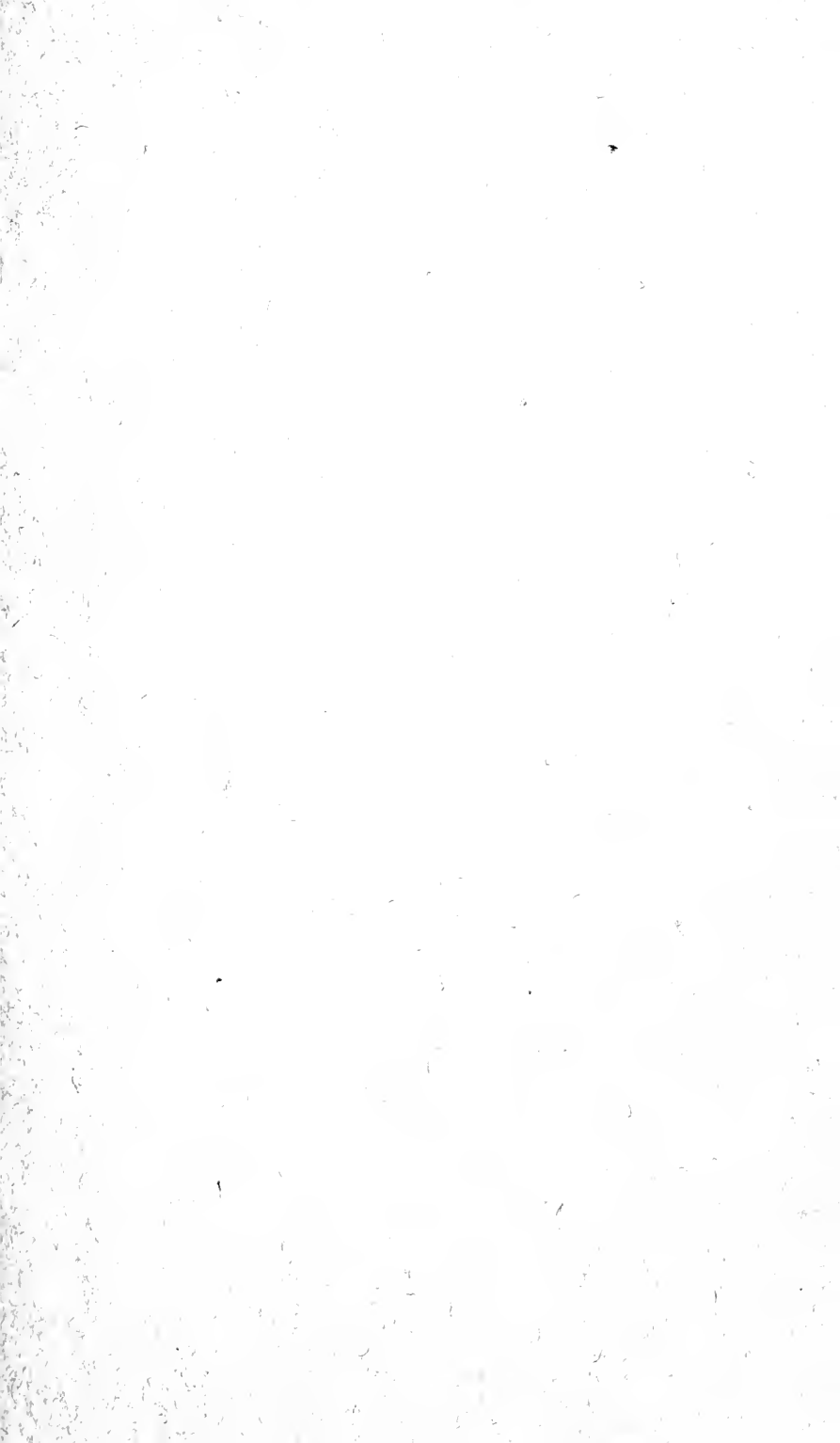


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Sir GEORGE PRETYMIAN TOMLINE *Baz.*
D.D. F.R.S. Lord Bishop of Winchester.
Patron of the Most noble order of the Garter.

THE LIVES
OF THE
Bishops of Winchester,
FROM
BIRINUS,
THE FIRST BISHOP OF THE WEST SAXONS,
TO THE PRESENT TIME.



BY
THE REV. STEPHEN HYDE CASSAN, A.M.
Curate of Mere and West Knoyle, Wilts; Chaplain to the Earl of
Caledon, K. P. Author of the Lives of the Bishops of
Salisbury, and Sermons on various subjects.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.
CONTAINING THE LIVES OF
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS.

LONDON:
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To Him, who has rendered the Episcopal station doubly venerable;—To Him, the polished Scholar—the sound Divine—the steady and uncompromising Patriot—the courteous and condescending, the amiable and unaffectedly, pious Christian Prelate;—To Him, who has most essentially promoted the best interests of true Religion, and conferred on theological Students, the Clergy, and Society in general, a lasting service by his admirable publications, “The Elements of Christian Knowledge,” and “The Refutation of Calvinism,” and thereby transmitted his name with imperishable glory to posterity as an orthodox and fostering FATHER OF THE CHURCH: To Him, who by rearing the towering mind and giving direction to the splendid talents of The Immortal Pitt, and who, by thus mainly contributing to raise Great Britain to its present proud pre-eminence, and to secure its happiness on the principles of an enlightened and rational Polity, has entitled himself, with equal justice, to be hailed as a FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY: To Him, the Right Reverend

SIR GEORGE PRETYMAN TOMLINE, Bart. D.D. F.R.S.

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

PRELATE OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER,

These Memoirs of his predecessors in the See of Winchester, of whom, great as they are, he has, by the happy union of Protestantism in the Church, and Toryism in the State, proved himself “ΤΗΕΙΡΟΧΟΣ ΕΜΜΕΝΑΙ ΑΛΛΕΝ,”

Are inscribed as an humble tribute of respect,

By his Lorship's

Most devoted and faithful Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

Vicarage, Mere, Wilts, July 1827.

178211

Previously to entering at large upon the Lives of the Bishops of Winchester, I shall lay before the Reader the promised re-print of Gale's "History of the Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester," which will both serve as an introduction to the Memoirs of the Prelates, and tend to illustrate several passages of the main work. Although this may be considered as a faithful re-print, it will be found that many, both of Gale's and Lord Clarendon's inaccuracies have been corrected.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

Cathedral Church of Winchester,

Containing all the Inscriptions upon the Tombs and Monuments ; with an account of all the Bishops, Priors, Deans, and Prebendaries ; also, the History and Antiquities of Hyde-Abbey.

BEGUN BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY LATE EARL OF CLARENDON, AND CONTINUED TO THIS TIME BY SAMUEL GALE, GENT.

London: printed for E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street. M.DCC.XV.

PREFACE.

THE following Book owes its present foundation to a small manuscript preserved amongst other papers of the late Henry Earl of Clarendon, bearing this title :—

Some Account of the Tombs and Monuments in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, finished this 17th. day of February, 1683.
By me H. Clarendon.

To which there is now added, a continuation of all the inscriptions in the Church to this time, and the succession of the Bishops, Priors, Deans, and other Dignitaries, from the Registers of this Church, with the History of the Abbey of Hyde, writ by a very learned antiquary.

The work being thus far advanced, I very readily contributed such historical collections as I had by me, relating to the Church of Winton, and which I hope may give some light into the antiquity of the fabric. The Charters belonging to this Church, kept in the Tower of London, being large and numerous, it would have been a tedious undertaking to transcribe them ; therefore I have here given such a methodical catalogue of them, that they may be resorted to with the greatest facility in the Record Office. For these I am obliged to the favour of Mr. G. Holmes, Deputy Record-Keeper of the Tower ; as I am also for the draughts of several of the monuments, &c. to others my very good friends.

I must now take occasion to mention the ancient story of Lucius, the first Christian King of the Britians, his founding and largely endowing the Church of Winton, by his turning a heathen Temple into a Christian Church, and substituting a Bishop and Monks in the room of a Flamen and Pagan Priests, about the year 169, which being a matter of much uncertainty, and to give it the fairest plea, only a tradition, I have omitted, in the subsequent history; rather chusing to pass it over in silence, than to build on so weak a basis. For as to the time of King Lucius's conversion, by the Mission from Elutherius the 12th. Bishop of Rome, at that King's desire, there is no agreement amongst our historians. Venerable Bede placeth it about the year 156, but he writ his history above five hundred years after the time when King Lucius is said to have lived: and Gildas, the most antient of all the British historians, who writ near two hundred years before Bede, (and one would think, should know more of the affairs of his own country than those who in other matters write after him) hath not one word of any such person as Lucius, but on the contrary makes it appear that Christianity was received in this island more early; and even in the reign of the Emperor Nero. Indeed Geffrey of Monmouth, and others after him, make King Lucius to have done so many things, to have founded and endowed so many Churches (besides this of Winton) and with such improbable circumstances, that they render this part of the British History very doubtful and suspicious.

The following passage from the Annals of Winton, I thought more proper to insert here, than in the history.

“Anno 1264, 40. Nonas Maii Wintoniensis contra
 “Prioram & Conventum S. Swithuni insurrexerunt, &
 “portam Prioratus, & portam quæ vocatur Kingate, cum
 “Ecclesia S. Swithuni supra, & universis ædificiis &
 “redditibus Prioris & Conventus prope Murum com-
 “buserunt.”

This accident of the burning the church of St. Swithun, as here described, I think cannot be taken to comprehend the total devastation of the fabric, but only the roof or upper part of timber; for so the word *supra* signifies. And there are several antient monuments entire to this day in and about the east part of the church or choir (the antiquity of which I would vindicate) that were erected

long before the date of this conflagration. Nor do I find the least notice taken of any reparations in this part of the Church, from the time of its foundation in the reign of the Conqueror, till Richard Fox, Bishop of this see, in the reign of King Henry the seventh, beautified and covered the old choir and side aisles, with a fair arch of stone, and other curious workmanship; and where his arms are still to be seen carved in several places. As for the repairing the timber roof that was burned, we may easily suppose that to have been soon done, it being but an inconsiderable business, when compared to the vast works of those times, and not worth mentioning. But to put this matter out of dispute, the above cited annals relate, that in 1268, which is but four years after the fire, Nicholas de Ely, the new Bishop of Winton, was received there, with a solemn procession inthroned, and that *Missam solemniter celebravit*, which I think could not well have been done, had not the roof of the fabric been already repaired; much less if the whole was in ruins; neither can it be supposed, that such a stately fabric could be built from the ground, and finished in so short a time. The building of the north and south cross of the church may very probably have arisen from the reparations made by Godfrey de Lucy, Bishop of this See, a little after the year 1202, or by his next successor, who was a great benefactor.

The copies of Rudborne, and the Annals of Winton, which I have cited, are those published by Mr. Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*.

If the following remarks upon this antient and famous cathedral prove acceptable to the curious, it will be a satisfaction to me, that the leisure time I have thus employed, hath not been altogether mis-spent.

S. G[ALE].

London, Sept. 8, 1715.

THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, &c.

Whoever retains a due veneration for sacred antiquity, or desires to honour the memory of our renowned ancestors; may yet trace out their magnificence, their love to their country, their immense charity, their piety, and devotion, in those stupendous and no less beautiful structures, which they erected and dedicated to the service of God and religion, in which no nation exceeds us. And which neither various revolutions, nor wars, nor time itself (ever injurious to monuments) has yet been able to demolish, but they still remain to us, rather to be admired than possibly imitated. And whether we consider their architecture, or their number, it is to be lamented, that in so copious a subject, so few writers have been employed, that to this day many of our cathedral churches have lain in such obscurity, as to have had no particular notice taken of them, and should this incurious humour prevail, posterity might justly deplore our negligence and the want of those antiquities we so slightly esteem. Much time has been already lost, and their beauty extremely diminished, as well as numberless records of their foundation and endowments, perished beyond retrieve, both by the Reformation, and the unhappy civil wars. And if timely care is not taken, the remains both of one and the other, may undergo the same fate. Amongst all the sacred temples of our country, the Cathedral Church of Winchester presents itself with a most surprizing grandeur. It rises with such a venerable aspect that one no sooner sees it, but he is struck with a religious awe.

But before I come to treat particularly of this Church, it may not be amiss to give two or three remarks concerning the city of Winchester, where our church to this day flourisheth. This city is undoubtedly one of the most antient in Britain. *Ptolemy mentions it by the name of *Ουεντρα*, *Venta*. The Romans while they

* Geogra. lib. ii. cap. III

governed here, more distinctly *Venta Belgarum*, as appears by the Itinerary, and that this was one of their stations (probably a city) the Roman coins and ruins of baths, discovered not long since in repairing the castle, do sufficiently evince.

Upon the decay of the Roman empire in Britain, the Saxons took possession of it, and made it the royal seat of the West Saxon Kings, and called it *Wintanceayter*; which names are easily derived from the British *Caer-Gwent*, i. e. *White City*, it being situated in a white chalky soil. The learned Camden has so accurately described this city, that I shall only further mention that it is honoured with a royal palace, begun by King Charles the II. of a regular architecture, consisting of a magnificent front, with pavilions in brick, adorned with columns of the Corinthian order. Which by its situation on a †very high hill, and the ruins of the old castle, enjoys a fine air, and a glorious prospect over the city, and adjacent country. May we not hope, his Majesty King George, will finish this house, and make it again the royal residence of the Saxon Kings.

Descending from the palace, I now revisit the church, in order to take a nearer view of it.

As to its origin, our historians agree, that Christianity flourished here in the time of the Romans, and that there were several churches and monasteries erected to the honour and service of God by the British converts who lived under them. Accordingly we find mention of a college of monks at Winton, from whence Constantine was taken, and declared Emperor by his father Constantine, who merely from the hopes of his name, was saluted Emperor, and successfully opposed Honorius, A. C. 408. And 'tis not improbable, that those vast *ruins of old walls, in which are several windows still to be seen at the west end of the cathedral, are the remains of this very college. How long this monastery and church might have continued in splendour, under the Christian Britains, is impossible to determine, but I look upon it to be a right conjecture, that it was reduced

† Antonini. Itiner T. G. p. 104.

* Burton's Comment. on Antonin. Itinerary, p. 221, and Camden's Brit. in Wint.

to its fatal catastrophe by Cerdic, the first Pagan King of the West Saxons, who arrived in Britain, A. C. * 495: who after several battles fought with the Britains in these parts, in which they were overthrown and vanquished, † began his reign A. C. 519: at which time he either slew or expelled all the Monks at Winchester, and set up his own idolatrous worship.

