perpetual remembrance for his most valiant services; who commanded the van in twelve sallies, and always brought off his men with success; but at last this gallant gentleman had the misfortune to be slain in storming a fort of the enemy.

Captain

Captain Charles Radcliffe, Captain Henry Noel, Captain Roby, and Captain Worrall, all behaved themselves with the utmost courage and resolution, and deserved better recompence than the King's affairs would allow them to expect.

Major Munday, and Captain Kay, who commanded the horse, were certainly no way inferior to any officers of horse, in the King's army. A specimen of which immediately follows.

Major Munday, during the siege, being challenged to fight his troop against so many of the enemy, cheerfully accepted the challenge: both troops were drawn out into the park, in the sight of the house, and the enemies army; in the engagement the Major received a shot in the side of the face, by which an artery being cut, bled excessively, upon which he desired his Lieutenant to make good the fight till he got the artery sewed up. The fight was made good till the Major returned, and then upon the first charge the enemy fled, and he took most of the troop prisoners. This brave and worthy gentleman,

gentleman, who after the Siege of Latham, had retired to his own country, and returning into England again with his Majesty King Charles II. when he marched from Scotland to Worcester, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by the merciless rebels, and being known by them, was for his bravery shot to death in cold blood.

Captain Kay being also challenged by a trumpet from the enemy, to fight hand to hand on horseback with Capt. Asmall, a Captain of the adverse party, he accepted the challenge: both troops met in the park, and stood aloof, whilst the Captains fought single. In the engagement, Captain Asmall having discharged both his pistols at Captain Kay, without much effect, Kay immediately rode up to him, and thrust him through the neck with his javelin, on which he fell down dead from his horse; Captain Kay alighting, took him up in the face of his troop, and flung him upon his own horse, and brought him into the house; upon which, Captain Kay's Lieutenant, offered to fight Asmall's Lieutenant, hand to hand, or troop to troop,

but they refused the offer, and fled to their main body.

The worthy Chaplain whom I acquainted you before had managed all the intelligence of the house, having lost his old friend the Widow Read, who had most faithfully served him in that way to her death, after some time found another expedient, by means of a hound dog which he observed frequently to come and go betwixt his master in Latham-house, and his mistress about three miles off, got private notice to the gentlewoman, that as often as the dog came home she should look about his neck, and she would find a thread with a little paper wrapt about it, which he requested she would send to his Majesty; and when any papers were sent to her to come into the house, directed that she would tie them in like manner about the dog's neck, and keep him a while hungered, then open the door and beat him out.

And thus the poor dog being beaten backward and forward, conveyed all intelligence into and from the house, for nine months together; till at last, leaping over the enemies works
in

in his way to the house, an angry ill-natured soldier shot him, but he got to the mote side near the gate with his dispatches, and there died, by which Mr. Rutter lost his useful servant the dog.

However, though he could not contrive to furnish himself in the same way, yet he found out another expedient to answer near the same ends, but with greater advantage to the garrison; for by a correspondence he had formed with some trusty and hearty friends of the neighbourhood, they had agreed to make fires in the night upon the rising grounds at a distance from the house as signals, that corn, meal, and other provisions, were there laid ready for the besieged; and upon the appearance of those signals, the governor sent out thirty or forty soldiers by way of sally to fetch them into the house, who being directed by those fires, always found what they wanted, and the night following brought them to the garrison.

Other nights soldiers were sent in the same manner, and on the same errand; who by their instructions, care and diligence, never

failed of success; and by this means the garrison were constantly supplied until they were so closely confined by the enemy, and their numbers in the house declining so much, that they were not able to make their usual sallies for relief as before, which reduced them to the scarcity related at the time of their surrender.

But what may be greatly admired (even with wonder and surprize) was, that not one of all those soldiers sent out on those desperate occasions, and venturing their lives for a little bread, with which they were to fight their way into the house, for the relief of themselves and friends, ever deserted the service, or staid out of time; but constantly returned with their fellows at the times expected, and were received and treated by their commanders with generosity, and the justice due to their courage, merit and fidelity.

The allowance of corn, meal, &c. thus brought into the house, was distributed and divided in the most equal manner from the governor to the meanest soldier: three quarters of a pound was weighed out to every
man

man alike, the horses that were killed in the service, they broiled upon coals and frequently eat, without either bread or salt.

That which proved a great relief to them was plenty of fuel; for the colliers being set to dig by way of trial, found coals and water both in abundance within the house to their great comfort; the water in the mote being spoiled and rendered unfit for use by the enemy.

There was amongst the soldiers about fifty pounds in money, but of no use at all to them but to play at span-counter with; they lent it to one another by handfuls, never telling or counting any: one day one soldier had all, and the next another, till at last all their sport was spoiled, the enemy at the gate stript them of every penny, and turned them out to the wide world.

When the house was given up, there were but two hundred and nine foot soldiers in it, and of all their horse but five left alive, the rest being all eaten up. The common soldiers were all discharged as before, but their
gallant

gallant and brave commanders were all made close prisoners, and so continued a long time after.

Having now as I promised, given the reader all the remarkable transactions and occurrences I have been able to collect or be informed of attending the famous siege of Latham-house, from the beginning to the end, and also noted the eminent conduct, courage, and memorable behaviour of those brave and worthy gentlemen who engaged themselves in the defence thereof; I am now arrived at a period of time, wherein I find the whole kingdom involved in the greatest disorder and distraction, portending nothing less than the ruin or destruction of the whole constitution in church and state.

The very face and appearance of all public and even private affairs being quite changed, the whole nation was in a general and most deplorable state of confusion and distraction: nothing being known or heard of but imprisonments, prosecutions, sequestrations, and executions of his Majesty's most loyal and dutiful friends, subjects and servants.

Upon,

Upon information of these things (as his Lordship's memoirs continue) I enquired further how affairs stood with the King, and was told that his Majesty's army under the command of his nephew, Prince Rupert, was entirely defeated and dispersed at Marston-moor, by the Earl of Manchester; and that not long after the King himself was vanquished and totally routed at Naseby, the fourteenth of June, 1645; the defeat whereof reduced him to a most unhappy situation of life, having not so much as a common guard left him for the security of his person, being obliged to fly from place to place with the utmost privacy, to prevent his being taken prisoner; and not knowing where to go for safety and protection from his furious and inveterate enemies, at last unhappily fell a sacrifice into their hands, being seized by a party of Cromwell's soldiers, and conducted by them prisoner to Hurst-castle; and from thence hurried from prison to prison, till at length he was brought to a formal trial before a court established by his own subjects, who accused him of having made war against his Parliament; and had him condemned and beheaded; upon a scaffold raised under the
windows

windows of his palace of Whitehall, on Tuesday the thirtieth of January, 1648-9.

A shocking scene of iniquity and usurpation, the very thoughts whereof struck me with horror; and methought was sufficient to have melted the heart of the most hardened and abandoned wretch concerned in such iniquitous and barbarous proceedings, as the destruction of their natural and lawful Prince, and the extirpation of his Royal Family to the utmost of their power.

But the goodness of our gracious GOD is ever with them that love and fear him, and although he is the Protector and Support of all under oppression and distress, yet sometimes he postpones the punishment for great and wise reasons unknown to us; yet to shew the power of his wrath, and care of the innocent and distressed, sooner or later his avenging hand will overtake all wicked and evil doers, as observed by a learned * author in the case before us; that not only those very persons immediately concerned in the murder of the King, and the confusion

* History of Independency.

confusion in which the nation was involved by their means, were in a short time reduced to a state of contempt, and their posterity branded with ignominy and disgrace, attended with their utter extirpation from the face of the earth, scarcely one of them being left or known in the world at this time.

But what remains to be much lamented is, that the mischief, misery and persecution of those virulent times ended not here: the Prince of Wales being then in exile, those sons of perdition called a Parliament, and published a prohibition against proclaiming him King, under a penalty of punishment as in cases of high-treason,; and afterwards passed an act for abolishing the regal power, as useless, burthenfome and dangerous; and soon after set a price upon the head of Charles Stuart, the late King's eldest son.

Under this melancholy and dejected state, the nation languished in misery and persecution, to the year 1650; when the Scots took up arms in favour of Charles II. whom they had recalled, in order to set him upon the throne of his father, and his coronation was

afterwards solemnized at Scoon in Scotland, the first of January, 1650-1; and afterwards he put himself at the head of an army of fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, and with them entered England, and proceeded as far as Worcester, where he was honourably received.

During the interval of time betwixt LORD and LADY DERBY, and their family retiring to the Isle of Man, and the King's execution, many particulars occurred that cannot well be omitted, though something out of the regular course of the ensuing history; yet will tend to a more clear and full explication of it. That in the space of time above-mentioned, the rebels had repossessed themselves of all places of strength, the castle of Liverpool in particular, whereof the worthy Colonel Birch was made governor.

That in the year 1646, the Parliament being moved with the tears and prayers of the distressed wives, widows and fatherless children of their fellow-subjects, and even relations, made an ordinance for their relief, viz.

Goldsmith's-hall, London.

At a Committee for compounding with Delinquents, Nov. 29th, 1646.

“**W**HEREAS by an order from the honourable House of Commons in Parliament assembled, of the twenty-third of February, 1645—this Committee is authorized and enabled to suspend the Sequestrations of such delinquents, as shall compound with the said Committee; they having paid the moiety of such fine, and given security for the other moiety, and to stand to such compositions as shall be allowed of, or set by the House of Commons. These are to certify all whom it may concern, &c.

Co. Lanr. *Warrington, July 11th, 1645.*

“**A**CCORDING to the direction of the ordinance of Parliament, it is this day ordered, that Mrs. Jane Eccleston, late wife of Thomas Eccleston of Eccleston, Esq. deceased, shall have allowed unto her for the maintenance of herself and children, one fifth part of her Husband’s Estate, according to the direction of the said ordinance; she paying her proportionable part of all lays and taxations that may be imposed upon that estate; and the Sequestrators for the same are hereby appointed to see a fifth part set forth accordingly with all convenient speed.”

T. Stanley,
Peter Egerton,
Wdw. Butterworth.

Encouraged by the above ordinance and order, the children of the EARL of DERBY having procured a pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax for that purpose, came over from the Isle of Man to England, to procure a fifth part of their father’s estate for their support and education, according to the aforesaid ordinance, and after a year’s sollicitation, obtained an allowance of a fifth part thereof.

HUYTON

HUYTON PARISH.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration.

“THE humble Petition of Charles Lord Strange, Edward and William, and the ladies Henrietta-Maria, Catherine and Amelia, six sons and daughters of James EARL of DERBY, sheweth, That the Petitioners by reason of the Sequestration of their father's estate, are wholly deprived of all manner of support for their livelihood and education, and so have been for many years past. That by the honourable favour of both Houses of Parliament, an allowance is declared to be given to his wife and children, of which (that the petitioners may have the benefit) is the humble suit of the petitioners.

And they shall ever pray.

Henrietta-Maria Stanley.

A true copy exhibited by me, R. Vaughan,
Clerk of the Court.

Wednesday,

Wednesday, Sept. 8th, 1647.

“ **A**T the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration, upon the petition of the right honourable Charles Lord Strange, Edward, William, Henrietta-Maria, Catherine and Amelia, the sons and daughters of James EARL of DERBY (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed and attested with the clerk's hand of this Committee) it is thought fit and ordered that the said children be allowed a fifth part for their maintenance according to the said ordinance, from the time of their demand. And that the manor of Knowsley, in the county of Lancaster, with the house, lands and appurtenances in Lancashire thereto belonging, be part of the said fifth part. And that no timber be felled upon the said Earl's lands, but that the same be preserved according to the order of Sequestration.

Intra. R. Vaughan. Henry Pelham.

HUYTON PARISH.

Manchester, in the county of Lancaster.

At a Committee, Sept. 24th, 1647.

“ WHEREAS we have received an order from the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration, bearing date the eighth of September last, for allowance of a fifth part of the estate of James EARL of DERBY, unto the right honourable Charles Lord Strange, Edward, William, Henrietta-Maria, Catherine and Amelia, the sons and daughters of the said Earl; in pursuance whereof it is ordered, that the agents for Sequestration where the estate of the said Earl lieth, shall from the said eighth day of this instant September, set forth and allow unto the said children, a fifth part of the said estate, whereof the manor of Knowsley, with the house, lands and appurtenances, in the said county, are of the part thereof; and that the agents take special care that no timber be cut down and felled upon the said Earl's lands, but preserved according to the ordinance of Parliament; and the said agents are to yield obedience and conformity hereunto, until further orders.

J. Bradshaw, Peter Egerton,
Int. T. Whalley. Edw. Butterworth.

*At a Committee of Lords and Commons for
Sequestration.*

“ **W**HEREAS this Committee have formerly appointed Colonel John Moor Ranger of Knowsley-park, in the county of Lancaster, by order of the third of December, 1646. And whereas now in the absence of the said Colonel, who is at this time in the service of Ireland, there is no care taken for preserving the game, as also the timber of the said park from destruction. It is thought fit and ordered, that Mr. Edward Stockly be appointed ranger of the said park of Knowsley, in the Colonel's absence, for the preservation of the said game and timber, unless the Committee of the said county, shall certify cause to the contrary of this Committee.

Intra. R Vaughan. Henry Pelham.

HUYTON PARISH.

Manchester, in the county of Lancaster.

At the Committee, Sept. 24th, 1646.

“WHEREAS we have received an order from the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestration, bearing date the eighth of September last, for the appointing of Mr. Edw. Stockley to be ranger of Knowsley-park, in the absence of Colonel John Moor, who was appointed ranger of the said park by the said Committee, and is now in the service of Ireland; in pursuance whereof it is ordered, that the said Mr. Stockly shall from henceforth and until further order, be ranger of the said park, and shall preserve the game and timber therein, from waste and destruction, according to the said order; and the agents for Sequestration, and all others whom it may concern, are to yield obedience hereunto accordingly.

J. Bradshaw,
Peter Egerton,
E. Butterworth.

Intra. T. Whalley.

HUYTON PARISH.

“THESE are to require you upon sight hereof, forthwith to remove yourself, wife, family and goods, out of the right honourable the EARL of DERBY'S house at Knowsley, without offering any hurt or violence to the said house and goods in it, the park or any thing thereunto belonging. Of this you are not to fail, as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Given under my hand and seal this last day of August, 1647.

T. Fairfax.

*To Major Jackson at Knowsley-house, or at
Liverpool.*

“THESE

“THESE are to require you on sight hereof forthwith, to see Major Jackson, his wife, family and goods removed out of the right honourable the EARL of DERBY’S house at Knowsley, according to my order directed also to him; and to have a special care that the said Major Jackson doth no hurt to the said house and goods left in it, park, or any thing thereunto belonging. Of this you are not to fail, but return an answer to it speedily, as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Given under my hand and seal this last day of August, 1647.

T. Fairfax.

*To Lieut. Col. John Ashurst, Governor of
Liverpool.”*

After

After all the formality above related, the children of the noble EARL of DERBY, were at last permitted to their father's house at Knowsley, wherein Sir Thomas Fairfax had been very civil and generous, as indeed he behaved upon all occasions in a gentleman-like manner; but envy and malice are enemies that never sleep; for they had not been there above twelve months before Colonel Birch, complying with Bradshaw, the bloody president, made them all prisoners at Liverpool, where he was then governor, and all their servants, not allowing any of them one morsel of bread, which they were obliged to beg for, from their impoverished friends and other kind and compassionate acquaintance; and all the pretence for this cruel and barbarous usage was, that the Earl their father kept the Isle of Man against the Parliament, though it was his own estate.

Upon which General Fairfax being addressed and complained to, by the unhappy sufferers, sent a message in writing to the Earl their father, purporting, "That if his Lordship would deliver that island to the Parliament's commands, his children should not
only

only be set at liberty, but he should peaceably return to England, and enjoy one moiety of all his estates." To which his Lordship returned this answer. "That he was greatly afflicted for the sufferings of his children; that it was not the course of great and noble minds to punish innocent children for their father's offences; and that it would be a clemency in Sir Thomas Fairfax either to send them back to him, or to Holland, or France; but if he could do none of those, his children must submit to the mercy of GOD ALMIGHTY, but should never be redeemed by his disloyalty. And thus they continued prisoners for eighteen months together, without compassion, mercy or relief from the Parliament, or any of their hard hearted and unrelenting officers, until their father was by his Majesty's command, called from the Isle of Man to attend him in Lancashire, on his march from Scotland to Worcester as aforesaid, whereof Birch being informed, and fearing his Lordship would knock at his gates for his children, sent them and their servants away prisoners to Chester."

Having here related the small digression given notice of a little before, I am introduced into a new and regular course of history. The great and noble EARL of DERBY being called into England by King Charles II. to meet him in Lancashire, on his said march to Worcester; with full assurance from his Majesty, that not only his own party, but the Presbytery also would join him, in order to his Majesty's Restoration in England.

His Lordship who was always ready to attend his Prince, and to serve the son with the same truth and sincerity he had done his father, hastened over to England, and brought with him above three hundred gallant gentlemen, who were at that time with his Lordship in the Isle of Man; and though his Lordship made all possible speed to have met the King in Lancashire, yet it so happened, that his Majesty had marched through that county three days before he could get over, but had left Major General Massey to receive him.

Upon notice whereof, his Lordship hasted to Warrington, where he met the Major General, who that very night brought in many of the Presbyterian party to his Lordship; to whom his Lordship addressing himself, acquainted them that he was come from the Isle of Man, to do his Majesty all the service in his power; that the King had given him his assurance under his own hand (of which he gave them a sight) that all those gentlemen of that persuasion would be ready to join with him; that he was to that end ready to receive whoever were pleased to come to him, and with them to march immediately to his Majesty.

To this one of their ministers in behalf of himself and the rest of his brethren replied to his Lordship, "That he hoped, and so did all the gentlemen with him, that his Lordship would put away all the Papists he had brought from the Isle of Man, and that he himself would take the Covenant, and then they would all join with him."

To this his Lordship replied, "Sir, I hope this is only your own opinion, and therefore
I desire

I desire that the gentlemen present will be pleased to deliver their own sentiments." When all made answer, "That their minister had spoken their thoughts; adding that his Majesty had taken the Covenant, and thereby gave encouragement to all his subjects to do the same; and that if his Lordship would not put away all Papists, and enter publicly into the Solemn League, they could not join him."

To this his Lordship replied, "That upon these terms he might long since have been restored to his whole estate, and that blessed Martyr Charles I. to all his kingdom; that he came not now to dispute but to fight for his Majesty's Restoration, and would upon the issue of the first battle, humbly submit himself to his Majesty's direction in that point; that he would refuse none, of any persuasion whatsoever, that came in cheerfully to serve the King; and hoped they would give him the same freedom and latitude, to engage whom he could for his Majesty's preservation; and that he was well assured, that all those gentlemen he had brought with him, were sincere and honest friends to his Majesty's person and interest."

To the same effect Major General Masley seconded his Lordship, wherein he made use of the strongest arguments and exhortations, to lay aside all animosities, and depart from their former mistakes; and by his and other examples embrace this opportunity, which God had put into their hands; and to join heartily with the EARL of DERBY, in manifestation of their own duty and loyalty, and the vindication of themselves from all attempts or intention of usurpation, that they were suspected of, and then lay upon them.

But the whole party insisted peremptorily upon their demands, to have all the Papists disbanded, and the EARL of DERBY to take the Covenant, without which they would not join him; who perceiving it was in vain to press them any further upon that subject, the old leaven having taken too much effect, and found them too far to be sweetened by any arguments or reasonings whatsoever; therefore his Lordship only added before parting, Gentlemen, if you will be persuaded to join with me, I make no doubt but in a few days to raise as good an army to follow the King, as that he has now with

him, and by GOD's blessing to shake off the yoke of bondage resting both upon you and us; if not, continued he, I cannot hope to effect much; I may perhaps have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which I shall only lead naked men to slaughter; however I am determined to do what I can with the handful of gentlemen now with me for his Majesty's service, and if I perish, I perish; but if my master suffer, the blood of another Prince and all the ensuing miseries of this nation will lie at your doors; having with him only the worthy gentlemen that came from the Isle of Man, and some few of the royal party that were come in to him.

His Lordship on resting a while sent out his warrants, for all persons willing to serve his Majesty under him, forthwith to repair to him at Preston, the place appointed for their rendezvous. These warrants were secretly dispersed in all the chief towns of the country, and many came to him from all parts; but before he could possibly raise and accoutre a sufficient number, Colonel Lilbourn then in the county, with eighteen hundred

hundred dragoons, and the foot militia of Lancashire and Cheshire, was got to Manchester, and marching directly against Lord Derby. His Lordship had at that time about six hundred horse, and being informed the enemy were near him, trusting to the goodness of his cause and the courage and resolution of those with him, he resolved with these, to engage that great body of the enemy; therefore gave orders to march forthwith to Wigan, a most faithful and loyal town to his Majesty, and there to expect the enemy.

But unhappily and unexpectedly to him, Lilbourn having made long marches, had before his Lordship could reach the town, lined the hedges with his foot, and engaged his Lordship's troops in Wigan-Lane; however the Earl still held on his march in very good order, and in continual expectation of an engagement, when approaching near the enemy, he caused his troops to halt so long as to give them his orders, then divided his horse into two bodies about three hundred in each. The van he commanded himself, and gave the rear to Sir Thomas Tyldesley, and then founded a charge.

Twice his Lordship and all his party made their way clear through the whole body of the enemy; but attempting it a third time and being opprest and environed by unequal numbers, the Lord Witherington, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, * and many other brave and worthy gentlemen, were slain. Sir Throgmorton, Knight Marshal, was left among the dead, but taken up by a poor woman, and relieved by that worthy Knight Sir Roger Bradshaw.

His

* In memory of *Sir Thomas Tyldesley*, a Monument was erected in WIGAN LANE, on which is the following Inscription.

AN HIGH ACT OF GRATITUDE,
 WHICH CONVEYS THE MEMORY OF
SIR THOMAS TYLDESLEY
 TO POSTERITY,

Who served KING CHARLES the FIRST as
Lieutenant-Colonel at Edge-Hill Battle,
 After raising Regiments of Horse, Foot and Dragoons;

AND FOR

The desperate storming of Burton-upon-Trent,
 over a Bride of 36 Arches,

RECEIVED THE HONOUR OF KNIGHTHOOD.

He

His Lordship had two horses killed under him, and seconded and remounted both times by a faithful servant, a Frenchman, who there lost his life by his master's side; in the third charge upon the fall of Lord Witherington, his Lordship mounted his horse, and being seconded by six gentlemen of his party, he with them fought his way through a great body of the enemy into the town; where his Lordship quitting his horse, leapt in at
a * door

He afterwards served in all the wars in great command,

Was Governor of Litchfield,

And followed the Fortune of the Crown through
the three Kingdoms,

And never compounded with the Rebels, tho' strongly invested;

And on the 25th August, A. D. 1650, was here slain,
commanding as Major-general under the

EARL OF DERBY,

To whom the grateful Erector,

ALEXANDER RIGBY, ESQ. WAS CORNET;

And when he was High Sheriff of this County,

(A. D. 1679)

Placed this high Obligation on the whole

FAMILY of the TYLDESLEYS.

a * door, that stood open, and suddenly shutting it before the enemy could reach it, the woman of the house kept it shut so long, till his Lordship was conveyed to a place of privacy, where he lay concealed for many hours, notwithstanding the most industrious search of the enemy.

Of the six hundred gentlemen with his Lordship, he lost at least the half, himself at least having received seven shots upon his breast-plate, and thirteen cuts upon his beaver which he wore over a cap of steel, which was taken up in the lane after the battle. He also received five or six slight wounds in his arms and shoulders, but none very dangerous. Perhaps this age has not seen or known an action of greater bravery, where six hundred horse fought three thousand horse and foot in a disadvantageous place for two hours together, leaving seven hundred

* Now the sign of the Dog in Wigan; at which house there is, at this time; a brass plate with the Arms of Man upon it, (though nearly defaced) and round it, *Honi soit qui Mal y pense*.—This house LORD DERBY fled into after the battle; and there is an upper room in which his Lordship was, called to this day, **BERSTON CASTLE.**

dred dead upon the spot besides the wounded, with the loss of three hundred only

His Lordship having got his wounds privately dressed, and furnished with a disguise, that very night about two o'clock attended only with three servants, began his journey towards Worcester, whither he came before the battle; and though his wounds were green and sore, he attended his Majesty through the whole fight, behaving therein with his usual and accustomed gallantry.

That battle being unluckily lost on the third of September, 1651, his Lordship conducted his Majesty with safety to a friend's house, yet famous for the *ROYAL OAK*; where his Lordship had been kindly treated on his journey to Worcester, and there having happily disposed of his Majesty in great security, his Lordship prepared for his return, being accompanied by the Lord Lautherdale and about forty more; who taking their march through bye ways to get into Cheshire, or Lancashire, had the misfortune to fall in the way of a regiment of foot and a troop of horse of the enemy, commanded by Major Edge,

Edge, who were marching towards Worcester: after some small dispute with that party, the Earl and his companions making themselves known, had quarter given for life, and condition for honourable usage upon giving up their arms and submitting themselves to be their prisoners.

This great and valiant person being now in his enemy's hands, Bradshaw, Rigby and Birch, design him to be a victim to their inveterate malice; Bradshaw, because he had denied him the Vice-chamberlain's place at Chester, preferring Mr. Bridgeman (now Lord Bridgeman) before him; Rigby, because of his ill success before Latham-house and Bolton; and Birch, because his Lordship had trailed him under a hay cart at Manchester; by which he got even among his own party, the deserved epithet of the EARL of DERBY'S carter. These three, assisted by Sir Richard Houghton, a rebellious son of a very loyal Father, Sir Gilbert Houghton, carver to his Majesty, representing to Cromwell how unsafe it would be not only to that county, but the whole nation, to suffer that man to live; got a commission

mission to try him by a pretended court-martial, that is, by twelve Sequestrators and Committee-men. During the preparation for this unjust and undeserved trial, his Lordship wrote to his Lady, then in the Isle of Man.

LORD DERBY'S LETTER to his LADY,
after he was taken and Prisoner at Chester.

My dear heart,

“IT hath been my misfortune since I left you, not to have one line of comfort from you, which hath been most afflictive to me; and this, and what I now further write you, must be a mass of many things in one.

“I will not stay long on particulars, but in short inform you, that the King is dead, or narrowly escaped in disguise, whether not yet known: all the nobles of the party killed or taken, save a few, and it matters not much where they be: the common soldiers are dispersed, some in prison, some sent to other nations,

nations, and none like to serve any more on the same score. I escaped a great danger at Wigan, but met with a worse at Worcester; being not so fortunate to meet any that would kill me, and thereby have put me out of the reach of envy and malice. Lord Lauderdale and I having escaped, hired horses, and falling into the enemy's hands, were not thought worth killing, but had quarter given us by one Captain Edge, a Lancashire-man; and one that was so civil to me, that I and all that love me, are beholding to him.

“ I thought myself happy in being sent prisoner to Chester, where I might have the comfort of seeing my two daughters, and to find means of sending to you; but I fear my coming here may cost me dear, unless ALMIGHTY GOD in whom I trust, will please to help me some other way; but whatsoever come of me I have peace in my own breast, and no discomfort at all but the afflictive sense I have of your grief, and that of my poor children.

“ Colonel Duckenfield, Governor of this town, is going according to his orders from
the

the Parliament, General to the Isle of Man, where he will make known unto you his business.

“ I have considered your condition and my own, and thereupon give you this advice.

“ Take it not as from a prisoner, for if I am never so close confined, my heart is my own, free still as the best, and I scorn to be compelled to your prejudice, though by the severest tortures I have procured Baggarley, who was prisoner in this town, to come over to you with my letter, I have told him my reasons, and he will tell you them, which done, may save the spilling of blood in that island, and it may be of some here, dear to you, but of that take no care; neither treat at all, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good.

“ Have a care my dear soul of yourself, and of my dear Moll, Ned and Billy; as for those here I will give them the best advice I can; it is not with us as heretofore. My son with his spouse, and my nephew Stanley, have come to see me, of them all I will say

nothing at this time, excepting that my son shews great affection, and is gone to London, with exceeding concern and passion for my good; he is changed much for the better, I thank GOD, and would have been a greater comfort to me, if I could have left him more, or if he had provided better for himself.

“ The discourse I have had here of the Isle of Man, has produced the inclosed, or at least such desires of mine as I hope Baggarley will deliver to you upon oath to be mine; and truly as matters go, it will be the best for you to make condition for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner as we have proposed, or as you can further agree with Colonel Duckenfield, who being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless for his own honour deal fairly with you.

“ You know how much that place is my darling, but since it is GOD’S will to dispose in the manner it is, of this nation and Ireland too, there is nothing further to be said of the Isle of Man, but to refer all to the will of GOD; and to procure the best conditions
you

you can for yourself, and our poor family and friends there, and those that came over with me; and so trusting in the assistance and goodness of God, begin the world again, though near to winter, whose cold and piercing blasts are much more tolerable than the malicious approaches of a poisoned serpent, or an inveterate or malign enemy; from whose power the Lord of Heaven bless you and preserve you; GOD ALMIGHTY comfort you and my poor children, and the SON of GOD, whose blood was shed for our good, preserve your lives; that by his good will and mercy we may meet once more upon earth, and last in the Kingdom of Heaven; where we shall be for ever free from all rapine, plunder and violence, and so I rest everlastingly,

Your most Faithful,

DERBY."

By

By this time the judges were appointed and the court formed for the trial of the noble EARL of DERBY at Chester, Mackworth of Shrewsbury, being president.

Major Mitton, Robert Duckenfield, Henry Bradshaw, Thomas Croxton, and George Twisleton, Colonels. Henry Birkenhead, Simon Finch, and Alexander Newton, Lieut. Colonels. James Stoford, Samuel Smith, John Downes, John Delves, John Griffith, Thomas Portington, Edward Alcock, Ralph Powell, Richard Grantham, Edward Stolfax, and Vincent Corbett, Captains.

THE DEFENCE

Of the Right Honourable

JAMES EARL OF DERBY,

On his Trial for Life at Chester, before a Court-martial, composed of Sequestrators and Committeemen above-named; he being allowed neither Council nor Books in Court for his assistance: addressed by himself to the President in manner following.

S I R,

SIR,

“ I understand myself to be convened before you, as well by a commission from your General, as by an Act of Parliament of the twelfth of August last.

“ To the articles exhibited against me, I have given a full and ingenious answer.

“ What may present itself for my advantage I have gained liberty to offer and urge by advice, and I doubt but in a matter of law, the court will be to me instead of council in court.”

SIR,

“ FIRST I shall observe to you, the nature and general order of a Court-martial, and the laws and actions of it as far as concerns my case, and then shall apply my plea to such orders.

“ And therefore I conceive (under favour) that the laws of Court-martial are as the laws of nature and nations, equally binding all persons military, and to be observed inviolably.

“ And

“ And there it is, if a judgment be given in one Court-martial, there is no appeal to any other Court-martial.

“ Of which law martial, the civil law gives a plentiful account, far above what the common law doth. *Grotius de jure belli, &c.*

“ But because it is one only point of martial law, which I am to insist upon for my life, I shall name it, and debate the just right of it, as quarter for life, given by Captain Edge; which I conceive to be a good bar to a trial for life by a council of war.

“ That quarter was given me, if scrupled, I am ready to prove; and that it is pleadable, is above dispute.

“ I shall only remove one objection, which is, that though this be a Court-martial, yet, the special nature of it is directed by Parliament.

“ To this I answer, though the Parliament directed the trial as it is, yet, it is to be considered as a Court-martial, which cannot divest

divest itself, nor is divested of its own nature, by any such direction.

“For to appoint a Court-martial to proceed by any other laws than a Court-martial can, is a repugnancy in *natura rei*.

“As such a Court-martial retains its own proper laws and jurisdiction for the support of itself; so the pleas and liberties incident to it, cannot be denied the prisoner.

“That quarter, and such quarter as I had given me, is a good plea for life at a council of war. I shall not endeavour so much to evince by authors, that being the proper work of the learned in civil law; but by such way as we call *jus gentium*, is proved by common practice and strong reasons.

“For the first, I shall not need to bring foreign instances, being before you, whose experience hath made this thing familiar to you.

“And I believe you will agree with me, that I am not only the first Peer, but the

first man tried by a Court-martial after quarter given, unless some matter (*ex post facto*) subsequent to such quarter, brought them within the examination of such Court-martial.

“ And (as I am informed) upon the great trial of the Earl of Cambridge, Lord Capell, Earl of Holland, &c. the plea of quarter being strongly urged, it was only avoided upon this ground, that it was no good plea against a civil jurisdiction, there being no colour of dispute tacitly admitted, and concluded that it was a good plea against a military jurisdiction.

“ And though the Lord Capell and Lord Goring's quarter seemed to have some advantage, being given by the general by way of articles; yet, the quarter given to the Earl of Cambridge, was given him by a particular captain, and that quarter (as such considered) as strong as the other, only both avoided by the civil jurisdiction; it being a rule in war, that quarter hath as much force, (being given in action) as articles in a cessation, both irreversable by any military power.