The church of Winchester being thus miserably eclipsed by Pagan darkness, continued in that state during the reign of Cerdic, and his four successors, Cynric his son, Ceawlin, Ceol, and Ceolwulf, till the time of King Kynegils who began his reign A. C. 611, and was at length converted to the Christian faith, by the preaching of the holy Birinus, by whom he was baptized, and Oswald King of the Northumbrians being present, was ‡ godfather to the King, A. C. 635. After this King Kynegils gave to Birinus the city of Dorchester, for his episcopal see, King Oswald confirming the donation. This was done by the King for the present, he intending to found the principal church in the royal city of Winchester, and to that end had prepared all materials for the fabric, § and gave all the land within seven miles round that city, to the maintenance of its ministers.

¶ But the King was not able to perform his religious design, being seized by a fatal sickness. He however called his son to him, and made him swear before Birinus, that he would build a church fit for an episcopal See, and offer to God, and confirm for ever, the land he had measured out and allotted to the support of the said church.

** Cenwalch succeeding him in the kingdom, A. C. 643, commanded a noble church to be builded, and gave and confirmed to it, all the land which his father had before vowed to bestow upon it. This sacred structure was finished six years afterward, and dedicated to St,

* Chron. Sax. Gibs, p. 25.

† Tho. Rudborne Hist. Maj. Wint. lib. II. c. 1.

‡ Bedæ Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 7.

§ R. Higd. Polyc.

¶ Annal. Eccl. Wint, p. 228.

** Chro. Sax. p. 31.

Peter, says the Saxon Chronicle. But *Rudborne, the Monk of Winton, to the Holy Trinity, by Birinus the Bishop and Apostle of the West Saxons. The King gave the new See to Wina, after the departure of Agilbert, successor of Birinus, having removed it from Dorchester, A. C. 660.

And as a farther mark of his royal affection †as his own proper gift, added three manors to the Church of Winton, viz. Duntun, Alresford, and Worthy. King Cenwalch‡ died A. C. 672, and was honourably interred, in the church he had finished. There is very little mention in our historians concerning the fabric, from this period, till the Norman conquest, but all agree it continued in a flourishing condition; being enriched and endowed by the Saxon and Danish Kings, and other Princes, with rich presents and large donation of lands. Amongst others Queen Emma, in gratitude for her delivery from the fiery trial of the nine burning ploughshares, by which her innocence was vindicated, as to her crime with Bishop Alwyn,§ gave nine manors, viz. Brandesbury, Bergefield, Fyffhyde, Hoghtone, Mychelmershe, Joyngeho, Wycombe, Weregravys, and Halynge. Bishop Alwyn also at the same time gave nine manors more, viz. Stoneham, Estmeone, Westmeone, Hentone, Wyneye, Yelynge, Mylbroke, Polhamptone, and Hodyngtone. And King Edward three, viz. Portlond, Wyhelewelle, and Waymuthe. This, as our Chronicles relate, happened about the year 1043. The present church which was built at several times, had its foundation laid in the reign of William the Conqueror, by Walkelyn, Bishop of Winton¶, a Norman and the King's relation, A. C. 1079. The work was carried on with so much application, that we find the monks, in the presence of almost all the Bishops and Abbots of England, came in great joy and triumph from the old monastery to the new one, A. C. 1093, and at the feast of St. Swithun, the shrine of that saint was in solemn procession, translated from the old to the new church, and there with much devotion placed. The next day Bishop Walkelyn's men

* Hist. Maj. P. 190.

† Annales Eccl. Wint. p. 232.

‡ Chro. Sax.

§ Tho. Rud. Hist. Maj. p. 235.

¶ Annal. Wiut.

began to demolish the old monastery, which was all pulled down that year, excepting one porch, and the great tower in the middle of the church, are doubtless the work of Bishop Walkelyn, for thus Rudborne, speaking of this great Prelate, says, *Fieri fecit Turrim Ecclesie Wintoniensis, ut modo ceruitur*. And in the choir we see to this day the tomb of William Rufus, who was slain in the New Forest, A. C. 1100, and interred here before the high altar; but two years after the death of Bishop Walkelyn, which was A. C. 1098, he having continued Bishop nineteen years since his laying the foundation of this church, and from his election twenty-seven. The work of the fabric was promoted by several Bishops his successors. In the year *1200, I find mentioned also, a tower of the church of Winton, said to be then began and finished during the pontifical of Godfrey de Lucy, and that the same Bishop, A. C. 1202, instituted a confraternity to collect alms, for five years and no longer, towards the repair of the church. The next Bishop who appears to have done any thing to the church, by his benefactions, is William de Edyndon, ordained A. C. 1345, being then †treasurer, and twelve years after made ‡chancellor of England. §He began the nave of the church, but living not to finish it, he commanded by his last will, that part of the money arising from his goods, should be applied to the perfecting of that work, and the maintenance of a chantry by him founded at Edyndon. The rest he left to several religious houses, and his servants. He died 7th. October, 1366, and lies interred under a magnificent tomb on the south side of the nave, near the entrance into the choir, on which we have this monkish epitaph.

Edindon natus Willmus hic est tumulatus, &c.¶

The next Bishop that succeeded was William Wickham, [Wykeham] at that time keeper of the privy seal to King Edward III. being unanimously chosen by the Prior and Convent of Winton** A. C. 1369. To the liberality

* Annal. Wint. Ecc. p. 304 and 305.

† Rot. Pat. 18 Ed. 3. pt. m. 22. Will. de Edington constitutus Thesaurar. 10 April 1345.

‡ Claus. in dorso memb. 4. Will. de Edington, Winton Episcopus, constitutus Cancellarius, habuit magnum Sigillum sibi traditum, 19 Feb. 1357.

§ Cont. Hist. Wint. p. 317.

¶ See hereafter.

** Hist. Univ. Oxon. Wood. p. 121.

and munificence of this great prelate we owe the building and finishing of the nave, and the west front of the Cathedral, where his statue is placed in a niche, standing above the great window, on the height of the Church; the whole work being by him completed about the year 1394. The many honours and preferments that King Edward conferred upon this great and good man, are plain indications of the high esteem he had of his excellent parts, industry, and fidelity. The first employment which he executed under the King was that of surveyor of Dover, Windsor, and Hadley Castles, and several of his Manors; and to his direction was the building of Windsor Castle committed. In the year 1361, he went into holy orders by the King's command, and was soon after made Rector of St. Martin in the Fields, and Dean of St. Martin le Grand in London, and Arch-deacon of Lincoln, Northampton, and Buckingham. He was also Dean of Wells, and had twelve Prebends in several Churches. The King still, as a farther reward to his merit, made him (as is afore-mentioned) keeper of the privy seal, Bishop of Winton, and* soon after Lord High Chancellor of England. And now our Bishop endowed with a mind not inferior to his fortune, began to think of employing his vast treasure to the honour of God, by some noble act of charity; to this end he founded the magnificent structure of new college in Oxford, the first stone being laid A. C. 1379, which being finished in 1386, the warden and fellows had possession given them, after a solemn procession and prayers made the 14th of April, about three o'clock in the morning, the same year. This college was no sooner built but that he began another near Wolveseye (the Bishop's Palace) at Winton, laying the first stone A. C. 1387, which being finished in six years, he designed it as a nursery for his other college at Oxon. One hundred and five persons being maintained therein, besides servants, viz. One warden, ten fellow-priests, one school-master, one usher, three chaplains, seventy scholars, sixteen choristers, and three clerks;† besides the vast expences of these two stately foundations,

* In Officio Cancellatus confirmatus 17^o Sept. Cart. 41. Ed. III. Pat. 12. R. II. pt. 2. m. 7ma iterum constitutus Cancellarius 4 Maii.

† Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Vid. Antiq. Eccl. Brit. per Parker, in vita Sim. Sudbury.

and that of the Church. He procured to his See many privileges and immunities; he gave farther, twenty thousand marks to the reparation of his houses; the debts of those who were imprisoned on that account he paid, amounting to two thousand pounds. He repaired all the high ways between London and Winton. He gave two hundred pounds, to the Church of Windsor. He ordained a chauntry of five Priests at Southwyke. He supported continually in his house twenty-four almsmen. He maintained at the university fifty scholars for seven years before the building of his college; and did many other charitable acts. He also provided for himself ten years before his death, a magnificent monument in the body of the Church, representing him in his pontificalibus, two angels kneeling at his head, and three monks at his feet praying devoutly for his soul, very exquisitely performed. After all these expences, he left legacies in money above six thousand pounds, to his heir, one hundred pounds in land a year, and all his houses richly furnished. He died A. C. 1404, and was interred in the monument which he built for himself, upon the verge of which is this Inscription :

*Wilhelmus dictus Wykeham jacet hic nece Victus, &c.**

The church being thus finished by the munificence of Bishop Wykeham, appears to be one of the largest in England, and regular, after the Gothic manner, the arches being all angled, and supported by several small columns of the same diameter at the base as at the chapter set together, which way of building, though not to be compared with the Roman architecture, yet has something in it solemn and magnificent; and the windows being generally of antient painted glass, add much to the beauty of the prospect; as our countryman, Milton, hath happily described it.

*But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloysters pale,
And love the high embowed roof;
With antique pillars massy proof;
And storied windows richly dight
Casting a dim religious light :*

* See hereafter.

*There let the pealing organ blow,
To the full voic'd choir below.
In service high and anthems clear
As may with sweetness through mine ear
Dissolve me into extasies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes.*

Il. Penseroso.

The great tower, which stands in the middle of the fabric is somewhat too low, but would admit of a superstructure, which is all that seems wanting to render it more august.

If we take a more particular view of the inside, we shall find it handsomely ornamented, and not without several curiosities, as well as a great number of noble and antient monuments.

On the north side of the nave of the church there stands a very antique font. 'Tis a large square stone, a sort of black marble, in which is cut a circular basin for the water, and is supported by a plain stone pedestal, being three foot three inches over. The sides of the square are set off with bass-relieves, representing probably the miracles of some saint belonging to this church. The work I esteem not later than the Saxon times, and might probably have been removed hither from the old monastery; the different views of which I have here inserted, for the satisfaction of the curious.

In the south cross there is an old tomb of William de Basyng, some time Prior of this church; an indulgence is granted for three years and fifty days, to all who shall pray for his soul, as is mentioned upon his tomb. There were two Priors successively of this name; the first died* A. C. 1288, the second 1295.

Under the stairs leading up to the organ, there is a bust (by tradition) of Ethelmarus the Bishop, who died A. C. 1261; who nevertheless, seems to have been interred in another† place; for I find his heart was buried in the south wall of the presbytery, where this inscription is still visible.

Obiit Anno Domini 1261.

*Corpus Ethelmarì cujus Cor nunc tenet istud Saxum Parisiis
morte datur Tumulo.*

* Registr. de Pontoys. Ep. Wint.

[† He was buried at St. Genevieve. EDIT.]

We are now approaching to the choir, to which from the nave of the church, there is a handsome ascent of steps; it is separated from the rest of the church by a beautiful frontispiece of stone, built between the two great pillars of the arch of the tower. 'Tis of the Composite order, and on each side of the gate, which is arched, there is a niche; in that on the north, is placed a statue of King Charles I. in the other on the south side, that of King James I. both in brass, and well performed. These statues, during the civil wars, lay concealed, and by that means escaped the fury of the rebels, who committed many outrages on this church, too long to be here related. This structure was erected by King Charles I. who was a great benefactor to this and many other churches. As soon as you enter you see the seats and stalls of the Dean and Prebendaries, which are very neat, but antient, and adorned with spire-work gilded. In the middle of the choir there is an eagle standing on a high pedestal all of brass, on which the lessons are read at divine service.

At the upper end, on the south side, there is a new throne, which was built for the present Bishop, the Right Reverend Father in God, Sir Jonathan Trelawny. The pediment, which is adorned with a mitre, and the arms of the See, impaling those of his family, is supported by fluted columns of the Corinthian order.

*In the area the ascent to the altar is a raised monument of greyish marble, in which lay interred William Rufus, before it was broke open, and rifled in the late Rebellion.

On each side of the altar there is a fine partition-wall curiously wrought in stone, which composes the two sides of the presbytery that separate it from the north and south aisles; on the top of each wall, which is of a considerable height, are placed three shrines or chests finely carved, painted and gilded, with a crown upon each; in which are deposited the bones of several of the West Saxon Kings, Bishops, and some later Princes; which had been buried in divers parts of the Church, and were thus carefully collected and preserved with honourable mention of their names on each shrine in letters of gold, by

* Annales Waverlecienses p. 141.

Richard Fox, Bishop of Winton, who died A. C. 1528, and lies interred under a fair monument, on the south side of the high altar, now called Fox's Chapel. It was this Bishop who covered the choir of Winton, the presbytery, and the aisles adjoining with a fair vault of stone, in which his arms are cut in several places; and new glazed all the windows of this part of the Church, and gave it that beauty in which it appears at this time, and was also the founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, A. C. 1516.*

The ascent to the altar, of marble steps, and the pavement are very curious, being inlaid with different coloured marbles in various figures. The altar piece is a very handsome design of wood-work, which forms a lofty canopy, projecting over the table, with vast festoons hanging down from it, and all over beautified with exquisite foliage. Behind this, there is a very high skreen or partition of stone, the work of Bishop Fox, full of antique carving and niches, where formerly were statues, but they being demolished, the vacancies are filled with large vases or urns, which add an extraordinary grandeur to the whole. This ornament was the gift of William Harris, D.D. who by his will bequeathed eight hundred pounds towards it, A. C. 1700.

Leaving the choir, and passing by Bishop Fox's oratory, we ascend the great area at the east end of the Church, which place in antient times was esteemed very sacred, for under it was the *Κοιμητηριου*, or resting place, of the Saints and Kings, who were interred there, with great honours; at present, behind the high altar there is a transverse wall, against which we see the marks where several statues, being very small, were placed, with their names under each pedestal, being in a row.

Kinigilsus Rex. Sanct. Birinus Ep. Kinwald Rex. Egbertus R. Adulphus R. Elared R. Fil. ejus. Edward R. Junior. Adhelstanus R. Fil. ejus. Sta. Maria. D. Jesus. Edredus R. Ethgarus R. Emma Reg. Alwynus Ep. Ethelred R. Sta. Edward R. Fil. ejus. Cnutus Rex. Hardecanutus R. Fil. ejus.

* Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Ox. lib. 2. p. 230.

Underneath, upon a fillet, are these verses :

COMPORA SANCTORUM HIC SUNT IN
PACE SEPULTA.
EX MERITIS QUORUM FULGENT
MIRACULA MULTA.

At the foot of these a little eastwards, is a large flat grave-stone, which had the effigies of a Bishop in brass, said to be that of St. Swithun, and near this last an old tomb erected by tradition for King Lucius.

On the north side of the last is a magnificent tomb of William Wainfleet, Bishop of Winton, *lord chancellor, and founder of Magdalen College in Oxford, he is represented in his pontificalibus, and died A. C. 1486.

On the south side is another fair and stately monument of Henry Beaufort, son to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Bishop of this see, Cardinal of St. Eusebius, and several † times lord chancellor of England. He is in his cardinal's habit.

At the east end of the north side aisle, is a fine statue of brass, in a cumbent posture, of the lord treasurer Weston, and at the east end of the south aisle, an antient chapel and tomb of Thomas Langton, Bishop, who died A. C. 1500.

The great east window is very remarkable for the antiquity and fineness of its painted glass, which contains the portraits of several Saints and Bishops of this church, and is very entire, as well as that at the west front, being in like manner curiously painted; which art is now almost extinguished. All that may be further added to the description of the church, I shall conclude, in its dimensions; which being already taken by the Earl of Clarendon, are in the following work.

This cathedral was at first dedicated to St. Peter, afterwards, ‡ A. C. 980, to St. Swithun, and a third time to the Holy Trinity, by King Henry VIII. at the reformation, A. C. 1540.

The Bishops of Winton had formerly an antient castle or palace in the city, called Wolvesey, which was § built

* Constitutus Cancell. 11 Oct. 1457. Clau. 35. H. 6. M 10. in dorso.

† Hen. Ep. Wint. Constitut. Cancell. and habit mag. Sigillum Regni Custodiend. anno. 1404. 5 H. 4. 1414. 1 H. 5. 1417. 4 H. 5. 1424. 2 H. 6. MSS. penes me.

‡ Tho Rudborne Hist. Major Wint. p. 223.

§ Ib. p. 284.

by Henry de Bloys, Bishop of this See, nephew to King Henry I. and brother to King Stephen, A.C. 1138. This Palace being demolished during the late civil wars, and nothing left but the high walls of the old chapel; Bishop Morley, after the restoration, built a fair and convenient house for his successors, that which we now see near the ruins of the old one, and to which the present Bishop, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, hath added very great improvements.

About a mile south of the city, there is a very noble hospital, which contains two squares of building, to which you enter by very magnificent gates. In the innermost court is the great Church belonging to it, built like a Cathedral, which also was* founded and endowed, A. C. 1138, by the above mentioned Henry de Bloys, by the name of St. Cross, for the relief of thirteen brothers, and all poor travellers for ever. The habit is a black gown, with a silver cross on the breast. The structure is in good repair, and its revenue well managed.

This Bishop also began to build the stately †castle and palace at Farnham, in Surry; the castles of Merdon, Waltham, Dunton, and Taunton, the same year.

Another antient palace belonging to the See, was that of Winchester-House in Southwark, built by William Gyffard, Bishop, in the reign of King Henry I. It is situated on the bank of the Thames, near the west end of St. Mary Overy's Church, but is now gone to decay, and divided into several tenements. ‡This Bishop also founded the said Church of St. Mary of Southwark, for canons regular, A. C. 1106.

* Tho. Rudborne, Hist. Major Wint. p. 284.

† Annales Eccl. Wint. p. 299.

‡ Hist. Maj. p. 276.

Donationes Terrarum

ECCLESIAE WINTON.

* K. Inegylsus VI. Rex West Sax. incessit fundare Ecclesiam Winton quinto Conversionis suæ anno; sed morte præventus minime complere potuit. Sepultus est in eadem Ecclesia. Dedit Deo ibidem servientibus *Childecumbe*.

Successit Kinewaldus Fratri, Ecclesiam Wint, ab eo inceptam complevit. Deditque eidem tria maneria, *Downton*, *Arsford*, and *Wordiham*. Regnavit annis 32 & regnum Sexburgæ relignit. Sepultus est in Ecclesia Wint. sub summo altari, anno Dom. 671.

Egbertus primus Monarcha regnare cæpit anno Dom. 800. regnavit 37 annis, sepultus est in Ecclesia Cathedrali Winton, cui dedit quatuor maneria, *Drokenford*, *Worðiham*, *Aweltoun*, & *Bedhampton*.

Athelwulfus filius Egberti, regnavit annis 20. & sepultus est in Ecclesia Winton. anno 857. Hic restituit manerium de *Childecumbe* ablatum.

Edwardus senior Rex Angliæ dedit E. Winton. quatuor maneria, *Obertone*, *Halborne*, *Stoke*, & *Whitechurch*.

Ethelstanus Rex dedit Wint. tria maneria, *Chilboltoun*, *Freforde*, & *Hamcriswode*.

Edredus Rex dedit Wint. duo maneria, *Downton*, & *Dusseburne*.

Edgarus Rex monachos qui per Danos destructi erant iterum in Wint. instituit & dedit eis unum manerium, scilicet *Abington*.

Ethelredus Rex fil. Edgari dedit E. Wint. manerium de *Habonte* (forsan *Habant*.)

Canutus Rex dedit magna signa E. Wint. & †terram trium hidarum quæ vocatur *Wilt*, anno 1035.

Hardecamitus Rex dedit E. Wint. duo maneria, *Pippesmenstie* & *Westwode*.

* Lelandi Coll. vol. p. 613. Vid. Mon. Ang. vol. 1.

† Annual. Wint.

Sanctus Edwardus Rex & Confessor, dedit quatuor maneria E. Wint. **Portlande, Wike, Holswell, & Wapmuthe.**

Astanus Dux, fil. Ethelredi, dedit E. Wint. duo maneria, **Herdent et Eggebyn.**

Agelwynus Dux dedit Cleram E. Wint.

Elphegus Praefectus dedit E. Wint. manerium de **Crundale.**

Athelwoldus Dux contulit **Wpke** E. Wint.

Tunbertus Ep. Wint. tertius a Swithuno dedit suæ Ecc. ad Fabricam ejusdem manerium de **Muscheling.**

Alwynus Ep. Wint. dedit eidem Eccl. novem maneria **Stoneham, duas Meones, Neuton, Witeney, Heling, Melbrok, Polhampton, & Hodington.**

Henricus Blessensis, frater Regis Stephani, Ep. Winton. dedit eidem Eccl. **Clibe** & maxima ornamenta.

Richardus Tochliv, Ep. Wint. **Wamme** redemit, & **Enocl** emit, & suæ Eccl. Wint. dedit.

Wotwynus monachus Winton. dedit E. Wint. manerium de **Butermere.**

Dominus Simon de Wint. Miles, contulit **Winhale** E. Winton.

Fritheswitha Regina, mater Sanctæ Frethelwithæ Virginis dedit E. Wint. manerium de **Tauntone** in qua requiescit humata.

Emma mater Edwardi Confessoris dedit novem maneria Winton. Eccl. **Brandesbyri, Berchefeld, Howthtone, Hyside, Mechelmeiche, Quingco, Wicombe, Wregrave, & Waplinge.**

Getha, uxor Godwini Ducis, dedit E. Wint. **Hedone** et **Craucumbe.**

Alwara dedit **Alwardestoke, Exton, & Wichehaye,** pro anima Leowini viri sui.

Edgyva dedit **Dorkingham.**

Charters and Records

IN THE TOWER OF LONDON,

Relating to the Church of Winton, several Religious Houses, Chapels, Colleges and Hospitals, in and about that City.

Ecclesia sive Episcopus Winton.

Winton. Ep. Confirmatio amplissima cartarum & libertatum. Pat. 2. E. 4. p. 6. m. 12.

Winton. Ecclesiæ confirmationis, carte anno 9. E. 3. num. 40.

Ep. & Prior confirmationis carte ann. 2. H. 5. ps. 1. No. 13. & ann. 21. H. 6. No. 12. & ann. 1. H. 4. ps. 2. No. 9. & ann. 4. Rich. 2. num. 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, & ann. 23. E. 3. No. 2. & ann. 10. E. 2. num. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, & 6.

Winton. Ep. carte ann. 12. E. 1. num. 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, & ann. 13, num. 47, 98, & 99.

Winton. Ep. & Prior S. Swithuni explanatio & confirmatio libertatum, &c. carte ann. 24. H. 6. No. 12. m. 14.

Winton. Ep. & Prior S. Swithuni confirmatio amplissima concessionum Franchesarum, &c. Pat. ann. 2. H. 6. ps. 2. m. II. & ann. 3. E. 3. pars 2. m. 12. Recorda ann. 8. R. 2. pro libertatibus allocatis in Southwerk.

Ep. de manerio de Menes & ecclesia de Menestoke, & hospitali Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Portsmouth concessis, & quod homines &c. Maneriorum suorum de Bitterne, Falele, Ore, & Stanham, intendunt & respondeant, hundredo ipsius Episcopi de Wantham, &c. Pat. a. 12 Ed. I. m. II.

Ep. quod hospitale Sancti Johannis apud Portsmouth pertinet eidem. Claus. a. 7. Ric. 2. dors. m. ()

Inquisitio de Feria apud montem Sancti Egidii per ipsum singulis annis tenenda, & de amplissimis libertatibus & privilegiis eidem pertinentibus, tam in civitate Winton. & Southampton. quam per spatium 7 leucarum proximè adjacentium. Esch. au. 23. E. 3. pars. 2. m. 42. & pat. an. 2 H. 6. confirmatio pro eodem Episcopo.

Ep. de libertate suâ, viz. quod habeat Chaceas suas in Dominicis suis & Feodorum suorum & hominum suorum, & in terris & feodis Prioris Sancti Swithuni ibidem, cum allocatione coram Justiciariis itinerantibus ad placita foreste in forestis de Beckholt, Clarendon, Grovele, & Melchet. Brevia Regis anno 2 Ric. 2. No. 27. pars I.

Ep. Quod ipse & Ministri in boscis & chaceis suis pro voluntate sua venationem capere & boscos suos assartare poterit secundum formam carte Regis pridem facte, &c. Lib. Parliam, anno. 18 Ed. I. fol. 7. & fol. 8. Placitum inter dictum Episcopum & Custodem Castri de Porcestria.

Pro venatione in forestis Regis, Pat. 16. H. 3. M. 6. Breve de allocatione libertatis de Quietancia Theolonii, &c. pro se & tenentibus suis per totum Regnum Claus. ann. I. H. 4. pars I. Vide anno 38. E. 3. claus. m. 17.

De 1^od. annui redditus concessis sibi & successoribus exeuntibus de tenemento Bernardi Brocas, in Eldstoke, de feodo præfati Episcopi, dors. Claus. anno 8. Ric. 2. m. 8.

Inquisitio de quodam annuo redditu exeunte de diversis tenementis in warda de Dowgate, London. Inquisit anno I. H. 4. No. 27.

Winton. Ep. Dominus ville de Gaunton habet Visum Franci Plegii.

Exemplificatio Recordi, &c. & Conventionis inter ipsum & Abbatem de Hida, Pat. anno 23, E. 3. pars 3, m. 16.

Exemplificatio certificationis è libro de Domesday, pro maneriis de Monesto & Menes, in comitatu Southamp-tonie, &c. Pat. anno 17. Ed. 3. pars I. m. 23.

Pro tenementis in Northwood in parochiis de Conham & in Esshere & Watervile. Pat. anno 47. E. 3. pars I. m. 28.

Exemplificatio Recordi, &c. & pro redditibus exeuntibus de Archidiaconatu Surriæ. Pat. anno. 21. Ed. pars I. m. 9. & pars 2. m. 12.

Pro Staun perpetuo ibidem. Pat. anno 5. Ed. 3. pars 3. m. 3.

Pro 81 acris terræ in Farnham. Pat. anno I. Ric. 2. pars 2. m. 36.

Pro xl l. redditus exeuntibus annuatim de maneriis de Jenington & Heghton, (Susses). Pat. anno. 14. Ric. 2. pars I. m. 15.

Winton, Episcopatus temporalia ejusdem in manibus Regis certis de causis existentia extendebantur DCCCXLVIII. XIII. s. VI. d. ob. preter 19 Quarteria Avene non appreciata, Pat. anno. 5. E. 3. pars I. m. 30.

Ep. pro. quibusdam terris in Esshere & alibi, in recompensationem terrarum & ecclesiarum collegio Oxon. in Winton. Pat. anno 13. Ric. 2. ps. 3. m. I.

De uno messuagio cum curtilagio vocato Hall-place, 4 Virgatis terræ, & 1 molendino aquatico in Hanunby, concessis per eundem Episcopum J. Barber, & heredibus reddendo per annum XLIII. s. III. d. & relevium, Pat. anno 22. H. 6. pars 2. m. 17. confirm.

Pro tenemento in Sutton Episcopo accepto in excambio, Pat. I. Ric. 2. pars 2. m. 18.

Rex misit W. L. venatorem suum ad currendum cum canibus suis in warena prædicti Episcopi ad capiendum 7 vel 8 capreolas ad opus Regis, &c. Claus. anno. 14. H. 3. m. 14.

Winton. Ep. & ecclesia Sancti Swithuni, confirmatio donationis & tenementorum in Northwood & Teruchcroft in parochia de Covenham, & manerii de Esshere, & molendini vocati molendium Vicecomitis, &c. Pat. anno 10. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. I. in Cedula.

Ep. de mauerio de Norton. perquirendo de Ricardo Harvedon, &c. in manum mortuam, Pat. anno 11. Ed. pars 2. m. 13.

Ep. habet feriam apud montem Sancti Egidii, extra civitatem Winton. per 16 dies duraturam in vigilia Sancti Egidii, & de nonnullis libertatibus & privilegiis, Pat. anno 2. Ed. 3. pars I. m. 16. dors.

Quod ecclesiæ de Estnanes & Hamedon annexantur Episcopatu prædicto ut res spirituales, Pat. anno I. Ed. 3. pars I. m. 5.

Ep. de finibus & amerciamentis tenentium suorum licentia concordandi anno die & vasto & nonnullis aliis libertatibus concessis olim A Episcopo ibidem anno 8. Ed. 3. modo allocandis Willielmo Wickham Episcopo, Claus. a. 44. Ed. 3. m. 12. & 17.

Winton. Ep. habet chaseam de Whitteney infra forestam Regis de Whichwood, & libertatem Venationis & assart. ibidem dieto Episcopo pertinentes. Pat. anno 18. Ed. I. m. 17. & 18.

Chacea & Warena in omnibus terris & boscis suis infra

metas foreste, & placita intra Johannem Episcopum Winton. & Johannem Gifford, an. 3. R. 2.

Ep. concessit Thomæ Boteler camerario suo I messuagium & I virgatum terræ cum pertinentiis in Forewell, quæ ad manus prædicti Episcopi devenerunt per felouiam Johannis Baret, habenda dicto Thomæ Boteler pro termino vitæ, reddendo per annum VI*s*. & 3 bushels & 3 pecks frumenti pro Chershot. Pat. anno 12. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 12.

Ep. concessit Willielmo Parcar custodiam serjancie hundredorum suorum de Farnham & Crundale habendam sibi & hæredibus cum feodis, mortuo bosco, & aliis proficuis pertinentibus, &c. Pat. anno 14. Ed. 2. pars 1. m. 15.

Ep. concessit Waltero de Abberbury, & Ricardo filio suo I messuagium 96 acras terræ cum pertinentiis in Abberbury, habenda sibi & hæredibus per servitium homagium & XXXVI*s*. per annum solvendos sibi & subcessoribus suis, &c. Pat. anno 17. Ed. 2. pars 1. m. 23.