‘ And

“ And though it be a maxim in politics, that no general or soldier's concession shall prejudice the state interest, yet they shall be bars to their power.

“ I confess I love the law of peace more than that of war; yet, in this case, I must adhere to those of war.

“ And I would only know, whether quarter was given me for a benefit or a mischief? If for a benefit, I am now to have it made good; if for a mischief, it destroys the faith of all men in arms.

“ And I have read this, as a maxim in war, that promises made by Kings and State Commanders, ought to be observed inviolably, or else there never will be any yielding.

“ And I shall lay this before you as a rule, that quarter given by the meanest soldier (if not forbidden) obliges as far as if the general had done it himself.

“ It may be objected then, that it may

rest in the power of any private soldier, by giving quarter to pardon treason.

“ To this I say, I plead it not as an absolute pardon, but as a bar to a Court-martial; and here I shall infer farther from conclusion of treasons.

“ The profession of a soldier hath danger enough in it, and he need not to add any thing to it to destroy the right of arms.

“ I am before you as a Court-martial; it may be, some or most of you have in some action or other since the troubles began, received quarter for your lives; then would it not be hard measure, that any Court-martial should try you afterwards?

“ If this quarter be foiled or nulled, all the treaties, articles, terms or conclusions since the war began, may be examinable by any subsequent Court-martial.

“ Nay, more than this, the sword, the law of arms, all military interest and your own safety, is judged and jeopardd as well as mine.

“ But

“ But I shall not multiply, presuming you will not judge by laws of war, in which capacity only you fit; and that your Religion and common Justice allow that plea, which is universal and even allowable in all parts of the world.

“ If you be dissatisfied, I pray (as an essential to justice) I may have a Doctor of the Civil Law assigned me, or at least have liberty to produce their books of opinions; and that in the interim you suspend your sentence.

“ Touching levying of forces in the Isle of Man, and invading England, I might myself (and that truly) be a stranger to all the acts for treason; and in particular to the acts of the twelfth of August.

“ And that the Isle of Man is not particularly named in any of the acts touching treason; and not being particularly named, those acts reach it not, nor bind those of that island.

“ And

“ And especially, that I was not in the Isle of Man when the last act was made; and the law looks not backward: and while I was in England I was under an unlikelihood, and even impossibility of knowing the new acts.

“ And in martial law, *ignorantia juris*, is a good plea, which I leave to judgment; having, as to the matter of fact, confessed and submitted to the mercy of the Parliament.

“ I do, as to your military power, earnestly plead quarter, as a bar to your further trial of me; and doubt not, but you will deeply weigh a point so considerable both to your consciences and concernments, before you proceed to sentence, and admit my appeal to his Excellency, Lord General Cromwell, in this single point.”

Upon this the court, without considering whether his plea against the power of the Court-martial after quarter was given by a field officer, was good or no, a defence allowed in all civil nations, was yet over-ruled.

ruled by the bench of Sequestrators, who altogether acted and were influenced by Bradshaw and his confederates, summed up his crimes in the following manner, viz. "That he had traitorously borne arms for Charles Stuart, against the Parliament—That he was guilty of a breach of an Act of Parliament of the twelfth of August, 1651; prohibiting all correspondence with Charles Stuart, or any of his party—That he had fortified his house of Latham against the Parliament, and that he now held the Isle of Man against them, &c.—Therefore they passed sentence of death upon him, and appointed his execution to be at Bolton, within four days, that he might not have time to appeal to Parliament.

However, his son, the Lord Strange, having before hand appointed horses to be ready, rode post to London in one day and night; got his petition read in the junto by Mr. Lenthel, their speaker (which no man else would read or receive) but Cromwell and Bradshaw had so ordered the matter, that when they saw the major part of the house inclined to allow of the Earl's plea, as
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the speaker was putting the question, eight or nine of them quitted the house, and those left in it (being under the number of forty) no question could be put. So the Lord Strange seeing all attempts or endeavours to save the life of his father fruitless and of no effect, for that the grandees had resolved upon and determined his death, with incredible speed returned to his father before the hour of execution, and acquainted him with the cruel and bloody resolution of his professed and implacable enemies.

His father embracing him with all the tenderness of natural love and affection, said to him, Son, I thank you for your duty, diligence and endeavours to save my life; but since it cannot be obtained, I must submit; and kneeling down said, *Domine non mea voluntas sed tua.* Then calling for his friends, whom he had desired to be witnesses of his death, prepared for the scaffold; and died with more courage and Christian patience, than his enemies malice could murder with.

PARTICULARS OF THE CHRISTIAN BEHAVIOUR
AND HUMBLE DEPARTMENT OF

JAMES EARL OF DERBY,

From his *Trial* at CHESTER, to his *Execution*
at BOLTON;

By his Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. H. Baggarley,

Who attended him on that mournful occasion.

“ ON Monday the thirteenth of October, 1651, my Lord procured me liberty to wait upon him, having then been close prisoner for ten days. He told me the night before, Mr. Slater, Colonel Duckenfield’s Chaplain, had been with him from the Governor, to persuade his Lordship that they were confident his life was in no danger. His Lordship told me, he patiently heard his discourse, but did not believe him; for, said he, I was resolved not to be deceived with the vain hopes of this fading world.

“ After we had walked a quarter of an hour, and discoursed his commands to me, in order to my journey to the Isle of Man,

touching his consent to my Lady to deliver it up, upon those articles his Lordship had signed for that purpose; with his affectionate protestations of his honour and respect to my Lady, both for her high birth and goodness as a wife, and with much tenderness to his children there, especially my Lady Mary. And was going on, when on a sudden came into the room one Lieutenant Smith, a rude fellow, with his hat on, who told my Lord, he came from Colonel Duckenfield, the Governor, to tell him he must make ready for his journey to Bolton. He replied, When would you have me to go? To-morrow morning by six o'clock, said Smith. Well, said my Lord, I thank God I am readier to die than for my journey; however, commend me to the Governor, and tell him by that time I will be ready for both.

“ Then that impudent rebel Smith said, Does your Lordship know any friend or servant that would do that thing that your Lordship knows of? It would do well if you had a friend. My Lord replied, What do you mean; would you have me find one to cut off my own head? Smith said, My Lord,

Lord, if you could get a friend. My Lord answered, Nay, fir, if those men that will have my head will not find one to cut it off, let it stand where it is; I thank my God my life hath not been so bad that I should be instrumental to deprive myself of it; though he hath been so merciful to me as to be well resolved against the worst terrors death can put upon me; and for me and my servants, our ways have been to prosecute a war by honourable and just means, and not those barbarous ways of blood, which to you is a trade.

“ Then Smith went out and called me to him, and repeated his discourse and desires to me. I only told him, that my Lord had given him a final answer on that head.

“ Upon my coming in again, my Lord called for pen and ink, and wrote his last letter to my Lady, also to my Lady Mary and his sons, in the Isle of Man.

“ In the mean time Mr. Paul Moreau, a servant to his Lordship, went and brought all the rings he could get, and my Lord

wrapped them up in several papers, and writ within them, and desired me to superscribe them to his children, friends and servants.

“ The rest of that day (being Monday) he spent with my Lord Strange, Lady Catherine, and my Lady Amelia; at night about six I came to him again, when the Ladies were gone away; and as we were walking, and my Lord telling me that he would receive the Sacrament the next morning, and on Wednesday morning both, in came the aforefaid Smith, and said, My Lord, the Governor desires you would be ready to go in the morning about seven o'clock. My Lord replied, Lieutenant, pray tell the Governor, I shall not have occasion to go so early; by nine o'clock will serve my turn, and by that time I will be ready—if he has earlier occasion, he may take his own hour.

“ That night I staid supper with my Lord, who was exceeding chearful and well-composed, and drank to Sir Timothy Featherstone (who suffered at Chester a week after in the same cause) and said, Sir, be of good comfort, I go willingly before you; God hath

hath so strengthened me, that you shall hear, by his assistance, that I shall submit both as a Christian and a Soldier, to be both a comfort and an example to you.

“ Then he often remembered my Lady, Mary, and the little honourable masters, and drank to me, and once to all his servants, especially to Andrew Broome, and said, he hoped now, that they who loved him, would never forsake his wife and children; and he doubted not, but GOD would be a master to them, and provide for them after his death.

“ In the morning his Lordship delivered me the letters for the island, and said, Baggarley, deliver these with my most tender affection to my wife and sweet children, who shall continue with my prayers for them to the last minute of my life; and I have instructed you in all things respecting your journey.

“ But as to that sad part of it with respect to them, I can say nothing, but must remain in silence, for your own looks will best tell the

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the message. The GOD of Heaven direct you, and prosper and comfort them, in this their day of deep affliction and distress.

“ His Lordship took leave of Sir Timothy Featherstone, much in the same manner as the night before. Mr. Crossen and three other gentlemen who were condemned, came out of the dungeon (at my Lord’s request to the Marshal) and kissed his hand, and wept at taking leave. My Lord said, Gentlemen, GOD bless and keep you; I hope now that my blood will satisfy for all that were with me, and now you will in a short time be at liberty; but if the cruelty of these men will not end there, be of good comfort, GOD will strengthen you to endure to the last, as he hath done me; for you shall hear I die like a Christian—a man—a soldier—and an obedient subject to the most just and virtuous of Princes.

“ After we were out of town about half a mile, my Lord meeting his two daughters, Lady Catherine and Amelia, alighted from his horse, and with a humble behaviour and noble carriage, kneeled down by the boot of
the

the coach and prayed for them; then rising up, took his leave, and departed. This was the deepest scene of sorrow my eyes ever beheld: so much grief, concern and tender affection on both sides, I never was witness of before.

“ That night, Tuesday the fourteenth of October, 1651, we came to Leigh, near Winwick; and in our way thither, his Lordship called me to him, and bid me when I arrived at the Isle of Man, to commend him to the Arch-deacon there, and tell him he well remembered the several discourses that passed between them concerning death, and the manner of it; that he had often said the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight, or when with a sword in his hand,

“ But that he feared it would somewhat startle him, tamely to submit to a blow upon a scaffold; but, said he, tell the Arch-deacon from me, that I find within myself an absolute change as to that opinion; for I bless my GOD for it, who hath put these comforts and courage into my soul, I can with resignation to his Almighty Will, as
willingly

willingly lay down my head upon a block, as ever I did upon a pillow.

“ My Lord at supper made a competent meal, saying, he would imitate his SAVIOUR: a supper should be his last act in this world, as it was his SAVIOUR’s own supper before he came to the cross, which he said he should do to-morrow. That night he spent upon his bed, from betwixt ten and eleven, until six the next morning. As he laid him down upon his right side with his hand under his face, he said, methinks I lie like a monument in a church; and to-morrow I shall really be so. As soon as he arose and had said prayer, he shirted himself, and said, This shall be my winding sheet. Then he said to Mr. Paul, see that it be not taken from me, for I will be buried in it.

“ Then he called to my Lord Strange to put on his order once this day, and I will send you again by Baggarley, and pray return it to my gracious Sovereign, when you shall be so happy as to see him; and say, I sent it in all humility and gratitude—as I received it spotless and free from any stain,
according

according to the honourable example of my loyal ancestors.

“ Then he went to prayer, and my Lord commanded Mr. Greehalgh to read the Decalogue; and at the end of every commandment made his confession, and received Absolution and the Sacrament. After which, he called for pen and ink, wrote his last speech, and a note to Sir E. S. When we were ready to go, he drank a cup of beer to my Lady, Lady Mary, little Masters, the Arch-deacon, and all his Friends in the Island; charging me to remember him to them all; then he would have walked into the church to have seen Sir T. T.'s grave, but was not permitted, nor to ride that day upon his own horse, but set him upon a little gal-
loway, fearing, as they said, the people would rescue him.

“ As we were going, about the middle way to Bolton, the wind came easterly, which my Lord observing, called to me and said, Baggarley, there is a great difference betwixt you and me now, for my thoughts are fixed, and I know where I shall rest at

night, and so do not you; for every little alteration of wind or weather moves you of this world, from one point to another. You must leave me, and go to my wife and children in the Isle of Man; but in the mean time, do not leave me if possible, but stay and see me buried, as I told you, and acquaint my dear wife and family with our parting.

A COPY OF
 THE EARL OF DERBY'S SPEECH
 UPON THE SCAFFOLD,

AND SOME REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN HIS
 GOING TO, AND BEING UPON IT,

As in his Lordship's Papers;

AND AS IT WAS TAKEN BY MR. GREEHAL H, AND MY
 COLLECTION, BAGGARLEY.

“ **B**ETWEEN twelve and one of the
 clock on Wednesday the fifteenth of
 October, 1651, the EARL of DERBY came
 to Bolton, escorted by two troops of horse,
 and one company of foot. The people
 every where praying and weeping as he
 went, even from the castle of Chester, his
 prison, to his scaffold at Bolton, where his
 soul was freed from its prison the body.

“ His Lordship was ordered to stop at a
 house near the cross in Bolton, and passing
 by it, said, This must be my cross. Then
 alighting and going into a chamber with some

of his friends and servants, had time allowed him till three o'clock that day, the scaffold not being ready, because the people of the town refused to strike a nail, or give any assistance to it; many of them saying, that since the war began they had suffered many and great losses, but never so great as this. This was the greatest that ever befel them, that the EARL of DERBY, their Lord and Patriot, should lose his life there, and in that barbarous manner.

“ His Lordship (as I told you) having till three o'clock allowed him, spent all that time with those friends that were with him, in prayer; and telling them how he had lived, and prepared for his death, and how the Lord had strengthened him against the terrors of it. Afterwards he desired them to pray with him again; and after giving some good instructions to his son, the Lord Strange, he desired to be in private, where he left him, and continued on his knees in prayer some time; then called for us again, telling us how willing he was to die; how contented he was to part with this world, and that the fear of death was no great trouble

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ble to him since his imprisonment, though he had always two or three soldiers with naked swords night and day in his chamber.

“ He had great trouble and concern for his dear wife and children; and what might become of them after his death, was often in his thoughts, and sat heavy upon him; but now he was satisfied that GOD would be a husband and father unto them, into whose hands and Almighty Protection he committed them; and taking leave of his son, he called for an officer, and told him he was ready.”

At his going towards the scaffold, the people cried and prayed, and prayed and cried. His Lordship with a courteous humility said, “ Good people, I thank you all; I beseech you pray for me to the last. The GOD of heaven bless you; the SON of GOD bless you, and GOD the HOLY GHOST fill you with comfort!” And coming near the scaffold, he laid his hands upon the ladder, saying, I am not afraid to go up here, tho’ to my death. Then walking a while upon the scaffold, settled himself at the east-end of it, and made

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

“ I AM come and am content to die in this town, where I endeavoured to come the last time I was in Lancashire, as a place where I promised myself to be welcome; in regard to which, the people have reason to be satisfied of my love and affection for them; and that they now understand sufficiently that I am not a man of blood, as some maliciously and falsely flandered me with, being acquitted of that by many gentlemen of great worth, who were in the fight in this town; and I am confident there are still some in this place, who can witness my mercy and care in saving the lives of many men that day.

“ As for my crime, as some call it, to come into this country with the King, I hope it deserves a better name; for I did it in obedience to his Majesty's commands, whom I hold myself obliged to obey, according

ording to the protestation I took in Parliament in his father's time.

“ I confess I love Monarchy, and I love my master, Charles II. of that name, whom I proclaimed in this country to be King. The LORD bless and preserve him, I do believe and assure you, that he is a virtuous, valiant, and discreet Prince; and I wish so much happiness to the good people of this nation after my death, that he may enjoy his right, and then I am well assured, that they cannot want theirs under him.

“ I confess here in the presence of GOD, I always fought for peace, and I had no other reason, for I wanted neither estate nor honour, neither did I seek to enlarge either at the expence of other's lives and fortunes, or the invasion of the King's rights and prerogatives. My predecessors were, for their duty, loyalty and good services, raised to a high condition of honour and fortune, as is well known in this country; and it is as well known that I am condemned to die by his Majesty's enemies, by new and unknown laws. The LORD send us our King again,
and

and the Lord fend us our Religion again; as for that which is practised now, it hath no name; and I think there is more talk of Religion, than any real practice or good effects thereof. Truly for me I die for GOD, the King and the Laws, which makes me not ashamed of my life, nor afraid at my death.

“ At which words, King and Laws, a trooper said, We have no King, and will have no Lords; when some sudden fear or mutiny fell among the soldiers, and his Lordship was interrupted, which some of the officers were troubled at, and his friends much grieved. His Lordship having had freedom of speech promised him, and seeing their troops scattered in the streets, cutting and flashing the people with their swords, said, Gentlemen, what is the matter, where is the guilt? I fly not, and here is none to pursue you.

“ Then his Lordship perceiving that he might not speak freely, turned himself to his servant, and gave him his papers, and commanded him to let the world know what he had to say, had he not been interrupted and hindered,

hindered, which is as followeth, as it was written in his Lordship's papers, under his own hand.

“MY Sentence, upon which I am brought hither, was by a council of war, which council I had reason to expect would have justified my plea of quarter for life; that being an ancient and honourable plea amongst soldiers, and not violated till this time. I am made the first precedent in this case, and I earnestly wish that no others suffer in the like manner. Now I must die, and I thank my GOD I am ready to die, with a good and quiet conscience, without malice to any, upon any grounds whatsoever; though others would not shew mercy unto me upon just and fair means; but I forgive them, following the example of my Saviour, who prayed for his enemies, and so do I pray for mine.

“As for my faith and religion, I profess and believe in one only GOD, and in JESUS CHRIST his only Son, who died for me and

all mankind, and from whom I look for my salvation, that is in and through his only merits and sufferings; and I die a dutiful son of the Church of England, as it was established in my late master's reign, and as it is yet professed in the Isle of Man, which is no small comfort to me. I thank my GOD for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and for the assurance of those joys which he hath promised, and are prepared for all those that love, adore and fear him. Good people pray for me; I do for you. The GOD of Heaven bless you all, and send you peace and prosperity; that GOD, who is truth itself, bless you with peace and truth. Amen."

Presently after the uproar was over, his Lordship walking the scaffold, called for his executioner to come to him, and desired to see the axe, saying, "Come friend, give it into my hands, I'll neither hurt thee nor it; it cannot hurt me, for I am not afraid of it;" and kissing it, gave it to him again, then he asked to see the block, which was not quite ready, and turning up his eyes, said, "How long, good Lord, how long?"

Then

Then putting his hand into his pocket, gave the headsmen two pieces of gold, saying, "This is all I have, take it, and do thy work well; and when I am upon the block, and lifting up my hands, then do your business; but I fear your great coat will hinder or trouble you, pray put it off."

Some standing by, bid him ask his Lordship's forgiveness, but being either too fullen or too slow, his Lordship forgave him before he asked it; and passing by the other side where his coffin stood, and spying one of his Chaplains on horseback amongst the troopers, said, "Sir, remember me to your brother and friend: you see I am ready, but the block is not; but when I am got into my chamber, which I shall not be long out of (pointing to his coffin) I shall then be at rest, and no longer troubled with such a guard and noise as I have been;" and so turning himself again he saw the block, and asked if all was ready; then going to the place where he began his speech, he said, "Good people, I thank you for your prayers and your tears; I have heard the one and seen the other;" and bowing, turned towards the
X x 2 block,

block, and then looking towards the Church, he caused the block to be turned and laid that way, saying, "I will look towards thy Sanctuary whilst I am here, and I hope to live in thy heavenly Sanctuary for ever hereafter.

Then taking his doublet off, asked how he must lie, saying, "I never saw any one's head cut off, but I will try how it fits;" so laying him down and stretching himself upon the block, he rose again, and caused it to be a little removed; and standing up and looking at the executioner, said, "Be sure you remember what I told you, when I lift up my hands then do your work;" then looking on his friends about him, said, bowing, "The Lord be with you all, pray for me;" and kneeling upon his knees, made a short and private prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer, and bowing himself again, said, "The Lord bless my Wife and Children, and the Lord bless us all:" and laying his neck upon the block, and his arms stretched out, he said these words aloud.

"Blessed

“Blessed be GOD’s holy name for ever and ever. Amen.

“Let the whole earth be filled with his glory.”

And then lifting up his hands, the executioner did his work, and we hope and doubt not but GOD hath done his, saved his soul, and taken it, into everlasting felicity. After which nothing was heard in the town but sighs, sobs and prayers.

When his body was taken up and stripped as he had directed, and laid in his coffin, there was thrown into it the following lines, by an unknown hand.

Wit, bounty, courage, three here in one lie
 dead,
 A STANLEY’S hand, Vere’s heart, and
 Cecill’s head.

The next day his corps was carried from Bolton to Ormskirk, and there deposited with his renowned ancestors, to mingle his ashes
 with

with theirs: and although we have here attended this noble Lord through the course of many dangers and distractions of life, and brought to lasting rest, yet let us not quite bury him in oblivion, but transmit to posterity the memory of his piety and virtuous life (as it came to our knowledge since his decease) as we have done his most brave and martial atchievements.

Wherein give me leave to present the reader with his usual Morning Prayer in his closet by himself; his two last letters to his Lady and Children in the Isle of Man, after sentence of death passed upon him; his religious instructions to his children, and an elegy on his death, by an ingenious hand.

A MORNING PRAYER,

BY LORD DERBY.

“ O H Almighty Lord GOD! thou that hearest prayer, assist me now in my devotion, by the help of thy blessed Spirit; make me to have so right a sense of my sins, that I may be humbled before thee, and of thy mercy, that I may be raised and comforted by thee. O Lord! make me tremble to consider thee a most mighty and terrible GOD; and make me again rejoice to know thee a most loving and merciful Father. Make me zealous of thy glory, and thankful for thy bounties: make me know my wants, and the frailties of my nature, and be earnest in my prayer, that thou wilt forgive all my misdeeds; make me in my addresses to thee, to have a present mind, and no cares, wandering thoughts or desires elsewhere, or separate from thee: make me so to pray that I may obtain of thee mercy, and the relief of all my necessities; for the sake of thy blessed Son and my Redeemer the Holy JESUS.”
Amen.

A COPY OF

LORD DERBY'S LAST LETTER

TO HIS

LADY,

October 12th, 1651, from Chester.

“ I HAVE heretofore sent you comfortable lines, but alas I have now no word of comfort; saving to our last and best refuge which is ALMIGHTY GOD, to whose will we must submit: and when we consider how he hath disposed of these nations and the government thereof we have no more to do but to lay our hands upon our mouths judging ourselves, and acknowledging our sins, joined with others, to have been the cause of these miseries and to call on him with tears for mercy.

“ The Governor of this place, Colonel Duckenfield, is General of the forces which are going now against the Isle of Man, and
however

however you might do for the present; in time it would be grievous and troublesome to resist, especially those that at this hour command three nations: wherefore my advice, notwithstanding my great affection to that place is, that you would make conditions for yourself, children, servants, and people there, and such as came over with me, to the end you may go to some place of rest where you may not be concerned in war; and taking thought of your poor children, you may in some sort provide for them; then prepare yourself to come to your friends above, in that blessed place where blifs is, and no mingling of opinions.

“ I conjure you, my dearest heart, by all those graces which GOD hath given you, that you exercise your patience in this great and strange trial. If harm come to you, then I am dead indeed, and until then I shall live in you, who are truly the best part of myself: when there is no such as I in being, then look upon yourself and my poor children, then take comfort and GOD will bless you.

L. C. 100
“ I acknowledge the great goodness of GOD, to have given me such a wife as you: so great an honour to my family; so excellent a companion to me; so pious, so much of all that can be said of good, I must confess it impossible to say enough thereof. I ask GOD pardon with all my soul, that I have not been enough thankful for so great a benefit, and when I have done any thing at any time that might justly offend you, with joined hands I also ask you pardon.

“ I have no more to say to you at this time, than my prayers for the Almighty's blessing to you, my dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy. Amen, sweet JESUS.

A COPY OF

LORD DERBY'S LAST LETTER

TO

*Lady Mary, Mr. Edward, and Mr. William.**Dear Mall, my Ned, and Billy,*

“ I REMEMBER well how sad you were to part with me, but now I fear your sorrow will be greatly increased to be informed that you can never see me more in this world; but I charge you all to strive against too great a sorrow; you are all of you of that temper that it would do you much harm; and my desires and prayers to GOD are, that you may have a happy life; let it be as holy a life as you can, and as little sinful as you can avoid or prevent.

“ I can well now give you that council, having in myself at this time so great a sense of the vanities of my life, which fill my soul with sorrow; yet I rejoice to remember that

when I have blessed GOD with pious devotion, it has been most delightful to my soul, and must be my eternal happiness.

“ Love the Arch-deacon, he will give you good precepts: obey your Mother with cheerfulness, and grieve her not, for she is your example, your nursery, your counselor, your all under GOD; there never was, nor never can be a more deserving person. I am called away and this is the last I shall write to you. The Lord my GOD bless you and guard you from all evil. So prays your Father at this time, whose sorrow is inexorable to part with Mall, Neddy, and Billy. Remember,

DERBY.

LORD

LORD DERBY'S FIRST LETTER

From the ISLE of MAN,

To his SON, the LORD STRANGE,

WITH HIS

OBSERVATIONS relating to that ISLAND,

For his INSTRUCTION and IMITATION:

“THE Isle of Man was sometime govern-
 ed by Kings, natives of its own, who
 where converted to Christianity by St. Patrick,
 the Apostle of Ireland, and Sir John Stanley
 the first possessor of it, of that family, was
 by his patent stiled King of Man; as were
 his successors after him, to the time of Tho-
 mas, the second EARL of DERBY; who for
 great and wise reasons, thought fit to forbear
 that title.

“And no subject I know hath so great a
 royalty as this, and lest it should at any time
 be thought too great, keep this rule, and you
 will more securely keep it: fear GOD and
 honour the King.

“When

“ When I go to the top of Mount Baroule, by turning myself round I can see England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales; and think it pity to see so many kingdoms at once, which is a prospect no place as I conceive in any nation that we know under heaven can afford, and have so little profit from all, or any of them.

“ But having duly considered thereof, have as I imagine discovered the reason of it; the country is indeed better than I was informed of, for which I blamed myself that I enquired so little of it; for indeed he who seeks not to know his own, is unworthy of what he hath; and I am of opinion this isle will never flourish until some trade or manufacture be established in it; and though you may invite strangers, or natives to become merchants, yet, never any thing will be done to the purpose, until you yourself lead the way; and by your example and encouragement, set the people a pattern.

“ By this or such like means, no doubt but you may grow rich yourself, and others under you improve the land; and set the people

ple to work, so that in time you shall have no beggars, nor loiterers; and where you have one friend now, you shall have many; every house will become a little town, and every town a little city; the sea will abound with ships, and the country with people; to the great enrichment of the whole.

LORD

LORD DERBY'S LETTER

TO
COMMISSARY GENERAL IRETON,IN
Answer to Offers made by him from the Parliament
of his whole Estate,*If he would surrender the Isle of Man to them.*

Castletown, July 12th, 1649.

S I R,

“ I Received your letter with indignation and scorn, and return you this answer. That I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes from me, that I should like you, prove treacherous to my Sovereign, since you cannot but be sensible of my former actings in his late Majesty's service; from which principles of loyalty, I am no whit departed: I scorn your proffers, disdain your favour, and abhor your treason, and am so far from delivering up this island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power and your destruction: take this for your final answer, and forbear any further solici-

solicitations; for if you trouble me with any more messages on this occasion, I will burn the paper, and hang the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice of him, who accounts it his chiefest glory to be,

*His Majesty's most loyal and
obedient servant,*

DERBY."

“ Chuse for your Bishop a reverend and holy man, who may carefully see the whole Clergy do their duty; but not any person already beneficed in England; and oblige him you chuse to residence. By the law and custom here, the Bishop might lease any part of the Bishopric for 21 years, or for lives, or further time, as it is at this time; by which you will see few Bishops have enjoyed the full benefice of their see, having contented themselves with being called Lords, without due regard to their revenue, or any obligation to residence; but in a few years the leases will be all expired, and then the Bishopric

will be worth having; and consider the cheapness of the place: I know few Bishops in England that can live better than he, the whole being entire; and your prerogative herein very great, to which have a particular regard. And I herein consider this, that if the greatest part of the Bishopric be leased, you will find few worthy men will except the place; and if men be beneficed already, they will not care to live in the isle, which all the Clergy ought to do.

Have great care the Bishop be not of a factious spirit, and let him be of your own chusing, rather than by recommendation; so will he shew the greater obligation to you, and be no ways dependant on any other; no, not even of York.

And if you, even as I designed, set up an University, it may oblige the nations round about us. Get friends to the country, and enrich the land, which in time will bring something to the Lord's purse; and as the place is cheap (yet furnished with proper subsistence, and the temptations to idleness and luxury few) education might be attained
here

here on the lowest terms; but of this I shall tell you more when it please GOD I can see you, and myself in peace.

HIS LORDSHIP'S REASONS to his SON,

For not assuming the Title of

KING IN MAN,

And exhorts him to be strictly loyal.

“ **SOME** might think it a mark of grandeur, that the Lords of this isle have been called Kings; and I might be of that opinion, if I knew how this country could maintain itself, independent of other nations, and that I had no interest in another place; but herein I agree with your, and my great and wise ancestor, Thomas, the second EARL of DERBY, and with him conceive, that to be a great Lord is more honourable than a petty King.

“ Besides, it is not for a King to be subject to any, but the King of Kings; nor doth it please a King that any of his subjects should affect that title, were it but to act it in a play; witness the scruples raised, and objections made by my enemies in his Majesty’s council, of my being too near allied to the royalty, to be trusted with too great power, whose jealousies and vile suggestions have proved of very ill consequence to his Majesty’s interest, and my service of him. There never was a wise subject that would willingly offend his King, but if offence were given from the Prince, would rather humble himself before him, as the only means to recover his favour, without which, no subject can propose to live with honour and safety.

“ To conclude this council, take it for granted, that it is honour to give honour to your Sovereign; it is safe and comfortable; therefore in all your actions let it visibly appear in this isle: let him be prayed for duly; let all writings and oaths of officers, soldiers, &c. have relation of allegiance to him.

Lord Derby's Second Letter to his Son

CHARLES, LORD STRANGE.

“ YOU know my former instructions to you were, first, to fear GOD, the beginning of Wisdom; and that Honesty and Religion were the grounds and ends of all men's actions; that all things are written for our instruction, and that no man can be accounted happy in this world that is not wise, for he that is wise, sees most his own unhappiness.

“ And I know you are taught these great and good lessons by your excellent tutor, Mr. Rutter; for whom may you and I give thanks to GOD; he is not only a good teacher to you, but a good friend and companion both to you and me; having nothing at all of the pedant in him. You have profited well in your studies, which is a proof of his labour and care; and without flattery to either, above what I expected; to which the
virtuous

virtuous inclinations of your great and good mother, by whose tender care your infancy hath been governed, hath greatly contributed.

“ You have already the benefit of her language, and so need not travel as I and some others have done to spend our time for words, while we lose so much of our life, to have studied men and manners; but your present education under so great and excellent a tutor, gives me assurance rather than hope, that you will so well understand yourself, and the true knowledge of your Creator and Redeemer (without which, all other things are vain and miserable) that your youth being guided by so able a teacher, will furnish you with such divine and moral precepts, as may make your life comfortable, and your death happy. From whose learned instructions, when it shall please GOD to bless you with children, you may yourself give rules to their teachers; but lest you should forget any of those wise and virtuous precepts, I may prevail with Mr. Rutter, to give you his method of instructing youth in writing, to keep by you, and if others when we are dead pretend
to

to greater knowledge and a newer way of teaching, you may compare his great skill with our true loves, of which these and the like endeavours shall be our witness; as I may say something more of my intentions concerning your breeding, travel, &c. But in the mean time, I will give you some instructions touching the manner of your house, servants, and estate, which I hope may prove of service; I have already given you some marks of a good servant; and these following are badges of a bad one.

“ My father upon the death of my mother, growing infirm and disconsolate, and willing to repose himself from the troubles of the world, purchased a house on the side of the river Dee, near Chester, and retired to it; reserving to himself a thousand pounds a year for life, and put the rest of his estate and revenue into my hands, which I fear I shall not be so soon able to do with you, nor with such latitude of power. However, by observation of the following rules and maxims, you may so manage, improve and enlarge your estate, as to live in repute, honour and comfort.

“ When

“ When you shall arrive at man’s estate, use great caution in the choice of a wife; for as that is well or ill done, so is the whole life likely to be afterwards. It is like a project in war, wherein a man can probably err but once. If your estate be good, match near home and at leisure; but if weak and encumbered, marry afar off and quickly. Enquire well into her disposition, and how her parents have been in their youth. Let her not be poor, how generous soever; for a man can buy nothing in a market with gentility; neither chuse an uncomely creature for wealth, for it will cause contempt in others, and loathing with you; chuse not a dwarf or a fool; the children of one will be pigmies, and the other your disgrace by a continual clack.— There is nothing more fulsome than a she fool.