Ep. confirmatio quarundam donationum per ipsum facturum Willielmo de Overton, de certis parcellis terræ & communia pasturæ, in la Royhey Sutton Episcopi in loco vocato Mulcroft, &c. Pat. anno 17. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 32.

Ep. de tenementis suis in Crundale vocatis Danceslond concessis Johanni Clere, & hæredibus in Excambio pro tenementis ejusdem Johannis ibidem vocatis Rumbaldesfield, reddendo dicto Episcopo & successoribus suis 3*s*. Dors. Claus. anno 44. E. 3. m. 21.

De reddito annuo XIII*l*. concesso per Bernardum Brocas exeunte de Tenement. in Eldestoke concesso per dictum Bernardum cantariæ per ipsum fundandæ in ecclesia parochiali de Cleware. Dorso Clausarum anno 8. Ric. 2. m. 8.

Johannis de Pontisera nuper Episcopus ibidem concessit Willielmo de Leech, valletto suo XI acras terræ arabilis de dominicis suis in Abberbury, vocati Aldstonescroft, cum quadam pastura adjacente habend' sibi & hæredibus reddendo per annum dicto episcopo & successoribus suis XIII*l*i*s*. ad quatuor terminos, nunc confirmat per Regem. Pat. anno 3. Ed. 3. pars 1. m. 38.

Winton. Episcopatus in manus Regis scisitus Principi Walliæ commissus, extendens MDLXXXVIII.

XIIIs. *VI*d. ob. præter avenas. Pat. anno 51. Ed. 3. m. 30.

Ep. confirmatio & explanatio libertatis, quod sit quietus de escapiis prisonarium non voluntariis. Pat. anno 35. H. 6. pars 2. m. (I) & pat. 6. Ed. 4. pars 2. m. 15.

Prior Sancti Swithuni.

Winton. pro Priore Sancti Swithuni ibidem confirmatio amplissima & antiquissima cartarum, donationum & libertatum. Pat. anno 2. Ed. 4. p. 6. m. 6. vel. 12. & anno 9. Ed. 3. pars. 2. m. 30. & an. 4. H. 4. pars 2. m. 15.

Prior Sancti Swithuni confirmationis charte anno 5. Ed. 3. No. 85. & anno 10. Ed. 2. num. 7, 9.

Prior S. S. exemplificatio conventionis inter ipsum & Episcopum ibidem, & de consuetudinibus predicto Episcopo debitis de penitentiariis ipsorum, Pat. anno 13. Ric. 2. pars 3. m. 6.

Prior & Ep. confirmationis carte, anno 13. Ed. 1. num. 97, 98, & 99. & 18. Ed. 1. num. 23. & 28. & 27: Ed. 1. No. 19. quatenus teneantur ad reparationem murorum civitatis predictæ Brevia Regis. anno 17. Ric. 2.

Prior S. S. pro tenementis in Worton, & Church Akelegh. Pat. anno 12. H. 4. m. 18.

Winchester monastry confirmatio cartarum, &c. Carte an. 1. H. 4. pars 1. No. 9. Episcopus & Prior ibidem. Carte anno 2. H. 5. pars 1. No. 13.

Prior S. S. pro tenemento in eadem Civitate & Soca. Pat. anno 40. Ed. 3. pars 2. m. 15.

Pro quibusdam terris ——— pratis & Boscis in Westmeon. Pat. anno 6. Ric. 2. pars 3. m. 7.

Pro manerio de Lenington & manerio de Drayton, &c. concessis. Pat. anno 2. H. 5. pars 3. m. 27. (Southton.)

Pro manerio de Upsunburne. Pat. anno 8. Ric. 2. pars 2. m. 32.

Exemplificatio libertatum & privilegiorum in hundredo de Ellestubbe coram Solomone de Roffa & sociis ejus tempore, Ed. 1. Pat. anno 20. H. 6. pars 3. m. 33.

Pro 3. messuagiis & 3. curtilagiis ibidem. Pat. anno Ric. 2. pars 3. m. 14.

Winton. Prior de via publica pro clausura ipsorum divertenda. Pat. anno 48. Ed. 3. pars 1. m. 5. vel. 8.

Prior S. S. assisa versus eum per. H. de Ospringe de tenementis in Crundale. Pat. 2. Ed. 1. m. I. dorso.

Prior S. S. assisa versus eum per Johannem Everly de tenementis in Brokhampton. Pat. anno 3. Ed. I. m. 30. dorso & m. 29. de tenementis in Alwarstoke, & in 27. de tenementis in Winton, de fossato Regis extra portam borealem ibidem custodiendo & piscibus instaurandis ad commodam Regis. Pat. anno 4. Ed. I. m. 31.

De 60 acris terre, 4 acris prati, 5 acris bosci in Westwode, perquirendis de Johanne Westpray. Pat. anno 4. Ed. 3. pars 2. m. 22.

De sex acris prati in Winchelesmersh perquirendis, de Thoma Whitney. Pat. anno 7. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 7.

De XXX marcis percipiendis de redditu feriae Sancti Egidii juxta Wintoniam a thesaurario Episcopi ibidem de Wolvesey confirmatio. Pat. anno 10. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 23.

Prior S. S. confirmatio terrarum & donationum in villa & manerio de Bledune Westwood, & confirmatio pasture vocate Somerlese in villa de Wuluricheston. Pat. anno 10. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 25.

Prior ibidem, percipere debet singulis annis. XLs. de exitibus nundinarum Sancti Egidii extra Winton. Claus. pars unica anno 10 Ed. 2. m. 26.

De 1 messuagio 5 virgatis terre & 6 acris prati in Arinton tentis de ipso in villenageo & sibi liberandis, &c. Claus. anno 11. Ed. 2. m. 25.

De 1 messuagio, duobus virgatis terre, 3 parte unius virgate terre & Xd. redditus in Winemanston perquirendis de Willielmo Batisford. Pat. anno 13. Ed. 2. m. 25.

De maneriis de Bradisberry, & . . . perquirendis de Willielmo Yeleburne, qui illa tenuit de predicto Priore ad feod. firmam, reddendo per annum XIX marcas. Pat. anno 14. Ed. 2. m. 10.

De 1 messuagio uno molendino 2 acris prati in Overton Prior, & 3 acris terre in Husborne perquirendis de Jo. Shirfeld. Pat. anno 15. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 22.

Prior S. S. de uno messuagio, 1 carrucata & dimid. terre in Sparkeford, Horseley & Compton, juxta Hinton, perquirendis de Nicholas de Maidston. Pat. anno 16. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 10.

De 1 messuagio ibidem perquirendo de Philippo Mody. Pat. anno 19. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 22.

Confirmatio terrarum & donationum. Pat. anno 10. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 5.

Prior S. S. contra eum de Amensuratione pasture in Hamme. Claus. anno 13. H. 3. m. 14. dorso.

Collegium B. Marie, Winton.

Winton. Collegium beate Marie ibidem vocatum Saint Mary's College, confirmatio Cartarum & Donationum. Pat. anno I. Ed. 4. pars 7. m. 31. & Pat. anno 6. H. 6. pars 2. m. 4. & Pat. 14. Ric. 2. pars 2. m. 10, 11, 12.

De nonnullis libertatibus & privilegiis concessis. Carte anno 22. H. 6. No. 26.

Carte anno I. H. 4. pars I. No. II. & anno I. H. 5. pars I. No. II. & anno 2. H. 6. No. 26. & anno 18. Ric. 2. No. 8. & anno I. Ed. 3. No. 60.

De seisina, &c. liberanda de nonnullis terris & tenementis in Hermondsworth, Sibston, Southcoteron, & Longford. Dors. claus. anno 8 H. 6. m. 10. vel. 20.

Pro Priore de Audone alienigena & aliis confirmatio. Pat. 2. H. 5. pars 3. m. 27.

Pro manerio de Shawe in comitatu Berks. Pat. anno 6. H. 4. pars 1. m. 22.

Pro maneriis de Hamele Hermondsworth, Priore de Blythe, & aliis nonnullis. Pat. anno 14. Ric. 2. pars 2. m. I. & 10, 11, & 32.

Pro tenementis in Hermondsworth, Sibston, Southcoteron, & Longford. Pat. anno 8. H. 6. pars 2. m. 25.

Pro maneriis de Farnhall & Aldington. Pat. anno 23. H. 6. pars 2. m. 3. & pro manerio de Burton in insula Vectis & tenementis in Southcoteron. Pat. anno 17. H. 6. pars 2. m. 25.

De licentia perquirendi centum marcas terre ratione deperditorum suorum in combustione villarum de Andover & nova Alreford. Pat. anno 21. H. 6. pars I. m. 8.

Pro tenementis in Otterton & Andover. Pat. anno 24. H. 6. pars 2. m. 19. & ibidem pro manerio de Farnhall & medietate manerii de Aldington.

Pro tenementis in Wippingham, & Caresbrok, in insula Vectis Romesey, Stanbridge, Okley, Mayheston, Welles, & Ashfield, Humel in the Rise, & in civitate & soca Winton, & Wyhale. Pat. 33. H. 6. pars 2. m. 4. Et pro tenementis in Meonestoke, Roppele, Sutton, Drainton, Wynhale, & Medestoke, in nova Alresford, &c. Pat. anno 15. Ric. 2. pars 2. m. 9. & pro tenementis in Cestreton, m. 14. (Cantebr.)

Pro manerio de Dyrington appropriato. Pat. anno. 3. Ric. 2. pars 3. m. 22.

Pro manerio de Meonestoke in comitatu Southamptoniæ, & manerio de Eliug, & manerio de Windsore, in

eodem comitatu, & Combe Basset in comitatu Wiltesiā. Pat. anno 8. Ric. 2. pars 2. m. 4. Et pro maneriis de Aulton & Shaw in comitatu Berks, Wheton in comitatu Bucks, &c. m. 6. Et Ecclesia de Dounton.

De manerio de Burton, alias Berton in insula Vectis concesso per W. T. Archipresbiterum oratorii sancte Trinitatis ibidem. Dors. Clausar. anno 19. H. 6. m. 35.

Fratres Ordinis Augustini.

Winton. Fratres ordinis Sancti Augustini. Exemplificatio ampla Inquisitionis de tenementis ipsorum ibidem & redditibus inde exeuntibus. Dors. Claus. anno 16. Ed. 3. pro situ Domus, &c. m. 20.

De processu & iudicio redditus in cancellaria contra ipsos de tenementis perquisitis infra civitatem prædictam in deceptionem, domini Regis de terris ville, &c. Dors. Claus. anno 22. Ed. 3. m. 20.

De 1 messuagio & 12 perticis terre in longitudine, & 6 perticis in latitudine in suburbio Winton. concessis per Hugonem Tripacy pro manso suo elargando. Pat. anno 7. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 8.

Abbatissa Beatae Mariae Winton.

Winton. Abbatia. confirmationis carte, anno 12. Ed. 2. No. 36.

Winton, abbatissa De libertatibus & privilegiis infra manerium de Gretford. Pat. anno 6. Ed. 4. pars 2. m. 14.

De 1 virgata terre & 1 parva pastura in Froile tentis de Abbatissa predicta per servitium, VII^s. III^d. & secte curie dicte Abbatisse de Froile. Esch. anno 41. Ed. 3. post mortem Richardi de Windsore. No. 7.

De 2 messuagiis, uno molendino, 3 virgatis dimid. terre, & VI^s. VIII^d. redditus perquisitis de Editha uxore Roberti Dreux, &c. Claus. anno 6. Ed. 3. m. 33.

Pro visu Franci Plegii, & aliis privilegiis habendis in maneriis de Erchefford & Caninges. Pat. anno 21. H. 6. pars 2. m. 26.

Winton. priorissa Sancti Marie Magdalene, Confirmationis Carte, anno II. Ed. 3. No. 62.

Pro tenementis in Erchefonte. Pat. anno 2. Ed. 3. pars I. m. II.

De visu Franci Plegii & aliis libertatibus infra villas de Erchesfout & Caninges. Pat. anno 8. Ed. pars 3. m. 3. & de libertatibus & privilegiis in villis predictis & infra

Hundredum Regis de Stodfield alias Swanburgh. Pat. 16. Ed. 4. pars I. m. 20.

Confirmatio libertatum concessarum tenentibus suis in Villa de Gretford. Pat. anno 2. H. 5. pars 2. m. 3. & anno 45. Ed. 3. pars 2. m. 38.

Winton. Abbatissa, B. M. pro tenementis in eadem villa. Pat. anno 35. Ed. 3. pars I. m. 16.

Winton. Priorissa arraniavit assisam versus Jo. de C. in Minchen Cheverell. Pat. anno 2. Ed. I. m. 23.

Assisa versus eam de communia pasture Alhekaning. Pat. anno 4. Ed. I. m. 34. Dors.

Abbatissa B. M. de uno messuagio, 24 acris terre, 8 acris prati, XXs. redditus in Gretford, perquirendis de Nicholao Stanford. Placita anno 5. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 7.

De 9 messuagiis cum pertinentiis in Winton. & in suburtiis perquirendis de Rogero Inkepenne.

De IXs. Id. reddit in Erchesfont, perquirendis de Jo. Shene. Pat. anno 9. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 13.

Capella S. Trinitatis.

Winton. capella Sancte Trinitatis in Cimiterio Beate Marie, fundata per Ricardum Inkepenne, civem civitatis predicte. Confirmatio ordinationum factarum per Episcopum Wintoniensem. Pat. anno 12. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 13.

Pro Cantaria in capella Sancte Trinitatis in cimiterio monasterii ibidem & tenementis ibidem & in Southton, & Sarum. Pat. 26. Ed. 3. pars I. m. 24.

Custos capelle Sancte Trinitatis ibidem De 9 messuagiis in suburtiis concessis per Johannem Inkepenne. Pat. anno II. Ed. 2. pars I. m. I.

De VII marcis, redditus annui concessis per Rogerum Inkepenne in Winton. pro cantaria ibidem facienda. Pat. anno 19. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 18.

Collegium W. de Wickham.

Winton. de Collegio in soca ibidem fundando per Willielmum de Wickham, Episcopum Wintoniensem. Pat. anno 6. Ric. 2. pars I. m. 9.

Ecclesia St. Georgii.

Winton. Parsona ecclesie Sancti Georgii ibidem, de uno messuagio ibidem sibi concesso pro anniversario tenendo. Pat. 8. H. 4. pars 2. m. 4.

Ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum.

Winton. Parsona ecclesie omnium Sanctorum ibidem. Pro uno messuagio in eadem villa. Pat. anno 3. H. 5. pars 2. m. 9.

Abbatia B. Petri.

Winton. juxta, Abbatia beati Petri. Pro ecclesia de Collington appropriata. Pat. anno 26. H. 6. pars I. m. 10.

Prior & fratres fraternitatis Sancti Petri in ecclesia, Sancti Mauricii & Collegio beate Marie de Kalendis ibidem inquisitio ampla de tenementis shopis, &c. pertinentibus in civitate predicta Esch. anno 26. Ed. 3. No. 44.