“ As to your house-keeping, let it be moderate, rather plentiful than niggardly, for no man ever grew poor by keeping an orderly table. Banish drunkenness as a bane to health, consuming much, and making no show. Beware not to spend above the fourth of your income, nor above one third of that
in

necessary for that purpose: therefore do not lease any part already in your hands: and live not in the country without corn and cattle; for he that pulleth to his purse for every penny, is like him that putteth water in a sieve.

“ Buy what you want at the best hand, and be not served with kinsmen and friends, for they expect much and do but little, and keep rather too few than one too many— feed and pay them well, and you may expect service from their hands.

“ Let your kindred and friends be welcome at your house and table, and oblige them by your countenance, which will double the bond of nature, and raise so many advocates upon occasion. Throw off and disregard all loose and flattering parasites, who are every man's friend in prosperity, but of no more use in adversity, than an harbour in winter. Avoid suretyship for your best friends, but rather lend the money yourself on good bond, although you borrow it; for that will secure yourself, and please your friend— neither borrow money of a neighbour or friend,

friend, but rather of a stranger, which when paid you will hear no more of; otherwise you will lessen your credit, lose your friend, and yet pay as dear for it.

“Undertake no suit against a poor man, on receiving much wrong, for then you will make him your equal, and it is a base conquest where there is no resistance; neither make use of law against any man, before you are fully satisfied of your right, and then spare neither money nor pains; for a cause so obtained may free you from suits great part of your life.

“Be sure to keep some great man your friend, but trouble him not with trifles; compliment him often with small gifts of little charge; but if occasion require greater, let it be something that may be daily in sight, otherwise it may be like a hop without a pole.

“Towards your superiors be humble, yet generous; with your equals familiar, yet respectful to your inferiors; shew much humanity and some familiarity, as to bow the

body, stretch forth your hand; or uncover your head, with such like popular compliments, which will prepare your way to popular advancement, bespeak you a man well bred, and gain a good report, which when once got, is easily kept.

“ Civility and humanity take deep root in the minds of the populace; who are easier gained by small courtesies, than by churlish benefits; yet affect not, nor neglect popularity too much.

“ Trust not any man with the secrets of your mind that may nearly concern your life, honour, credit or estate; for it is the greatest folly so far to discover and enslave yourself to your friend: as if occasion should become necessary, you durst not dare to become his enemy.

“ Be not scurrilous in conversation, nor fatirical in your jests; for when any of them favour too much of truth, they leave a bitterness in the minds of those that are touched by them; and some are so prone to this kind of behaviour, that they chuse rather to lose their

their friend than their jest; but I advise you to avoid all such satire, as may be disagreeable to the company, which may engage you in disputes, and draw upon you the hatred of friends, if not quarrels also.

“It is very commendable to have comely men to serve you; but have none that is either a Puritan, or Jesuit; next to them, a musician is very troublesome. Many boys to wait on your servants are fluttish, given to pilfer and steal, and disgrace your house. I would have all those under the yeomen in livery, whether yours or any of your chief retinue.

“Have a good steward of your house, and clerk of the kitchen, who make themselves awed by the servants, even as much as yourself; and while they serve you well, you must countenance them well; so will your house be orderly.

“I would as much as in me lay, keep my own cash; so shall I better husband it, knowing on what occasions I part with; and as it is a custom sometimes to reward good servants,

vants, consider well before you give, what it is, to whom, and for what, for certainly when you give to a good man (because he is good) it is likely to keep him so, and make others good from the example. I would not have many in my house too near a-kin, for you will be apt to encourage one too much, for another's sake; neither would I have many married in my house, by so doing you may come to have the children also.

“When a servant minds himself more than your business, then you may be sure he is growing rich, gaining reputation at your cost; and then you may observe men making their addresses to him, rather than you; his followers attending him bare headed, which puffs him up to slight your service; and if you respect him, it may be, he will honour you, otherwise he can live of his own, and may have the vanity to give out, it was his father's legacy, though he came to you a beggar.

“If a servant be prodigal, neglecting his own affairs, assuredly he will neglect yours; and this you may see if he be needy: a
gamester,

gamester, a company keeper, or otherwise vicious and the like—dismiss such a servant your house and service.

“Another sort will, perhaps, delight to keep you in suits and troubles, that he may never want employment; and you cannot want him, exclaiming against all others as unfit for your service. But in this case the rule of Machiavel is to be remembered—*Fortiter Calumniari aliquid addet*. More dangerous than this is a flattering servant, who endeareth himself to you, by applauding and approving all you like, say or do, which may prevail with you to think that you have one after your own heart, but will in time gnaw you to the very bone: yet observe this rule, and there will be less danger of being deceived. When any praise you, be cautious whether you deserve it or not; or if you do, think he does not always love you best, that praiseth you most. Remember the Italian proverb, That after eating salt with one seven years, you may then judge of his sincerity, and how far you may trust him. Those you trust with money, or any receipts or disbursements of it, bring often

often to account, which will keep them just, and make you easy.

“ Most of these misfortunes I have met with in servants, which hath given me great vexation; therefore I hope, by my experience, you will avoid them as much as possible. I might have enlarged upon many of the passages and observations here recited, in which I have been sufficiently exercised to give you examples both of pride and corruption in those employed about you; but am loath to dwell too long on one subject, not knowing how short a time I must dwell here myself, so shall omit them for the present, and only give you a few general aphorisms and maxims in life, for your instruction and observation in the course of it, which I exhort you always to remember and practise, as a sure monitor and guide of all your actions, conduct and behaviour, towards God; your Prince, and Neighbour.”

INSTRUCTIONS,

BY

JAMES EARL OF DERBY, TO HIS SON,

THE

LORD STRANGE,

(By way of Aphorism)

For his Observations in Life.

FIRST.

“ I. OF all things, seek ye to know the Word of GOD, and the Kingdom of GOD.

“ II. Know that about GOD, there is neither greatness, place, quality, figure or time; for he is all, through all, and about all.

“ III. This word, O Son! worship and adore, and the only service of GOD is not to be evil.

“ IV. Remember that virtue, honour and religion, are the grounds and ends of all good men’s actions.

“ V. Build more upon an honest man’s word, than a bad man’s word.

“ VI. Trust not any man that has not approved himself a man of sound principles and a good conscience; for he that is false to GOD, can never be true to man.

“ VII. Remember that he is a happy King who loves his people, and is beloved by them.

“ VIII. That the strength of a King is in the love of his people.

“ IX. That Princes ought to be better than other men, because they command and rule all.

“ X. That a good Prince ought first to preserve the service of GOD and his Church; and next the common wealth, before his own pleasure.

“ XI. That

“ XI. That he can never be a good statesman, that regardeth not the public more than his own advantage.

“ XII. That honour is the reward of virtue—gotten with labour, and held in danger.

“ XIII. That counsel without resolution and execution, is but wind.

“ XIV. That division in council is most dangerous.

“ XV. That attempts are most probable when wisely formed, and secretly and speedily executed.

“ XVI. That union is the strength, and division the ruin of any body politic.

“ XVII. That the taking or losing an opportunity, was the gaining or losing a project in fortune.

“ XVIII. That war is soon kindled, but peace very hardly procured.

“ XIX. That war is the curse, and peace the blessing of GOD, upon a nation.

“ XX. That a nation gaineth more by one years peace, than ten years war.

“ XXI. That a nation can never be rich that hath no trade and commerce with other nations.

“ XXII. That no man can get riches of himself, but by means and assistance of others.

“ XXIII. That riches are GOD's blessing to such that use them well; and his curse to such that do not.

“ XXIV. That all things in the world are valuable as we esteem them; for a little to him that thinketh it enough, is great riches.

“ XXV. That wild, lewd, and unthrifty youth, is frequently the parent's fault, in making them men seven years too soon.

“ XXVI. That

“ XXVI. That youth are guilty of much folly and extravagance, having but children’s judgments; therefore should be instructed and governed with the greatest prudence and tenderness.

“ XXVII. That the better to prevent the follies of youth, the ancient Romans had a law, by which their sons were not permitted to possess their father’s estate, until they arrived at the age of twenty-five years.”

TO THE
GLORIOUS MEMORY

OF THAT

BLESSED MARTYR,

JAMES EARL OF DERBY.

“ HAIL honour'd Vault, thou sacred dust,
Clean as the STANLEY's name that
must

Eternize you, and give to Death
Rank tho' it be, a sweeter Breath,
Than spices suck'd from eastern air,
Or any place but where you are;
For balms that other bodies keep,
Are kept themselves where you do sleep:
Marvel not Holy Urns if now
By kind or cruel fate, or how
I know not, your brave Son appears,
All smeer'd with blood, and bath'd with tears,
To take his lodging up and lie
In your untainted company;

For

For tho' his Noble Blood was spilt
By colour of black treasons guilt;
Yet know we call not bad or good,
As in your days was understood;
The silly Virtues of your times,
Our wiser age, hath made our crimes;
We believ'd histories and there,
We read how true the STANLEY'S were;
But since, this Man was made we know,
A Rebel for not being so;
And by new stile of language found,
For having ne'er been false, unfound.
Pardon us if we swear that you,
Blest souls, have all been traitors too.
But stay your peaceful shrines must hear,
No more of this, and you that wear
The white to shew your innocence,
So taken in the good old sense,
Do not disdain if he that bled
Come here to dye you all in red;
How well it must you saints become,
To be dip'd with him in MARTYRDOM.
You lov'd your PRINCES, and the end
For which you liv'd was to defend
The power that made you great to be,
Worthy of this posterity;

But

But if your waking spirits flew,
 That day aloft when with a few
 Great DERBY mounted on his cause,
 Fought for his COUNTRY, KING and LAWS;
 Resolv'd our little light grown dim,
 Shou'd ne'er be quite extinguish'd without
 Him ;

You'll say that you did but begin
 What he made perfect and have been ;
 'Tis all that Reason can afford,
 You Majesty's bucklers, he the sword ;
 Oh ! where's the fortune that was won't
 To wait on you, and give account
 Of all your Actions, bidding Fame
 To write them fair upon your Name ?
 What must his valour be denied
 Success, to satisfy the pride
 Of angry Fates, who set it down
 For Law, no bays without a crown ?
 Making his loss a public harm,
 Three Kingdoms leaning on his Arm.

“ Poor Destinies to govern Wars,
 Yet suffer him to top your stars ;
 And change to Triumph what you meant,
 By fond mistake his punishment ;

So did he ride, his Chariot drawn
 By Tigers tam'd, and taught to fawn.
 Upon the greatness of his soul,
 Brute passions all at his controul ;
 Rage turn'd to pity, scorns to fears,
 Hard and cold hearts dissolv'd to tears ;
 His guard march'd like poor conquer'd things,
 Who just before cou'd spit at Kings ;
 He put them on new garbs, and none
 Of that day's manners were their own.

“ A Triumph such as one may see
 After some Indian victory ;
 Where savage beasts first learn to kneel,
 And slaves walk chain'd to chariot wheel ;
 A glorious day, no griefs might dare
 To darken what his looks made fair ;

“ But as the valiant Israelite,
 In Vision saw before the fight ;
 His fleece by wonder, dry, and round,
 About the place a water'd ground ;
 So stood unmov'd this gallant Peer,
 Whilst sorrow made all deluge there ;
 And yet, as when with hottest rays,
 A clear Sun its full strength displays ;

On some thick cloud that dare resist,
 There shews a kind of bloody mist;
 So did his clearness then arise,
 And dart upon the peoples' eyes;
 That none did ever see, they say,
 A bloodier and a fairer day;
 Fix'd in the sweetness of a mind,
 Free from guilt and fear we find;
 His boldness now bowing to none,
 But his GOD and him alone.

“ And as triumphing consuls thought,
 Their glories greater when they brought,
 Their Crowns to th' temple as was meet;
 There laid them down at great Pan's feet.

“ So after all this triumph he,
 A servant still to MAJESTY——
 Before his GOD fell on his face;
 At which the genius of this place,
 This reverend vault fetch'd him away,
 T'enthone him where the STANLEY'S lay;
 Whose ashes whisper their desire,
 From his warm blood to take new fire;
 And light a blinded world to see,
 'This blessing of their LOYALTY.”

This great and noble Lord, whose various transactions in life, and tragical death we have been describing, was the seventh EARL of DERBY of his family; he married to his Lady, the most noble Charlotte, daughter to Claud de la Tremouille, Duke de Tremouille and Trovers, by Charlotte his wife, daughter to the renowned Count William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by his wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, of the royal House of France; by which marriage he stood allied to the Kings of France, and to the Houses of Bourbon, Monpeffier, Bourbon, Conde, Dukes of Anjou, Kings of Naples and Sicily, Arch-duke of Austria, Kings of Spain, Earls and Dukes of Savoy, Dukes of Milan, and to most of the sovereign Princes in Europe.

By this noble Lady, he had issue three sons; Charles, who succeeded him, and Edward and William, who both died young and unmarried; also three daughters, the eldest, Lady Henrietta Maria, married to William, the great Earl of Strafford, and died without issue; the Lady Catharine, second daughter, married to Henry, Marquis of Dorchester, and also died without issue; and the Lady

Amelia, the youngest, married to John Earl of Athol, and was Grandmother to his Grace, James, the present Duke of Athol.

The taking away the blood of the noble Peer aforesaid, might have been esteemed by the world, a sacrifice sufficient to have atoned for any supposed offences given by his Lady and innocent Children, who were in the Isle of Man, at the time of his being taken out of the world, where it might have been concluded they were in a place of quiet and security.

But even this place of retirement was no safeguard to them, for the wicked and restless malice of their persecutors, Bradshaw, Rigby, and Birch, found them out there, and struck at his surviving and afflicted Lady and Children, endeavouring and using all their power, to eradicate them and the whole noble Family, from the face of the earth.

And to this purpose had corrupted one Captain Christian, whom his Lordship had brought up from a child, and on his coming over to attend his Majesty King Charles II. entrusted

entrusted him with the command of all the foot soldiers in the island, as a guard and security of the place, and his distressed Lady and Children, whom he was charged to take especial care of.

But the said Christian proving a most perfidious and treacherous villain, had corrupted the soldiers of both the castles, as well as those under his command, promising to deliver up the island to the Parliament ships and forces, when they appeared against it.

Upon which, Colonel Duckenfield and Birch, having commission from the junto at London, appeared before it with ten ships, and summoned the heroic Lady Derby to deliver up the island to them for the use of the Parliament. Her Ladyship having Sir Thomas Armstrong with her in Castle-rushen, whom her Lord had made Governor there, and his brother Governor of Peel-castle, and being likewise confident of the integrity of Christian and the islanders under him, refused to surrender, without licence from the King.

But Christian having prepared his countrymen for the execution of his treachery, that very night suffered the forces to land without resistance, seized upon the Lady and her Children, with the Governors of both the Castles, and the next morning brought them prisoners to Duckenfield and Birch; who told her Ladyship, that Christian had surrendered the island upon articles, which her Ladyship desired to be favoured with a sight of, and on perusal thereof she observed, that the Isle of Man was only yielded up, and that the islands about it were not included; upon which she requested of Colonel Duckenfield and Birch, and especially of Christian, who had formed and acquiesced to those articles, that she and her Children might have leave to retire to Peel-castle, situate in an island separated from the main island by the sea; from whence she proposed she might in some little time, get over to her friends in France, Holland, or some other place of rest and refuge.

But she was utterly denied that favour by her inhuman enemies, without regard to her sex, compassion for her children, respect to
her

her quality, or even common civility, found any place for her relief. Thus this great and excellent Lady, whose Religion, Virtue and Prudence, were not inferior to any woman upon record, was become a captive and prisoner, to her most barbarous, malignant, and unmerciful enemies; she, who brought fifty thousand pounds portion to this nation, has not now a morsel of bread for herself or desolate children, but what was the charity of her impoverished and ruined friends.

After which, she and her children continued prisoners in the island until his Majesty's happy Restoration (enduring all these sufferings with a generous resolution and Christian patience) and then expected justice against her Lord's Murderers, her son restored to the sequestered estates of his father, and some compensation for the immense losses and devastation of her family; but failing of all, her great heart (overwhelmed with grief and endless sorrow) burst in pieces, and she died at Knowsley-house, with that Christian temper and exemplary piety, in which she had always lived.

The late very eminent, but unhappy Lord, Earl James, was succeeded in honour, by his eldest son, Charles, Lord Strange, as the eighth EARL of DERBY of his name; who, upon his accession to the estate of his family, found it in the utmost confusion and disorder: the ancient House of Latham demolished, and all the estate thereto belonging, under sequestration; the House of Knowsley in little better condition; ruinous, out of repair, and great devastations committed in the house, gardens and park; and what was yet more deplorable, near one half of the estate possessed by his father, sequestered and sold, and a little, or very small part of it, ever recovered; of which, the legislative justice of both Houses of Parliament had so sensible a knowledge, and such deep and compassionate a concern for the sufferings of the late brave EARL of DERBY, his Lady and noble Family, that they unanimously passed a bill, in both houses, to restore Earl Charles to all his father's sequestered estates, he repaying to the possessors, the inconsiderable value given by them for their several purchases, and they accounting with him for the profits received, during their possession of any branch or part of it. But

But so it was, that neither the services of his Father and Mother, nor the immense sums expended by them for his then Majesty Charles II. and for his Father's interest and the support of his Crown and Dignity, nor the loss of his own Father's Life, nor his saving and securing that of the reigning Prince, King Charles II. as before, nor any other interest or consideration could prevail upon that ungrateful King to give his royal assent to that act; so that all those estates were lost and separated from the family for ever, which so reduced the said Earl Charles, that he had scarce sufficient left to support the honour and dignity of his character, as hereafter will appear.

Infomuch that his eldest son and successor, Earl William, whom I had the honour to serve several years as Household Steward, hath often told me, that he possessed no estate in Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Warwickshire, and Wales; but whenever he viewed any of them he could see another near or adjoining to that he was in possession of, equal, or greater of value, lost by his Grandfather for

his loyalty and service to the Crown and his Country.

Charles, the present Earl before us, lived in a time of peace and tranquility, so that I have nothing to remark of his achievements in a military life. He was a person of great affability, courteous to all, a good master, a kind landlord, and a loving friend and neighbour. He married to his Lady, Dorothea Helena Rupa, a German Lady, of an honourable family, but small fortune, which she being sensible of, used all her endeavours to repair that defect by her œconomy, prudence and frugal management of her family, and all affairs under her care and inspection. By this Lady his Lordship had issue, four sons and two daughters, viz. William, Robert, James and Charles—William, after his father's death, succeeded him—Robert and Charles died unmarried, and James, his third son, succeeded his brother William in the Earldom—Charlotte, his first daughter, married Thomas, Lord Colchester, eldest son and heir of Thomas, Earl Rivers, and by him had issue only one daughter, who died young and unmarried; and Mary, his
second

second daughter, died unmarried; and he himself died the twenty-first of December, 1672, and was honourably deposited with his noble ancestors at Ormskirk, near Latham.

Having a little before taken notice of the great disorder the late Earl found his estate in on his coming to the possession of it, give me leave before I proceed further, for the satisfaction of the reader and information of the history and proceedings of those distracted times, to lay before him a few examples of those oppressions laid upon and suffered by this noble family, in manifestation of my assertion of their sufferings.

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

ORDERS CONCERNING LATHAM.

“WHEREAS there is a great quantity of meadow ground belonging to the EARL of DERBY in Latham, and now the time of the year importuneth a speedy course to be taken—This is therefore to require you forthwith to take notice of it, and to set so much as you can, and the rest to get mowed, and to set it in places most convenient, either in barns or ricks; and if you cannot set meadowing whereby to pay the mowers, or other charges accustomed to be disbursed formerly, you may repair to me and I shall appoint a way, or give you money to pay all such disbursements, and in so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand at Ormskirk, August 3d. 1645.

JOHN ASHHURST.

To Evan Swift of Skelmersdale, this.

“What you can set I desire you would, but for the rest, I would have the one half given for getting the other.

JOHN ASHHURST.”

ORMSKIRK

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

By Indenture Trepartite, dated August 11, in the thirteenth year of King Charles I. between William, EARL of DERBY, and Sir James Stanley, Lord Strange, of the first part; Elizabeth, Lady Stanley, Widow, late wife of Sir Robert Stanley, Charles Stanley and James Stanley, Esqrs. sons of the said Sir Robert Stanley, of the second part; and Sir Henry Croft, and Sir Theobold Gorges, Knights, of the third part.

“ **R**ECITING therein an award made by his Majesty for the ending of suits and differences between the said Earl, the said Elizabeth Stanley, Charles Stanley and James Stanley, the said Earl and James, Lord Strange, in performance and obedience of the award for provision of maintenance for the said Lady, Charles and James Stanley, and the heirs male of their bodies; and in consideration of love and affection, covenant by one or more fines before the end of two years next following, to convey and assure to Sir George Croft and Sir Theobold Gorges and their heirs, the several manors of Latham, Burfcough, Childwall and Dalton, with

with the appurtenances, and other messuages, lands and tenements situate in the precincts of Latham, Burfcough, Childwall and Dalton; and also the capital messuage or mansion-house called Upton, with its appurtenances, in the counties of Chester and Lancaster, to several uses.

“ Upon the EARL of DERBY’S delinquency, there is now due and in arrears (as the Lady Stanley affirms) 698*l.* and that her two sons are not yet at age; therefore it is desired by the said Lady Stanley, that the arrears due, and the growing rents may be paid her, or that she may have her deed and estate allowed her, notwithstanding the sequestration—and this appears to be the case.. Dec. 1645.

J. BRADSHAW.

Ver. Cop. W. Garland.”

*At the Committee of Lords and Commons for
Sequestration.*

Die Mer. Dec. 24, 1645.

“ **I**N the case of the Lady Stanley, upon the report of Mr. Bradshaw, to whom it was referred, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, and on full debate of the matter, it is ordered that the said report be confirmed, and that it be referred to the several Committees of the counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, where the lands charged with the yearly rent demanded by the said Lady lies, to allow her said yearly growing rent and the arrearages thereof, being deposed by the said Lady to be 698*l.* according to the rateable proportion of the lands in each county; or else to permit her to take the benefit of her order for non-payment thereof.

J. WYLDE.

Ver. Cop. exam. per me R. Vaughan.

ORMSKIRK

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

At the Committee of Lords and Commons
for Sequestration.

Die Mer. April 15, 1646.

“UPON the petition of the Lady Elizabeth Stanley, and the certificate of the Committee of Cheshire, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed and attested, it is thought fit and ordered, that the Committee of Lancashire, by whom the sequestration was made, do either allow and pay unto the petitioner her rent and arrearages due to her, or else to permit and suffer her to enter and distrain upon the lands, according to her deed by due course of law.

H. PELLAM.

Ent. R. Vaughan.”

PRESTON

PRESTON, in COM. LAN.

At the Committee, August 28, 1647.

“IT is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose, shall at the next sitting of the Committee for Sequestrations, certify the true yearly value of that part of the EARL OF DERBY'S Estate as stands charged with an annuity or rent charge of 600*l.* per annum, payable to the late Lady Stanley, now Countess of Lincoln, and her children; and that she may be at liberty to provide a farmer for the said estate, for the year next coming; he and said Mr. Peter Ambrose, having had notice thereof.

Alex. Rigby,
R. Cunliff,
J. Starkie.

Int. E. Hall.”

At the Committee, Feb. 23d. 1645.

“ **W**HEREAS it is informed, that the House of Knowsley is in decay, and want of reparation, a part of the leads there being taken off for the public use at the first league against Latham, it is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall view the defects, and what quantity of lead shall be thought to be wanting for the repair thereof, shall be supplied with the lead taken off Latham, upon certificate under his hand to the Committee; and it is further ordered, that the House of Knowsley and the orchard and gardens there shall be improved to the best benefit of the common-wealth, by the agent for sequestration of that estate, to the end the same may be better repaired out of the profits thereof.

R. SHUTTLEWORTH.”

At a Committee, June 4, 1646.

“ IT is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose, and other Agents for Sequestrations of Derby Hundred, shall permit and suffer William Kyndsley and Richard Bradshaw, quietly to bear and carry away all such goods, pipes of lead, and other materials formerly belonging to the House of Latham, and as yet remaining there, and contracted and agreed for by the said Mr. Kyndsley and Mr. Bradshaw, with John Heywood and others, authorized for the sale of such goods.

William Knipe,
 Nicholas Cunliffe,
 Robert Cunliffe,
 John Bradshaw,
 John Starkie,
 Richard Asheton.”

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

To Mr. Ambrose, an Agent for Sequestrations in Derby Hundred.

Mr. Ambrose,

“ WE desire you to view Latham-house, and to certify us at your next coming hither, whether Capt. Peter Holt hath observed his orders in the demolishing of the said House of Latham, and whether he hath done any thing but according to his order, which is all at present from

Your loving friends,

E Buterworth,
Edward Rigby,
James Asheton,
J. Bradshaw, Vic.
Richard Houghton,
Peter Egerton.”

Preston, Apr. 29.

PRESTON.

PRESTON.

At the Committee, April 23.

“IT is ordered that Captain Peter Holt shall deliver up the House of Latham, together with all the goods and materials now remaining and belonging to the same, unto Mr. Peter Ambrose, on Monday next, who is hereby required to receive the same accordingly, and to take especial notice in what condition the same shall be at the delivery thereof, and likewise to inventory the goods which will be there left, and to certify the Committee thereof; that such course may be taken for disposal of the house and goods, as the Committee shall think fit for the best benefit of the common-wealth.

John Starkie,
Edward Rigby,
E. Butterworth,
J. Fleetwood,
Richard Houghton,
G. Ireland,
Peter Egerton,
James Asheton.

Intra. N. Aspinwall.”

At the Committee, May 13, 1646.

“FORASMUCH as Mr. Richard Bradshaw, of Bolton, hath taken up certain pipes of lead belonging to Latham-house, pretending to be bought by him of one John Heywood it is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall take a view of the said pipes of lead so taken up as aforesaid; and shall appraise the same, and certify the true value thereof to the Committee of the first of June next, that then such further order may be made therein as shall be thought fit.

Nicholas Cunliffe,
Robert Cunliffe,
William Knipe,
John Starkie,
Richard Asheton,
Richard Haworth.

Intra. E. Wall.”

ORMSKIRK

ORMSKIRK PARISH.

At the Committee, May 13, 1646.

“ WHEREAS by an order of the twenty-third of April last, it was ordered, that Mr. Ambrose should receive the House of Latham, together with the goods and materials, and to inventory the same goods, which is done accordingly: it is ordered that the said Mr. Peter Ambrose shall dispose of the same for the common-wealth: and whereas divers goods and materials mentioned in a schedule hereunto affixed, amounting to the sum of 5*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* formerly sold to William Kyndsley, Richard Bradshaw, Henry Molineux, and Joseph Moxon, are as yet remaining there; it is ordered that they shall forthwith pay unto Mr. Peter Ambrose, the said sum of 5*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.* according to their several agreements formerly made, to be disposed of for the public use, and the said goods thereupon delivered, and not otherwise,

J. Fleetwood,	Edward Rigby.
Robert Cunliffe,	Wm. Knipe,
Richard Haworth,	John Starkie,
Nicholas Cunliffe,	Richard Asheton.

Intra. N. Aspinwall.”

An Account of what Floors and Wainscots were sold by the Officers put in by Colonel Booth, at LATHAM-HOUSE, viz.

	L.	s.	d.
In the Eagle-tower, three floors, in measure 74 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ each, the two highest at 12d. per yard,	7	9	0
The third floor, 74 yards, at 1s. 2d. per yard,	—	—	4
The Tower of Madnes, 25 yards, at 12d. per yard.	—	—	1
The Tower at the Kitchen-bridge, one floor 34 yards, at 12d. per yard,	1	14	0
The other floor, 32 yards, at 4d. per yard,	—	—	0
The Little Tower next it, two floors, 15 yards,	—	—	0
The next tower to that in the corner, two floors, 36 yards,	—	—	1
The Chapel Tower, one floor, 16 yards,	—	—	1
In the Private Tower, one floor, 16 yards $\frac{1}{2}$,	—	—	0
The floor in the lowest room, Eagle Tower, 70 yards,	—	—	4
Wainscot of the same room, 159 yards, at 1s. 6d. per yard,	—	—	16
The wainscot in the room adjoining, 83 yards, at 1s. 6d. per yard,	—	—	6
The floor in the same room, 27 yards, at 1s. 2d. per yard,	—	—	1
The floor in the Middle Ward, 111 yards, at 1s. per yard,	—	—	5
<i>Total,</i>	<u>54</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>

PRESTON.

At the Committee, June 11, 1646.

To Mr. Peter Ambrose.

“ IT is ordered, that those boards that have been lately employed in the House at Latham, and now taken down and laid together by Captain Holt, shall be forthwith carried to Liverpool for the use of the said garrison there, according as Lieutenant-Colonel John Ashurst, now Governor of the said garrison, shall think fit.

J. Bradshaw, V.
G. Ireland,
Peter Egerton,
Richard Asheton,
J. Fleetwood,
Robert Cunliffe.”

ORMSKIRK.

At the Committee, April 30, 1647.

“IT is ordered, that Mr. Peter Ambrose shall, upon sight hereof, deliver to Edward Chambers, Commissary at Liverpool, one pair of gates, with the sloops belonging thereunto, now at Latham-house, for to be employed for the use of the said garrison, as the Governor thereof shall think fit.

Peter Egerton,
H. Fleetwood,
Ralph Asheton,
W. Ashurst.”

The several articles before-mentioned, have been abstracted from the book of Sequestrations for the County of Lancaster, and are intended as specimens of the proceedings of those seditious and rebellious times, wherein Liberty and Property were words without meaning; the Beggar upon a level with a Lord, and they of the household dividing the spoil; the two noble Seats of Latham and Knowsley (spacious enough for princely Palaces) demolished and destroyed, and the estates thereto belonging, all under Sequestration, and the heavy load of 600*l.* per Annum charged upon the first, and several other manors before-mentioned; all which put together, with many other devastations and destructions by the usurpers, reduced the noble Lord entitled thereto to a narrow and scanty way of living, until the Lady Stanley afore-said had married the Earl of Lincoln, and her younger son James's death.

When the EARL of DERBY obtained an Act of Parliament to enable him to sell several manors, lands and chief rents, at Chidwall, Little Woolton, part of Dalton, and all Holland; with the chief rents of many other

manors and townships, whereby he raised a sum sufficient to purchase the Countess of Lincoln's annuity for life, and her second son James's annuity, from his surviving brother Charles, who was then entitled to the whole; and with the payment of all arrears, and securing to the said Charles the future payment of the whole 600l. per annum upon the manor of Latham, only, he was admitted into the possession of all the aforesaid manors and townships, pledged for the payment of the said 600l. per annum.

All which, with some improvements made by him, descended on his decease to his eldest son William, Lord Strange, who then commenced the ninth EARL of DERBY of this family, who was a Nobleman of polite education, great reading, and strong capacity, and a kind landlord to his tenants, but much averse to any offices of trust or employment under the government, from the consideration of his family sufferings, by their constant attachment to it, which induced him to prefer a country retirement, as he frequently declared upon many occasions, before any honour or preferments at court.

He married to his Lady, Elizabeth, daughter to Thomas, Earl of Ossory, grand-daughter to James, the old Duke of Ormond, and sister to the late proscribed Duke, and by her had issue one son and two daughters, to wit, James, Lord Strange, who died at Venice on his travels, in the twentieth year of his age, and unmarried, but his body was brought to England, and deposited with his noble and most worthy predecessors; and his eldest daughter, the Lady Henrietta, married first to John, Earl of Anglesey, and by him had issue one daughter, who died very young, and he himself not long after; and to her second husband she married John, Lord Ashburnham, and by him had issue only two daughters, named Henrietta Bridget, who died about the fourteenth year of her age; and Elizabeth, his second daughter, who died in the eighteenth year of her age unmarried.

This Lord intending to re-edify and adorn the old and famous seat of Latham, erected a sumptuous and lofty new front, and covered it in, but did not live to finish it, dying at Chester, when Mayor thereof, in 1702, and also Chamberlain of that city, as his father and ancestors

cestors had been before him, and was nobly interred at Ormskirk, in the repository of his family, and was succeeded by James, his brother, then Brigadier Stanley, who had been bred up in martial discipline from a youth, by the heroic Prince of Orange, after King William the Third of England, with whom he was in high favour and esteem; one of his bedchamber, and almost constant attendant in waiting; upon the death of his brother in 1702, he became Baron Strange, and the tenth EARL of DERBY of his name, soon after which he quitted the army, and was honoured with the high office of Chancellor of the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster, and Lord Lieutenant and Vice-admiral of the same and the coasts thereof, with the high office of Chamberlain of the city and county palatine of Chester, and one of the Privy Council to King William, Queen Anne, and King George I. and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards to the last, and Lord of Man and the Isles; he commanded a regiment of foot through all King William's wars in Flanders and Ireland, there being no battle or siege but he had a large share therein; his body being almost covered with wounds, and

twice

twice carried off the field as a dying man, but by the goodness of God he surmounted all those evils, and all the hazards and dangers of a military life; no person behaving with greater courage and resolution than Colonel Stanley, to the time of his commencing EARL of DERBY; and then he generously bestowed his regiment upon an old friend and brother officer, and returned home to possess the noble estate of his family, at which time he was honoured with several offices of power and trust before-mentioned.