Capella St. Elizabethæ juxta Winton.

Winton. juxta, Capella Sancte Elizabethæ filie quondam Regis Hungarie fundata ante portam castrum de Wolvesey de statutis & ordinationibus ejusdem. Pat. anno 13. Ed. 2. & ibidem iterum pro manerio de Norton Sancti Wallerici, vide pro eadem capella. Pat. 33. Ed. I. pars I. m. 12.

Capella Sancte Elizabethæ pro manerio de Botele & advocacione ecclesie ejusdem ville, & uno messuagio & 2 carrucatis terre in Kings Clere, & manerio de Culmeston Gymmings, & I messuagio, & I carrucata terre in Shidesfield, & XXs. Redditus in Molendino in Tichefeld concessis per diversos, & de fundatione ejusdem. Pat. anno 1. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 9. De parva Warrenna in parte orientali ville ejusdem, & de Metis & Bundis ejusdem, exemplificatio inquisitionis, &c. Pat. anno 2. Ed. 4. pars 6. m. 4. Et confirmatio pro priore Sancti Swithuni Winton. Pat. anno 2. H. 6. pars 2. m. II.

Capelle Sancte Elizabethæ filie quondam Regis Hungarie confirmatio ampla. Pat. 13. Ed. 2. m. 13. & anno 14. Ed. 2. m. 25.

De maneriis de Norton Sancti Wallerici. Pat. anno —. Ed. 2. pars I. m. I.

Confirmatio mercati & ferie & libere Warrenne in manerio de Bottele. Pat. anno 25. H. 6. pars I. m. 13. & pro manerio de Norton Sancti Wallerici, mutatio servitii. Pat. anno 29. Ed. 3. pars 3. m. II.

De manerio de Norton Sancti Wallerici perquirendo de Willielmo Staunford. Pat. anno 6. Ed. 2. pars I. m. I. & pars 2. m. II. & 15.

De Ecclesia de Crundale perquirendâ & appropriandâ. Pat. anno 12. Ed. 2. pars I. m. 20.

Prior St. Mauriti.

Winton. Prior Sancti Mauriti & Sancte Marie de Kalend. ibidem. Pat. anno 26. Ed. 3. pars 3. m. 9.

Hospitale S. Mariæ Magdalena.

Wintonian juxta, Custos Hospitalis Sancte Marie Magdelene, pro tenementis ibidem. Pat. anno 35. Ed. 3. pars 3. m. 22.

Hospitale S. Crucis.

Winton. juxta, de Fundatione & Dotatione Hospitalis Sancte Crucis olim per H. Cardiualem* factis & similiter de Fundatione & Donatione Hospitalis sivi Domûs Elemosinarie nobilis paupertatis H. Cardinalis & Episcopi Wintoniæ, Filii nobilis memorie Johannis Ducis Lancastrie. Pat. anno 33. H. 6. pars 2. m. 3. & 18. amplissima carta.

De licentia perquirendi quingentas libras terre de H. Cardinali Anglie. Pat. 21. H. 6. pars 2. m. 31.

Custodia domûs Sancte Crucis ibidem concessa per regem G. Walesford ad vitam, & mandatum est fratribus & sororibus ibidem, quod, &c. Pat. anno 13. Ed. 2. m. 25.

Hospitale S. Crucis ad collationem Episcopi ibidem pertinens. Pat. anno 16. Ed. 2. pars 2. m. 3.

Abbatia de Hida.

Winton. juxta, Abbatia de Hida pro Ecclesiis de Pidde Trenthide, Chiseldon, & Stanham, appropriandis. Rot. Rome. anno 4. Ed. 3. m. 4. & anno 20. Ed. 3. m. 1.

Prepositus Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Winton.

Winton. prepositus ecclesie collegiate ibidem. De I messuagio & terris cum pertinentiis in Overlond juxta Wingham, perquirendis de Nicholao Bradwas. Pat. anno 11. Ed. 2. pars 1. m. 5.

Winton Civitas.

Winton. civitas, concessio ipsis facta domorum & placearum ibidem perquisitarum per fratres Sancti Augustini, sine licentia regis. Pat. anno 16. Ed. 3. pars 1. m. 26.

[* Henry Beaufort, 'Cardinal of England,' the 19th. Bishop of Winchester after the Conquest.—See his life in a subsequent part of this work.—Ed.]

An Account of the Sale of the Church Lands belonging to this See, during the time of the Civil Wars, communicated by Thomas Rawlinson, of the Middle Temple, Esq. from a valuable Manuscript of his, containing likewise the Sale of the Lands of all the rest of the Cathedrals in England

	£.	s.	d.
September 27, 1646. The manor of Waltham in Hants, was sold to Robert Reynolds, Esq. for the sum of.....	7999	14	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Manor of Droxford, in the same county, sold to Francis Allen, Esq. for....	7675	13	7
October 21, 1646. Catwavis Farm, in Berkshire, sold to Richard Elderfield, for	120	4	0
January 14, 1647. The Park in Southwark in Surry, sold to George Thompson, for	1191	3	4
A Brew-House, the Bear-Garden, &c. on the Bank-side in Surry, sold to Sarah Palmer, for	1783	15	0
The Manor of Bishops-Stoke, in Hampshire, sold to Thomas Cox and Malachi Dudley, for	1601	4	6
January 19, 1647. Lollingdon Farm, in Berkshire, sold to Richard Hutchingson for	720	0	0
February 4, 1647. Curbridge Farm, parcel of the Manor of Witney in Oxfordshire, sold to William Wells and Robert Martin, for	259	5	0
February 7, 1647. Downton-Mills, &c. in Hampshire, sold to William Eyre, for	257	5	0
February 21, 1647. The Manor of Havant, sold to William Wolgar, for.....	1662	5	4
February 28, 1647. Rympton Farm in Berkshire, sold to John Payne, for.....	179	0	0
March 1, 1647. Sotwell Farm, sold to William Leaver, for	122	12	0
March 18, 1647. The Manor of Rympton in Somersetshire, sold to John Payne, Thomas Taylor, and Thomas Clothier, for.....	425	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

	£.	s.	d.
March 20, 1647. The Castle and Manor of Taunton in Somersetshire, sold to Brampton Gurdon and John Hill, for..	9210	17	0½
March 22, 1647. The Manor of Bishops Sutton in Hampshire, sold to Sir John Evelyn, for	2727	13	9
March 24, 1647. The Scite of the Manor of Hanwell in Berkshire, sold to Edmund Wiseman, for	542	0	0
March 24, 1647. The Manor of Adderbury in Hampshire, sold to Edw. Ashe, for	2905	11	4
March 24, 1647. Honnycroft Mead, parcel of the Manor of Taunton in Somersetshire, sold to Roger Hill, for.....	44	0	0
March 24, 1647. The Falcon on the Stewes Bankside, Surry, sold to Thomas Rollinson, for	484	0	0
April 12, 1648. The Scite of the Manor of Bishop's Sutton in Wiltshire, sold to Lawrence Lambard, for	53	9	0
May 10, 1648. Several Parcels of the Manor of Taunton-Dean in Somersetshire, sold to Brampton Gurdon and John Hill for	345	0	3
June 14, 1648. Parcel of the Manor of East-Meon in Hampshire, sold to Nathaniel Hallows, for.....	848	15	0
June 23, 1648. The Manor of Alresford in Hampshire, sold to Thomas Hussey, for	2683	9	1¼
June 26, 1648. Longwood Warren in Hampshire, sold to Thomas Hussey, for..	351	3	4
July 5, 1648. The Manor of North-Walton in Hampshire, sold to George Wither, Thomas Allen, & al. for	964	13	6
July 20, 1648. The Borough of Taunton in Somersetshire, sold to George Searl and Samuel Whetcombe, for	868	14	7
August 11, 1648. The Borough and Farm of Fareham in Hampshire, sold to Peter Wilkins, for.....	909	14	8
August 18, 1648. Willersley-Warren in Hampshire, sold to Thomas Hussey, for..	226	9	0
September 22, 1648. The Manors of Newton and Widhay in Hampshire, sold to James Storey, for.....	863	4	6

	£.	s.	d.
September 25, 1648. The Manor of Bentley and Alverstock, and Borough of Gosport in Hampshire, sold to George Wither and Elizabeth his [wife] for.....	1185	4	5½
July 14, 1648. South Farm in Hampshire, sold to Richard Dannald, for.....	1161	5	2
September 25, 1648. The Manor and Castle of Farnham in Hampshire, sold to John Farwell and James Gold, for.....	8145	8	0
September 28, 1648. The Manor of Itchinswell and Northampton Farm, sold to Nicholas Love and George Wither, for	1756	9	1
September 28, 1648. The Scite and Demesnes of the Manor of Woodhay in Hampshire, sold to Lislibone Long and John Goddard, for	527	4	0
September 28, 1648. The Manor of Beaworth in Hampshire, sold to Stephen Estwicke, for	748	6	6¼
December 15 1648 The Manor of Droyse-Court and Macknage Farm in Gloucestershire and Hampshire, belonging partly to Gloucester, and partly to Winchester Cathedral, sold to Robert Gale, for.....	176	10	0
December 28, 1648. The Manor of Brightwell in Berkshire, sold to Robert Gale, for	1780	12	10
January 10, 1649. The Manor, Town, and Borough of Witney, in Oxfordshire, sold to William Bassitt and Edward Warcupp, for	4916	18	11½
January 12, 1649. The Manors of Trotiscliffe, West-Courte, and Fareham, in Kent and Hampshire, belonging to this Sec, and that of Rochester, sold to Nicholas Bond, for	1632	12	7¼
February 7, 1649. The Manor of Fountell in Hampshire, sold to John Dove, Esq. for	609	11	4
March 12, 1649. Pepper Poundisford Farm in Somersetshire, sold to Sir John Seymer, Thomas Hodges, sen. and Thomas Hodges, jun. for	292	15	2

	£.	s.	d.
March 12, 1649. The Manor of Crawley in Hampshire, sold to John Pigeon, for	836	11	6
March 21, 1649. The Manor of Morton in Hampshire, sold to Richard Hunt, for..	1175	0	0
June 20, 1649. The Manor of Bitterne in Hampshire, sold to John Barksteed, for	1716	6	8
July 13, 1649. The Manor of Ashmersworth in Hampshire, sold to Obadiah Sedgwick, for	655	4	7
August 1, 1649. The Manor of Milland in Hampshire, sold to Nich. Love, Esq. for	2949	10	7
August 3, 1649. The Manor of Overton in Hampshire, sold to Thos. Andrews for	2195	3	1
August 8, 1649. Several Lands in the Manor of Sutton in Hampshire, sold to Sir John Evelyn, for	1717	7	6
August 24, 1649. Stoke Park in Hampshire, sold to Thomas Cox and Malachi Dudley, for	221	18	4
September 19, 1649. The Manor of East Meon in Hampshire, sold to Fras. Allen, Esq. for.....	3114	6	5
September 26, 1649. The Manor of Southwark and Winchester House, sold to Thomas Walker, for.....	4380	8	3
September 29, 1649. The Manor of Bishop's Hanwell in Berkshire, sold to Daniel Blagrove, for	333	0	0
January 15, 1650. The Manor of Withytton in Downton, sold to Thomas Andrews and Francis Warner, for	1491	0	5
February 1, 1650. The Manor and Farm of Cold Henbeigh, sold to Thomas Hussey, for	130	12	0
February 22, 1650. The Manors of Knoyle & Upton, and Borough of Hindon, sold to Edmund Ludlowe, Esq. for	4668	12	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
March 20, 1650. The Manor and Farm of Easton, sold to Adoniram Byfield, for	352	5	0
March 23, 1650. The Manor of Haulden, sold to George Wither, for	3796	18	11
March 23, 1650. The Scite of the Manor of Bishop's Stoke, and other Lands, sold to Thomas Cox, for	479	3	4

September 27, 1650. Stallage-Croff, and other Lands, parcel of the Manor of Brightwell in Berkshire, sold to Robert Gale, for	£. s. d.
	50 10 0
March 12, 1651. Several Lands, Tenements, Houses, and Buildings, be- longing to the Manor of Southwark, in Surry, sold to Thomas Walker, for.....	465 13 4
	<hr/>
Sum total, £101,188 10 9¼	<hr/> <hr/>

The Dimensions of the Cathedral Church of Winchester.

The length, from east to west, is 545 feet, whereof our Lady's Chapel at the east end, is 54 feet. From that chapel to the iron door above the steps, near the entrance into the choir, is 160 feet. From that iron door to the porch at the west end, is 351 feet. The full breadth of the church is 87 feet. The choir is in length 136 feet, and in breadth 40 feet.

The Tombs and Monuments in this Cathedral.

From the altar, on the top of the wall are now six chests, three on either side; wherein are the bones of some Saxon and Danish Kings, as also of some Bishops.

On the south side, the first chest hath this inscription :

Ædredus Rex, obiit anno 955.
Hic pius in tumulo Rex Ædredus requiescit
Qui has Britonum terras rexerat egregie.

The second chest hath this inscription :

Edmundus Rex, obiit ***
Quem theca hac retinet Edmundum suscipe Christe
Qui bibente Patre regia sceptrum tulit.

The third chest did formerly contain the bones of Canutus and William Rufus. The tomb for the latter, of grey marble, is raised about two feet from the pavement in the middle of the upper part of the choir, before the high altar, and the bones being chested, were set up over the door on the top of the wall, on the south side as you come into the choir. On that chest was formerly this inscription :

Hec jacent ossa Cnutonis et Willielmi Rufi.

And lately this inscription is put thereon :

In hac et altera é regione cista reliquiæ sunt ossium Canuti et Rufi Regum ; Emmæ Reginae, Winæ et Alwini Episcoporum.

In the tomb of William Rufus, which was broke open by the rebels in the time of the civil wars, was found the dust of that king, some relics of cloth of gold, a large gold ring, and a small silver chalice.

On the north side are likewise three chests on the top of the wall ; the first from the altar hath this inscription on it :

Rex Kingulsus obiit 641.

On the choir side of the same chest :

Adulphus Rex obiit 857.

Kingilsi in cista hac simul ossa jacent et Adulphi fundator, hic benefactor erat.

The second chest hath this inscription :

Renulphus Rex obiit 754.

On the choir side :

Egbertus obiit 837.

*Hic Rex Egbertus pausat cum Rege Renulpho
Nobis egregie mureta utroq ; tulit.*

The third chest contained formerly the bones of Bishop Wina, with this inscription :

Hic jacent Ossa Wina Episcopi.

With Bishop Wina's, was enclosed the body of Stigand, first Bishop of Winchester, then Archbishop of Canterbury ; and on the north side of the coffin was this inscription :

Hic jacet Stigandus Archiepiscopus.

But now this inscription is upon it :

In hac cistâ A. D. 1661. promiscuè recondita sunt Ossa Principum & Prælatorum, Sacrilegâ barbarie dispersa, A. D. 1642.