But upon the accession of King George II. being grown aged and infirm, and unable to bear the fatigues of public employments, he retired to his seat of Knowsley, the place of his birth, in the Year 1707 or 1708, and in regard to the building, which was much defaced under the usurpation, he resolved, to do the honour to his ancestors, of rebuilding their old seat after the modern way, which he performed in a most sumptuous and beautiful manner, and in memory of the unkind and ungenerous treatment of his father and grandfather, by King Charles II. caused the following inscription to be cut in stone on the front

front of it viz, “ James, EARL of DERBY, Lord of Man and the Isles, grandson of James, EARL of DERBY, by Charlotte, daughter of Cloud, Duke of Tremouille, who was beheaded at Bolton, the fifteenth of October 1651, for strenuously adhering to King Charles I. who refused a bill unanimously passed by both Houses of Parliament, for restoring to the family the estates which he had lost by his loyalty to him.”

This Lord married Mary, the only daughter and heiress of Sir William Morley of Halnacar, in the county of Suffex, by whom he enjoyed a plentiful estate, and had issue by her, one only son named James, who lived but about three months, and thereby left him childless at his decease, which happened at Knowsley on the first of February, 1736; and from thence conveyed to Ormskirk, and laid with his most eminent and noble ancestors in the common repository of his family. He was born the third of July, 1664.

Here let it be observed, that by the death of this noble Lord without any issue, the honour

nour of the Earldom of Derby became extinct in the direct line, he being the tenth in succession from Thomas, Lord Stanley, created EARL of DERBY by King Henry VII. in the first year of his reign, for his signal and faithful services to him and his country (as before observed) on the 27th day of October, in the year 1485, and on many other remarkable occasions.

The late noble Lord we have been here treating of, was by patent made Chamberlain of Chester for life, that high office having been expired in his family by the death of his elder brother, Earl William; however, when this Lord was in full life and at the highest pinnacle of honour, he appears to me to have possessed more titles of dignity, than any of his brave and renowned predecessors; and as the knowledge of these may be as agreeable to the readers, as the pleasure of collecting them hath been to me, I have thought fit to relate them in their order, viz.

James EARL of DERBY, Lord Stanley and Strange, Baron of Weeton; Viscount Kinton; Lord Mohun, Barnwell, Bassett and Lacy;

Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster; and Vice-admiral of the same; Lordc-hamberlain of the City and County Palatine of Chester; Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards; one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; and Lord of Man and the Isles.

And here, though I have according to promise, given the reader the lineal succession of the EARL of DERBY for eleven generations, with their marriages and issue, and the marriages and issue of their sons and daughters; yet, permit me before I proceed further in the history, to insert a few articles that came to my knowledge during my writing, what hath already passed, which will tend to make the whole something more intelligible and uniform, altho' a little out of due place, which I flatter myself will be forgiven me, as it is intended for the readers information.

And first, the most noble Margaret, Countess of Richmond, and widow to Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and afterwards wife to Thomas, the first EARL of DERBY, whom she out-lived, died in the year, 1509, and
was

was interred in Westminster Abbey with her royal ancestors.

Secondly, William, EARL of DERBY, great grandfather to the last Earl James; was by patent of the first of James I. made Chamberlain of Chester for life; and after this, in the year 1640, another patent passed, joining James, Lord Strange, with his father, for both their Lives, and the survivor of them.

Thirdly, William, EARL of DERBY, died in 1642, and was succeeded in the said office, by James, Lord Strange, his son, who continued therein till the Lords of Parliament removed him, and put in their speaker, Edward, Earl of Manchester, who continued to the year 1647; when the Commons thought fit to remove him, and put in William Lenthel, their Speaker, and Humphrey Mackworth of Shrewsbury, the Vice-chamberlain.

After him, in the year 1654, John Glinn, was made Chamberlain, and appointed Philip Young of Shropshire, his Vice Chamberlain. This John Glinn was afterwards (as I suppose) Sir John Glinn, who had (upon the

vote of both houses above-mentioned) made an offer of surrendering the inheritance of Harden-castle, purchased by him from the agents of Sequestration, to Charles, EARL of DERBY, for a lease of three Lives, which not being immediately accepted by the said Earl, and his Majesty afterwards refusing his assent to the bill passed by both houses in his favour, he was glad to compound with Sir John Glinn, for the property of the said castle, and had the same granted to him and his heirs, who now enjoy the inheritance thereof.

And here the reader may observe and lament the hard fate of the late loyal and brave EARL of DERBY's sufferings and persecutions, in every state of property, whether in office for life, or inheritance; nay, even in his person and family, his and their enemies being daily in hand to swallow them up; who being exalted and set on fire by unbounded power, their teeth became spears and arrows, and their tongues as sharp swords.

Sometime after this, Earl Charles obtained by patent, the office of Chamberlain of Chester, for the life of himself, and William his son;

son; upon the decease of whom it rested in the crown, to the time the late Earl James was favoured therewith for his life.

A LIST of the BIRTHS, MARRIAGES and DEATHS of several of the Family, hitherto omitted.

Charlotte, Countess of Derby, died in the year 1664.

Edward Stanley her son, and brother to Charles, EARL of DERBY, died in 1664.

Charles, EARL of DERBY, her eldest son, died in 1672.

Mary, daughter of Charles, EARL of DERBY, died in 1674.

Catharine, Lady Savage, daughter to Lord Colchester, died in 1687.

James, Lord Strange, son of William, EARL of DERBY, died in 1700.

William, EARL of DERBY, his father, died in 1702.

Dorothy

Dorothy Helena Rupa, Countess Dowager, died in 1702.

Charles Stanley, fourth son of Charles, EARL of DERBY, died in 1715.

Charlotte, Lady Colchester, her daughter, died in 1717.

James, EARL of DERBY, third son of Charles, EARL of DERBY, died in 1736. By whose death, the Barony of Strange, and Lordship of Man, devolved on James Murray, Duke of Athol in Scotland, son and heir of John Marquis of Athol, by the Lady Amelia-Sophia, his wife, daughter of James Lord Strange, the seventh EARL of DERBY; and the Barony of Stanley and Earldom of Derby devolved on Sir Edward Stanley of Bickerstaff, Bart. descended from George Lord Strange, son of Thomas the first EARL of DERBY.

Edward the eldest son of Sir Thomas Stanley, was the late EARL of DERBY, the titles devolving to him, on the death of the tenth EARL of DERBY, April 13, 1736; he married,

ried, in 1714, Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of Robert Hesketh, of Rufford, in Lancashire, Esq. and by her, who died Feb. 24, 1776, he had four sons and seven daughters. James Lord Strange, born January, 1717, married March 17, 1747, to Lucy, one of the three daughters and co-heirs of Hugh Smith, of Weald-hall, in Essex, Esq. and by her who died February 7, 1759, had issue, 1. Edward, the present Earl. 2. Thomas, born 1753, died 1779. 3. James, born 1754, and died 1771. 4. Elizabeth, born 1748, married July 28, 1779, Thomas Horton, Esq. 5. Lucy, born 1750, married April 25th, 1772, to Geoffrey Hornby, Esq. 6. Harriet, born 1756, married June 3, 1778, Sir Watts Horton, Bart. 7. Louisa, born 1759, and died 1769. His Lordship died in his father's life-time, 1st June, 1771. The other sons of the Earl were, Thomas, born July 20th, 1718, died young. A son, who died unbaptized March, 1719. Edward, born June, 1732, and died April 20, 1745. The daughters are, Elizabeth, married in March, 1746, to Sir Peter Warburton, Bart. and died Sept. 1780. Mary, born 1717. Isabella-Dorothea, born Feb. 9, 1721-2. Margaret, born 1723, who

who died March 9, 1776. Jane, born April 1726. Charlotte, married to General John Burgoyne, and died without issue, June 7, 1776. Barbara, who died an infant; and the Earl dying February 22, 1776, was succeeded by his grandson.

Having here brought down and gone thro' the leading line of the ancient HOUSE of STANLEY, and also the first collateral branch from whence sprung the EARLS of DERBY, with what remarks and observations I had to make thereon, give me leave to return to their natural brother, Sir Oskatel de Latham, on whom I have before said that Sir Thomas his father, had settled a competent estate, and given him the signet of his family, with the Eagle in the Crest, in token of his love for him, and in memory of his supposed deliverance.

This foundling being possessed of the lands and manors above-mentioned, made choice of Earlham for his seat, and became the ancestor of the Lathams of Earlham, whose progeny continued in a direct line from him, without any interruption, until Cromwell's Usurpation. That

That Latham whose turn it was to be in possession of the paternal estate, followed the fate of that noble EARL of DERBY who suffered Martyrdom at Bolton; and though he escaped the hands of the executioner, yet was obliged to secrete himself all the remaining part of his life from the fury of those times, when a great part of his estate within the power of the sequestrators, with many ancient deeds and records that particularly set forth the origin of the before-mentioned Crest, and the history of it, were all rifled away and eternally lost.

This unfortunate gentleman married a daughter of Egerton, of Riddley, in Lancashire, (own sister to the then Baronet of Bickerstaff's Lady, ancestor to the present EARL of DERBY) by whom he had issue, one son and two daughters; the eldest of which daughters was never married, and died at Fulshaw, about the year 1730, after having lived in that Family near 40 years. She arrived to an extreme old age, and surprisngly retained a right use of all her senses till a few months before her death.

It was from that gentlewoman (says Mr. Finney) that I received the most authentic account of the family she sprung from, who indeed was even a living oracle to me, by a remarkable knowledge she had of fundry notable occurrences that happened in Cromwell's time, when she was a young woman, as I have mentioned before. She was daughter to that Latham that was so severely treated in Oliver's days; and sister to the last Male heir of that name, whose Father dying before the Restoration, she was left a minor under the guardianship of his mother and two uncles, of Bickerstaff and Ridley.

And although the estate had suffered so much in his fathers time, yet he still retained the inheritance of a fair patrimony, though incumbered, but by the provident care and prudent management of his good mother, before her son came of age she entirely discharged his estate.

He married a daughter of Ashhurst of Ashhurst, in Lancashire, by whom he had issue three daughters (one of whom says the Captain) was my mother, and the only surviving

viving child of that gentlewoman, the last Latham of Earlham.

As his father was a steady Royalist, and suffered both in his person and estate for the cause of his King and Country, so this gentleman made an early embarkation into that grand affair of the Revolution; whereby he expended such large sums, and so far involved his estate, through an ardent prosecution of the common good, that he left me (being the next male heir by my mother's side) nothing more than the Coat of Arms, which by birth-right descended to me, and what the world could not alienate. This gentleman dying without issue male, both the name and estate of the Lathams of Earlham, were extinguished together.

I have often heard my great aunt say, that Charles, EARL of DERBY (successor to that noble Lord that was murdered at Bolton) took particular notice of her brother when a youth, and under the care of a tutor; and would frequently come to see him, and at proper times take him with him; that she never heard that Lord when speaking to him

or of him, call him by any other name than the Top of his Kin—a phrase he constantly used on such occasions.

The family well knew his Lordship's reasons for this familiarity; and it was plain to them, not from their alliance with Bickerstaff, but from his Lordship's knowledge that this Latham's ancestor was natural brother to Isabel, the heiress of that name to Sir Thomas Latham, and was the only motive for his Lordship's appellation.

I have now in my custody an old Signet that my aunt used to say had been in the family two hundred years or more, and was esteemed the signet given by Sir Thomas Latham, to his son, Sir Oskatel; the crest being an Eagle with his wings extended, and looking back as for something she had lost, or was taken from her.

I have also heard my aunt say, that the paternal coat of that family she sprung from, was painted upon wood; and as she had been told about a hundred and forty years ago, with the bearings of the fundry families they had

had married into, quartered therewith. Thus far Mr. Finney, of the family of the Latham's of Earlham, descended from that famous foundling, Sir Oskatel de Latham, to which I have only to add and observe, that if any of my readers should still remain in diffidence of what I have delivered with respect to the two branches hitherto treated of, I do assure him, that I have, with utmost care, collected and examined what I have wrote on this subject from the best authorities I could meet with, and am fully satisfied of the truth and reality thereof; and if he will please to consider with me, how many revolutions this island has undergone in a few centuries, then it will appear no wonder to him that the members of the national community have been so extremely distorted by those convulsions of state, as almost to wipe out memory, and even history, many notable and remarkable transactions of the preceding ages; then I say it will appear no wonder to him if he meet with some things obscurely delivered, which he is requested to overlook or amend.

THE
SECOND PART
OF THE
GENEALOGICAL HISTORY
OF THE
ANTIEN T AND HONOURABLE
HOUSE OF STANLEY.

I N the first part of this book I have given the reader a direct and lineal succession of this most antient house from their original, (as far as I am able to discover it) to the year 1776,

And have also taken notice of and described the leading collateral branch, in the person of Sir John Stanley, whose successors became EARLS of DERBY, and have lineally deduced them from him to the demise of Edward, the late Earl above-mentioned.

I have likewise given the pedigree and genealogy of Sir Thomas Latham, Lord of Latham, and the marriage of his only daughter

daughter with the aforefaid Sir John Stanley, with their issue in the leading line, to the time before-mentioned; together with the history and descendants of his natural son, Sir Oskatel, which hath so far completed the history proposed, and naturally leads me into a new scene of proceeding by a lineal and successive description of every other collateral branch issuing out of, or from the original stock, some of whom went out full as early as the said Sir John; but his branch being highly advanced in honour and dignity, claims the first notice; and I will, as intended, give the reader a true light of our proceeding, and prevent all confusion in the coherence of one part with the other.

The first and next branch in due course is, the honourable and worthy house of Grefwithen, in the county of Cumberland, whose origin and descendants are described by the following printed table.

Genealogia Præclaræ et Antiquæ Familiæ de

STANLEY.

WILLIAM de—JOAN, eldest daughter and one of the heirs of Sir P. Bamville, Knight, Lord of Stourton.
Stanleigh, Lord of Stanleigh, in the county of Stafford, Esq.

John de Stanleigh, Lord of Stanleigh and Stourton in Wirral, in the county of Chester, Esq. son and heir of William.

WILLIAM of Stan—ALICE, daughter of Hugh Massey of Timperley.
leigh, Lord of Stanleigh and Stourton, who lived in the 26th of Edward III.

WILLIAM of Stan—MARGERY, the daughter and heir of William Hooton, Ld. of Hooton.
leigh, junior, Lord of Stanleigh and Stourton, he lived in the 10th of Richard II.

WILLIAM

WILLIAM of Stan—MARGERY, the
leigh, Knight, Lord | daughter of John
of Stanleigh. | Ardern, Knight.

WILLIAM of Stan—MARY, the daughter
leigh, Esq. Lord of | of Sir John Savage,
Stanleigh, he lived in | Knight.
the 10th of Hen. VI. |

JOHN Stanleigh, the—ISABEL, daughter
younger son. | and heir of Sir Thos.
| Latham, Lord of La-
| tham.

JOHN Stanleigh,—ELIZABETH, the
Knight, Steward of | sister of Sir William
the Household to King | Harrington, Knight.
Henry IV. |

Sir Thomas Stanley, Knt.
Comptroller of the Houf-
hold to King Henry VI.
who created him the first
Baron Stanley. Of this
Thomas are the EARLS of
DERBY, the Lord Mont-
eagle, and the Stanley's of
Lancashire.

John Stanleigh of Gref-
withen, in the county of
Cumberland, the youngest
son.

John Stanleigh of -Gres-
within, son and heir of
John, he lived in the 10th
of Edward III.

NICHOLAS Stan-	—	CONSTANCE,
leigh, Esq. son and		daughter and heir
heir; he had by his		of Thomas Awf-
wife, the manor of		thwaite of Awf-
Awfthwaite, now call-		thwaite.
ed Dalegarth.		

Thomas Stanley, Esq. of
Awfthwaite, in the county
Cumberland, son and heir:
he lived in the 10th of
Henry VI.

John Stanleigh, gentleman,
second son of Hall Thwaite,
in the county of Cumber-
land.

William Stanley, gentle-
man, third son.

Nicholas Stanley, son and
heir of Awfthwaite, he
lived in the 38th of Henry
VI.

Thomas Stanley, of Hall
Thwaite.

THOMAS Stanley,—ANN, Daughter of
of Dalegarth, Esq. | Sir Richard Huddles-
ton, Knight.

John Stanley, son and heir.

WILLIAM Stanley,—ALICE, daughter of
of Dalegarth, Esq. | Sir R. Ducket, Knt.

William Stanley, son and
heir.

THOMAS Stanley,—MARGARET, the
of Dalegarth, Esq. | daughter of J. Fle-
ming, of Rydal, in
the county of West-
moreland, Esq.

Roger Stanley, son and heir.

JOHN Stanley, of—MARGARET, the
Dalegarth, Esq. | daughter of Thomas
Senhouse, Esq.

THOMAS Stanley,—ISABEL, daughter
of Dalegarth, Esq. | of John Leak, of Ed-
monton.

EDWARD Stanley,—ANNE, one of the
eldest son. | two daughters, and
coheirs of Thomas
Briggs, of Cowmire,
in the county of West-
moreland, Esq.

JOHN Stanley, Esq.—MERCY, daughter
 of Thomas Stanley,
 of Lee, in the county
 of Suffex, Esq.

EDWARD Stanley,—ISABEL, eldest
 Esq. daughter of T. Cur-
 wen, of Setto Park,
 Esq.

Christopher Stanley, second
 son.

THOMAS Stanley,—THE widow of Sir
 yongest son, master of | James Wytford.
 the mint.

Mary Stanley, the daugh-
 ter and sole heir, married
 to Sir Edwd. Herbert, Knt.
 second son of William,
 Earl of Pembroke.

John Stanley, of Arnaby,
 in Cumberland, gentleman.

Christopher Stanley, eldest
 son of John Stanley, of
 Arnaby.

William Stanley.

Thomas Stanley, of Lee,
 in Suffex.

Richard Stanley.

William Stanley.

Thomas Stanley.

John Stanley.

JOHN Stanley, Esq.—DOROTHY, daughter of Edward Holt, of Wigan, in Lancashire, Gentleman.

Thomas Stanley died without issue.

Edward Stanley died young.

Richard Stanley.

William Stanley died young.

Isabel Stanley, married to W. Copley, of Gosforth Hall, in Cumberland, Gent.

Barbara Stanley died unmarried.

Dorothy Stanley, married to Robert Maudesley, of Maudesley, in Lancashire, Esq.

The HISTORY of the
Edward Stanley unmarried.

John Stanley died without
issue.

Marmaduke Stanley died
without issue.

EDWARD Stanley,—MILDRED, daugh-
ter of the Right Rev.
Esq. | Sir George Fleming,
Bart. Lord Bishop of
Carlisle.

Catherine Stanley.

Dorothy Stanley.

John Stanley, Rector of
Workington, married Cla-
ra, the daughter of—
Philipson, of Callgerth, in
Westmoreland, Gentleman.

John Stanley died young.

Edward Stanley.

Jane Stanley.

Clara Stanley.

Thomas Stanley died un-
married.

William Stanley died young.

Holt Stanley, Lt. in Brigadier Gen. Wentworth's regiment of foot, unmarried.

Richard died unmarried.

Dorothy Stanley, married Huddleston Park, of Whitbeck, in Cumberland, Gent.

Isabel Stanley, married John Kilpatrick, of Whitehaven, in Cumberland, Gent.

Loveday Stanley, unmarried.

Elizabeth Stanley, married Richard Cook, of Camerton, in Cumberland, Esq.

☞ I have to observe farther of Thomas Stanley, Master of the Mint, that Sir Edward Herbert, younger son to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, married Mary, the daughter and sole heir of Thomas Stanley of Standon, in the county of Hertford, Esq. in the year 1570, youngest son of Thomas Stanley, of Dalegarth, in the county of Cumberland, Esq.

THE
PEDIGREE and POSTERITY
OF
SIR THOMAS STANLEY,

Second son of Sir John Stanley the first,

By Isabel de Latham.

THIS gentleman married to his lady, Maud, the only daughter of, and heir to, Sir John Ardern, of Elford, in the county of Stafford, by whom he became possessed of a fine seat and plentiful fortune, and made that the residence of the family whilst the male line continued, who made a most eminent figure in military life. By his lady he had issue a son, named John, who succeeded him in honour and estate.

Sir John Stanley, successor to his father Sir Thomas, married three wives, but by the two first had no issue living. By his third marriage, which was to Douce, the daughter of Leigh of Baggaley, he had one son, named John.

Sir

Sir John, son of the above Sir John, had issue a son, named Humphrey, but by whom, record as well as history, are both silent, farther than that the said Sir John died in the year 1509, and was succeeded by his said son.

Sir Humphrey Stanley being a martial man, and of great experience, was sent by King Henry VII. in the year 1495, against John, Lord Audley, and other opposers of that Prince, assembled on Black-heath, in Kent, where he entirely defeated them, but died that year, leaving a son and heir, called Sir John Stanley, of Pipe.

This Sir John Stanley, of Pipe, married Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gerard, and by her had issue two daughters only, by which the male line of this most worthy house was extinct.

But the elder daughter marrying to one Roger Stanley, of Alderley, in the county of Chester, had issue by him a son, named Roger, and stiled Roger Stanley, of Alderley, in the county of Chester.

Roger Stanley, son of the first Roger, married Jane, the daughter of J. Clarke, of the county of York, and by her had a son named John, and stiled John Stanley of Alderley, in the county of Chester.

John, the son of the above Roger, afterwards Sir John Stanley, of Alderley, in the county of Chester, married Mary, the daughter of——Marberry, and by her had issue two sons, Thomas and Edward.

Sir Thomas, the elder brother, stiled Sir Thomas Stanley, of Nether Alderley, in the county of Chester, married Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Peter Warburton, and by her had issue, a son, named Thomas.

Sir Edward the younger brother, was a martial man, and received the honour of knighthood in the Low Countries, for his great services performed there, but was afterwards slain in Ireland, in the year 1586.

Sir Thomas, his elder brother, by Mrs. Warburton, succeeded his father, and had issue a son, named Thomas, but by whom I

am not informed, further than that Sir Thomas, son of the above Sir Thomas, had also a son named James, but by whom I cannot discover.

James, son of the above Sir Thomas, I conceive to be the late Sir James Stanley, of Alderley; but have not been favoured by the family, with any account thereof, although requested.

THE
GENEALOGY AND ISSUE

OF
SIR JOHN STANLEY II.

SIR Thomas Stanley, the only son of Sir John abovesaid, by Mrs. Harrington, was Comptroller of the Household to King Henry VI. who appointed him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as his grandfather had been. He married to his Lady, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Robert Goushell, and by her had issue three sons: Thomas, John and James, all of whom in their order, after acquainting the reader that he was by the same King created Lord Stanley, and from him sprung the EARLS of DERBY, his posterity and successors.

Thomas his eldest son, succeeded him in the honour and Lordship of Stanley; and was by King Henry VII. created EARL of DERBY, the

the further history of whose life, and memorable actions, we have fully related in the first part of this book.

John Stanley, second son of the said Lord Stanley, married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of Thomas Wever, Esq. and had issue by her, a son stiled Thomas Stanley, of Wever, Esq. and James his third son, was Archdeacon of Chester.

Thomas Stanley of Wever, and son of John Stanley aforesaid, married a daughter of Thomas Leverfedge, of Wheelock, Esq. and by her had a son named Thomas Stanley of Wever.

Thomas Stanley, the son of the above Thomas, by Mrs. Leverfedge, married one of the daughters of Thomas Davenport, Esq. and by her had three sons, Thomas, John and Ralph.

Thomas the eldest son, in 1508, married Ursula, sister to Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, and by her had a son named Ralph.

John, his brother, married a daughter of —Ward, Esq.

And

And Ralph, the third brother, married a daughter of—Holland, of Holland, in the county of Lancaster, Esq.

Ralph Stanley, of Wever, by Mrs. Cholmondeley, married Margaret, the daughter of John Masterfon, of Namptwich, Esq. and by her had issue, two sons, Thomas, and Ralph, and one daughter named Mary.

Thomas Stanley, eldest son of Ralph, four years old in 1580, and died in 1605, aged twenty-nine years. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of — Warburton, Esq. and by her had issue, one son named Thomas.

Thomas, the son of the last Thomas and grandson of Ralph, stiled Thomas Stanley, of Alderley, Esq. 1637, married Elizabeth, the daughter of James Pitts, of Kere, Esq. of the county of Wighorn, alias Worester, but what issue he had by her, I am not informed, but take this to be the pedigree and genealogy of the Stanleys, of Park, in, or near Alderley.

THE
GENEALOGY and POSTERITY

OF

PETER STANLEY, ESQUIRE,

Second son of Sir William Stanley, of Hooton,

By Ann, the daughter of Sir James Harrington.

THIS gentleman was the next collateral branch to that of Dalegarth, in the county of Cumberland, of the honourable and spreading family of Hooton, in Wirral: he married to his wife, Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of James Scarsbrick, of Moorhall, Esq. in the parish of Aughton, by Margaret his wife, the only daughter and heir of Thomas Atherton, of Bickerstaff, and by her had issue four sons and two daughters; viz. Thomas, James, Robert, Edward, Bridget and Mary, his daughters, of all which in their order.

But

But first give me leave to acquaint my readers, that the said Peter Stanley, the father, was an eminent royalist, and joined his interest and force with that of his noble relation, James, EARL of DERBY, and shared with him greatly in the fury and violence of those unhappy times, being imprisoned, and his estate sequestered, to the great impoverishment and loss of himself and family; and although he escaped with life, was greatly reduced to the time of the happy restoration: as by the following address of his six children, to those disposers of other mens fortunes at their pleasure, viz.

Wigan in the County of Lancaster.

By the Commissioners for Sequestration, February 14, 1650.

“ UPON the petition of Thomas, James, Robert, Edward, Bridget and Mary Stanley, sons and daughters of Mr. Peter Stanley, desiring a fifth part of their father's estate towards their maintenance, and that it may be set forth in specie or particulars: it is therefore ordered, that the agents for sequestration,

questration, where the petitioners father's estate lieth, shall allow unto the petitioners one full fifth part of their said father's estate, together with the arrears thereof due, since December 24, 1649, deducting a due proportion for all lays and taxations, and observing the instructions concerning fifth parts.

P. Holt,

G. Pigot.

Intra, Edward Wall."

The fifth part of the said Peter's estate being obtained by his children as aforesaid, Peter their father died, and was buried in his own chapel, at Ormskirk, July 24, 1652, and was succeeded by Edward his son, who in his father's life-time, married the only daughter and heir of—Houghton, of Goosnargh, Esq. and by her had issue several sons and daughters, the eldest whereof was Peter Stanley.

The said Peter Stanley, married a daughter of—Wolfall, of Wolfall, Esq. and by her had three sons, Edward, Thomas and William, but how his younger sons were dis-

posed of in the world I cannot discover, nor who his daughters married.

But find that Edward, his eldest son, married the only daughter and heir of—Gerard, Esq of Aughton, by whom he had two sons, William and James; William, his eldest son, died young, and was buried in his father's chapel at Ormskirk.

And was succeeded by James, his second son, who had issue a son, named Edward, but by whom I cannot discover; also two daughters, Ann and Elizabeth; and the said James the father died in the year 1653, and was buried in his own chapel the first of January that year at Ormskirk.

Ann, his eldest daughter, married Richard Wolfall, Esq. but by him had no issue, and died in the year 1730, aged eighty years and upwards: and Elizabeth, her younger sister, died unmarried; and whether Edward their brother ever married, or to whom, I am not informed of, for since the taking away the court of wards, in the time of King Charles II. all history of families and their predecessors and
lineal

lineal successors are laid aside in the herald's offices, where they were wont to be preserved, and nothing is now more to be found or met with but what the parish registers contain, of the birth or death of such a person at such a time, &c.

THE
GENEALOGICAL HISTORY
OF THE
BARONS OF STRANGE,
of KNOCKING, in SALOP.

THE history and full description of this very antient and honourable family, will, from its long duration and many inter-marriages with the leading nobility, be attended with much difficulty in giving the reader a true and intelligible idea thereof, insomuch that I find myself constrained to introduce it by that of the Earls Palatine of Chester, without which (as I conceive) he will never rightly apprehend how the family of Derby became entitled to, and dignified with the several honours I have annexed to it in the history of James, the last Earl of that honourable house.

THE

THE
EARLS PALATINE
OF
CHESTER.

THE first whereof was Hugh Lupus, Nephew to William the Conqueror, who gave to him the city and county of Chester, and conferred upon it the honour and dignity of a County Palatine, with Barons under him, and a Chamberlain, or Chancellor of all his Courts, with all other proper officers attendant thereon, as a principality.

Richard the eldest son of Hugh Lupus, was second Earl of Chester, but being accidentally drowned, continued not long in that honour.

The third Earl was John Bohun, who had married Margaret, sister to Hugh Lupus, stiled Countess of Cumberland, by whom he had a son named Randulph, and was succeeded by him.

Randulph

Randulph Bohun, his son by Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, commenced the fourth Earl of Chester, in the twenty-first year of Henry I. 1120, and died in the year 1130, and was succeeded by his son Randulph.

Randulph, the second of that name, and son of the former, was the fifth Earl of Chester, and continued to the year 1152, and dying that year, was succeeded by Hugh, called Kavelock, his son, as sixth Earl of Chester, who had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, but ransomed in the year 1174, and died in the year 1180, leaving issue one son and four daughters.

And was succeeded by Randulph his son, surnamed Blundeville, who was the seventh and last Earl of Chester, of the Lupus line, but had conferred upon him the Earldom of Lincoln, and died in the year 1232, and was buried with his ancestors at Chester.

When Maud, the eldest daughter of Hugh, called Kavelock, Earl of Chester, had married David, son to the King of Scots, who died in 1219, and left issue a son named John, surnamed

furnamed Scott, who was also Earl of Chester, in right of his mother, but died in the year 1237, by which the Earldom of Chester expired with him.

By King Henry III. taking that Earldom into his own hands, and annexing it to the crown (as being too popular in the hands of a subject) from which time the King's eldest son has been stiled Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall, and Prince of Wales. Now if any reader here has a curiosity to know the further particulars of the Earls of Chester, I must refer him to their history, and proceed to shew the occasion I had to bring them in, by way of introduction to the history of the Barons of Stanley.

By informing the reader that Hawisse, the fourth daughter of Hugh Bohun, alias Kave-lock, Earl of Chester, married to Robert, Lord Quinsy, Earl of Lincoln, descended lineally from Robert, Lord Quinsy, who came into England with William the Conqueror.

This Robert, Lord Quinsey, Earl of Lincoln, had issue by Hawisse his wife two daughters; Margaret the eldest daughter, married to John Lacy, Baron of Halton.

And the second daughter married to Hugh Audley, Baron of Healey castle, in the county of Stafford, a near relation to the House of Stanley.

John Lacy, Baron of Halton, had issue by Margaret his wife, the eldest daughter, and one of the coheirs of the said Robert, Lord Quinsey, a son named Edmund, who succeeded his father in honour and estate.

This Edmund was likewise Baron of Halton, and married Isabel, the daughter of the Marquis of Saluce, by whom he had issue a daughter named Elinor, who married to Ebulo, Lord Strange, of Knocking, who had issue by her in 1335, temp. Edward III. a son named Robert, whose mother Elinor dying soon after, Ebulo, Lord Strange, his father, married to his second wife, Alice, the daughter and heir of Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and widow of Thomas Plantagenet,

net, Earl of Lancaster, who died in the year 1322, as by Mr. Mills, page 945, and Mr. York, page 193.

Robert, Lord Strange, the son of Ebuló aforefaid, fucceeded his father in the Baronies of Strange, of Knocking, and of Halton, and married to his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Thomas, Lord Bafset, by whom he had iffue a fon named Roger.

Roger, Lord Strange, the fon of the above Robert, married the only daughter and heir of Hugh, Lord Barnwell, by whom he had iffue a fon named John.

John, Lord Strange, the fon of the above Roger, by Lady Barnwell, married Maud, the daughter of J. Lord Mohun, by whom he had iffue a fon named Richard. The faid Lord Mohun, had two fifters, Phillippa, who married Edward, Duke of York, and Elizabeth, married William Montague, Earl of Salifbury.

Richard, Lord Strange, the son of the above John, married to his Lady the daughter of Sir Reynold Cobham, of Scarborough, in the county of York, by whom he had a son called John, Lord Strange, the son of Richard.

John, Lord Strange, the son of Richard, married to Jacoline, one of the daughters and coheirs of Richard Woodville, Earl Rivers, and sister-in-law to King Edward IV. and by her had issue one daughter only, called Jane, and sole heir to the Baronies of Strange and Mohun.

This Lady Jane, married Sir George Stanley, the eldest surviving son of Thomas, the first EARL of DERBY, who had issue by her three sons and two daughters, Elizabeth, and Eleanor; he died in his father's life-time.

When Thomas, his eldest son succeeded him in the Baronies of Strange, Mohun, Barnwell, Bassett, and Lacy, and upon his grandfather's death succeeded him in the Earldom of Derby, as before-mentioned.

John, the second son of George, Lord Strange, died without issue.

But James, his third son had issue one son named George, but by whom history and record are silent on that head, but very full in the character of his merit, valour and military performances, being thereby advanced to the honour and dignity of Knight Marshal of Ireland, and the common ancestor of the house of Grange Gorman, in the kingdom of Ireland. See Barlow's history. But of this gentleman more hereafter.

Sir George Stanley, called the black Stanley (whom I have just before mentioned) was the son of James Stanley, Esq. second son of George, Lord Strange.

This gentleman was a most martial and valiant man in the field, and a wise counsellor in the closet; his boldness and resolution in action were not to be withstood; he was an utter enemy to the Irish, inso-much that his name was a terror to them, and when he engaged them their cry was

“Pagh Chrish faave me cramochree.” And happy was he that could get away soonest.

None came thither before him more hardy, nor exposed himself to more danger nor hazard of life than he; until he had fully reduced the rebellious sons of that nation to the King his master's obedience, for which he was greatly honoured and esteemed, and had for his bravery and eminent services conferred upon him the high office of Knight-marshal of Ireland, which he long enjoyed, and executed with the greatest honour and commendation, and was a great addition to his worth and memory. He became the founder and common ancestor of the Stanley's of Grange Gordan in that kindom, whose posterity are still subsisting in person of Sir John Stanley, one of the honourable commissioners of his Majesty's customs, London; and upon his decease in a good old age and lasting reputation, he was interred by his very great and honourable relation Sir John Stanley I. whose memory (says my author, the Right Rev. Thomas Stanley, Lord Bp. of Sodor and Man) ought never to be forgotten.

The next collateral branch falling in course, is the issue left by the great Sir William Stanley, who suffered death in the reign of King Henry VII. whose personal history hath been fully related; but hath not yet recited that of his posterity, of whom I am able to discover no more than one son, named William, who married Jane, the sole daughter and heir of Sir Geoffrey Mafsey of Taton, in the County of Chester, but what issue he had by this Lady, or how long this branch continued, I cannot discover.

The next collateral branch I meet with, is styled Sir Edward Stanley, of Eufham, in the county of Oxford.

This gentleman was the only son of Sir Thomas Stanley, second son to Edward EARL of DERBY, by Margaret, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir George Vernon of Haddon, in the county of Derby, and had the above estate, with many others, settled upon him in remainder, after his father and mother, by his said grandfather Edward.

Who

Who this gentleman married I am not informed, but find that he did marry and had issue three daughters, Petronella, Frances and Venetia, but no issue male; by which this branch became extinct in the Stanley family; and, as I am informed, the estate also, by division amongst the said daughters and their issue.

In the next place I find that Henry, EARL of DERBY, and successor to the aforesaid Earl Edward, had a natural son called Francis Ferdinand, on whom he settled Whittle, in the parish of Bury, where he afterwards lived, and also Broughton, near Manchester. Who he married I cannot be informed, but find at his death, that he left a son named Henry, who mortgaged Broughton to James Cheetham of Turton, Esq. and that George Cheetham of Smedley, Esq. paid off the said Mortgage, and purchased the manor of Broughton, with its appurtenances, from the said Henry Stanley, who, it is imagined, married a daughter of the aforesaid Peter Stanley; or in other words, that a daughter of Peter Stanley, married one of the Stanleys

leys of Latham, but which of them I am not able to discover.

The next collateral branch I meet with of the whole blood is Sir Robert Stanley, second son to William, EARL of DERBY, and younger brother to James the Martyr. He married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of the Lord Widrington, and by her had issue two sons, Charles and James; James, the second son died without issue, but Charles the elder brother had issue a son named William, and that the said Charles is long since dead, and that William his son likewise died without issue about the year 1691 or 1692, whereby this branch became extinct.

The next and last collateral branch I have to treat of issuing out of this antient and honourable house, as far as I can collect or be informed, is the noble Lady Emelia Stanley, the third daughter to James, EARL of DERBY, by his renowned and most eminent Lady Charlotte de la Tremouille.

This

This Lady married John, Earl of Athol, afterwards Marquis of Athol, by whom he had issue a son born at Knowsley the 24th of Febuary, 1659, and was baptized by the name of John, the eighth of March following.

Also a daughter born at Knowsley, the second day of April, and baptized the sixth of the same month, by the name of Charlotte.

Also another son born at Knowsley, the eighth day of May, and was baptized by the name of James, the twenty-first day of May, 1663.

Thus far of this noble branch from whom his Grace, James the present Duke of Athol is descended, who being the last and most noble remainder of the very ancient and honourable house of Stanley, and also possessed of the most princely branch of their extensive fortune, the reader may justly expect I should give him the genealogical history of this most noble house, otherwise he may remain a stranger to the antiquity
and

and honour of it, and that by their intermarriages therewith, the honour of the House of Stanley was not diminished, which I shall endeavour to manifest in the clearest and fullest manner I am enabled from manuscript, history, and record.

* Murray, in Latin Moravia, is one of the north-eastern shires of the kingdom of Scotland, of great extent from east to west; on the north it has the German Ocean, and Murray Frith; on the east Buchan; on the south Athol and Marr; and on the west Loquabar. It is in length ninety Scottish miles, and in its greatest breadth thirty miles; the principal town is Elgin, an ancient bishop's see, under the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, but is commonly stiled Bishop of Murray, and not of Elgin.

Murray is one of the ancientest as well as most numerous house in Scotland. Some historians write that they derive their original from Germany, and from part of it called Moravia; however that be, it is agreed that they first planted in that part of Scotland

called the shire or county of Murray, to which they gave name; but what follows is copied from histories, records, and charters.

The family of Tullibardine has been reputed chief of this name, which is now in the person of John, Marquis of Athol, 1694, this family being united with that of Athol, by his grandfather William Earl of Tullibardine's marriage with Dorothy eldest daughter of John Stuart the fifth Earl of Athol. The Marquis's first predecessor of the family of Tullibardine, was Congal, who got the barony of Tullibardine, with his wife Ada, from Robert Earl of Strathorn, which was confirmed to them by a charter from King Alexander II. 1234, which charter is still extant and is dated at Scoon, April the tenth; the witnesses, William Archbishop of Glasgow, Chancellarius; Alexander Abbot of Melros; Alexander Abbot of Couper.

The granddaughter of Congal called also Ada, had the barony of Tullibardine confirmed

firmed to her by another charter, which relates her being married to Sir William Murray, son to Sir Malcolm Murray, who was second son to Murray of Bothwell. Sir William had by his wife, Sir Malcolm, who succeeded him in the barony of Tullibardine, which continues in the same name and family, by a direct line of heirs male, being ratified and confirmed by charters from several succeeding Kings.

Murray of Bothwell's eldest son called Thomas, had an only daughter, married to Archibald Black, the Earl of Douglas, and his third son called Andrew, was father to that Andrew who married King Robert Bruce, and was governor of Scotland, in the troublesome times of King David Bruce's minority; and there is yet remaining on the castle of Bothwell the Murray's Arms cut in stone, as the family of Tullibardine still bears.

Buchanan and Spotwood's histories mention Sir William Murray of Tullibardine offering himself to accept the challenge of the Earl of Bothwell, after refusing, of his
N n n 2 brother

brother at the head of Queen Mary's army near Mufleborough, for deciding the truth of that Earl's being guilty of the murder of King Henry, who was husband to the said Queen. This Sir William married Jane, daughter of the Lord Graham, by whom he had Sir John, afterwards Earl of Tullibardine, and five daughters; the lady Arabella Countess of Marr, the Lady Claikmanan, Lady Aberearny, Lady Rosyth, and Lady Fodrell Henderson.

Sir John Murray created Earl of Tullibardine, by King James VI. married Catharine Drummond, daughter to the Lord Drummond, and had by her afterwards William Earl of Tullibardine, Patrick, and Mungo, who was created Viscount of Stormount, and five daughters, Ann Countess of Kinghorn, now Strathmore the Lady Grant, Lady Wenchtou, Lady Gleneagles, and Lady Belnagowan.

In this Sir John's time the peace of the country being disturbed by depredations, and there happening also some differences amongst those of the name of Murray, they
had

had a general meeting, wherein they agreed that Sir John should be arbitrator of all their differences, and determine all their causes, as well civil as criminal; and obliged themselves to assist him when required, in freeing the country from the depredations, against whom he also obliged himself to protect them.

This paper is subscribed by Sir Andrew Murray of Arngothe, Murray of Aberearney, and most of the considerable heads of the family, dated at Tullibardine, 1586.

William the eldest son of the said Sir John Murray, Earl of Tullibardine, being accidentally with several gentlemen of his name at a wedding in Perth, when John, Earl of Gowry was killed in 1600; did, with their assistance rescue King James VI. from the danger he was in by a tumult of the inhabitants after the death of the said Earl, who had been their provost; for which service his Majesty did, by a writing under his own hand, confer the dignity of Sheriff of Perthshire, upon the said William and his heirs.

heirs, which has continued in the family ever since.

This William married Dorothy Stuart, daughter to John Stuart the fifth Earl of Athol, whose son was John Earl of Athol, father to this present Marquis, whose predecessor by the said Dorothy, of the house of Athol was James Stuart, commonly called the black Knight of Lorn, lineally descended from Walter, the great Stuart of Scotland, who gave the surname of Stuart to his posterity, and of whom Robert the first of that surname King of Scotland descended.

This James Stuart married Jane, Queen Dowager of King James I. who was daughter to John, Duke of Somerset, third son to John of Gaunt, son to King Edward III. of England, to which James Stuart, she bore John, created Earl of Athol, by King James II. his brother by the mother's side. Hauthorden's history, fifth of James, Page 47. The title having fallen into the King's hands by the forfeiture of the former Stuart, Earl of Athol, who had no succession, the Cummings having borne

borne the title before them, which is all that history make mention of.

There is also a charter dated in the year 1460, wherein the said King James grants to John, Earl of Athol, eldest son to the afore-said James, the Lordship of Balveny, in portion with Margaret Douglas, commonly called the Fair Maid of Galloway, in which charter the King calls this Earl his brother. The same history, page 66, gives an account of this marriage, and calls her the Lady Beatrix, instead of Margaret.

In 1461, Donald, of the isles, proclaimed himself King of the isles, in King James the third's minority, and possessed himself of the town and castle of Inverness, put the country under contribution, and surprized the castle of Blare, with the Earl of Athol, and his Lady. Buchanan, and Hauthorden.

In 1470, the same Earl of Athol, being made Lord Lieutenant by King James III. reduced Donald of the isles, and brought him to submit to the King's clemency, from which action the Earl of Athol had the motto,

motto, "Furth Fortune, and fill the Fetters." *Hauthorden's history*, page 87.

This John, Earl of Athol, after the death of Margaret Douglas, by whom he had only one daughter, who was married to the Lord Gray, took to his second wife, Eleanor Sinclair, daughter to the Earl of Orkney and Cathness, by whom he had John, who succeeded, and four daughters; the Countess of Sunderland, Countess of Crawford, Lady Tullibardine, and Lady Glenurghey.

John Stuart, second Earl of Athol, married Jane Campbell, daughter to the Earl of Argyle, by whom he had John Stuart, who succeeded. This Earl was killed at the battle of Floddon-field, assisting King James IV. against the English. *Hauthorden*, January 4.

John Stuart, third Earl of Athol, married the heiress of Ratray, by whom he had John, who succeeded, and three daughters; the Countess of Lenox, grandmother to King Henry, and mother to King James
IV.

VI. the Countess of Crawford, and Countess of Errol.

John the fourth Earl of Athol, and chancellor of Scotland, married Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntley, who dying without children, he married Dorothy Fleming, and had by her John, who succeeded, and four daughters; Lady Lovet, Lady Salton, Lady Glenurghey, and Lady Weems.

This Earl adhered to Queen Mary's interest, till after the murder of King Henry, and then he was the occasion of the nobility's entering into a bond for the preservation of the young Prince, King James VI. and commanded part of the army against her at Pinky. He died and was buried in the high church at Edinburgh, in 1579. See Spotwood's history.

John, the fifth Earl of Athol, married Mary Rathven, eldest daughter to William, Earl of Gowry, by his wife, Dorothy Stuart, daughter to Henry Stuart, Lord Methwin, and Margaret, Queen Dowager of King James IV. and daughter to Henry VII.

King of England. By this marriage, John, Earl of Athol, had no sons, but four daughters; Dorothy, the eldest, married to William, Earl of Tullibardine before mentioned, by whom he had John, who succeeded, and Mary, married to Sir John Moncrie, chief of that name; Mary, the second daughter of John, married James, Lord Innermouth. This Lord Innermouth procured the title of Earl of Athol, which afterwards he quitted in favour of Dorothy, his wife's elder sister, and this James, died without issue.

John, Earl of Athol, eldest son to William Murray, Earl of Tullibardine, and Dorothy Stuart; he married Jane Campbell, daughter to Sir Duncan Campbell, of Glenurghey. He raised his men in the beginning of the troubles of King Charles I. for that King's service, against the Marquis of Argyle, who took part with the Parliament. His children were John, who succeeded, Mungo, who died unmarried, and Ann, married to James, Earl of Tullibardine, by whom she had no children, and Jane, who died unmarried.

John,

John, created Marquis of Athol, by King Charles II. bears also the title of Tullibardine, Lord Murray, Balvany, and Gask; he appeared early for the interest of that King, and continued several years in arms against Cromwell. He was made by the said King, Justice General of Scotland, Lord Privy Seal, Captain of his Majesty's Guards, one of the Lords of the Treasury, and one of the extraordinary Lords of the Session. He married Emelia Stanley, daughter to James, EARL of DERBY, and Charlotte de la Tremouille, daughter to Claude de la Tremouille, by his wife, Charlotte, of Nassau, daughter to William, the great Prince of Orange. Dugdale's Ba. on Stanley, EARL of DERBY.

And their eldest son John, Lord Murray, married Catharine Hamilton, eldest daughter to William and Ann, Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, whose eldest son John is the ninth of that name of the house of Athol, and the nineteenth representative of the house of Tullibardine. The other children of the present Marquis are Charles Earl of Dunmore, Lord James Murray, William Nairn, Mun-

go, and Edward, and Emilia married to Frazer, Lord Lovat.

There were several cadets descended of this family of Tullibardine in England as well as in Scotland. William Murray grandson of Murray of Woodend was created Earl of Dyfert, who had three daughters, the eldest Elizabeth married Sir Lionel Talmoth, of an ancient family in Suffolk, and after his death John Duke of Lauderdale; his eldest son by the first marriage is Lord Huntingtour, the second Thomas, was lieutenant general to King William in Flanders; her eldest daughter Elizabeth, married the Earl of Argyle; the second Catharine married the Lord Doun, eldest son to Stuart Earl of Murray; the other daughter by the Earl Dyfert, was married to the Lord Maynard, by whom he had Henry and Elizabeth.

David Murray, now Viscount of Stormont, is descended of a second brother of the family of Tullibardine, who married the heiress of Balvaire, which failing in the eldest son, Murray of Latherbannoky, who came of a younger brother, succeeded, and was cre-

ated first Lord of Balvaird, and then Viscount of Stormont. Sir Charles Murray of Blato, is descended of a younger son of Tullibardine; Mr. Thomas Murray, one of the sons of Murray, of Woodend, a Cadet of Tullibardine, was a tutor to King Charles I. whose son Henry was married to Viscount Banning's daughter, by whom he had four daughters; the eldest Elizabeth, married Mr. George Egerton; the second married Mr. Robert Peirpoint, of Nottingham nephew to the Marquis of Dorchester, by whom she had William, who married the Countess Dowager of Kingston; the third daughter was married to Sir John Boyer, and the fourth to Sir R. Bradshaw.

There were at one time seventeen brothers of the family of Tullibardine, by one father and mother; of whom descended Murray of Strutan; Murray of Woodend; Sir Thomas Murray of Glendogg; Murray of Tippermuir; Murray of Dollary; and Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertiers, a considerable family in Perthshire, lineally descended of the youngest of the brothers.

There

There are also of this name the Lord Elibank, the Lairds of Aberearney, Potmais, Blackbaronry, Philip, Haugh, and Newton, all of ancient families and considerable estates.

Having thus with much labour and pains deduced and brought down the ancient and honourable House of Stanley, from their original, through many genealogies, to our own time, as well in all the collateral branches, as the direct line, to his Grace James Duke of Athol, the last branch of the old stock, and given you their names and honourable titles, with their chief seats, and all the memorable and most celebrated actions performed by them in their several ages, I have considered it no less than a duty incumbent upon me, and an act of justice due to the noble, ancient and honourable houses of Athol, and Tullibardine, to declare their antiquity, magnanimity and renown, with the many and high honours conferred upon the several branches thereof, for the steady and many eminent services done by them to their Prince and country, as well in England as in Scotland; which being done, I have only to add

add the titles and seats of his present Grace of Athol, who is stiled the most noble James, Duke of Athol, Lord of Man and the Isle; Marquis of Tullibardine; Earl of Strathray and Strathardle; Viscount of Ballquidder, Glenalmond and Glenlyon; Baron Strange, Lord Murray, Balvany and Gask; Heritable Steward of the Stewarties of Fife and Huntingtour; Heritable Lord of the Regalites of Athol and Dunkeld; Heritable Captain and Constable of the Castle and Constabulary of Kincleaven; High Sheriff of Perthshire; Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland; one of the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the most noble and most ancient Order of the Thistle, whose chief seats are Dunkeld, Blaire-castle, in the Blaire of Athol, Huntingtour near Perth, and Falkland, with some others which I cannot recollect.

And thus having finished what has occurred to me most remarkable of the two noble and united families aforesaid, I shall by way of conclusion subjoin part of an ancient poem in manuscript, wrote by a dignified member of the church, and a near relation to the honourable

ourable House of Stanley, treating of the family history for more than three hundred years past, wherein the persons, lives and actions of the Stanley's are represented to this time in a most lively manner.

And although the verse be something of the doggrel kind, and the language uncouth and obsolete, yet, upon due thought and consideration, I have resolved to give it to the public in its own natural dress, without adding or diminishing any thing from it; which, in my sentiments, will be novel and entertaining to the curious reader, as well as pleasing and agreeable to the less learned; the whole being a voucher or confirmation of many articles of antiquity asserted by me in the course of this history, with something new and unknown to me before, which I shall introduce by the author's own preface, and in his own stile, viz.

“ — This for the merit of the subject; No doubt the poet did his best, so don't reflect.”

THOMAS,

THOMAS, FIRST EARL OF DERBY,

Three Hundred Years since and upwards,

IN KING RICHARD'S TIME.

A right, true and most famous Chronicle,

SET forth without any fraud or addultring flatterage (as some of our chronicles do) of the noble and noteable acts of the Stanleys ungentlye be left oute of other chronicles, and yett as worthie to be notified, marked and registered for an excellent memoryall as others be, for actyveness and martiall deeds, and ready, if need require, to be proved matter of true effect, both by testimonie of writing and record of honest men yett living, that have seen and known a good part thereof, and to much pity and shame it should now be forgotten or left out, as in other chronicles they be, which doth disclose an affection in the writers, and may

well be judged and called flatterage, which is an evil office: it declareth alsoe the Stanley's descent, and how and by what means they came by that name of Stanley, and the commencement thereof in good and perfect, agragated and compiled by Thomas Stanley, by the permission of God, Bishop of Man alias Soder, in the year of our Lord God 1562.

Among all delights and worldly comfort is to heare of our auncestors great name, pleaseth and reiseath a good natural harte, foe that flattery and lyes be utterly abolished, and only the truth shall herein be moved, as by just record truely and well may be proved, not as some chronicles unjjustly use flattering, renowninge the worthy with them. I would such unjust writers for their untrue smatterings would offer themselves unto St. Thomas Waternson, but truth noe man can be offended at, not truth of right ought not to be reprehended but in martial way, hardy harts for such storyes be often wakeing in reading, or to heare now and then the stoute prowes of some valiant man, and great pittie it should not be in record,

for

for first it bringeth the dead a noble fame and word, and allsoe to the heires thereof, giving them harts like enterprice to atchive in their Prince's service dareing for no cost, but adventureth though land and life should be lost, and of land and life maketh no comparison to a valiant act right manfully done: true record of writinge is necessary as appeareth by many a goodly story, without writinge all fame should be lost at once; the stoute hardy men might be compared to the stones; the genitors is the chief cause of hardines, which in fine, is the cheife cause of forwardness as Stanleys do specifie, what wonders hardy men have done for their lady's sake, writinge of chronicles 'tis well reserved if Dame Fame follow well desarved. As for their honesty and truth to praise the valiant prowes of the stout Stanleys heroicke actions, and how they had the name, I will plainely and truely unfold to you by the following poems:

“ **T**HEIR names be Awdley, of verry right
 discent,
 I shall shew you how, if you give good intent,
 As quickly as I can, without more delay,
 How the name was changed and called Stanley.

In ancient tyme, much more then two hundred
 years,
 Was our Lord Awdley, as by storyes doth appear,
 Awdley by creation, also by name Awdley,
 Then haveinge a Lordshipp that is yet called
 Stanley,
 Which Lordshipp he gave unto his second son
 For valliant acts that before he had done.
 Their this man dwelled many a daye,
 And many yeares was called, Awdley of Stanley.
 Afterward he married the heire of Scurton,
 And when Scurton dyed, thither he went to wonn,
 And then he was called, Stanley of Scurton;
 The which name sticketh still to all his succession.

It chanced afterwards a goodly man to his sonn,
 Espoused the daughter and heire of Hutton;
 And afterwards at Hutton, as chaunce him befawled
 Hee dwelt, and Stanley of Hutton was he called.

One doth continue at this present daye,
 Prayinge God that forthwith worshippe longe it
 may;

Thus sure undoubted, their first name was Awdley,
 And thus forward by custome called Stanley.

And after a second sonn of Hutton chaunced,
 By valyant acts was highly advanced.

To the English court came the Admiral of Henod,
 With gentlemen of France, to prove their man-
 hoode;

One of them called the best with speare and shield,
 The Kinge sent John Stanley to meet him in the
 field.

He was allsoe named the chiefe of all France,
 But this stout Stanley had such fortune and chance;
 He did not only put his enemye to lack,
 But he allsoe slew him, and broke his horse's back.
 More gentlemen of England did there worthilye,
 For each one over his enemye gott victory;
 Frenchmen for their adventure may themselves
 blame,

Tho' they went not all home, yet they went with
 shame.

And for this act the Kinge made John Stanley knight,
 For that he perceaved him a man of great might;
 And for his hardy feate he gave him for his heire,
 Wing, Tring and Jump, in Buckinghamshire.

Then of the Kinge he desyred most earnestly,
 Lycence to pass the seas, adventures to try;
 The King therewith all was verrey well content,
 And laudablye allowed him for his manly intent,
 Thus over the sea Sir John Stanley is gone,
 Streight to French court, but meddle with him
 would none;

The Admiralls journey was not yett forgotten,
 How he and his Compeeres were right well beaten;
 For which they beare Sir John Stanley malice and
 spyte,
 But to reincounter with him none had delight.

His jolly entertainment of the French King,
 Was honourable and free in every maner of thing,
 And gave him pleasure and gifts right bountifullye,
 With good gold and silver plentifullye;
 To maintayne his stout and liberall expences.
 Thus jolly Stanley departed thence is,
 And visited all courts in Christendome;
 And to the Turkes court personally did come,
 Still gettinge great honour thereof did not fayle;
 Against all those that in armes durst him assayle.

To England apace himself doth indeavour,
 With renown and honour to worthylye for ever,
 And did attempt all the courts in Christendome,
 And whon honour in each place where he did come,

Not fitting in house with pen, inke and paper ;
 But in campe advanced thro' great adventure,
 I do not speake any man to despise,
 That enhanced by pen or marchandise ;
 For both must be had, and both verry necessary,
 And both worthy of prayse, tho' the feats do varye
 But to say truth, that man risinge ought to be
 prayfed,

That by hardy acts unto honour is rayfed ;
 For of them he made books, both in prose and
 ryme,

Of others not foe, yet serves for the tyme ;
 Though of them have come divers full valyant,
 Yet they may not their original so advaunt :
 Nor foe largely set forth their renown foe farre,
 As those whose commencement have come by
 warre.

Thus is returned Sir John Stanley home agayne,
 Whereof the Kinge and nobles were glad and sayne,
 Who heard of his valiant acts more and more,
 All sorts of people honored him highely therefore.

Now agayne with the first Earle I make my end,
 To tell truth of his deede should no man offend,
 For there is noe doubt when lowe laid is the head,
 As we deserve Dame Fame, such report will spredd,
 Lett us trust no less in this world and the next,
 God rewards noe man's person, as sayeth the texte ;

Syth

Syth I have declared heretofore plainlye,
 Of his worthy acts and noble chivallrye;
 I will somewhat in other matters procede,
 Of his edyfications I will speak in verry deed.

First he builded fayre Lathom-hall out of the
 ground,

Such a house of that age cannot now be found;
 I meane not for the beauty thereof all onely,
 But every office is sett soe handsome and necessary.
 Garstang-bridge that stands on the river Wire,
 Rochdale made the same, at the Earle's cost and
 hyre;

At Warrington was kept a common ferrye,
 Which poled the King's people unreasonably,
 None might goe to and froe, a horseback and foote,
 But pay as they past, there was no other boote,
 The good Earle considering the peoples cost,
 Being tedious to pass by bote or by barge;
 The Earle made a goodly bridge on his own cost
 and charge,

With another goode and substantiall purveyance,
 That was, he gave lands thereto for the mentenance,
 This was a noble hearte liberal and kinde,
 The people will pray for him time out of mynde;
 At Paul's Chayne, in London, he made a house
 fayre,

And his house in Holborn, he did well repayre;

At Collan-court and Gadefden, he made great
 coft,
 Jefu fave his foule, there was no labour loft.

When Lathome mannor was made not after
 long,
 A gentleman fayd, my Lord, this houfe is ftronge;
 And if enemyes come neare they will fall a quake-
 inge,
 Quoth he, I have a ftronger wall a makeinge;
 That is, to gett my neighbors good wills all,
 To love mee truely is a more ftronger wall;
 He ufed them foe he did them thereunto bring,
 Except a few which thereby wan noe thinge,
 Who foe loved him he did to him the fame;
 And who did contrary got but los and fhame,
 But the cheifefst thing that gott the peoples love;
 Was, when Harry the VII. at his firft comeing did
 move,
 Lancashire and Cheshire, a fifteenth to pay;
 The people grudged, and in maner fayd naye,
 The Kinge heareinge thereof was grieved in his
 heart;
 And there this loveing Earle played a friendly part,
 Well confidered the ftate of his country;
 He went to exchequere and laid down the money,
 And then fayd, Sir, your fifteenth in your exche-
 quere is paid,
 For Lancashire and Cheshire it was not difmay'd:

I am glad, quoth the Kinge, it doth foe well
 chaunce,

Thus the good Earle quieted all the King's gree-
 vance;

But for the Earle, happe thro' the same exaction,
 Possible it had proved some fond comotion;

Loe here he gott not his love with highnes and
 cruelltye,

But with gentlenes and noble liberallitie,

For all controversies he found provision;

That but few for suites travelled to London,

In such matters (God wott) great payne took he,

He saved the countrey much travell and money;

And eased the poor people that had little to spend,

And thankes be to GOD of ech matter made a
 good end.

Now sithence must travell poore and rich all,

And for most part the great fish devoureth the smale;

Thus walk the world forward apase doth goe,

Stedfast in noe poynt it shalle be well proved foe;

Thinke it no surer but as slipper as I see,

And who trusteth others in it surelye is unwise,

Noe man can last longer then the tyme;

Which GOD hath appoynted, therefore shake of
 all crime.

Wee must after this Earle, perhaps not thither;

Where his soule is I fear some be lither,

Wee be presifely sure each one to dye;

Noe mankinde hath charter to the contrary;

If might or money could have saved this man,
 Or love of his neighbors, he had not dyed then;
 But seeing death is to us foe verry naturall,
 Pray wee charitably for each others fall:
 And especially for his soule lett us pray.
 Of his honorable Earle Thomas Stanley;
 Who in honor and love hath ended his life,
 With trueth ever in wedlocke to God and his
 wife;
 The love which he wann with liberallitye,
 God keepe foe still unto all his posteritye."

A M E N.

Yett have I left behinde me a nottable poynt, which I had not presently in my remembrance, untill an aged man that sometyme was servant unto this old first Earle Thomas, put it in my memory, which is, that where this noble Earle was disposed to ride for his pleasure a huntinge or other progress, or to visitt his friend and neighbors, whose house soever hee went unto, hee sent his officers before, who made provision all at his cost, as tho' he had bin at his owne house; and at his departure the surpleefage was left to the use of the house where he had lodged. And thus was his maner and order in all places, where and when he travelled, unless by chaunce he came unto some Lord's house. I report mee if this was not too honorable to be put into oblivion.

A
COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF THE
ISLE OF MAN.

CONTAINING THE

Situation and Geographical Description thereof:

ALSO THE

Ecclesiastical and Civil Histories, with the whole Order of Government, from the earliest Accounts: the Lord's Prerogative and Regalities: the several Officers necessarily employed under him: nature of the Soil: Names of the chief Towns and Harbours: Number of Parishes: Value of the Livings: with the Produce of the Country, the neighbouring Sea, and a Description of their usual Trade.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An Account of its Purchase from the DUKE of ATHOL, by Government, under the Reign of his present MAJESTY, KING GEORGE the THIRD.

Preston:

PRINTED BY E. SERGENT,

IN THE

MARKET-PLACE.

MDCCXCIII.

COMMITTEE

HISTORY

OF THE

ISLE OF MAN.

Situation and Geographical Description thereof.

ALSO THE

Constitution and Civil Liberty, with the whole Order of Government, from the earliest times to the present; the Laws, Customs, and Regulations, the several Officers, and their Qualifications; the State of the Soil; the Nature of the Climate; and the several Branches of Husbandry, and the Trade of the Country, and the several Towns, and a Description of their several Castles.

By the late Sir John Suckling, Knight of the Bath, Secretary of State, and one of the Secretaries of the Admiralty. In two Volumes. The second Edition, corrected and enlarged.

London,

Printed by J. Sturges, in Strand, near the Theatre.

THE
INTRODUCTION.

THIS Island appears but little, or darkly known to the ancients; and amongst all our modern Historians and Geographers, there is not one has given any tolerable account of it, before Mr. James Challoner, Governor for the Lord Fairfax, and the great and learned Mr. Blundell of Crosby, who prudently retired thither during the Usurpation, whereby he preserved his person in peace and security, and his estate from all manner of depredation. This gentleman being a person of polite learning, employed his leisure hours in collecting the History and Antiquities of the Isle of Man; and by his manuscripts, which I have seen, gave posterity the clearest and most correct account of it.

But as to the rest of our English Historians, few of them, especially the ancients, so much as mention it. Mr. Cambden indeed

deed is the first that gives us any light or insight into it; after him the great Lord Cook and Doctor Heylin, but they all abound with so many errors and mistakes, that it is very uncertain adhering to any of them.

Having said this, give me leave to observe what natural misfortunes this country is said to labour under, which I am informed and apprehend from some of its natives, is the frequent penury and want of many necessaries of life, occasioned by a thin unfruitful soil, requiring more experience labour and manure, than the inhabitants in general are qualified to bestow upon it; for though there are few here that can be properly said to be rich, so neither are there many can be esteemed miserably poor; and were they so happy to have the encouragement of some manufactures, and a more extensive trade of their own product, the country would not only be improved, but grow rich and able to supply themselves by their own labour and industry

It is true they want many necessaries for the common service of life; such as timber, salt,

salt, wrought iron, coals, &c. But with all these they might be easily supplied by the countries round them, had they equal products to give in exchange, or indeed were there an herring fishery as certain and plentiful as formerly, it would supply all those wants, and to spare.

As I have given you the common, or rather accidental wants and misfortunes of this little part of the globe, I cannot but in justice shew the blessings and advantages it enjoys beyond all the nations round about it.

The first is a perfect unanimity in matters of religion, strictly conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England by law established.

The next to this is the rectitude and goodness of their laws, so wisely formed, and so admirably adapted to their constitution, that the great Lord Cook saith, "That the Isle of Man hath such laws as are not to be found in any other place."