Under the second chest on the south wall, is this inscription :

*Intus est corpus Ricardi Willielmi Conquestoris filii et
Beorniac ducis.*

On the same wall is entombed the heart of Ethelmarus, Bishop of Winchester, with this inscription :

Obiit anno 1261.

*Corpus Ethelmar, cujus cor nunc tenet istud Sarum,
Parisiiis morte datur tumulo.*

From the westward in the same wall is this inscription :

*Intus est cor. Nicholai olim Winton Episcopi cujus
corpus est apud Waberly.*

In the south wall, eastward, lies the body of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, by whose care the bones of the Saxon Kings were chested. He was the founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and a great benefactor in repairing the upper part of this choir.

Near unto this monument is a small private oratory, which he usually frequented for his devotion, and which is still called Bishop Fox's study.

On the north side of the wall was formerly a fourth chest, containing the bones of Bishop Elmstan and Bishop Kynulphus, with this inscription :

*Pontifices hæc capsâ duos tenet incineratos primus Elmstanus,
huic successorq ; Kynulphus.*

Bishop Alfinus's monument was on the same wall eastward from Bishop Elmston, with this inscription :

Alfinus plumbo presul requiescit in isto.

Under Kingulstus's chest in the same wall, is this inscription :

*Qui jacet hic Regni Sceptrum tulit Hardi-canutus
Emmac Cnutonis gnatus et ipse fuit.
Obiit A. D. 1110.*

In the same wall, this :

Alwinus obiit, A. D. 1047.
 Hic jacet Alwini corpus, qui munera nobis
 Contulit Egregia, parvito Christe pio.

In the same wall, within the choir, is this inscription for Queen Emma :

Hic Emmam cista Reginaui continet ista Durit Etheldredus
 Rex hanc, et postea Cenutus ;
 Edwardum parit hanc, ac Hardi-canutum Quatuor hos Reges
 hanc vidit Sceptra tenentes ;
 Anglorum Regem fuit hanc sic mater et uxor.

In the same wall, without the choir, eastward, lieth the body of Stephen Gardiner, sometime Bishop of Winchester.

This monument was much abused in the times of the late rebellion.

Under the monument of Bishop Alfinus, on the north side, was this inscription :

De functi corpus tumulus tenet iste Johannis Pointes,
 Wintoniar Præsulis eximii.
 Obiit anno 1304.

In the wall on the north side, under the chest of Wina, is the monument of Bishop Toclive, with this inscription :

Præsulis egregii pausant hic membra Ricardi
 Tollyne, cui summi gaudia sunt poli.
 Obiit anno 1189.

Behind the choir on the north side, lieth a warlike person, whose figure is much defaced, with this inscription :

Hic jacet Willielmus Comes de Insula
 Mana alias Wincall.

On the north side, under the stairs which lead to the organ, was found some few years since, the heart (as is supposed) of Hugh le Brune, some time Prior of St. Swithin's, in a box of tin. His effigies in stone is now upon the place where the heart was deposited.

In the utmost wall of the choir eastward, was the entrance into the vault in which the Saxon Kings were first buried. Over it is this inscription :

Sancta Maria, et Dominus Jesus.

On one side of the entrance are these names :

Hyngulstus Rex	S. Birinus Episcopus
Kincwaldus Rex	Egbertus Rex
Adulphus Rex	Aluredus Rex filius ejus.
Edwardus Rex Senior.	Athelstanus Rex filius ejus.

On the other side the entrance, are these names :

Edredus Rex. Edgar Rex. Emma Regina. Alwinus Episcopus
 Etheldredus Rex. S. Edwardus Rex filius ejus. Canutus Rex.

Underneath is this inscription :

Corpora Santorum sunt hic in pace sepulta,
 Ex meritis quorum fulgent miracula multa.

In the middle of the space above the choir, is a monument raised somewhat higher than the pavement, said to be that of Lucius the first Christian King ; but there is no inscription upon it.

On the south side of that space behind the high altar, is erected to the memory of Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of St. Eusebius, and Bishop of Winchester, a fair and stately exalted monument, with his effigies in his habit ; the inscription is now wholly obliterated, this being all that appeared legible above one hundred years ago.

Tribularet si nescirem misericordias tuas.

He deceased upon the 11th. day of April, anno 1447, having been Bishop of Winchester 43 years, and from the time of his first consecration 50 years.

Among other good deeds, it is to be remembered that he built an hospital in Winchester, near St. Crosse's, which he presently endowed with land to the value of £158. 13s. 4d. yearly rent ; and, moreover, gave unto it the Hospital of St. John de Fordingbridge. In it was to be maintained a master, two chaplains, thirty-five poor men, and three women.

On the north side is a fair monument of William Wainfleet, Bishop of Winchester, holding his heart between his hands : he was founder of Magdalen College in Oxford ; but it has no inscription upon it.

At the east end of this Church, are three Chapels. In the midst is that of the blessed Virgin : in it Queen Mary was married to King Philip. The chair in which she sat is still there.

On the north side is a small Chapel, wherein is the monument of Richard late Earl of Portland, with this inscription :

Depositum
Ricardi Weston, Comitis Portland,
Magni Angliæ Thesaurarii
quo munere fungi
cœpit
Anno Regis Caroli quarto,
Idq; simul cum vitâ exiit
Anno prædicti Domini Regis
Decimo,
Annoq; Domini Redemptoris 1634.
Decimo tertio die Martii.

On the south side is a little Chapel, in which is a monument of Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winchester.

Near the door of the Chapel, is a fair black marble, raised a little above the pavement, under which lyeth Frances, late Countess Dowager of Exeter, with this inscription :

Honoratissima Domina
Francesca
Thomæ Comitis Exon. relicta,
Bonorum operum, pariter ac dierum
plena,
Obdormivit in Domino
Anno { Domini MDCLXIII.
Ætatis suæ LXXXVII.

Going down from the south door of the choir, at the bottom of the steps, on the left hand, are two old monuments ; the one hath no inscription, the other has this about it :

Hic jacet Willielmus de Basing, quondam Prior istius Ecclesiæ, cujus animæ propitietur Deus, et qui pro anima ejus oraverit, tres annos et quinquaginta dies Indulgentiæ percipiet.

At the end of the cross aisle, southwards, is the chapter-house ; above stairs are the library and audit-house, built in 1668.

At the entrance into the choir, at the great door, on one side, is the statue of King James, in brass ; on the other side, is that of King Charles the first, in whose time this screen was erected.

In the body of the church, near the pulpit, is a stone with this inscription :

**Willielmus Kingsmell, Prior ultimus, Decanus
primus Ecclesiae
Obiit 1548.**

Likewise upon a flat marble stone, near the pulpit, is this inscription :

**Robertus Horne Theologiae Doctor
eximus, quondam Christi causa
erul, deinde Episcopus Winton :
pie obiit in Domino Jun. 1, 1580.
Episcopatus sui anno 19.**

Upon another marble stone, opposite to the former, is this inscription :

**D. Joannes Watson hujus Ecclesiae Winton :
Praebendarius, Decanus, ac deinde Episcopus,
Prudentissimus Pater, vir optimus,
Practipue erga inopes misericors.
Obiit in Domino Januar : 23.
Anno aetatis suae 63, Episcopatus 4.
1583.**

Below the steps towards the choir, on the south side, is the tomb of Bishop Edyndon, with this epitaph ;

**Edyndon natus Willielmus hic est tumulatus
Praesul praegratus, in Wintonia Cathedralis,
Qui per transitis, ejus memorare delictis
Providus et mitis, ausit cum mille peritis
Per vigil Anglorum fuit, adiutor populorum
Dulcis egenorum Pater, et Protector eorum
N. C. tribus junctum post L X sit I punctum
Octava sanctum notat hunc Octobris inunctum.
1366.**

Near the little south door in the body of the Church, is the tomb of William Wyckham, Bishop of Winchester, founder of Winchester College, and of New College in Oxford ; and repairer of the west part of this Church. With this epitaph :

**Willielmus dictus Wickham facit hic necesse dictus
Istius Ecclesiae praesul : reparavit eamque
Largus erat, dapifer, probat hoc cum divite pauper,
Consiliis pariter regni fuerat bene dexter.**

*Nunc docet esse pium fundatio collegiorum
 Oxonia primum stat, Wintoniaq; secundum.
 Fugiter cecidis, tumulum quicumq; videtis
 Pro tantis meritis, quod sit sibi vita perennis.*

Next to the Countess of Exeter's monument, on the south side of the upper part of the Cathedral Church, under a black marble stone, lies buried the Lord Henry Powlett, with these arms; viz. Three daggers with the points downwards. The crest, is a falcon with a coronet round his neck, and a bell on each leg, with a mantling round the coat, and a half-moon between two of the daggers, and the following inscription:

Hic Conditum sub hoc
 Marmore est corpus
 Ornatissimi Domini
 Henrici
 Powlett. Evocati ex
 Hac Vita 11^o die Maii
 Anno Dom. 1672.

Next to him lies Sir Thomas Higgons, under a large stone, with these arms; viz. Three eagles' heads erased in the field, and this inscription:

Here lieth the Body of
 Sir Thomas Higgons,
 who died the 24th.
 of November,
 1692.

And on the south side, lies the Countess of Essex, under a grey marble, with two coats of arms, viz. Essex's impaling Powlett's, and this inscription:

Quicquid Reliquum est
 Eliz. Essexiæ Comitissæ
 Hic Deponitur,
 Filia fuit Gul. Pawlett Mil
 & Roberti Essexiæ Com. Conjux
 Post cujus obitum transiit
 in alias Nuptias.
 Cum Thoma Higgons Mil.
 Obiit Penult. Augusti A. D. 1656.
 & hic Sepulta, Oratione
 Funebri a Marito ipso,
 More Prisco Laudata Tuit.

Next to the Countess of Essex's monument and adjoining to the south wall, under a large marble stone enclosed with iron rails, lies Bishop Leving, with the arms of the See of the Bishopric of the isle of Man, and three escollop shells between two bendlets; with this inscription:

Baptista Leving

S. T. P.

Episcopus Sodorensis & Iujus Ecclesiæ Præbendarius
 Patre Gulielmo Leving de Eventia in Comit. Northampt.
 Armigero Ortus

Oxonij in Collegio B. M. Magdalenæ Educatus
 Patriæ suæ, Academiæ, Ecclesiæ, & Sæculi Ornamentum
 ob integritatem, & sanctimoniam vitæ, morum gravitatem,

Et candorum & virtutes vere Christianus

olim spectabilis, semper memorandus,

naturæ & Gratia Dotibus illustris,

Corporis elegantis, Vultus decori, Mentis eximia

(Nusquam splendidius habitavit Philosophia)

Literaturæ, qua humanæ qua Divinæ, omni

genere Instructus;

Theodoxæ Religionis Præco atq; propugnator

Validissimus, Deo probatus operarius *αγαπητοτατος*

Episcopale munus modeste

Admisit, prudenter, & Benefice administravit,

Primævos & Apostolicos Pastores imitatus, &

Qualem posteri imitentur.

Vixit

Multis Idoneus; Omnibus Dilectus;

Bene de aliis merendi studiosus, & apprime Gnarus;

Erga Egenos liberalis, simulq; Rei familiaris providus;

Hospitalis sine Luxu, & inter Lautitias abstemius.

In templo, juxta ac privatis in Ædibus Deum

assidue & sincere Veneratus;

In precibus & jejuniis frequens, Cæli appetens,

Febre Correptus, bonus servus & fidelis

Domini, sui Gaudium ingressus est

Die XXXI Januarij

An. Dom. MDCXCII.

Ætat. Suæ 49.

Viro optimo Desideratissimoq;

Maria uxor Delectissima

H. M. M. P.

On a flat stone, northward, adjoining to the middle of the former, are two coats of arms, viz. the Powletts' and the Napers', with this inscription:

Francisca
 Nath. Naper Equitis Aurati filia
 Essexij Powlett Armigeri Coniux
 Exuvias Mortalitatís
 (Heu quam Pulchras !)
 Hic deposuit
 Pridie Cal. Sextil.
 Æræ Christianæ
 MDCLXVII.

On the north side, adjoining to the same, on a flat stone, is the following inscription, with the Powletts' coat of arms, and a half-moon between two of the daggers :

Here lyeth the body
 of Essex Powlett, Esq ;
 who died the 17th
 of September,
 1682.

Under the south wall, a little below Bishop Leving's monument, is a spacious monument, with the statue, of Sir John Clobery, and on the pedestal,

Sir John Clobery, was born at
 Broadston, in Devon.

Under the same, is the following inscription :

M. S.
 Johannis Clobery Militis,
 Vir in omni re eximius,
 Artem Bellicam
 Non tantum optime novit,
 Sed ubiq ; Fælissime exercuit
 Ruentis patriæ simul & Stuartorum Domûs
 Stator Auspicatissimus
 Quod Monchius & ipse
 Prius in Scotiæ Animo agitaverant
 Ad Londinam Venientes
 Facile effectum dabant ;
 Unde
 Pacem Angliæ, Carolum Secundum Solio,
 (Universo populo plaudente)
 Restituerunt.
 Inter Armorum negotiorumq ; Strepitum
 (Res raro militibus usitata)
 Humanioribus literis sedulo incubuit
 Et Singulares animi Dotēs

Tam exquisita eruditione expolivit
 Ut Athenis potius quam Castris
 Semisse videretur
 Sed corpore demum morbo languescente
 Se tacitè Mundi motibus subduxit
 ut Cælo, quod per totam vitam
 Ardentius anhelaverat unicè vacaret
 Obiit Anno, { Saluti, 1687.
 { Ætatis suæ, 63.
 Hoc Monumentum Charissima Defuncti
 Relicta ceu ultimum Amoris
 Indicium poni curavit.

Northward of the said monument, lie buried three of his children, John his only son, Frances and Elizabeth two of his daughters.

Between Sir John Clobery's monument, and his three children, under a black marble stone, lies buried the Earl of Castlehaven, with this coat of arms, quarterly; viz. first, in the field a chevron between nine ermines; secondly, a fret; the third, as the second; the fourth, as the first. The crest is a swan in a coronet, with a baron's coronet over his neck, and crowned with another coronet, with this inscription;

Here lieth the Body of
 The Right Honourable James
 Touchett, Baron Audley,
 and Earl of Castlehaven,
 in the kingdom of Ireland,
 Obiit Aug. 12.
 1700.