Every man there pleads his own cause without council or attorney, or any person who gains by encouraging strife: all chancery business is ended in twelve or fourteen weeks, viz. four court days; matters of common law are something more dilatory by reason court days come but twice a year, but the ease of the government and every man's interest draws all suits and controversies to as speedy a conclusion as can possibly be contrived.

There is in this little world, besides this happiness, an universal plenty and cheapness in all seasonable times; which makes it the resort of many people in distress and low life. Their own ale has been long esteemed of equal goodness to any of its neighbours; their importations of wine, brandy, rum, sugar, fruit, lemons, silks, velvets, coffee, tea, and China ware, are very large. And could they be once favoured with the exportation of them to their neighbouring nations, upon a just duty and proper and well regulated conditions, England and its neighbouring friends, would in the opinions of experienced persons be better supplied and with
less

less hazard to our manufacturies, and more advantage to his Majesty's revenue.

But be that as it will, as GOD has been pleased to give them plenty, he hath also given them hearts to enjoy it. The people are naturally of a chearful, sociable, and debonair temper, much inclined to music and freedom among themselves, very loving, but a little choleric. They were formerly reputed courageous and eminent for many excellent military commanders, as will appear more fully from the history, as likewise what respect their Kings had among foreign Princes, of which Macon (not to mention more) was a most remarkable instance.

But above all, they have been famous for their hospitality to strangers, as great numbers of English in the late civil wars, and many thousands of Irish Protestants in the devastations of that Kingdom, in 1689, bore witness.

Nor were they less famous in former ages for sheltering distressed Princes, of which I will venture to give my reader one instance.

Eugenius, when Prince of Scotland, took sanctuary in the island for nine years, and was afterwards recalled by the nobility and people, and crowned King of Scotland. To omit Ederias, and Corbred, surnamed Gall, from his travelling and learning, who were educated in this island, even before Christianity, for it is not improbable these Princes might choose the Isle of Man for their retreat, because it was then and many ages after accounted the only seat of learning under the Druids, nor was it less remarkable under their first pious Bishops.

Hector Boetius says, Man was the fountain of all honest learning and erudition; others of the Scotch nation say it was the mansion of the Muses and the royal academy for educating the heirs apparent to the Crown of Scotland, as Eugenius the III. himself, who likewise sent three of his sons, Ferguard, Fiacre, and Donald, into the Isle of Man, to be educated under Couranus, whom they write Bishop of Sodor; two of which sons, Ferguard and Donald, were successively Kings of Scotland, as both Hector, Boetius, and Hollinshed can witness; who
likewise

likewise inform us, that even before this Couranus (by Doctor Heylin, writ Goran) ordered that the three sons of his brother Congel, Eugenius the second, Cougatus the third, and Kinatellus the first, should be brought up in the Isle of Man (says Boetius) under the government of certain instructors and school-masters, to be trained up in learning and virtuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance thereof made and enacted: so celebrated was the discipline of those ages, that it seems to have passed into a law, that the Princes of Scotland should be educated in this island.

Having thus far shewn wherein the ancient honour of this island consisted, I think it proper my reader should know that it had formerly an order of nobility; for I find both Earls and Viscounts mentioned, but especially Barons, who I conceive were the governors of the out isles. In those days the Comes were the first magistrates in the county, and the Vice Comes his substitute, but of latter ages they have been appropriated as marks of honour to particular families.

There

There were likewise formerly several ecclesiastical Barons in this isle, as the Abbot of Rushen, the Abbot of Furness, and the Bishop of Man, who still retains that honourable title; and in regard thereof, is to hold the Lord's stirrup, when he mounts his steed, at the Tinwald.

But because those pious foundations lie buried in their own ruins, I shall crown my work with what is esteemed the greatest glory this world affords; that it was a Kingdom, if you will take the words of my Lord Cook. The ancient and absolute Kindom of Man, in Calvin's case, Lib. 7. chap. 21. Though since it fell under the homage of the crown of England, it was never granted but by the title of the Island and Lordship of Man, except to Sir John Stanley, who is stiled King and Lord of Man, in their records as before-mentioned, so that it pretended to no such absolute dominion, for allegiance to the crown of England was reserved in all public oaths.

Not but that it still retains most of the essential marks and insignia of regal power,
such

such making laws for its own government, of pardoning criminals, of holding courts in the Lord's name, the patronage of the bishopric, the admiral of those seas, the coinage of money, and many other inferior articles of regality; which as they were derived from the favour of the crown to the house of Derby, so the constant and uninterrupted loyalty of that noble house, may be justly esteemed to have deserved it, especially since they have managed that great trust and power with so much tenderness and care of the people under them, by which they have stood as lasting examples to all in power, and transmitted to the remembrance of all posterity; that by their care, vigilance, and justice, there is one little spot of earth in the world where law, justice and equity, true religion and primitive integrity, have long done, and still do flourish, in contempt of faction, sedition, contention, want or division, or whatever else the world calls miseries and misfortunes.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ISLE OF MAN.

THE Isle of Man hath been called or known by divers names amongst ancient writers: by Cæsar, it was called Mona (and is still so stiled in their own records from all antiquity) by Ptolomy and Pliny, Monada, by Secunda, Ninius, Eubonia, by the Britons, Menaw, by the natives, Manning, and by the English, the Isle of Man.

The length of the Isle from north to south, is more than thirty miles, and the breadth between eight and ten. It lies between 55 and 56 degrees of north latitude, and 15 degrees of longitude; and Castle-town seems to be in the same parallel with York; and a certain author says, it is placed in the naval of the sea, and in truth it seems to be the center of the King of Great Britain's dominions,

nions, almost equally of distant in the north, from Galloway, in Scotland; in the west, from Ulster, in Ireland; in the east, from Cumberland; and in the south, from Anglesea.

The Isle of Man, lying nearer to the counties of Lancaster and Cumberland, than to any other of England, the inhabitants very much follow and partake of the customs and usage of those counties, especially Lancaster, with whom they have a constant trade, for their cattle and other produce of the island, and in return supply themselves with salt, and all other necessaries wanting there: besides they have a natural respect for the people of Lancashire. Whether it arise from their Lord's usual residence in that county, or their being mostly supplied with their principal officers from thence, as Governors, Bishops, Archdeacons, and many others of less note, I know not, but they have such an esteem for the people of that county, that it is a common maxim with them, that a good Lancashire justice of the peace, generally makes the best governor of the Isle of Man.

This island was many ages governed by its own Kings, natives of the place, but through a long decent and a great variety of changes in the government, it is rendered too difficult to be pursued in a lineal and regular manner without many and long digressions, and as I conceive, it would appear more like a needless curiosity than of any service or useful information to the reader, therefore I shall neither give him nor myself more trouble than is needful on that head, to introduce the description and history of that island more clear and intelligible.

Beginning first with King Olave, the third son of Goddard Crownan, whose family had long reigned in the island, which was stiled the Kingdom of the Isles, as will appear more fully in the sequel hereof. This young gentleman being greatly oppressed and harassed by the more powerful Kings of Norway, Denmark, Scotland, and Ireland, applied himself to Henry I. King of England, and offered him the Kingdom of the Isles. He was then a Prince in the flower of his youth, peaceable, just, and liberal, especially to the church, and therefore pious; he

he assumed the government, Anno 1102, and by his princely address and prudent negotiations, procured the King of England for his patron, and by that King's intercession, the Kings of Scotland and Ireland for his confederates, so that having nothing to fear from abroad, he applied himself to public works of mercy and piety at home.

First, by informing the laws and manners of his subjects; and wisely weighing that religion, and good education, greatly soften the temper and actions of a brutish and vicious people. For that purpose, in the year 1134, he gave the Abbey of Rushen, to Evan, Abbes of Furness, to serve as a nursery to the church, and from hence it is, that the Abbots of Furness, had the approbation of the Abbot of Rushen, and some believe the right of electing the Bishop himself, and a sort of chapter to his diocese.

Olave having thus laid the groundwork of his establishment, greatly endowed the whole church of the isles with large franchises, liberties, and immunities: the revenue of which was sent out after the most ancient

and apostolic manner, viz. one third of all the tithes to the Bishop for his maintenance, the second to the abbey for the education of youth, and relief of the poor (for those good monks were then the public almoners, and by their own labours rather encreased than diminished the public charity) the third portion of the tithes was given to the parochial priests for their subsistence.

Olave having spent near four years in all the calm enjoyments of peace and plenty, at last resolved to visit the King of Norway, and in the year 1142, did homage, to Hengo, King of Norway, by whom he was honourably received, and before his departure crowned King of the Isles, and left his son Goddard to be educated in the Norweigan court, and then returned to Man.

Where he found the long peaceable course of his affairs quite altered: for the three sons of his brother Harold who had been educated in Dublin, raised great forces and demanded one moiety of the Kingdom of the Isles. Olave desired time to consider of it, and on the day appointed to receive his

his answer, the principal persons on both sides being drawn up in lines opposite to each other, Reginald, one of the brothers, standing in the middle as talking to some principal persons, being called by the King, turned himself of a sudden as if he designed to salute him, but at the same time lifted up his battle ax, and at one blow cut off his head: the nobility depending upon Olave, being all dispersed or slain, Reginald divided the country among his own followers,

Olave, left by his wife Affrica, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, one son who succeeded him.

The sons of Harold flushed with this success had thoughts of conquering all before them: immediately therefore they transported their forces into Galloway, but the people there behaved with that bravery and resolution that they quickly forced them to return with shame and confusion into Man, where they exercised all the cruelties upon the men of Galloway, that shame, disappointment, and revenge could invent, but
the

the justice of heaven suffered not so many villanies to go long unpunished. For,

In the year 1143, Goddard, the son of good King Olave, returned from Norway, to whom the whole island immediately submitted: upon which he ordered two of the sons of Harold to lose their eyes, and the third, who had murdered his father, he caused to be executed. And having by these acts of justice cleared his way to the crown, by the unanimous consent of the people, he assumed the government.

Goddard was then in the flower of his youth, brave, active and generous, with the mein and stature of a hero, and polished by education in a foreign court; all which, joined to the merits of an excellent father, attracted the hearts not only of his own people, but of strangers also, and all the neighbouring provinces admired and envied the happiness of the Manx nation, and every one wished for a King like theirs.

But as all human affairs are subject to frequent changes and unforeseen accidents in
life,

life, and that the most moderate and prudent government in the world is not secure from faction and sedition at home, as well as enemies abroad, so it fell out with this good King; for one Thorfinus, the son of Otter, was at that time the principal of all the natives, who having been dispossessed of some lands he had a pretence to, and denied some favours he expected, grew a mal-content, and setting up for a patriot, gained to his party several factious and seditious subjects; and by them, and such others as he could bring into his way of thinking, designed to work his own private revenge.

He therefore goes into Argyle, to one Summerled, who had married a daughter of good King Olave, and persuaded him to make his son Dulgall, King of the isles, in right of his mother. Summerled being a prince of a hot, enterprizing and ambitious temper, embraced the proposal, and Thornfinus, by his own influence and persuasion, brought several of the western islands under his obedience. However, the majority of the people as yet adhered to their lawful King: among these was one Paul, a person

of great loyalty, interest and virtue, who gave Goddard notice of Thorfinus' and Summerled's projects.

Upon which the King equips 80 ships, and in the year 1156, a bloody battle was fought at sea, where both sides wearied with the slaughter made, and the victory still doubtful, the two generals agreed to divide the kingdom of the Isles, by which all the northern fell to the son of Summerled: but he, not contented with a moiety, in the year 1158, came into Man with 58 ships, and the people either weary of the war, or the misconduct and unknown usage of their Prince, all submitted to him, so that Goddard by letting a discontented people slip from him, now found himself no more a King, but forsaken and slighted by all, especially by those who had been the instruments of his severity and misconduct, and found no safer way to make their court to their new master, than by exposing the old, agreeable to that stated maxim, that he who will do ill to please his Prince, will certainly do the same against him, when it appears his interest and advantage in so doing. Whilst things were

were transacting, the dethroned King Goddard found means to escape into Norway, there to reserve himself to his better fortune. —A lively instance of indolence and neglect, which presently degenerate into violence and unwarrantable measures, by which the gaining of a crown may sometimes forfeit the virtue which renders a man worthy of it.

But Summerled, flushed with these petty victories, set no bounds to his ambition; but in the year 1164, raised a fleet of 160 sail, with a resolution to master all Scotland, and attempting to land his men at Rheinforn, was conquered by a few, himself and his son slain, with most of his people. The people were glad to be thus delivered by dear bought experience, and found a sensible difference betwixt a passionate and misguided Prince, and a real tyrant.

Every one now began to think of Goddard their exiled King, whose six years absence and his own generous qualities had blotted out the errors and mistakes of his youth and former government, so that all the hearts of the people inclined to his restoration.

At which time Reginald, his bastard brother, had gathered and armed a multitude of loose fellows of different nations, resolving with them to carry the kingdoms of the isles.

The Manxmen stoutly defended their King's cause. The battle was fought at Ramsay, and the people lost the day by the treachery of a certain Count, who probably dreaded Goddard's revenge upon him, but Goddard being truly informed of the island's good intention towards him, landed the fourth day after the battle with a powerful assistance from the King of Norway: the people received him with joy; all former errors were mutually forgot, and Reginald was seized, and his eyes put out, and all those who might render the succession disputable, stripped of all power, and from this time Goddard began to settle his affairs with prudence, gentleness, and moderation; and Macclotlen, son of Maccartack, King of Ireland, gave his daughter Fingala, to wife, by whom he had a son, named Olave.

The

The year following the King took a progress through the isles, to settle the confused state of affairs; during his absence, Emoreal, one of the blood royal, attempting some novelty, he brought a great multitude to the Isle of Man, who at first dispersed some few that guarded the coasts, but the same day the Manxmen rallied the whole force, and slew him and all his followers; and thus the King continued composing and settling the affairs of his government till the year 1187, in which he died on the ninth of September, in a good old age.

This Prince had tried both extremes of government, first ruined by success, and the ill conduct of his youth, but being made wiser by afflictions and experience, became a fortunate and happy Monarch.

He left three sons, Reginald, Olave, and Ivar, and appointed Olave his successor, because born in lawful wedlock; but Olave being then but a minor, the Manxmen sent for the eldest son, Reginald, out of the Isles, and made him King, Anno 1188.

Reginald, was then of a ripe age, endowed with great qualities, wit, courage, and resolution, mixed with craft, dissimulation, and revenge, which added to the natural injustice to his brother Olave, rendered his reign though long, unhappy. Reginald in the sixth year of King John, of England, had done his homage for the Isle of Man, for which the King granted him a Knight Fee in Ireland, and his protection, *pro feod* and *servitio suo*, says the record.

Reginald, being at this time absent in Ireland, with all his forces, and his principal officers, by which the people of the island had been great sufferers, began to think of their injustice to Olave their lawful Prince, then in the vigour of his age, and master of all those refined qualities that render Princes agreeable to their people, or men to one another; mild, just, sedate, pious and liberal, to which was added, an admirable symmetry of body, which, rendered him the darling of the ladies, who by their interest at home sometimes make the strongest abroad.

Reginald,

Reginald, returning into Man, and viewing the desolation of his country during his absence, and at the same time perceiving the lost affections of his people, resolved to remove his brother Olave, the idol of their hearts out of his way; but not finding it safe to do it by open violence, he caused him to be seized and sent to William, King of Scotland, where he was kept in chains seven years, at the end of which King William dying, was succeeded by his son Alexander, who at his coronation, ordered all the prisoners to be released, among whom was Olave, who speedily returned to the Isle of Man, well attended by the nobility, and good wishes of the people, and presented himself to his brother Reginald, who received him with all apparent affection, and married him to the Lord of Cantyre's daughter, named Lavon, and sister to his own Queen, but gave them nothing but the islands called the Lewes's, which necessity compelled Olave to accept of since he could get no better; but coming into the Lewes's, he found them barren, and altogether insufficient to support him and his retinue, therefore urged on by despair, necessity

necessity and justice, but more than all, by the Viscount Skey, resolved to push his good fortune to the utmost; and taking hostages of all the great men of the isles, set sail in the year 1215, with thirty ships, and landed in the Isle of Man; but the nobility and people interposing, the brothers came to an agreement, and divided the kingdom of the isles betwixt them, of which Reginald, besides his moiety, had the Isle of Man allotted him.

Olave having refreshed his men, returned to his part of the isles; but Reginald greatly regretting to be dispossessed of above a hundred of them, which he had been so long master of, sent to Allen, Lord of Galloway, for assistance; and the year following sailed into the out-isles, with a design to dispossess his brother Olave; but the people absolutely refusing to fight, against their natural Prince, obliged him to return home without effecting any thing.

Reginald, restless and impatient with this second disappointment, pretends a necessity of a journey to England. The people cheerfully

fully supplied him with one hundred marks towards his journey; but instead of going to England, he carried his daughter into Galloway, and married her to the son of that Lord. But as nothing discontents a people more than the misapplication of public generosity, especially when they see themselves imposed upon and betrayed to a foreign power, considering with indignation the ingratitude of Reginald, and their own injustice to their lawful Prince, they, by universal suffrage sent for Olave and declared him King in the year 1218. Reginald, seeing his error, though too late, resolves in good earnest on a voyage to the court of King John.

It is certain, as we have observed, that King John, in the sixth year of his reign, took Reginald, King of Man, into his protection, and granted him one knight's fee in Ireland; and also granted him one hundred quarters of corn, to be delivered at Drogheda, on the 26th of May, anno reg. sui 14. anno dom. 1212.

And King Henry III. anno reg. sui 2. anno dom. 1219, granted to Reginald, King of
of

of Man, letters of safe conduct to come to England, and do him homage, &c. And

In the fifth year of his reign, 1221, the same King writes to his justice in Ireland, the fourth of November, to deliver to Reginald, King of Man, his knight's fee, two tons of wine, and one hundred and twenty quarters of corn, granted him every year by the charter of King John, his father.

Now if it be allowable to compare so small a Prince with an English Monarch, there never was a nearer resemblance than in the fortunes of these two; both had obtained their government by injustice to the lawful heirs; both lost it by their ill treatment of the people; both of mischievous designing tempers, and both lived to feel the effects thereof on their own heads, only in this they differ: John had offended the clergy, and Reginald his people. John had some years before, made the most infamous submission to the Pope, that ever was heard of in history; Reginald, to complete the similitude, must do the like, either because it was the fashion, or that he could hope for no assistance without it.

THE
ACT OF SURRENDER,

MADE BY

REGINALD,

TO THE

SEE OF ROME.

*Reginaldus Rex Insulæ Man, constituit se
vasallum sedis Romanæ, & ex insula sua
facit feudum oblatum, Londini, 10 cal.
October, 1219.*

SANCTISSIMO Patri & Domino Honorio
Dei gratia summo Pontifici, Reginaldus
Rex, Insularum commendationem cum osculo
pedum. Noverit sancta paternitas vestra,
quod nos, ut participes simus honorum
quæ fiunt in ecclesia Rom. juxta admoni-
tionem, et exortationem dilecti patris Do-
mini P. Norwicen electi, Camerarij & Le-
gati vestri, dedimus & obtulimus nomine
Ecclesia Romanæ, & vestro, & Catholico-
rum vestrorum successorum, Insulam nostrum

de Man, quæ ad nos jure hereditario pertinet, & de quæ nuilli tonemur aliquod servitium facere, & deinceps nos, & hæredes nostri in perpetuum tenebimus, in feudum dictam Insulam ab Ecclesia Romanæ, & faciemus ei per hoc homagium & fidelitatem, & in recognitionem Dominij, nemine census, nos & hæredes nostri in perpetuum annuatim solvemus Ecclesia Rom. duodecim Marcas Sterlingorum in Anglia apud Abbatiam de Furnes, Cistertiensis Ordinis in festo Purificationis B. V. Mariæ. Et si non esset ibi aliquis ex parte vestra vel successorum vestrorum, deponentur dictæ duodecim marchæ per nos & hæredes nostros penes Abbatem & Conventum, Ecclesia Rom. nomine. Hanc donationem, & ablationem dictus Dominus Legatus recipit ad voluntatem & bene placitum vestrum, & post receptionem factam ab eo sic ipse Dominus Legatus dictam Insulam dedit mihi, & hæredibus meis in feudum perpetuo possidendam & tenendam nomine Ecclesia Rom. Et me inde per aunulum aureum investivit, et cætera. Actum Lond. in domo Militiæ Templi, 10 Kal. Octob. an. dom. Millesimo, ducentesimo, decimo nono. Et

ne super his aliquando possit dubitari, has literas fieri fecimus & sigillo nostro muniri.

Codex juris Gentium Diplomaticus per Godfridum Gulielmum Liebnitzium, impressus Hanoveræ, 1693, fol. prodromus, page 5.

Reginald, King of the Isle of Man, constitutes himself a Vassal of the See of Rome, and of his island makes the offered grant at London, 22d. of September, 1219.

TO the most Holy Father and Lord Honorius, by the grace of God supreme Pontiff, Reginald, King of the Isles, kisseth his feet, and sendeth greeting: Be it known to your holy paternity that we, as being partakers of the benefits derived from those things that are done in the Roman Church, according to the admonition and exhortation of the beloved Father in GOD, Peter, Lord Bishop of Norwich, elect Chamberlain and Apostolic Legate, have given and offered in the name of the Church of Rome and your's, and of your Catholic successors, our Island of Man, which belongs to us by right of inheritance,

heritance, and for which we are not bound to do service to any; and henceforwards, we and our heirs for ever will hold the said island as a grant from the Church of Rome, and will do homage and fealty to it; and as a recognition of dominion, in the name of a tribute, we and our heirs for ever will pay annually to the Church of Rome, twelve marks sterling in England, at the Abbey of Furnes, of the Cistercian Order, upon the Feast Purification of the B. V. Mary. And if there should not be any person there on the behalf of you or your successors, the said twelve marks shall be deposited by us and our heirs, with the Abbot and Convent, in the name of the Church of Rome. This grant and oblation the said Lord Legate accepts, according to your will and pleasure; and after acceptance so made by him, he the said Lord Legate gave to me and my heirs the said island, to be possessed and held in fee for ever, in the name of the Church of Rome; and thereupon invested me in the same by a ring of gold, &c. Done at London, in the house of the Knights Templars, the 22d. of September, anno 1219; and that no doubt may remain concerning the premises,

premises, we have caused this instrument to be made and sealed with our seal.

Vid. codeſe juris Gentium Diplomaticus per Godefridum Gulielmum Liebnitzium, Impreſſus Hanoveriæ, 1693, fol. prodromus, page 5.

Whilst Reginald, by this infamous ſurrender, was endeavouring to recover his loſt eſtate, his brother Olave, for above two years, enjoyed an undiſturbed poſſeſſion in the government of the iſles, till at laſt compelled by the diſorder of affairs to viſit the remote parts of his ſcattered kingdom, and being well affected by the nobility and ſoldiery, he left the Iſle of Man expoſed to the fury of his brother Reginald; who, upon this occaſion, embraced the opportunity, by returning from London; and, by the aſſiſtance of Allen, Lord of Galloway, and Thomas, Earl of Athol, landed a large army in the iſland, with which he laid the whole ſouth-ſide waſte; murdering all the men they met, burning even the very churches, and committing all the inhumanities a tyrant heated by reſentment and revenge, could invent.

At last, glutted with so much barbarity, or perhaps, apprehending his brother Olave's return, he drew off his forces, and Allen, Lord of Galloway, left his bailiffs to collect the revenue; but Olave speedily returning, drove away those collectors, and used all possible means to recall such as had escaped the fury of Reginald, so that the country began to be re-peopled, and the natives to settle themselves again in peace and security.

But the ambitious spirit of Reginald rested not here, for the same year in the midst of winter, and in the dead of night, Reginald, accompanied by the Lord of Galloway, landed a second time, and by his plausible insinuations debauched the whole southern division to his service. Of so mutable a nature are the vulgar, that those very people that had been just before so harrassed, by burning their houses, murdering their kindred and relations, now publicly took arms in his defence.

King Olave flies for protection to the men of the northern division, who unanimously resolve to defend him and his cause; whereupon the two brothers engage in battle, at the

the place called the Tinwald (the public field of council and of arms) Reginald lost the day, and was slain in the heat of the action; and thus fell that restless and ambitious soul, who for above thirty years had disquieted himself and his people: his body was carried by the Monks of Rushen to the Abby of Furnes, and buried in a place formerly chosen by himself.

Olave now hoping to enjoy all the fruits of his labours, and the rights justly due to him, resolves on a voyage to Norway, anno 1220; where during the contest betwixt the two brothers, the accustomed respect had not been paid, which occasioned the King of Norway, to appoint a nobleman, one Heufback, to be King of the Isles, and gave him his own name, Heco, who on his arrival there, was slain in storming a certain castle in the Isle of Bute, and never reached the Isle of Man.

Upon this Olave returning into the Isle of Man, brought with him Goddard, the son of his late brother Reginald; and by the consent of the people, the isles were
divided

divided betwixt them (as a means to preserve a future tranquility in both) Olave had Man allotted to him, and Goddard going to his share was slain in the Lewes's, by which the whole kingdom of the Isles devolved upon Olave, who for the better security thereof resolved to apply to the court of England; and in the year 1236, obtained from King Henry III. letters of safe conduct for Olave, King of Man, to come to him, to treat with him on business of moment; and being come to King Henry, he the same year gave him his commission, with forty marks, one hundred quarters of corn, and five tons of wine, for his homage and defence of the sea coasts, as long as he should faithfully perform that service which he enjoyed to the year 1237. the time of his death, which happened on the 18th of June, that year in Peel-castle, in a good old age, greatly lamented by his people, as a Prince worthy of better times, a better kingdom and better subjects. He lies interred in the Abby of Rushen, and was succeeded by his son Harold.

Harold was then about fourteen years of age, a youth of great hopes, and rare endowments

ments both of body and mind, but before he was well settled in his new government (led either by the necessity of his affairs or a youthful curiosity) he resolved on a progress through his whole kingdom, which consisted of near three hundred islands, but dispersed, and many degrees remote; and for the security and good of the island, he appointed one Logland his cousin to be his lieutenant, who probably did not execute that trust with the care and fidelity expected from him, of which the King being informed, sent the autumn following, three sons of Noil, viz. Dufgall, Thorgall, and Malemore, with his trusty friend one Joseph, to examine and consult about his affairs in the island, and report the conduct of Logland to him.

Upon this a general meeting was appointed the twenty fifth day following, at the Tinwald, their usual place of assembling for public affairs; but one side accusing, and the other defending, instead of council and composing the differences then subsisting, they fell to arms, the shortest way of ending controversies in those days. Dufgall, Malmore, and Joseph, fell in the quarrel,

upon information whereof the King, greatly incensed, returned into Man the spring following, and Logland justly apprehending his displeasure, attempted to fly into Wales, with Goddard, a younger son of Olave, but suffered shipwreck in his passage, with the young Prince and all his retinue.

The power of the Kings of Norway, to this time had been the terror of the northern parts of Europe; but Harold had not paid the personal attendance at that court as was expected, therefore that King in the year 1238, sent Jospatrick, and Giles Christ, the son of Mc'Kerthanck to seize the revenue of the island to his own use; but Harold the year following took a voyage into Norway, where he conducted himself with that prudence and discretion, that after two years stay, he was restored to all the isles enjoyed by his ancestors, to him and his heirs, and successors, under the broad seal of Norway,

Harold now secure of the inheritance of his predecessors, in the year 1242, returned into Man, where he was received with the
universal

universal applause and good wishes of the people, which he endeavoured to improve by all those public diversions which render youthful Princes agreeable to their subjects; but considering nothing secures a lasting happiness like peace abroad, he entered into a strict alliance with the neighbouring Princes of Scotland and Ireland, and to secure himself of the good affection of the Monarchy of England, he procured letters patent from Henry III. dated the thirty-first of his reign, by which he was permitted to come into England; where on his arrival he was welcomed with all the public compliments due to his character.

The King honoured him with the order of Knighthood (which in those days was never conferred, but upon persons of high birth and merit) and in all places was entertained with a generosity natural to the English nation; and at last was nobly presented by the King. In the same year he returned to his own country, where good fortune was at once showering down all the blessings of this life upon his head.

He received an invitation into Norway, whither he went, attended by Lawrence, late Arch-deacon, then Bishop Elect of Man, with a numerous train of nobility and ladies, and was there married to the King's daughter; and after a long and noble entertainment, with all festivity usual on such occasions, he returned to Man, but was unhappily driven upon the Coast of Radland, in Wales, where he suffered shipwreck, and perished with his beautiful young Queen, his Bishop, and almost all his nobility, and the ladies her companions; a sad conviction, that the highest felicities this world affords, are too often but a more solemn introduction to our ruin, which was unhappily verified in himself, as in his brother and successor.

Reginald, his brother assumed the government, anno 1249, on the sixth of May, and the thirtieth of the same month, was slain in the meadows near the Church of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Kirk Christ Rushen, with all his party, by a Knight, called Ivar. Whether the cause of their quarrel was love or revenge, is not mentioned, or
whether

whether he had assumed the government without the consent of the people, we are not informed by record, further than that Reginald left one daughter very young, named Mary; who, in the year 1292, claimed the Kingdom of the Isles, and did homage to our King Edward I. in Perth, or St. John's Town. And though we do not find in all the Norwegian line any pretence to a female succession, yet this gave ground for a plea, near four hundred years after, in which sentence was pronounced in favour of the heirs general of Ferdinand, EARL of DERBY, against his brother Earl William, in the following case, wherein question was moved concerning the Isle of Man, which, by Queen Elizabeth, was referred to the Lord Keeper Egerton, and divers Lords of the Council, and to three of the Judges of England, who in Trinity Term, fortieth of Elizabeth, 1598, upon hearing council on both sides with mature deliberation, resolved on the five following points, viz.

First, that the Isle of Man was an ancient Kingdom of itself, and no part of the kingdom of England.

Secondly,

Secondly, they affirmed a case reported by Kelwin, the fourteenth of Henry VIII. to be law, viz. an office was found, that Thomas, EARL of DERBY, at his death, was seized of the Isle of Man in fee; whereupon the Countess his wife, by her council, moved to have her dowry in the chancery; but it was resolved by Brudnel, Brook and Fitzherbert, Justices, and all the King's Council, that the office was merely void, because the Isle of Man was no part of England, nor was governed by the laws of this land, but was like Tourney in Normandy, or Gascoine, in France, when they were in the King of England's hands, which were out of the power of chancery, the place to endow the widows of the King's subjects, &c.

Thirdly, it was resolved by them, that the statute of William II. *de jovis conditionalibus*, nor the twenty-seventh of Henry VIII. of use; nor the statutes of the thirty-second and thirty-fourth of King Henry VIII. or King William, or any other general Act of Parliament, extended to the Isle of Man, for the causes aforesaid; but by special name an Act of Parliament may extend to it.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, it was resolved, that seeing no office could be found, to entitle the King to the forfeiture of treason, that the King might grant by commission under the great seal, to seize the same into the King's hands, &c. which being done and returned of record, is sufficient to bring it into the King's seizure, possession and charge.

Fifthly, that the King might grant the same under the great seal, because he cannot grant it in any other manner, and herewith agreeth divers grants under the great seal of this isle.

Sixthly, it was resolved that a fee-simple in this isle, passing by the letters patent to Sir John Stanley and his heirs, is descendible to his heirs according to the common law, for the grant itself by letters patent is granted by the common law in this case; and therefore, if there be no other impediment, the isle in this case shall descend to the heirs general, and not to the heirs male, upon which this affair was afterwards settled by Act of Parliament, as aforesaid.

During

During the race of Goddard Growman, three qualifications seemed requisite for the descent of the government, viz. a male succession, the consent of the people, and the approbation of the King of Norway (who was then acknowledged for their sovereign) and where any of these were wanting, it generally proved fatal to the prince and people.

Olave had left a third son, named Magnus, who probably, was not in the island at his brother's death, so that Harold, the son of Goddard Don, grandson of Reginald, for a time usurped the name of King, and dispossessed all the nobility, depending on the successors of Olave, of their employments and commands; but the King of Norway sent for him, and made him prisoner for his unjust intrusion; and in the year 1252, sent Magnus, the lawful heir to the Isle of Man, who was chosen King by the universal consent of the people; but finding it unsafe to trust to that title only, he the next year went into Norway, where after two years attendance, he was declared King of the Isles, and the title confirmed to him, his heirs and successors, anno 1254. These

These little Princes had a nice game to play, as they lay surrounded with so many potent states: the Kings of Norway began to decline, and the Scottish Kings (from whom these islands had been taken) to recover strength; so that during the last vacancy they designed to have recovered them, had not their King died in the midst of the preparation. The Monarchy of England, was now almost their only refuge, so in the year 1256, Magnus resolved on a voyage to that court, where he was honourably received by King Henry III. as his brother Harold had been some years before, and was knighted by that King; the greatest compliment could be paid to strangers by our Monarchs in those days of chivalry.