Below Sir John Clobery's monument, is buried the wife of Dr. Fulham, Archdeacon of Winchester, and Prebendary of the Church; and on his grave, lies a square black marble, with the following inscription:

S. I.
 Catharina Conjux
 Georgij Fulham
 S. T. P.
 hujus Ecclesiæ
 Præbendarij,
 1699.

Against the south wall is a mural monument, with this inscription;

M. S.
 Catharinæ filiæ primogenitæ
 ac Cohæredis Georgii Evelyn

de Wotton in Comitatu Surriæ Armigeri
 Conjugis Georgii Fulham, S. T. P.
 hujus Ecclesiæ Præbendarij
 Exoptatissima hæc Fæmina
 Eximium a teneris Annis pietatem,
 Singularem Virtutem, Prudentiam, Benignitatem
 ac Morum Candorem præ se ferens
 Summâ cum Gratiâ Vitam excoluit ;
 Amicis Carissima, Omnium Laudem promerita
 Circiter quatrimum a Partu Nati secundi
 Morbo Cephalico percussa, ex immaturo occubuit,
 Semper lugenda ; Nisi Paratissima vixisset.
 Obiit vicesimo tertio Die Octobris,
 Anno MDCXCIX.
 Juxta Matrem recubuit Galielmus Fulham
 Infans Bimestris.

On the north side of the Church, and at the east end in the Lord Treasurer Weston's vault, is buried Bishop Mews ; and on his grave is a small square stone, with this inscription :

Petrus Mews
 Winton : Epus.
 Obiit 9^{no}. Novembris
 1706.

This Bishop's death is said to have been foretold by a youth of Winchester school, who also foretold the time of his own.

On the same side, below the Lord Treasurer's monument, on a black flat marble stone, are these arms ; viz. three crescents in the field, and a crescent for a difference, with this inscription :

Hic jacet Henricus Perin
 E. Coll. S. Stæ. Trin. Apud
 Oxoniensis M. B. Denatus
 4to die Junij Anno Ætatis 32.
 Dom : 1694.
 Marmor hoc in Memoriam Nominis
 posuit mæreus Uxor.

Near the wall of the south side of the upper part of the Church, under a large stone, lies buried the Lady Mason ; with these coats of arms, viz. a lion with two heads, Mason, empal. in a field lozengie on a bend, three goats' heads erased. The crest is a mermaid, and this inscription ;

Lector
 Exuviae heic sunt cultissimæ
 Catharina
 Relicta { Joan. Vaux. Med. Dris
 { Tho. Husey Armig.
 { Rob. Mason Equ. Aurati
 (A quo nec in morte separata est)
 Pia, Chasta, Pulchra, Munifica,
 Bonorum operum quam dierum senior
 Decessit Idib. Octob.
 Ano. Ætatis LXII.
 Salutis CIOIOCLXXV.

On her right hand lies her son, with the Masons' coat of arms, and this inscription :

H S E
 Robertus Mason Armiger
 Roberti Mason Militis
 & Catharinæ
 (juxta depositorum)
 Filius
 Valiolarum Morbus
 Cum vitæ, tam Genti suæ
 Finem decit
 XV. Kal. Feb. An^o. { Dni MDCLXXXI.
 { Ætatis XXII.

On a plain stone on the south side of Bishop Wainfleet's monument, is this inscription, the long way of the stone :

Cui dedit Oxonium Mammas, Vigornia Cunas,
 Hic sua Christopherus Busta Perinus habet.
 Sacra Dei docuit Triginta sedulus Annos,
 Dignus, in hac illo quem tulit æde, loco.
 Angelus in terris vita fuit, Angelus Ore,
 Pars est Angelici nunc quoq; magna Chori.
 Conjugio Fœlix, Bis sena prole Beatus,
 Hanc illi Conjux Elizabetha tulit.
 Obiit 13 Die Octobris, Anno Dni. 1612.

Near the same place, on the south side, with the Symonds's arms, viz. a crescent between three trefoils, and on the chevron a crescent for a difference, with this inscription :

Here lyeth William Symonds, Gentleman,
 Of Winchester twice Mayor and Alderman.

Alice his wife lies buried by his side ;
 The one in June, in July th' other died ;
 On the 18th day 1601 Shee,
 On the 27th day 1606 Hec.

His Merit doth inherit Life and Fame ;
 For whilst this City stands, Symonds his name,
 In poor men's hearts shall never be forgotten ;
 For poore's prayers rise, when flesh lies rotten.

At the head of Bishop Wainfleet's monument, on the same side, under a black marble stone, lies buried Dr. Taylor, and these arms, viz. a chevron charged, three roundels, between as many griffins' heads erased. The crest, a dragon's head, with this inscription :

H S E
 Arthurus Taylor Medicinæ Dr.
 Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Filius
 Qui

Ultra Annos Triginta
 Arti suæ operam
 Hac in urbe felicitur impendit
 Et

Cum vivere ; amplius docere non possit
 jam tandem hic docet mori
 Obiit X^o die Augusti

Anno { Dni MDCLXXIV.
 { Ætatis LXI.

Opposite to the last, under the south wall, is a black marble stone, with these coats of arms per pale ; the first is the field, with a bordure round engrailed, a bend with three leopard's heads ; the second is a bordure round the field, with eight cinquefoils, and two crosses in the field, with this inscription :

H S E
 Gulielmus Coker
 Generosâ prosapiâ satus
 In Agro Dorset ;
 Per viginti sex Annos Medicinæ Professor,
 Ac is erat qui Deum supra naturam
 Et agnovit & sanctissime coluit :
 Quod si lapis iste siluerit
 Ennarabunt Te fere pietatis Monumenta
 Quot in hac Urbe vagantur Pauperes
 Quos sibi scilicet devinxit
 Gravitate tum valetudinis, tum inopiæ,
 Et (quod majus erat) inscientiæ levando.
 Obiit Jan. XIII. MDCCIV.
 Ætatis suæ 59.

In the south aisle of the church, opposite to the choir, under a large stone, lies buried Prebend Mews, with the arms of the family, viz. paly of six, and three cross crosslets in chief, with this inscription :

H S E
 Sam. Mews. S T B
 Hujusce et Ecclesie Wellensis Præbendarius
 Parochie de Estington in Agro
 Gloucestriensi Rector,
 Pius, Doctus, Comis, Facetus,
 Et quodcumq; alii videre volunt
 Revera fuit.
 Heu ! fuit.
 Obiit IX^o Die Junii
 Anno { Dni MDCCVI
 { Ætatis sue LXXV.

A little farther southward, on a black marble stone, lies Dr. Hawkins; his arms are sab. on a point wavee, a lion pass. or, in chief, three roundels on a canton gold, an escallop between two daggers, with this inscription :

H S E
 Gulielmus Hawkins
 S T P
 Hugis Ecclesie Præbendarius,
 Qui obiit Jul. 17^o
 Anno Domini 1691.
 Ætatis sue 58.

Southward, next adjoining to the same, on a large black marble stone, with these arms, viz. three boars' heads coupéd, empaling a chevron in a lozenge, and this inscription :

Here lieth the body of Madam Mary Davies, daughter of Sir Jonathan Trelawney, of Trelawney in the County of Cornwall, Baronet. A Lady of excellent endowments and exemplary virtue, of courage and resolution above her sex, and equal to the generous stock whence she sprang. She was Maid of Honour to Mary Princess of Orange, and Relict of Lieut. Coll. Davies, who, at the siege of Namur, mounting the trenches at the head of the grenadiers of the first Regiment of Guards, was the first that threw the fascines, (which others used to cover themselves with in their attack) over the ditch, and with his men past it, beating the French out of their works; which was a gallant action, and greatly contributed towards the taking of the town. In performing of which, he

received the wound, of which he died ; and gained so just an esteem for the boldness and success of it, with the King, that he designed him the great honour of a visit the morning on which he died ; and being informed of his death, in kind and honourable terms expressed his concern and sorrow for the loss of so brave and deserving an officer.

She died the xxiiiith of September, in the year MDCCVII.

A little distance from the south wall of the church, on a black marble stone, are these arms, viz. on a chief, two griffins' heads erased. In the field, three stags' heads coupé. The crest is a griffin's head, with this inscription :

H S E
 Shadrach Lyne Gen.
 Vir Pius
 Subdidus Fidelis,
 Plurimis charus,
 Obiit Octob. XXIV.
 Anno { Salutis MDCCI.
 { Ætatis LXXVI.

In a small chapel in the south aisle, on a black marble stone, is this coat of arms, viz. a mullet between two roundels on a chief, empaling five crescents in the form of a cross, and in a canton an ostrich's feather. The crest is a griffin's head, with this inscription :

Here is layd
 The precious Body
 of Elizabeth
 The intirely beloved Wife
 of Charles Dingley, Esq ;
 Son of Sir John Dingley
 of Woolverton,
 In the Isle of Wight.
 She dyed February the 5th. 1683.

In the same chapel, near the former, on a black square marble stone, is this inscription :

Here
 lieth the Body
 of Charles Dingley, Esq ;
 Husbaud of Elizabeth Dingley,
 who also lieth buried near this
 Place, who departed this
 Life September the
 Twenty eighth
 1700.

In the same chapel, near the same place, under a large black marble stone, with these arms, three piles in pale, points downward, charged with as many annulets impaling a cross, on which is a leopard's head, is this inscription :

Here lyeth the Body of
Mrs. Mary Young, the Wife
of James Young, Esq; who
was a Gentleman of the
Privie Chamber unto
King Charles the First,
And dyed a Collonell
In his sayd Maties Service.
She was the Daughter of
W^m Bridges, the Son of
Thomas Bridges, Baron
Chandris of Sudley. She
dyed the 14th Day of December
1687. Aged 80.

In a chapel in the south aisle, (next adjoining to the last) called Prior Silksteed's chapel, on a large black flat marble stone, is this inscription :

Here resteth the Body of
Mr. Isaac Watton
who dyed the 15th of December
1683.
Alas ! He's gone before,
Gone to return no more.
Our panting Breasts aspire
After their aged Sire,
Whose well-spent Life did last
Full ninety Yeares and past.
But now he hath begun
That which will ne'er be done,
Crown'd with eternal Bliss
We wish our Souls with his.

Votis modestis sic flêrunt liberi

Under the south wall of the same chapel, on a black marble stone, are these arms, viz. three Cornish choughs between a bar, impaling five ermines checquy, calthorpes, the crest is a castle, on the top a Cornish chough displayed, with this inscription :

H. S. E.
 Johannes Nicholas
 S. T. P.
 Collegij Beatæ Mariæ Winton
 Prope Winton
 Custos,
 Hujus Ecclesiæ & Sarisburiensis
 Præbendarius.
 Obiit Feb. 27.
 Anno { Salutis } 1711.
 { Ætatis } 74.

On the south corner of the wall is a monument of marble erected, with this inscription :

H. S. E.
 Johannes Nicholas, S. T. P.
 Hujus Ecclesiæ Præbendarius *Eusebys*
 Utrumq; Collegij Wiccamiei
 Scholaris, & Socius, & Custos,
 In utroq; reliquit perennia
 Munificentiæ suæ Monumenta,
 Collegia disciplinâ excoluit.
 Ædificiis auxit, & exornavit,
 Scholam suis penè sumptibus extruxit,
 Wiccamo suo sanè dignissimam.
 Inter hæc omnia Pauperibus
 Largus Bonorum Erogator
 Et Præsentissimum Levamen.
 Hæc opera verè magna
 Magnum loquuntur Authorem
 Et seræ Posteritati enarrabunt
 Diem suum Obiit Feb. 27.
 Anno { Dom. } 1711.
 { Ætat. } 74.

Next to Dr. Nicholas's, on a large flat black marble stone, the arms the same as the last, with this inscription :

H. S. E.
 Henrietta Maria Nicholas,
 Filia Jacobi Calthorp de Ampton,
 In Agro Suffolciensi, Armigeri,
 Uxor Johannis Nicholas, SS. KP.
 Coll. Btæ. Mariæ Winton. Custodis,
 Quæ

Unico superstite filio
 secundo puerperio obiit
 Anno { Salutis MDCLXXXIII.
 { Ætatis XXXVI.
 Adeo a laudibus abhorruit posthumis
 Ut ipsius morituræ votis dandum est
 Quod virtutes alias atq; alias
 Relligio sit silere.

Next adjoining to the last, on a large black flat marble stone, are these arms, viz. a lion rampant, impaling three Cornish choughs, with the following inscription :

H. S. E.
 Elizabetha Mompesson,
 Thomæ Mompesson (de Sarum) Equitis Aurati
 Relicta,
 Matthæi Nicholas (Divi Pauli
 Apud Londinenses Decani)
 Filia, natu maxima.
 quæ
 Postquam totam pietati, castis moribus,
 Et multifariis, quotidianisq; pauperam beneficiis
 Vitam impendisset,
 Senectutis maturæ finem implevit,
 Nov. XXIX.
 Anno { Dni MDCCIX.
 { Ætatis LXXV.

Under the east wall of the north aisle, on a plain grey marble stone, is this inscription :

H. S. E.
 Etheldreda
 Filia Cl. Edw. Pocock
 S. T. D.
 Linguae Hebraicæ
 In Academia Oxon
 Professoris Regij
 Linguae Arabicæ ibidem
 Prælectoris Primi,
 Conjux charissima
 Gulielmi Emes
 Collegij prope Winton Socii
 Quæ obiit 5to Die Novembris
 Anno Dom. { 1698.
 { Ætatis suæ 49.

Near the south wall of the same aisle, on a black marble stone, with these arms, viz. in the field, a chevron ermine between three urchins, is this inscription :

H. S. E.

Richardus Harris Eques Auratus
 Reverendi admodum Johannis Harris, S. T. P.
 (Collegij Wintoniensis Custodis) Filius ;
 Qui Tali Conjugem amore coluit,
 Qualem ab illa sperabat, quali fruebatur
 Numerosæ Proles Felix ; & Pius Pater,
 Nectamen Pauperum minus, quam suorum memor.
 Dies ac noctes Clientum negotiis vacabat,
 Quietem alienam semper anteponeus suæ.
 Regis Idem Patriæq ; fidelissimus servus ;
 Honores, quibus erat cumulatus,
 Nemo minus ambiit, nemo meruit magis.
 Quantæ erat in Deum pietatis,
 Vel exhinc licet auspicari
 Precibus publicis
 (Paucissimas ante mortem horas)
 Interfuit
 In Ecclesiâ vovens animam Deo
 Ad quem illicò erat abiturus.
 Obiit Aug. XII. Anno { Dni MDCXCVIII.
 { Ætatis suæ LX^o

Near the steps, in the same aisle, on a plain flat stone, is this inscription :

H. S. E.

Randolph Jewett
 Generosus.

Ob. Jul. 3. An. Æt. 72. Dom.
 1675.

And next adjoining to the same, on the like stone, is this inscription :

D.

Anna Jewett
 Quæ quondam Uxor, Rand. Jewett.
 Hujus Ecclesiæ Organistæ
 9^m Liberorum mater,
 Olim marito, & pluribus
 Tandem Ben. tunc Unico Orbata
 Uitam senio & lucta confectam
 Lubentiss. exhalavit
 Margabergæ VI. Id. Aug.
 An. D. MDCXCII.
 Ætat. XC.
 Juxta Fil. Benj.
 In eodem recubat sepulchro }

In the same aisle, on the other side of Mr. Jewett, on a large black marble stone, is this coat of arms, viz. in the field, five flower-de-luces in a cross, the crest a dove; and this inscription :

Deborah
Uxor Gulielmi Over Med,
Randolphi & Annæ Jewett Filia
Obiit Puerpera Aug. 9. A. D. 1686.
Ætat 33.