In the year 1263, Aquinus, King of Norway, resolved to revenge the affront the Scottish nation had designed against him, and accordingly made a descent upon that kingdom, but was so warmly received by their new King, Alexander (a generous and active Prince) that he was forced to take shelter in the Orcades, where he died, at Kirkwall.

This was the last feeble effort of that nation, which had spread its arms over all Europe for five hundred years past; it hath given Kings to England, and Sicily. Dukes; to Normandy, and held the sovereignty of those isles for near two hundred years past, but the continual throwing off of such vast numbers of the natives, had so weakened itself, that some time after, it became subject to the more potent and growing kingdom of Denmark.

Thus nations have their periods as well as persons and families, and the most enterprising generally destroy themselves soonest, by their own ambition. The little kingdom of Man, deprived of the protection of Norway, could not support itself much longer, for Magnus dying anno, 1265, in his castle of Rusken, was buried in the abbey church of St. Mary, which he finished and caused to be dedicated, and left no child behind him.

He was the ninth and last of the race of Goddard Crowman, who for two hundred years had enjoyed the name of King, though
in

in effect little better than lieutenant to the crown of Norway, and their inheritance became an insensible addition to the kingdom of Scotland, which rather took away an evil than conferred a good, for tho' the addition of a neighbouring country may increase a territory, yet different laws, interest and religion, rarely cement themselves into a well compacted or united state.

THE
CONTINUATION
FROM THE
SCOTCH CONQUEST
To the Settlement under the
HOUSE OF STANLEY.

ALEXANDER, King of Scotland, being informed of the death of Magnus, began to seize on the out isles, as lay most convenient for him, while the affairs of the little kingdom of Man were wholly distracted; but Magnus, King of Norway, son of Aquinus, thinking to apply some remedy to them, sent his chancellor into Scotland, with offers to surrender the Isle of Man and Bute, on condition he should peaceably enjoy the remainder.

But

But Alexander bravely rejected the offer, with a protestation he would win or lose them all; and in pursuance thereof began to reduce them singly with success; but during his engagement therein, a new commotion arose in the Isle of Man, which gave him some concern and uneasiness, as intending to unite the whole kingdom of the Isles to that of Scotland, and apprehending little opposition from that of Man.

But the Manx History informs us, that the widow of the late King Magnus, a woman of a haughty and intriguing spirit, who by the death of Reginald had cleared her own way to the kingdom, and secretly in love with a certain knight who had slain Reginald, her late husband's brother named Ivar, now thought him the fittest person to supply the vacancy, there being no lawful successor, except the daughter of Reginald, and she but a child: the danger from Scotland seemed pressing, but what will not love and the temptations of a crown persuade men to?

Ivar,

Ivar, then in the vigour of his age, gay, generous and popular; the boldest, the bravest, and the best of all the natives; one that had virtues enough to save, and vices enough to ruin a nation; readily embraced the offer of his kind friend the widow his mistress, who had entirely forgot all affection as well as duty and allegiance to her late husband's niece and legal successor the princess Mary; her pride, ambition and aspiring lewd temper, could think of nothing less than a crown.

But the child Mary, was so happy as to be left under the care and guard of just, sincere and affectionate friends, who whilst the widow and her tool Ivar were making their way to the government, took care to have Mary secretly conveyed into England, with all the public deeds and charters, equally fearing the danger she was in at home as well as from abroad; but being got into safety we will leave her for a while to attend and wait her good fortune.

In the interim, Ivar, vigorously prepares for the defence of his new kingdom, and at least resolves to deserve if not enjoy the crown,

crown, but the Isle of Man could do little singly with the more potent kingdom of Scotland, for Alexander having now reduced all the out isles, sends a numerous army under Alexander Peasley, and John Commin, who landed at Rannesway, now Derby-haven, in the year 1270. Ivar though much inferior in number (as being deprived of all assistance from abroad) received them with a resolution natural to the Manx nation, and fought them stoutly, and as bravely fell with the expiring liberty of his country, and with him five hundred and thirty seven of the flower of the people.

Thus the Kingdom of the Isles was wholly reduced, in which the King of Scotland had spent four years, viz. from 1266, to 1270. The King of Norway, now seeing these Kingdoms lost, sent his Chancellor a second time, either to redeem it or compound for a tribute; the first was absolutely rejected, but to end farther disputes, a peace was concluded under several articles; of which the payment of four thousand marks ready money, and one hundred pounds by way of tribute, were the principal, and no notice taken

ken of Mary, the child, nor her right, though last of the family of Goddard Crowman, which had held the government two hundred years, and were now succeeded by Alexander, King of Scotland, who enjoyed it by a mixt title of arms and purchase, and governed by his Thanes or Lieutenants; the first of whom was Goddard McManus, too honest a man to make a good governor in his prince's sense, who for refusing to be concerned in the murder of three brethren descended from the former race, was removed after he had held this station four years.

To him succeeded Allen, a man that understood his King's pleasure better than how to govern his people well. Imperious, cruel, hard-hearted, inexorable, too much of the tyrant for the governor, and too little for the foldier; the people till this time had followed their hereditary Kings with a chearful, active obedience, by which they were enabled not only to secure themselves, but often to make conquests abroad; but instead of the generous firmness of their ancestors, were now degenerated into a sullen and supine negligence, and their only study was how they

they might legally disobey; this increased the Thane's severity, for the more a people suffer, the more men of brutish and cruel souls insult.

Till at last grown desperate by their miseries, the natives universally rose against the Scots nation, with a resolution either to extirpate them, or fall to a man themselves; but by the interposition of their good Bishop, they agreed to end the dispute by a combat of thirty on a side: the Thane, who had been the occasion of the quarrel, as he stood spectator of the fight, was pressed to death by the multitude.

The Manxman lost the day, and all their thirty combatants fell; the Scots lost twenty-five. This last struggle of the manxs nation made the Scottish King sensible of his false policy.

He therefore sent over Maurice Okerfair, a wise and worthy magistrate, one whose prudence made him revered in peace, as his honour did in arms, which rendered him terrible in war, dreadful to the stubborn,

tender to the poor, and merciful to the afflicted: in whom the exactness of the soldier gave an air and vigour to the laws, and the fineness of the gentleman softened their rigour in execution; by an excellent mixture of moderation and severity he made it his business to allay the animosities of the two factions, and so far succeeded that he caused thirty cross-marriages to be celebrated in one day. He held the government three years, and died in 1282, equally lamented by both nations, and was succeeded by one Brenus, who pursued the gentle and moderate principles of his predecessor. He taught the people the art of fishing, but was himself unhappily slain in some rencounter with the Highlanders in the year 1287, and was succeeded by Donald, a person of great birth and reputation, but how long he had the government is uncertain, for in the year 1289, King Edward I. gave the Isle of Man, &c. to Walter de Huntercomb; for upon the surrender of the island by Richard de Burgo, who probably had been entrusted with it by one of the competitors of the crown of Scotland, King Edward, in the eighteenth year of his reign, committed the custody of this

this

this island to the aforesaid Walter de Huntercomb, a very brave and honest man, who the year following, by his master's order, surrendered it to John Baliol, King of Scotland, with a salvo, notwithstanding, to King Edward's right, and that of all other pretenders.

Whether he was ever possessed of it doth not appear, for the Scottish nation was at that time greatly embroiled by the factions Bruce and Baliol, competitors for the crown, and King Edward chosen as arbitrator of their differences, and being at Perth, or St. John's Town, Mary, the last of the old family, and wife of John de Waldeboef, made her claim, and offered to do her homage for the Isle of Man, but was answered, she must claim it of the King of Scotland who then held it.

It also appears by petition to King Edward I. in parliament, in the thirty-third year of his reign, that while this isle was in the hands of John Baliol, King of Scots, Mary, the wife of John de Waldeboef, presenting her right to the Isle of Man, was

answered, she must prosecute it before the King of Scotland, who then held it as above, but she dying in the prosecution, the right descended to William, her son and heir, and from him to John, his son, and from him to Mary his daughter, who survived her brother, and then claimed the Isle of Man, as true and lawful heir, and was answered, let it be heard in the King's bench, and justice done.

In the thirty-fifth of the aforesaid Prince's reign, there is a memorable record extant, in Mr. Prinn, of our King's right, and seizure of the Isle of Man, for his own use, upon the dispossessing of Henry Bello Monte, the custody whereof was granted to Gilbert de Makaskall during pleasure, who had expended one thousand two hundred and fifteen pounds, three shillings, and four-pence, in defence of it against the Scots; and likewise laid out three hundred and eighty pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence in victuals, which delivering to the Governor of the castle of Carlisle, to victual it against the Scots, both the sums were
allowed

allowed him upon his petition, and ordered to be paid.

King Edward I. soon after dying, was succeeded by his son, the second of that name. This fickle Prince made no less than three grants in one year, to so many of his favourites, viz. Percy de Gaveston, Gilbert de Mc'Gascall, and Henricus de Bello Monte, the grant to the last is to be seen at large in Mr. Challoner. These uncommon proceedings put the island in great disorder and confusion, which gave King Robert Bruce, an opportunity of ending all controversies, by asserting the right of the crown of Scotland; and in the year 1313, sat down before the castle of Ruffen, which for six months was obstinately defended by one Dingay Dowill, though in whose name we do not find; but not long after, it was granted to Robert Randolph, Earl of Murray, during whose government in the year 1316, Richard Le'Mandeville, with a numerous train of Irish, landed at Rannesway (now Derbyhaven) demanding victuals and money, which being denied them, they divided themselves

themselves into two troops, and under the hill Warefield, now Borrowl, found the natives drawn up, but their spirits so dejected by their loss of liberty, invasions, depredations, and frequent change of masters, that they made little or no resistance.

The conquerors grievously spoiled the whole island and abbey of Rushen, and after a month's stay, returned into Ireland; after this the Scotch writers tell us of a grant to the Duke of Albany, the year uncertain; and lastly, to Martholine, the King's almoner, who was sent over to take care of religion, and the reformation of manners then wholly degenerate there.

He wrote against witchcraft (a practice too frequent in that place in those days) and for the better circulation of business. He is said to have minted a certain copper coin with the King's effigies on the one side, and a cross on the other side, with this inscription, *Crux est Christianorum Gloria*. The Cross of Christ, is the Glory of Christians. To say truth, we have so little certainty of those times, that we rather expose

pose their ignorance than inform ourselves; only this is certain on all hands, that in the year 1340, and in the seventh of Edward II. this island was retaken by the Scots, and John de Ergarda, at that time a potent and eminent man in this isle, and his family were driven from thence, after great losses sustained, into Ireland. Whereupon the King upon his application writ to his Justice Chancellor and Treasurer of Ireland, to allow him a competent maintenance for his brave endeavours to serve him; who after having refreshed himself and collected his friends together with what forces he could possibly raise, returned to the island, expelled the Scots, and restored the King's authority; upon which the King again writ to his officers in Ireland, to allow him a competent maintenance for himself, his family, and soldiers; *Anno Octavo Regni sui*: brave actions merit agreeable rewards, instanced in the loyalty, duty and integrity of the above gentleman, and the justice and generosity of the prince in return thereof:

We come next to Mary, the last of the family of Goddard Crowman, whom we left attending

attending her fortune at London, where she married John de Waldeboef, a gentleman of eminent note and figure, by whom she left a son named William, who entered his claim in Parliament, in the thirty-third of Edward I. but died before any thing was determined and left a daughter Mary. This lady coming to England with her grandmother's deeds and charters, cast herself at the feet of King Edward III. imploring his Majesty's assistance. That generous Prince not only gave her his protection, but married her to Sir William Montacute, whom Mr. Speed stiles the chief star in the firmament of England; for he was magnanimous, affable, active, and generous even to a fault; his merits had acquired him the esteem of the greatest of our English monarchs.

The King gave him both soldiers and shipping to prosecute his lady's right, which he did so successfully, that in a short time he recovered the island from the Scottish Government; and the Mank's History says, that excellent Prince caused him to be crowned, and stiled King of Man, anno 1344, according to Daniel and Stow.

But

But as the gaining a man's right often costs him more than it is worth, he had contracted so great a debt, that he was obliged to mortgage the island, to Anthony Beck, Bishop of Durham, for seven years. This Bishop was stiled Patriarch of Jerusalem, a proud, busy, crafty, covetous prelate, of little good nature, but abundance of grace; and as usurpers generally gripe hard when they have got possession, so he obtained a second grant thereof, from Richard II. for his life, after whose decease the island devolved upon William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, the descendant of the above William, who in the year 1393, sold it to Sir William Scroop, chamberlain to the King, as appears by record, viz. *Wilhelmus le Scroop emit de Domino. Willielmo Montauto insulam eboniæ est Manniæ, est nempe jus ipsus insulæ ut quisquis illus sit Dominus Rex vocetur ni etiam fas, est Corona aurea Coronari.*

This Sir William Scroop, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, is said to have had all the vices of a great statesman, subtle, fawning, false, designing, timorous and unjust, cove-

tous and ambitious; and to support his own authority, misled a weak Prince into a separate interest from his people, which in the end proved the ruin of them both; for the nobility, not able to bear his insolence and ill usage, rose against the King, though unsuccessfully, among whom the great Earl of Warwick, a true maintainer of English liberty, was banished to the Isle of Man, but soon after recalled.

For the Duke of Lancaster (afterwards King Henry IV) landing in England, was universally received by the nobility and people, and Sir William Scroop, Earl of Wiltshire, had his head struck off without any formal process, for misgoverning the King and kingdom; and the Isle of Man was granted by King Henry IV. to Henry Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, upon condition he should carry the Lancaster sword (with which the King was girt when he entered England) on his left shoulder at his own coronation, and his successors the Kings of England for ever.

This

This Earl was a hot, enterprizing, haughty and ambitious man, a zealous assertor of the power of the nobility, for which he fell under an attainder, but was soon after restored to all his lands and honours, the Isle of Man only excepted, which he was deprived of by Act of Parliament, and the Isle of Man at first was ordered to be seized by Sir John Stanley and Sir William Stanley, for the King's use only.

But in the sixth of Henry IV. the King made a grant thereof to Sir John Stanley for life, in the month of October; and on the sixth of the ensuing April, Sir John Stanley delivered up the said grant to be cancelled in chancery; and the King in consideration of the said surrender, and other valuable causes and concessions by Sir John Stanley as before, regranted the said island to him, his heirs and successors, with the Castle and Peel of Man, and all royalties regalities, franchises, &c. with the patronage of the bishopric, in as full and ample a manner, as it had been granted to any former Lord, to be held of the crown of England, *per homagium legium,*
4 A 2, paying

paying unto the King a cast of Falcons at their coronation, after such homage made, in lieu of all demands, customs, &c. whatsoever. Anno 1406.

In the reign of his late Majesty, George I. the Parliament, taking into consideration the injury that was done to the revenue, by the peculiar situation of the Isle of Man, for running foreign goods into this kingdom (which could no way be avoided, as it was a private property, and governed by particular laws of its own) proposed to the Duke of Athol, the proprietor thereof, by right of marriage into the Stanley Family, to deliver it into the hands of the government, for a stipulated sum, supposed to be equivalent to its value. But the Duke, unwilling to alienate so large a property of his family, and which had been enjoyed with so much dignity by his ancestors, used all his endeavours to stop such a proposal, and exerted all his interest to suppress the prosecution thereof; accordingly for some time the affair was suspended; but the abuses appearing more and more flagrant, and the injury every day increasing, in spite of
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the power of Acts of Parliament to suppress it, the Parliament passed an Act, empowering certain persons to treat with the Duke for the purchase thereof, which after several delays, was determined, upon condition of the government's paying, at a stipulated time, the sum of 70,000*l.* for the use of the then present Duke and Duchess of Athol, or their heirs, or the heirs of either of them. In the year 1765, the time fixed, the money being lodged in the Bank of England, pursuant to the agreement, as above, the following proclamation appeared in the Gazette, which finally determined this great and important affair.

BY THE KING,
A PROCLAMATION,

For continuing Officers in the ISLE OF MAN.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS by an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, "An Act for carrying into execution a contract made, pursuant to the Act of Parliament of the twelfth of his late Majesty King George the First, between the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the Duke and Duchess of Athol, the proprietors of the Isle of Man, and their trustees, for the purchase of the said island and its dependencies, under certain exceptions therein particularly mentioned." It is enacted, That from and immediately after the payment into the Bank of England, by us, our heirs or successors, in the names of John Duke of Athol, and Charlotte Duchess

ISLE of MAN.

Duchess of Athol his wife, Baroness Strange, Sir Charles Frederick, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath, and Edmund Hoskins, Esq. or the survivors or survivor of them, of the sum of seventy thousand pounds, on or before the first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, the Island, Castle, Peel, and Lordship of the Isle of Man, and all the Islands and Lordships to the said Island of Man appertaining, together with the royalties, regalities, franchises, liberties and sea ports to the same belonging, and all other the hereditaments, and premises therein particularly described and mentioned (except as therein is excepted) should be, and they were thereby unalienably vested in us, our heirs and successors, freed and discharged and absolutely acquitted, exempted and indemnified, of, from and against all estates, uses, trusts, entails, reversions, remainders, limitations, charges, incumbrances, titles, claims and demands whatsoever: and whereas we have caused to be paid into the said Bank of England, in the names of the said Duke and Duchess of Athol, Sir Charles Frederick and Edmund Hoskins, the said

sum

Hos

sum of seventy thousand pounds, on the seventeenth day of May last past; whereby, and by virtue of the said Act of Parliament, the immediate care of our said island, and of our loving subjects therein, is now devolved upon us. And whereas by our commission, bearing even date with these present, we have constituted and appointed our trusty and well-beloved John Wood, Esq. to be our Governor in Chief, and Captain-general, in and over our said Island, Peel and Lordship of Man, and all the islands, forts, castles and lordships thereunto appertaining. We, being desirous to provide for the due and regular administration of justice within our said Island of Man, and the territories and dependencies to the same appertaining, and to secure the peace and good order thereof, and to promote, to the utmost of our power, the happiness and prosperity of all our loving subjects residing within the same, have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy-council, to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby strictly commanding and requiring all manner of persons whatsoever, to pay due regard and obedience to the said Act of Parliament, and our said

Royal

Royal Commission, and chearfully and dutifully to submit themselves to our said Governor so appointed by us as aforesaid, and to be aiding and assisting to him, and all other our magistrates and officers, in the lawful discharge of their authorities, to them committed and intrusted, as they will answer the contrary at their perils. And our will and pleasure is, that all officers and ministers who now are, or at the time of the publication of this our Royal Proclamation within the Administration of Justice within our Island of Man, shall be concerned in our Island aforesaid, and particularly our Clerk of the Rolls, Attorney-general and two Deemsters, and all other persons whatsoever, who, at the times aforesaid, are or shall be duly and lawfully possessed of, or invested in, any civil employment (except only the officers appointed and employed by the late proprietors of our Island of Man, in collecting and receiving the revenues arising within our said island, and the territories and dependencies of the same) shall from henceforth hold their respective offices, places and employments of, from, and under us, our heirs and successors, and shall continue

in the exercise thereof, and shall enjoy the same, with such salaries, fees, profits and emoluments, as have hitherto belonged to the same respectively, until our royal pleasure in this behalf shall be further known: and we do strictly command and enjoin all and every the said persons, of whatsoever rank, condition, or degree, to proceed in the execution of their said respective offices, and to perform all the duties thereunto belonging, upon pain of our highest displeasure: and we do further charge and command all and every our said magistrates, officers, and ministers, and all persons whatsoever, who shall hold any office, place or employment, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, within our said Island of Man, and the territories and dependencies of the same; that within the space of one calendar month from and after the publication of this our proclamation within our said island, they do take the oaths appointed to be taken by an Act of Parliament passed in the first year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the first, intituled, "An Act for the further Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, and the Succession of the Crown in the heirs of the
late

late Princess Sophia, being Protestants; and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and his open abettors." And also make and subscribe the declaration mentioned in an Act of Parliament made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recufants," in the presence of our said Governor, his Lieutenant or Deputy, or in the superior court or courts of record in our said island, upon pain of our highest displeasure, and as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. And our will and pleasure further is, that all jurisdictions and authorities whatsoever, which were heretofore carried on and exercised in the name of the Lord of our said Island of Man for the time being, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, and which are now vested in us, our heirs, and successors, by virtue of the said Act of Parliament, shall be henceforth carried on and exercised in the name of us, our heirs, and successors only. And that all writs, precepts, processés, orders, injunctions, and all other forms of law and

justice, and all acts of state and policy, for the due ordering and government of our said island, and the territories and dependencies thereunto belonging, shall be issued and executed in the name, and by the authority of us, our heirs, or successors, or our governor or lieutenant, or deputy governor, for the time being, appointed or to be appointed by us, our heirs and successors, and in no other name, and by no other authority whatsoever. And we do hereby strictly command and enjoin our said governor, and all other our magistrates and officers, within our said island, and the territories and dependencies to the said belonging, to see this our Royal Proclamation duly carried into execution; and to cause the same to be publicly read in all principal towns of the said island, between the of hours eleven in the morning, and two in the afternoon; and printed copies thereof to be affixed in the most public places of the same, and to be distributed to all the Ministers of churches, chapels, and other places of religious worship, within our said island, and the territories and dependencies thereunto belonging.

longing. And we do hereby lastly charge and command all Ministers of churches, chapels, and other places of religious worship aforesaid, publicly to read this our Royal Proclamation therein, on the next Lord's Day after they shall receive the same, during the time of divine service, immediately before the homily or service, upon pain of our highest displeasure.

Given at our court at St. James's, the twenty-first day of June, 1765, in the fifth year of our reign.

God save the King.

A

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ISLE OF MAN.

THE most general division of this isle is in the north and south, each of which has its castle, deemster or judge, and vicar-general, and both are subdivided into seventeen parts or parishes, distinguished by the name of Kirks; and Saints to whom they were in old time dedicated, viz.

Kirk-Christ, of Rushen.

Kirk-Harbery, dedicated to St. Columbus.

Kirk-Melue, dedicated to St. Lopus.

Kirk-Santon.

Kirk-Bradon, which signifies a Salmon in the Manx language.

Kirk-Marcom.

Kirk-

Kirk-Concan, dedicated to St. Conca, mother to St. Patrick.

Kirk-Cannon.

Kirk-Maughald.

Kirk-Christ, of Ayre.

Kirk-Bridge or Briget, a Parsonage.

Kirk-Andrew, the Archdeaconry.

Jorby, or St. Patrick, of Jorby.

Ballough, a Parsonage.

Kirk-Michæl.

Kirk-German.

Kirk-Patrick, of Peel.

Their parishes are again divided into Sheadings, as the people call them, viz. the Sheadings of Kirk-Christ, Rusken, the Middle Sheading, the Sheadings of Garf and Glanfaba, Michæl and Ayre Sheadings, each of which has its coroner, as the parishes have every one a captain and minister, and every fort its constable, having three parishes in every Sheading, but that of Glanfaba, which has but two parishes in it. The island was formerly more populous than it is now. At present there are but four principal towns, viz.

I. Rusken,

I. *Rushen*, the chief town, situate on the north-side of the isle, and from a castle and garrison in it, commonly called by the English, *Castle-town*. It is the usual residence of the governor, and hath a market and fort, but is under no special officers, as a Mayor, Aldermen, &c. as corporations are, but offenders are apprehended and brought to justice by the officers of the fort, or constables, as in all other towns and parishes. The castle is a noble piece of antiquity, said to be built by *Gutred*, the second of their *Orrys's*, grandson of the King of Denmark. At the foot of the castle is a creek, where ships sometimes venture in, not without danger; but about a mile distant is a good harbour, called *Derby-haven*, secured by a fort, built by the late *EARL OF DERBY*. *Pope Gregory IV.* or rather *St. Patrick*, who came into the isle, erected an episcopal see here by the name of *Episcopal Sedorenfis*, and his jurisdiction was extended to all the *Hebrides*; but now it is limited to this island. The Bishop was formerly reckoned a Baron, but never sat in the house of Peers, because he held of a subject,

ject, the EARL of DERBY, and not of the King; yet hath the highest seat in the lower house of convocation.

II. Douglas, situate on the east side of the isle, the most populous town, and the most spacious and best haven in the isle, the mouth of which is secured so well by a fort, that there is not any attempting either the town or harbour from the sea. In times of peace it is much frequented by French and other foreigners, who come hither with bay-salt, wine and brandy, and buy up coarse wool, leather, and salt beef, to carry home; by which means this town is become the richest in the isle, and has a good market.

III. Ramsay, hath also a good haven, defended by a block-house, built by the late Earl.

IV. Peel or Pile, anciently called Holm-town, hath a fort, erected in a small isle, and defended with a strong garrison, which secures the harbour. The castle has a platform round it, well secured with can-

non. In it stands the ancient cathedral, dedicated to St. German, the first Bishop, and repaired by the EARLS of DERBY, as also a ruined church dedicated to St. Patrick, their apostle. Within this circuit is the Lord's house, some ruinous lodgings of the Bishops, and other noble remains of antiquity.

There are some other towns of lesser note, but remarkable for some particulars, as,

Balacuri, on the south side of the isle, where the Bishop generally resides.

Laxy, which has the largest haven of any town in the isle.

This isle is compassed with huge rocks round about.

The air is sharp and cold in winter, and on the south west side it lies open to the chops of the channel, and so is liable to a salt vapour, which sometimes has bad effects, but generally is very wholesome to live

live in, having no damps or venomous vapours arising out of the earth. They have some frost, but short and seldom.

The soil in the north parts is very healthy sandy, and gravelly, and the north-east has a large tract of meadow called Curragh, which was formerly under water, but is now drained and well improved; but in the south there are good meadows and pastures.

All parts of the isle produce store of wheat, barley, rye and oats, of late, since they have learned the art of liming their lands, and manuring them with sea-weeds; and some places have plenty of honey, flax and hemp, and export yearly some fish-oil.

Towards the middle it is mountainous, and the highest hill called Scafell, yields a prospect into England, Scotland and Ireland, in a clear day.

They have cattle of all sorts, but their meat and horses are small and poor, yet will endure a great deal of labour.

Their sheep thrive well, are fat, and well tasted, and their wool is very good, especially that which they call Laughton-wool, which when carefully dressed, makes a cloth near an hair-colour, which is one of the greatest natural rarities of the country.

They have plenty of goats and hogs of the ordinary size, besides a small kind which live wild in the mountains, called Purs, which are admirable meat, and some red deer in the mountains; but they belonged, before the late cession to the government, to the Lord of the isle, the EARL of DERBY, who had lately stocked the Calf, a pleasant isle adjoining, with fallow deer, and made it a beautiful park.

Their hares are fatter here than in any other country, and they want not otters, badgers, or foxes.

Fowls

Fowls also of several kinds are found here, as hawks, which in King Henry the IV.'s time, were in such esteem, that Sir John Stanley, the first KING of MAN, in his patent, was obliged, in lieu of other services, to present that King and his successors, upon the day of their coronation, with a cast of hawks, geese, hens, ducks, falcons, and wild fowl in plenty.

On the south side of the isle is another island, called the Calf of Man, which is stored with a sort of sea-fowl, called Puffins, whose flesh is unpleasant; but being pickled, may vie with anchovies or caviar. They breed in holes like rabbits, and are never to be seen but in the months of June and July, which are their times of sitting.

There is also another kind, called Barnicles, which are a kind of ducks and drakes, said to be bred out of rotten wood, but found upon search, to be produced of eggs as other fowl.

Partridges

Partridges and farkers will not live here, nor any venomous creatures propagate their kind.

Here are many small rills of fresh water, and springs of a pure pleasant taste.

Here is also a pool in the mountainous parts near Kirk-Christ, Rushen, of so vitriolic a quality, that no ducks or geese can live near it, which probably proceeds from the frequent spewings of copper that are discovered on all sides of those mountains.

They have sea-fish in abundance, as salmon, ling, cod, haddock, mackarel, ray, thornback, plaise, but especially herrings, crabs, lobsters, and cockles, but few or no oysters; but what they have are very large.

They have no wood in the isle, nor is there a tree to be seen, though in former times there was great plenty, as appears from Goddard Crowman's hiding 300 men in a wood, and from the church
called

called Kirk-Arbory, which seems to be so called from arbor, a tree, as also from the timber found in their bogs, and especially in the meadows called Carragh; nor have they as yet discovered any sea coal for firing in their soil, only they have plenty imported, and, the poorer sort make use of gorze, heath, ling and broom, and coarse sort of turf, or peat in digging, when they often find oaks lying under ground.

They have some good stone quarries, especially lime-stone, on the sea shore, and the rocks called Mine-hough, give very probable signs of other minerals. They have also lately found iron, lead and copper, and there is a great probability of finding coals.

This island seems to have been peopled from the Hebrides, or western isles of Scotland, and their language is a kind of Scotch and Irish, mingled with Latin, Greek and English.

We have a specimen of the Manx language given us in the Lord's prayer, printed
in

in Bishop Wilson's Enchiridion, and a collection of the Lord's prayer in above a hundred languages, printed in the year 1703.

The peasants are tall in stature, of a dull surly temper, and live in poor huts made up of stones and clay, and thatched with broom.

Their gentry are courteous and affable, and imitate the English in their carriage, apparel, and house-keeping.

The families of gentlemen named Christian and Canel, are of great antiquity, and out of them their deemsters or judges are usual chosen.

It is almost certain, that this island was never in the possession of the Romans, and so retained their original simplicity longer than the rest of Britain.

The original government of this island was a sort of aristocracy; I had almost said theocracy, under the Druids, admirably adopted

adopted to the good of mankind, and so mixed with the Prince and Priest, that religion and the state had but united interest.

All controversies were ended by an amicable composition, and the integrity of their rulers was such, that their awards were instead of laws.

This was the true patriarchal government, to which virtue, not birth, was the best title, and is supposed to have continued here till the end of the 4th century, when, according to Mr. Camden, out of Nenaius, this island was conquered by one Bailey, a Scot, who overturned the antient form of government, and ruled all by his own will, which force, not reason, swayed, till necessity obliged his successors to agree in some rules and laws, which were the foundation of their present constitution.

The laws and statutes of this island are such, as the Lord C. J. Coke saith, that the like are not to be found any where else.

They were governed of old by a *Jus Scriptum*, which was committed to the fidelity of their deemsters, a certain sort of judges chosen every year to decide all controversies, a custom received probably from the Druids.

All possible care is taken for the speedy execution of justice.

The government of this isle hath, ever since its conquest by Bailey, been reputed monarchial, and was governed by Kings of their own, who claimed the whole revenues of the isle; and all the inhabitants were tenants at will to him, but growing weak in power, were made tributaries to the Kings of England, Scotland, or Norway. There names are,

Monnan Mc'Lear, son of the King of Ulster, and brother of Fergus King of Scotland. Him the Manx believe their founder and legislator, and have him in great admiration for his wisdom.

Towards

Towards the end of his reign, St. Patrick in his second voyage to Ireland, landed here.

The names of his immediate successors are lost, till

Brenus reigned, A. D. 594, who was succeeded by

Ferquard, Fiacres, Donald, Gutred, Reginald, Olave, Olain, Allen, Frigall, Goddard, Macon, or Macutus, Syrric. (A. D.)

Goddard, the son of Syrric, reigned 1055

Fingul, son of Goddard, 1056

Goddard, son of Harold, 1066

Lagman, son of Goddard, 1082

Dopnal, son of Tade, 1089

Magnus, King of Norway, 1098

Olave, third son of Goddard, 1102

Goddard, son of Olave, 1144

Reginald, natural son of Goddard, 1187

Olave, the lawful son of Goddard, 1226

Harold, son of Olave, 1237

Reginald II. his brother, 1249

Magnus II. his brother, 1252

Alexander, King of Scots, 1260

William Montacute,	1305
Anthony Beck, Bishop, of Durham,	1306
Pierce Gaveston,	1308
Henry Beaumont,	
Thomas Randolph,	
Alexander, Duke of Albany,	
William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury,	1340
Who sold it to William, Lord Scroop,	1395.

Who forfeiting it by treason, it fell into King Henry the IV.'s hands, who gave it to Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

But he was banished four years after, and being deprived of this isle; it was given to Sir John Stanley, in whose family it has continued through many descents, by the stile and title of LORDS of MAN.

The Duke of Athol, as Lord of Man, was Admiral of the isle, and had an absolute jurisdiction over the people and soil, so that he was immediately landlord of every man's estate (some few Barons only excepted) and reserving his homage to the crown of England, no Prince had a more full and ample authority.

He was sole patron of the bishopric, and all parsonages and vicarages except three, which are in the patronage of the Bishop.

He had power to make and repeal laws by the advice of his deernisters and twenty-four keys, who must have had his approbation, or he would reject them from the assembly.

He had power of holding courts in his own name, might hang and draw, or pardon malefactors, in his own jurisdiction.

All wrecks, royal fishing, &c. were by his regality, with many other prerogatives.

The civil policy of their government was managed by the lieutenant, who was the Duke's immediate representative, and had often been of his family; with other inferior officers.

The lieutenant or governor has a power to call a Tynwald or Parliament, or any other court, which cannot sit without his warrant.

warrant. He swears inquests, is sole chancellor, and hath the sole military power to place or displace officers in garrisons, or otherwise; and whoever opposes him in any place or thing wherein he represents the King, robs him of his horse or arms, beats his servants, or breaks his house, is a traitor. Sometimes there has been a captain-general, but it was only in some extraordinary cases. The other officers for the Duke's service are

A Receiver-general, or Treasurer of the island, who has the charge of the revenue, and pays all the salaries of the civil list, but is accountable to

The Comptroller, who always sits with him both on receipts and payments, and is the auditor of the general accompts.

He sits sole judge in all trials for life in the garrison, keeps the records, and enters the pleas of the several courts, where he is allowed fees.

The

The Water-bailiff, who is in the nature of the Admiral of the island, and sits judge in all maritime affairs. He has the care of the customs, fishing, wrecks, &c.

The Attorney-general, who sits in all courts to plead for the King's profit, as suing for felons, goods, forfeitures, deodands, &c. and is to plead the causes of all widows and orphans, they giving him two-pence for his fee.

All the aforesaid officers act by commission from the King during pleasure, and upon his decease their power of acting expires, in the absence whereof, the sword takes place, and the chief commanding military officer, who is generally stiled major, takes upon him the preservation of the peace of the island, by seizing the castle and forts, preventing all tumults and disorder, and all persons from going off the island to the prejudice of the inhabitants, until the civil power is restored and re-established by new commissions from the succeeding King.

All

All the said officers were esteemed of the household or court, and formerly had their diet in the family, where a constant table was kept for them and their attendants: these officers are all by their places, justices of the peace, and are in all things to act for the King's profit: the King may call them as a council to his assistance when he thinks proper, or occasion requires, either for the service of himself, or the country.

The deemsters, or judges, are the first public magistrates of the state, but were never part of the household or family: they sit as judges in all courts either for life or property: they have always been two, one for each division of the isle; they are stiled in the antient court rolls, *Justiciary Domini Regis*, but whether they have them names from the old word to deem, judge, or determine, or to doom, sentence, or condemn, I am not informed, nor can take upon me to ascertain, but by the advice of the twenty-four keys, they may in all new and uncommon cases, declare what the law is, in such cases wherein the law is not fully exprest.

By the ancient law of the isle it is provided, that if any person accuse the deemsters of injustice, or mal-administration, he forfeits life and limb: the summons or process used by them is the same with the governor, viz. a slate stone with one or two letters of their name made upon it, and to counterfeit or misapply this process, is as highly penal in their law as the counterfeiting the Lord Chief Justices' Warrant is with us.

After the deemsters, the twenty-four keys are the representatives of the country, and in some cases serve as the grand inquest of the isle: they are the last traverse in all cases of common law, are present at all trials for life, and in conjunction with the governor and officers of the household aforesaid, make the legislative power of that little nation.

The next officers are the coroners of each sheading or division, who act in the nature of sheriffs, and are subordinate to the twenty-four keys.

Every parish hath likewise an officer called a moar, which is the Lord's bailiff, and each

of them have a subordinate officer not worth our notice.

The courts of judicature are usually twice in the year, viz. about May and Michaelmas, the first are called sheading courts, and in the nature of our hundred courts, or courts leet and baron; these are held for the King's profit, and relate to all breaches of the peace, and all presentments are here made upon any violation of their laws or public orders.

Immediately after these, are held the common law courts, where all actions relating to mens properties are tried. These courts were formerly held in every sheading distinctly, but now have proper places appointed for the holding of them, with all due regard to the ease and benefit of the people.

Next after these follows the grand court or general goal delivery, in which are managed all trials for life; and perhaps there is no place in the universe where men have
a fairer

a fairer trial, nor where the taking away life is more tenderly regarded.

In this court the governor presides, assisted by the King's officers, with the bishop and his clergy.

The deernsters sit as judges with the twenty-four keys, to advise with in case any new matter arises; the criminal must be first found guilty of the crime he stands charged with by the grand inquest, and if the case be treason or murder, the witnesses have a very particular and solemn oath administered to them, viz. The clerk who administers the oath opens the book of the gospel, and the witness or evidence lays his right hand open upon it, then the clerk, says to him—

By this book of truth, by all the holy and sacred body of the church, by all the wonderful works and mighty miracles God Almighty wrought in six days and seven nights, in heaven above, and earth beneath, you shall speak the truth, and say nothing that is false for love or fear,

favour or affection, consanguinity or affinity, or any other consideration whatsoever; so may you be helped by the son of GOD, and by the contents of this book whereon your hand now lies; then the witness kisses the book.

After this, a peculiar jury of four out of every parish in the island is impaneled, and the prisoner may make his exception against fifty-six and no more, and if his case be felony only, and he suspects it will go hard with him, he may put himself to the King's mercy, and so evade the trial and sentence by the court, and the King by their law, as well as by his prerogative, grants him his grace in such manner as he thinks proper.

But if he stands his trial for life, when the jury come into court, and before they deliver their verdict, the deemsters ask them, whether the bald pates (the clergy) may sit, and if the foreman answer no, then the bishop and clergy withdraw (as not proper for them to sit or pass sentence in cases of blood) and then the verdict is delivered; and the criminal
found

found guilty, and executed as the court directs, or if acquitted, discharged.

There is likewise another court, called the Debet court, in which all fines are set; and there is also an exchequer court which is held as often as the governor pleases, or occasion requires; and there is also a court of chancery, which anciently was held weekly, but at present is kept monthly, wherein the governor sits sole chancellor, and may call the King's council and the deemsters to advise with, as he sees proper.

All actions brought in chancery are entered in the comptroller's office, of which the plaintiff presents the governor a copy, who grants his token upon it to summons the defendant, who may refuse appearance for three court days, but on the fourth he is brought in by a soldier, and the matter heard, and determined; so speedy is the justice of this little government that it may challenge the world.

The

The religion professed in this isle is exactly the same with the Church of England; but they have not the Bible in their own language; the ministers turn the English translation into the Manx language in reading the lessons.

The Manxmen are very respectful to their clergy, and pay their tithes without the least grudging.

The clergy are generally natives, who have had their education in the isle. They are sober and learned, and are allowed a competent maintenance of 50 or 60*l.* a year.

The people are so strictly conformable, that in uniformity they outdo any other branch of the reformed church.

There were anciently in this isle, three monasteries, viz. 1. The monastery of St. Mary, of Rushen, in Castletown, which was the chief, and the burying-place of the Kings of Man.

It was a goodly fabric, as appears by the ruins. It consisted of an Abbot and twelve Monks, who had good revenues. The chapel was the largest place of GOD's worship in the island except the cathedral.

It was a daughter of Furness Abbey, as were some other monasteries in this isle. The Abbots of it were Barons, held courts for their temporalities, and tried their own tenants.

2. Douglas, a priory for nuns. This house is said to be built by St. Bridget, and the Prioress was a Baroness of the island. It is the most pleasantly situated in the isle.

3. At Brinnaken, an house of the friars minors, a small plantation of the cistercian order.

The Abbots also of St. Bees, of Whittern, in Galloway, and Banchor, in Ireland, were Barons of Man, because they held lands in this island, upon condition of attending upon the Kings and Lords of it when required.

Having

Having now with some pains and perplexity of thought, attended and brought my reader through the obscure and intricate history, constitution, civil government, and antiquities of the little kingdom of MONA, and corrected and amended what I have judged error or mistake in former writers on that subject.

What remains before I conclude, but that I give the world the ecclesiastic history of this kingdom, from its first conversion to christianity, with the growth, state, and government of the church; its bishops, pastors and overseers, from the earliest date, and the most approved authorities I have been able to collect from the various writers and histories of those ages.

The first mention I meet with of christianity's appearance in the Isle of Man, is in Capgrave's Life of Joseph of Arimathea, wherein he tells us of one Mor-daius, a King of that isle, being converted to christianity, about the year of Salvation 63, who had his residence in a city called

called Sodor; if this story be true (which I much doubt as hereafter) Christianity had an early plantation in this island, but it is a matter of wonder to me, that this conversion of the King should not have had a more general influence over the people, for in all the authors I have met with, I find no mention of Christianity in this part for the world of near 400 years after this story, except in another such like account, by Hector Boetius, who relates that one Amphibalus was bishop here about the time aforesaid; but as this is rejected by most men of learning, (except Arch-bishop Spotwood) I shall with deference consider him, so far as to give you his relation from his own words, book 1st. fol. 3d. and then make my remarks thereon.

In which book he acquaints us, that one Cratilinth coming to the crown in the year 277, made it one of his first works to purge the kingdom of heathenish superstition, and expel the Druids, a sort of priests held in those days in great reputation; their manner was, to celebrate

their sacrifices and other rites in groves, with leaves and branches of oak. And from thence, saith Pliny, they were called Druids, which doth signify an Oak.

Cæsar in his commentaries, gives us this further account of them, that besides the managing of sacrifices, which were committed to them, they were entrusted with the decision of controversies, public and private; and that such as would not stand to their judgment were interdicted from being present at their sacrifices and holy rites, which was taken for a grievous punishment in those days.

It is likewise testified of them, that they were well learned in natural philosophy, men of moral conversation, and religious, not so ignorant and superstitious as other heathen priests, for they thought there was one only God, and that it was not lawful to represent him by any image: that the souls of men did not perish with their bodies, and that after death men were rewarded according to the life they had led upon earth. They lived likewise in great respect with all
all

all people, and ruled their affairs with great prudence and policy; for being governed by a president, who kept his residence in the Isle of Man, they once every year met in that place to take council together for the better ordering of their affairs, and conducted matters with so much discretion, that the said King Cratilinth, found it difficult to expel them, because of the favour they had amongst the people.

But that which contributed greatly to the propagation of the gospel in this isle, was the persecution raised by Dioclesian, which at that time prevailed very greatly in the south part of Britain, and brought many christians, both preachers and professors, into the kingdom of Man, who were all kindly received by King Cratilinth, and had assigned them by him, lands and revenues sufficient for their maintenance.

In this isle, King Cratilinth erected a stately church to the honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all necessary ornaments,

naments, and called it, *Sodorensæ Fanum*, that is, the Temple of our Saviour; hence it is (says the above story) that the Bishops of Man, are called *Sodorenses Episcopy*.

So long as this isle remained in the possession of the Scots, the bishops of the isles made that church their cathedral, but since their dispossession, the Isle of Jona, hath been the seat of the bishops of the isles, and continues so to this day. In this isle, Amphibalus (above mentioned) is said to have sat first bishop, a Britain born, and a man of excellent piety: he lived long, preaching carefully the doctrine of Christ, both among the Scots and Picts, and after many labours taken in promoting the christian religion, died peaceably in the said isles. Thus far the learned and good Bishop Spotwood.

There are so many improbabilities in this and the story before it, that I cannot omit to observe some of them. First, Hector Boetius says, Amphibalus fled from the persecution of Dioclesian, in South Britain, in the year 280. Whereas Diocle-
sian

fian did not obtain the empire till the year 286, neither did the tenth persecution arise till the year 302; and Gildas, and Polydore Virgil say expressly, that both St. Alban and Amphibalus suffered martyrdom in the year 305, and the general stream of all British writers concur in this martyrdom, neither do any of the Scotch writers mention Amphibalus, in the life of Cratilinth, before Hector Boetius, and his followers.

And it is, in my judgment, almost impossible to conceive, that the Manx nation should not have preserved so considerable a blessing as the first conversion to Christianity; besides, all their traditions are directly against it, and Matthew Paris affirms, that the body of Amphibalus, was found at Radburn, near St. Albans, in the year 1178, and many other marks of his martyrdom at Radburn, strongly conclude he died for his religion in England, and never fled to the Isle of Man to erect a bishopric, and *Fanum Sodorensis*; besides, it must appear something wonderful and surprizing, that no memory of

of Christianity, nor ruin of any such church should be found, or so much as mention made of them at the time of St. Patrick's landing there, which is enough to shew there is nothing of truth or certainty in the abovesaid story.

Next to these accounts already taken notice of, Mr. Cambden, my Lord Cook, and Doctor Heylin, all affirm, that the bishopric in the Isle of Man, was erected by Pope Gregory IV. anno 840, in an island near Castletown, whereas the bishopric is sufficiently proved, by the great Primate of Armagh, to be erected by St. Patrick, about the year 447, as hereafter, and the place itself shews there is no such island near Castletown.

And herewith all the ecclesiastical writers of any credit in those ages agree, that St. Patrick (alias Patricius) was the first that planted the Christian Religion in the Isle of Man, and since their ancient, authentic, and national tradition concurs therewith, I cannot but allow him to be truly

truly the apostle of the Manx nation, as well as for the reason following.

First, If I remember my reading, I have met with it in the curious Essays of the great and learned Lord Montaigne, who lived about the time of Pope Gregory IV. or not long after. This Pope was said to be a person of great learning, piety, and virtue, and a zealous promoter of the Christian Faith, by which he obtained the epithet of Great; who walking on a time through the market-place of Rome, espied a number of beautiful captive children sitting there to be sold, which induced his compassion as well as curiosity to go up to them, and enquire of those that sold them what country they were of, and being told they were Britons, he then asked if they were Christians, and was answered no. Upon which he said, it was great pity that such angelical faces should not be made Christians.

In consequence whereof, he soon after sent St. Patrick, with twenty more assistants, to preach the gospel, and convert to
Christianity

Christianity the people of Scotland and Ireland; for it does not appear he came into Ireland till the year 441, and Austin the Monk had been sent into England before him by the same pope.

St. Patrick with his company, having landed in North Britain, met with great success in their mission; upon which St. Patrick, leaving St. Andrew and other learned preachers to pursue the great work of propagating Christianity there, passed over to Ireland, where he found the harvest great, but the labourers too few; whereupon he returned to North Britain in the year 444; and collecting together some of his former assistants, with some new converts of learned and religious persons, to the number of thirty, he came with them through the North of England, to take shipping at Liverpool, for the south of Ireland, and on his approach near that town, the people came out to receive him, and erected a cross in honour and memory thereof, and called it by his name, which it bears to this day.

St.

St. Patrick and his company having rested and refreshed themselves a while at Liverpool, took shipping for Dublin, but in his passage put into the Isle of Man, where he found the people, especially the rulers, given to magic; but being overcome and convinced by his preaching and miracles, they were either converted or expelled the island.

St. Patrick and his company going for Ireland, anno 447, left one Germanus, a holy, and prudent man (*adregendum & erudiendum populum in fide Christi*, says Jocelinus) which for the honour of the Mank's nation, was sixty-nine years anterior than Bangor, in Wales, which was the first bishopric we read of among the Britains, and 114 years before Austin the Monk introduced the Liturgy of the Lateran, and thereby so absolutely settled the business of religion, that the island never afterwards relapsed.

Germanus died before St. Patrick, who sent two bishops to supply his place, Conindrius and Romulus, of whom we have little memorable, but that one or both of

them survived St. Patrick, to the year 494, being five years, when one St. Maughold was elected bishop by the universal suffrage of the Manks nation; but by whom consecrated is very uncertain, as also his successors for some ages, which I shall studiously omit, and only acquaint my reader that one St. Columbus is acknowledged by all writers to be the founder of the abbey of Hye, in the Island of Jona, which monastery was the cathedral of the bishops of the Isles, who were from that time stiled (*Episcopus Sodorensis*) from a village called Sodor, adjoining to the said monastery.

But after the Isle of Man was made the seat of the Norwegian race, the bishoprics were united, with the title of Sodor and Man, and so continued, till conquered by the English, since which the bishop of Man keeps his claim, and the Scotch bishop stiles himself Bishop of the Isles, anciently, *Episcopus Insularum Soderensium*.

I could here enlarge pretty much on the succession of the bishops of this isle, from the time of St. Maughold, yet as
it

it is not certainly known who they were, or in what order they sat, I shall purposely omit them, and content myself with giving you a list of their succession from the time of Goddard Crowman, the first King I have before taken notice of, and so conclude my history of Man both civil and ecclesiastical, and with the greatest certainty that I have been able to collect from the best writers on this subject.

Joseph
Gates

THE
SUCCESSION
OF THE
BISHOPS OF MAN.

HOW long St. Maughold sat bishop we do not find, only Dr. Heylin says, he was bishop anno 578, of which we have no other certainty, nor of a successor till the year 600.

Whose name was Coranus, tutor to the three sons of Eugenius, the fourth King of Scotland (as Bishop Spotswood informs us) after him the succession appears wholly broken till the eleventh century, yet during this long vacancy many errors arose, and many mistakes were advanced concerning it, which most of our English writers have fallen into without any good ground in history, save that the bishopric of the isles, had

had its beginning about that time, viz. in the year 840.

In a very ancient manuscript by the Reverend Mr. Henry Jones, nephew to the right Rev. Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, we meet with an exact succession for above 200 years, which in the opinion of the learned, was extracted from the roll of the ancient abbey of Rushen, in the Isle of Man,

This manuscript by way of introduction informs us, that though they had a traditional succession of bishops from the time of St. Maughold, yet they were not certainly known, therefore it was thought proper to omit them, and begin from the time of King Goddard Crowman, as before proposed.

In whose reign we meet with one Hamundus, by some written Vermundus, bishop of Man, and probably was the first bishop stiled of Sodor and Man. He was the son of Jole, a Manxman. Matthew Paris says he died in the year 1151.

It is not certain by whom he was consecrated, nor his successor, who was one

Gamaliel, an Englishman, who lies buried at Peterborough, in Northamptonshire; and was succeeded by Reginald, a Norwegian; to him the thirds of all the livings in the island were granted by the clergy, that from thence-forward they might be freed from all episcopal exactions. It is probable that he was the first bishop that was consecrated by the archbishop of Drontheim, in Norway. His successor was one Christian, a native of the isle, who lies buried in the monastery of Banchor, in Ireland; to him succeeded,

Michael, a Manxman, a person of great merit and exemplary life. He died in a good old age, and was honourably buried (*apud Fontanus*) in the year 1203. To him succeeded,

Nicholas de Melfa, Abbot of Furness, he lies buried in the abbey of Bangor.

After

After him Reginald, a person of royal extraction, sifter's son to good King Olave, was consecrated bishop in the year 1216; who though he laboured under great infirmities of body, yet governed his church with prudence and resolution; at last, with an exemplary resignation, he yielded up his soul into the hands of his Creator. He lies buried in the abbey of Rushen. And was succeeded by

John, the son of Hefare, who by the negligence of his servants was burnt, (*apud Ferevas*) in Anglia. After him one

Simond, a person of great discretion and learned in the Holy Scriptures, governed the church with prudence and piety. He held a synod in the year 1239, in which thirteen canons were excepted, most of them relating to the probate of wills, the clergy's dues, and other inferior matters. He died at his palace of Kirk Michæl in a good old age, and lies buried in the cathedral dedicated to St. German in Peel Castle. After him
Lawrence,

Lawrence, the Archdeacon beforementioned, was elected bishop, and after great disputes, consecrated by the archbishop of Drontheim, but was unfortunately drowned with Harold King of Man, his Queen, and all the nobility of the isles; so that the bishopric continued vacant almost six years.

When Richard, an Englishman was consecrated at Rome by the archbishop of Drontheim. This bishop consecrated the abbey Church of St. Mary, of Rushen, anno 1257, after he had governed the Church twenty-three years, and returning from a general council, anno 1274, he died. *Apud Langallyner* in Copelandia, and lieth buried in the Abbey of Furness. In his time the Scotch conquered the island. He was succeeded by

Marus Galvadiensis, commonly written Galloredinus, at the nomination of Alexander, King of Scotland; for which reason it is supposed he was banished by the Manxmen. During his absence, the island lay under an interdict, but at last being recalled, he laid a smoke penny upon every house by way of commutation. He held a synod at
Kirk-

Braddan, in which thirty-five canons were enacted. He lived to a great age, and was for many years blind, and lies buried in St. German's church, in Peel-castle, and was succeeded by

Mauritius, who was sent prisoner to London by King Edward I. therefore supposed never to be consecrated nor put into the catalogue of bishops. In his room was substituted

Allen, of Galloway, who governed the church with great honour and integrity. He died the 15th of February anno 1321, and lies at Rotherfay, in Scotland. To him succeeded

Gilbert, of Galloway, who sat but two years and a half, and lies buried near his predecessor, in the church of Rotherfay aforesaid. And after him

Bernard, a Scotchman, held the bishopric three years, and lies buried in the monastery of Kilwining, in Scotland, and was succeeded by

Thomas, a Scot, who sat bishop fourteen years; he was the first that exacted twenty shillings of his clergy by way of procuration, as likewise the tenths of all aliens. He died the 20th of Sept. 1348, the same year.

William Ruffel, Abbot of Rushen, was elected by the whole clergy of Man, in St. German's church, in Peel-castle. He was consecrated by Pope Clement VI. at Avignon, and was the first that shook off the yoke of the Archbishop of Drontheim, by whom his predecessors had for many ages been consecrated. He held a synod anno 1350, in Kirk Michael, in which five articles were added to the former canons. He died the 21st of April, 1374, and was buried in the Abbey of Furness; he was Abbot of Rushen eighteen years, and bishop twenty-six years. And after him

John Duncan, a Manxman, was elected by the clergy of Man, and going to Avignon was confirmed by Pope Gregory XI. and consecrated *per Cardinalem Præfictum, dudum Archiepiscopum*; in his return home he was made prisoner at Bolonia, in Picardy,

cardy, and lay in irons two years, and at last was forced to ransom himself for 500 marks; so that he was not installed till the year 1376, in which Mr. Jones' account determines he was succeeded (as Dr. Heylin in his help to English history informs us) by

Robert Welby, anno 1396, who it is believed sat twenty-two years, and had for his successor

John Sperton, who is the first bishop mentioned in the Manx records; after him we find no bishop named till the year 1503, in which

Evan or Huan, who was elected by Sir Thomas Stanley, then governor, and afterwards Lord, from whence may be observed the clergy's election of their bishops ceased, and became fixed in the House of Stanley, where it remained till the island being purchased by the government, the King of England is become perpetual nominator. This Evan was succeeded by

Hugh Hesketh, as appears by the roll of the family of Rufford, viz. Hugh Hesketh, third son to Robert, Esquire, a Rev. Father in God, the bishop of the Isle of Man; and *hic jacet* Robertus Hesketh, Armiger, *qui obit primo Die* Jan. A. D. 1490. He was succeeded by

Robert Ferrier, who sat bishop anno 1554, says Sir Richard Baker. He was afterwards removed to St. David's (says Grafton) and was succeeded by

Henry Man, anno 1555, who died 1556, (says Dr. Heylin) and was succeeded by Bishop Salisbury, the year uncertain; whose successor was

Thomas Stanley, son to Sir Edward Stanley, first Lord Monteagle, how long he sat is uncertain, but it appears by record, John Merrick was sworn Bishop of the Isles, anno 1577. It was he who gave Mr. Cambden the history of the Isle of Man, published in his Britannia. He was succeeded by

George

George Lloyd, anno 1600, who was afterwards removed to Chester. And had for his successor

Bishop Foster, as Dr. Heylin in his help to English history informs us. And was succeeded by

Dr. John Phillips anno 1605, a native of North Wales, who was sworn bishop the same year. He translated the Common Prayer (at this time to be seen) into the language of the natives; and Mr. Chalonner says, the Bible, though not now extant. A man famous in his generation for his great pains in preaching, his charity and hospitality, even to the meanest of the people. He was succeeded by

Dr. Richard Parr, anno 1635, a Lancashire man, sometime fellow of Brazen-Nose College in Oxford; who whilst he continued in the university (says Mr. Chalonner of his own knowledge) was an eminent preacher. He was the last who sat bishop before our late unhappy civil wars, Next to him

Samuel Rutter was sworn bishop anno 1651. He had been archdeacon several years, and governed the church with great prudence, during the late wars; he was a man of exemplary goodness and moderation, and sat as bishop till the year 1663, to whose assistance I am greatly obliged for his collections and memoirs made use of in my present history of the noble House of Stanley, but especially in that ever memorable siege of LATHAM; in the defence of which he had a large share. After him

Dr. Isaac Barrow was consecrated bishop anno 1663, and sent over governor by Charles, EARL of DERBY. He was a man of a public spirit, and great designs for the church; to whose industry is greatly owing all the learning amongst the clergy of Man, and to whose prudence and charity many of the poor clergy were greatly indebted. This good man to the great loss of the island was removed to St. Asaph. And was succeeded by

Dr.

Dr. Henry Bridgeman, anno 1671. And after him

Dr. John Lake, anno 1682, afterwards removed to Bristol. And next to him

Dr. Baptist Levinz, anno 1684, who died 1693. And was succeeded by the

years
Reverend Dr. Thomas Wilson, who dying in 1755, the Rev. Dr. Mark Hildesley, succeeded.

Dr. Claudius Crigan, is the present bishop.

The Church of Man is governed under a bishop by an archdeacon, two vicars-general, and sixteen ministers.

The militia under the governors, by three majors and eighteen captains of parishes, the towns by the four constables, and the civil constitution by two deemsters, six coroners, seventeen moars or bailiffs, with several inferior officers under them.

The bishops of Man, besides their spiritual jurisdiction,

jurisdiction, are barons of this isle. In all trials for life they may assist in the temporal court till the sentence. They hold courts in their own names for their temporalities. If any of their tenants are tried for life they may demand them from the King's court, and try them by a jury of their own tenants, and, in case of conviction, the lands they hold are forfeited to the bishop.

The arms of the bishopric are upon three assents, the VIRGIN MARY, standing with her arms extended between two pillars, on the dexter of which is a church in base, the ancient arms of Man.

The archdeacon is the second spiritual magistrate; he has in all inferior cases alternate jurisdiction with the bishop; and many other privileges, as well in temporals as spirituals: he holds his court either in person or by his official, as the bishop does his by his vicars-general, which are always two, one for each division of the isle, and are in the nature of chancellors to the bishop; these, with the registers, compose the consistory court, and have under their jurisdiction, seventeen parishes. There

There were formerly many chapels in the isle, and there are now in each town one standing, as also one in the centre of the land dedicated to St. John, near which, on a little hill, they hold their tynwald court, or public assembly, at which their laws are promulged on every midsummer day. It is raised with several ascents for the different orders of people, and is indeed a pretty curiosity.

But above all, the abbeys seem to have exceeded the ability of the country, among which the abbey of St. Mary of Rushen was the chief; it consisted of twelve monks and an abbot, who at first were meanly endowed, and lived mostly by their labour, but in process of time they had good revenues.

The buildings are very handsome, the rooms convenient, and the chapel larger than any (the cathedral excepted) in the island. It was called the Daughter of Furness, which is said to be the mother of this and many other abbeys in the island,

In the records thereof is found, that one John Fargher, was abbot of Rushen and de-

puty-governor, and in a piece of timber, in Kirk-arbory, which separates the church from the chancel, one Thomas Radcliffe, was the abbot.

These abbots were barons of the island, held courts for their temporalities in their own names, might demand a prisoner from the King's court, if their own tenant, and try him by a jury of their own tenants, as the steward of the abbey lands may do at this day.

The prioress of Douglas, was a baroness of the island, and enjoyed the same privilege. The priory was said to be built by St. Bridget, when she came to receive the veil of virginity from St. Maughold. The situation of the nunnery is much the pleasantest in the island.

There were likewise the friars-minors of Beemaken, and a small plantation of the cistercian order, Kirk-Christ-lez-Ayre, but neither of these had baronies annexed to them.

There

There were likewise several foreign barons as before-mentioned; but few or none of them appear now, nor have any lands or tenants to represent.

Thus have I given my readers the history, institution and settlement of this little state in all its branches, civil, military and ecclesiastic; with all the subordinate officers necessarily employed therein, by which the people in church and state are to be governed; with an historical account of their Kings and bishops.

To conclude. The Isle of Man is blest with a speedy and impartial distribution of justice: the church is filled with learned and pious divines; and the doctrine, practice, and discipline are strictly conformable to that of the Church of England. And though it be as much short of its learning, as it is of its revenue, yet, without vanity it may be truly said, that in its uniformity it out-does any branch of the reformed churches.

A CATALOGUE OF GOVERNORS OF THIS ISLE,

Since Sir John Stanley's time, till the year 1741;

With the North and South Divisions.

J JOHN Letherland, Lieutenant,	1417
John Fasakerley, Lieut.	1418
John Walton, Lieut.	1422
Henry Byron, Lieut.	1428
Note. I find on record from this time, till the year	1492
Peter Dutton, Lieut.	1496
Henry Radcliff, Abbot of Rushen, deputy	1497
Randolph Rushton, Capt.	1505
Sir John Ireland, Knight, Lieut.	1508
John Ireland, Lieut.	1516
Randolph Rushton, Capt.	1517
Thomas Danisport, Capt.	1519
Richard Hole, Lieut.	1526
John Fleming, Capt.	1529
Thomas Sherburn, Lieut.	1530
Henry Bradley, Deputy-lieut.	1532
Henry Stanley, Capt.	1533
George Stanley, Capt.	1535
Thomas Stanley, Knt. Lieut.	1537
George	

George Stanley, Capt.	1539
Thomas Tyldsley, Deputy	1540
William Stanley, Deputy	1544
Henry Stanley, Capt.	1552
Thomas Stanley, Knt. Lieut.	1562
Richard Afhton, Capt.	1566
Thomas Stanley, Knt. Lieut.	1567
Edward Tarbock, Capt.	1569
John Hanmer, Capt.	1575
Richard Sherburn, Capt.	1580
Cuth. Gerrard, Capt.	} 1592
Thomas Martinier, Deputy	
Note. 1591, Richard Aderton was admitted and sworn Lieutenant under the Captain, by my Lord's directions for martial affairs.	
The Hon. Wm. Stanley, Capt. afterwards	
EARL of DERBY,	1593
Randolph Stanley, Capt.	1594
Sir Tho. Gerrard, Knt. Capt.	} 1596
Cuth. Gerrard Deputy	
Thomas Gerrard, Knt. Capt.	} 1597
Ro. Molyneux, Deputy	
Cuth. Gerrard, Capt.	} 1599
Ro. Molyneux, Deputy	
Rob. Molyneux, Capt.	1600
John Ireland and John Birchal, Go- vernors, jointly by patent from the King.	} 1609
John	

John Ireland, Lieut. and Capt.	1610
Ro. Molyneux, Capt.	1612
Edward Fletcher, Deputy	1621
Edward Fletcher, Governor	1622
Sir Fred. Liege, Knt. and Capt.	1623
Edward Fletcher, Deputy	1625
Edward Holmewood, Capt.	1626
Edward Fletcher, Deputy	1627
Edward Christian, Lieut. and Capt.	1628
Evan Christian, Deputy	1634
Sir Charles Gerrard, Knt. Capt.	1635
John Sharplefs, Deputy	1636
Radcliff Gerrard, Capt.	1639
John Greenhalgh, Governor	1640
Sir Phillip Musgrave, Knt. and Bart.	1651
Samuel Smith, Deputy-governor,	1652
Note. My Lord Fairfax made commissioners for the governing of the isle this year, viz. James Challoner, Robert Dinely, Esq. Jonathan Witton, Clerk.	
Matthew Cadwell, Governor	1653
William Christian, Governor	1656
James Challoner, Governor	1658

After the KING's Restoration.

Roger Nowell, Governor	}	1660
Richard Stevenson, his Deputy		
Henry Nowell, Deputy for one part of the year, and Thomas Stanley for the other part	}	1663
Bishop Barrow, Governor		
Henry Nowell, his Deputy	}	1664
Henry Nowell, Governor		
Henry Stanley, Governor		1677
Robert Heywood, Governor		1678
Roger Kenyon, Esq. Governor		1691
Colonel Sankey, Governor.		
The Hon. Capt. Cranston, Governor.		
Robert Maudesley, Esq. Governor.		
Capt. Alexander Horn, Governor		
Major Floyd, Governor.		
Thomas Horton, Esq. Governor.		
The Hon. Jas. Murray, Esq. Gov.		1741

The North Division.

K. Patrick, and K. German, dedicated to
those saints.

K Michael.

St Mary of Ballaugh, a parsonage.

St.

St Patrick Jurby.

K. Andrew's the Arch-deaconry.

K. Bride, dedicated to St. Bridget, a parsonage.

K. Christ-lez-Ayre.

The South Division.

K. Maughold, dedicated to St. Maughold the third bishop.

K. Lonan, dedicated to Lomanus, said by the tradition to succeed St. Maughold in the bishopric, the son of Tygrida, one of the three holy sisters of St. Patrick, and thought to be the first bishop of Trym in Ireland.

K. Conchan, dedicated to Concha, sister to St. Martin, bishop of Tours, and mother to St. Patrick.

K. Braddan, which signifies a salmon, in the Manks language.

K. Marown, dedicated to that saint.

K. St. Anne.

K. Malew, dedicated to St. Lupus.

K. Arbory, dedicated to St. Columbus.

K. Christ-Rushen.

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