Gulielmus Randolplus
Filius ejus Primogenitus
Variolarum Tabe Correptus.
Interiit Jan. 23. A. D. 1685.
Ætat. 1.

Gulielmus
Filius natu secundus
25^o Die a Nativitate sua
Fatis concessit, Aug. 28^o 1686.

In the same aisle, southward, even with the last, on a plain stone, is this inscription :

Exuviae
Benjamini Jewett. A. M.
Rectoris de Mildenhall
In Com. Wilt.
Qui post XLV Annos
Pie & honeste
Exactos.
Obiit Margabergæ VI Decem.
Annæ Æræ Christianæ
MDCXCI.

In the same north aisle, on a plain stone, is this inscription :

Here lyeth the Body of
Mr. William Taylour, bred
In the College, near Winton, and
Chaplain there 20 years,
Petty Cannon of this
Cathedral 46 years,
Chantor 34 years
who died
Febru. 2^o A^o Dom. 1667.
Aged 69.
Awake and sing, ye that
Dwell in the Dust.

Next to the last, on a plain narrow stone, is this inscription :

H. S. E.
 Radulphus
 Taylor Clericus
 Ecclesiæ S S Trinitatis
 Canonicus minor,
 Rector de Winhall,
 Qui obiit
 Calendis Aprilis
 Anno { Salutis MDCLXXXVII.
 Ætatis LXXVII.

Near the north wall of the said north aisle, on a plain stone, the long way of the stone, is this inscription :

Marthæ Brexton Filiæ maximæ natu Thomæ
 Et Mariæ Brexton Tumulus.
 Consurgunt Foliis Candentia Lilia Quinis
 Spirant Purpureis intus Amœna Crocis
 Hinc Crocus est Pietas Foliis Circundata Quinis
 Justitia Cura Pace Lepore Fide.
 Sept. 1673.

At the side of the steps before the ascent into the choir, between the pillars opposite to Bishop Edington's monument, is a large vault erected, about four feet high, wherein is buried Bishop Morley, and Dr. Morley his nephew: and on the middle of the said vault is a large black marble stone, (inclosed round with iron rails) whereon is Bishop Morley's coat of arms, with the arms of the See of the Bishopric of Winchester, and his paternal coat, inclosed in a mitred garter, viz. in the field two lions rampant; with this inscription, made by himself, in the 80th year of his age.

In spe Resurrectionis ad Vitam Æternam
 Georgius Episcopus Wintoniensis hic jacet,
 Qui Postquam pro Rege & Martyre Carolo primo
 Et cum Rege & Exile Carolo secundo,
 Exilium in partibus transmarinis hic, illic,
 Duodecim plus minus annorum exegisset,
 Redux cum Rege tandem in Patriam suam,
 Munificentia magis Regia, quam illo sui ipsius
 (Tam in sublimibus in Ecclesia gradibus) patri merito
 Primum ex Uno Canonicorum, Ecclesiæ Christi
 Oxoniensis factus est Decanus; breviq; postea
 In Ecclesiæ Vigorniensis Præsulatum est

Evectus ; tandemq ; (sic volente Deo & Rege)
 In hujus inclytæ Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ
 Episcopatum est Transtatus : et jam plus
 Quam Octogenarius, hoc sibi Epitaphium
 Scripsit, & huic sui deposito apponi jussit.
 Obiit verò Anno Domini MDCLXXXIV.
 Mensis Octobris die XXIX^o. Anno
 Ætatis suæ LXXXVII^o; postquam
 In hac Episcopali Cathedra
 Sederat Annos XXII, Menses quinq.

Against the pillar, at the head of Bishop Morley's tomb, is an oval mural monument erected, of white marble, with the same coat of arms as the last, and this inscription thereon :

Franciscus Morley Georgii Episcopi Pronepos
 S. Th. Pr. Hujus Ecclesiæ Præbendarius
 Fracta valetudine admonitus vitæ corruentis
 Et mortis Vicinium infracta pace contemplan
 Juxta venerabiles Præpatru Reliquias
 Suas hic subtus deponi curavit
 Beatam una peraus *εξαναλασιν*
 Obiit 1^o Octob. { An. Dom. 1696.
 Æt. suæ. 41.

In the same north aisle, northward of the lower part of Bishop Morley's vault, on a large black marble stone, are these arms, viz. two lions passant between a bar, the crest a lion's head erased, with this inscription :

H. S. E.
 Gulielmus Pain S. T. P.
 Istius Ecclesiæ XXIII. per Annos
 Præbendarius
 Rector de Martyr Worthy
 Qui vitam.
 (Divinis ministeriis deditam
 Ad humaniora officia paratam)
 Cum morte Fœliciter commutavit
 Sept. 26.
 Anno { Ætatis LXXXIII.
 { Salutis MDCLXXXIX.

Next adjoining to the last, northward, on the like stone, with these arms, viz. those of Pain, as before, impaled with his wife's, viz. a chevron between three dogs' heads erased, is this inscription :

Maria
 Uxor Gulielmi Payne,
 S. T. P.
 Et hujus Ecclesiæ
 Præbendarii
 Obiit XX^o die Maii
 A^o Dni 1693.

In the same north aisle, northward of the upper part of Bishop Morley's vault, on a plain flat stone, is this inscription :

Hic jacet Thomas Garrard
 Ambiens in Sepulturâ Vicinum
 Reverendissimi Patris Georgii
 Cui per quinque
 Lustra astitit à secretis
 Domino dignissimo servus dignus.
 Obiit 14^o Decembris Anno
 1697.

Next adjoining, northward, on a black marble stone, with these arms, viz. three lions passant between ten ermines in this field, impaling five ermines in a chevron engrailed, is this inscription :

H S E
 Christiana
 Uxor Matthæi Combe, M. D.
 Optimè merita
 Quæ postquam precibus publicis
 privatisq; assidè invigilando
 Rem familiarem prudenter
 Administrando
 Pauperes sablevando
 Omnibus se Comem & benignam præbendo
 Sibi ac suis, Viciniæ & Ecclesiæ
 Utilissima vixerat
 Variolarum morbo tandem correpta
 Mortem, quam
 Nec Mariti Ars et assiduitas
 Nec Filiæ Unicæ pietas
 Nec utriusq; Amor, vota, & lachrymæ
 avertere valuerent.
 Obiit
 Apr. XVI. An^o { Dni MDCCXII.
 { Ætatis suæ LVIII.

Next adjoining, northward, on a black marble stone, with these arms, viz. three lions passant, between twenty-four ermines in a lozenge, is this inscription :

H S E

Finetta Catharina
 Filia Matthæi Combe, M. D.
 Quæ morte obiit repentinâ
 Et sibi uni non immatura,
 July 31. An^o { Dni MDCCXII.
 { Ætatis suæ XVIII.
 Matri optimæ adjacet
 Filia non degener ;
 Viventis Comes individua
 Vitæ imitatrix sedula
 In morte etiam heu ! nimis propinqua
 Filiæ carissimæ
 Quod contra ab illa sibi
 et decuit et in votis fuit
 Hoc Amoris pariter et doloris
 Monumentum Pater
 M. P.

A little farther westward, in the same north aisle, on a black marble stone, are these arms, viz. a chief ermine, a chevron in the field between three choughs. The crest a hand holding a dragon's head, with this inscription :

H S E

Thomas Sayer
 S T P
 Archidiaconus Surriæ
 Et
 Hujus Ecclesiæ Præbendarius
 Qui obiit Jun. 3.
 Anno Domini 1710.
 Ætatis suæ 58.

Near the north wall of the same aisle, a little farther westward, on a black marble stone, with these arms, viz. the field ermine, three griffins in a chief rampant ; the crest, a griffin passant, and this inscription :

Robertus Pescod Armiger
 Prothonotarius Curie
 Cancellariæ Dni Regis
 Obiit 27^o die Februarii
 Anno Dni 1633.
 Ætatis suæ 67^o

A little distance farther in the same aisle, on a long plain stone, is this inscription :

Spe Resurgendi.
 Here lyeth the Body of
 George Pemerton Gent.

Who was twice Mayor
 Of this Citie,
 And here well knowne
 to be a good Magistrate,
 and a liberal Benefactor
 Both to his Friends and Allie
 And also the Poore
 of divers Places,
 Which can truly testifie
 To Posteritie
 His well devoted
 And pious Charitie,
 The best Badge of a good
 Christian's Sinceritie,
 February A^o D^o 1640.
 Here also lyeth
 Ann his Wife,
 Who departed this Life
 The 28th of February
 Anno Domini 1627.

At the south east side of the pillar at the head of Bishop Morley's vault, on a square piece of brass, (fixed against the pillar) is this inscription :

A Memoriall

For this Renowned Martialist Richard Boles, of the Right Worshipful Family of the Boles in Linckhorne Sheire, Collonell of a Ridgment of Foot of 1300, who for his gracious King Charles the First did Wounders at the Battle of Edgehill. His last Action, to omit all others, was at Alton, in this County of Southampton, was surprized by five or six thousand of the Rebels ; which caused him, there quartered, to fly to the Church with near fourscore of his men, who there fought them six or seaven Hours ; and then the Rebels breaking in upon him, He slew with his sword six or seaven of them, and then was slain himself, with sixty of his Men about him. His gracious Sovereign hearing of his death gave him his high Commendation, in that passionate expression.

Bring me a Moorning Scarf, I have lost
 One of the best Commanders in the Kingdome.

Alton will tell you of that famous Fight
 Which this Man made, and bade this World good night,
 His vertuous Life fear'd not Mortalyty ;
 His Body must, his vertues cannot die

Because his Blood was there so nobly spent ;
This is his Tombe, that Church his Monument.

Richardus Boles Wiltoniensis in Art. Mag.
Composuit pesuitq; Dolens
An. Dni. 1689.

Near the same pillar, southward, in the middle or body of the church, on a large stone, are these arms, viz. six cinquefoils, with a mullet between them. The crest is a goat's head, with the following inscription :

H. S. E.
Walterus Dayrell S. T. P. Archidiaconus Winton.
& hujus Ecclesie Præbendarius,
Qui obiit 29 Die Martii,
Anno { Ætatis 74.
 { Salutis 1684.

Near the same place, a little farther southward, on a large black marble stone, are these arms. Two coats impaled; the first is three escollop shells in bend; the second a chevron, with three cinquefoils between three pelicans; the crest a stag issuing; with this inscription :

Here lyeth the Body
of Jacob Webb, Gent.
Merchant Adventurer
of England,
And Citizen of London,
Who died the 13th of March 1684.
Aged 74 Years.

Near the north side of Bishop Edington's monument, on a plain stone, is this inscription :

Joannes Harfell Gen.
Clericus Scriba, ac Registrarius
Capituli hujus Ecclesie
Et Barbara ejusdem Uxor
Postquam Annos in hac Vita 71
Conjugio 47 Numerassent
Divortium Ultra Quatriduum
Haud sustinentes
Ultimum hic Cubile
Simul posuerunt.
Illa 24 } Octob. Ob. { A. D.
Ipse 29 } { 1680.

A little distance westward of the last, on a plain stone, is this inscription :

M. M. S.
 Abigail Uxoris Edvardi Harfell Gen.
 & Johannis eorundem Filii qui pia
 (Uti speramus)
 Occubuerunt
 Holocausta Deo.
 Obiit
 Hic 12^o Aug. } Illa 22^o Sept.
 Anno } Dni
 16 } 35.
 Æt } atis
 16 } 47.
 Corripuit Febris natum minorem
 Abstulit Hydrops
 Igne Prior Fatis
 Altera Cessit Aqua.

A little farther northward of the last, on a black marble stone, are these arms, viz. two coats impaled; the first is three lions rampant crowned; the second in a chief indented, are three stags' heads cabossed, in the field three eagles' legs erased; the crest is a lion rampant crowned; with this inscription :

Here lieth the Body of
 John Forde, Esq; Son of Sir
 William Forde, Kt. of Harting in
 Sussex, who died the 2^d Day
 of December, in the Year of
 our Lord, 1681. in the 76
 Year of his Age.

And near him, lies buried
 his Wife, and several of his
 Children.

A little farther northward, on a black marble stone, is this coat of arms, viz. in the field are two stags' heads in a chief, cabossed with a mullet; the crest a stag's head erased; with the following inscription :

In spe Resurrectionis
 ad vitam Æternam
 H S E
 Georgius Popham
 De Barwicke Basset,

iu Comitatu Wilts,
 Generosus
 Qui obiit XXIV Die Januarij
 Anno { Domini MDCLXXXVII.
 } Ætatis suæ XXVIII.

A little farther westward, in the same middle aisle or body of the church, on a plain stone, is this inscription :

Gulielmus Downes, Gent.
 postquam Vitam
 Relatis } Indulgentem
 Amicus } Gratam
 Pauperibus } Liberam
 Sibi } Sobriam
 Omnibus } Innocuam.
 Instituisset ;
 (Ne dicam Peregisset) medeo
 Javentutis Curriculo animâ
 Variolarum rabie
 Intempestive discussa
 Reliquas mortalitatis Suæ
 Exuvias huic reposito
 dicavit
 Obiit 7^o Aug. 1678.
 Ætatis 23.

A little farther southward, in the same aisle, on a plain stone, is this inscription :

H J
 Myrth Wafferer, S. T. P.
 & Hujus Ecclesiæ
 Præbendarius
 Obiit Anno { Dni 1680. }
 } Ætat. 71. } Novemb. 5.

In the same aisle, near the stone pulpit, on a grey stone, are these arms, viz. in the field three crosses patees fitched; in the foot between two bendlets engrailed; with this inscription :

H S E
 Edward Traffles Gen.
 Huic Sanctæ Ecclesiæ
 (Dum vixit) Auditor
 Computorum & Dno.
 Archidiacono Winton.
 Registrarius
 Qui Laboriosissimo

Vitæ stadeo fideliter
 Emenso, metam obtinuit
 & (uti spes est) Coronam
 4^o Die Novembris.

Anno { Salutis 1675.
 { Ætatis suæ 63.

Next to him lies buried his Wife
 Catherine.

In the middle of the same aisle, a little below the stone pulpit, on a plain stone, is this inscription :

Here resteth the Body
 Of Thomas Gumble,
 D. D. Chaplain to his
 Majesties Life Guard,
 and Prebend of this
 Cathedral,
 Who departed this
 Life September the 9th
 1676.
 Aged 50 Years.

In the same aisle, a little farther westward, on a large black marble stone, is this inscription :

Albiit non obiit, præiit non periit,
 In memoriam Dilectiss. Mariti sui
 Gulielmi Say Collegij Omnium
 Animarum in Academia Oxon. quondam
 Socij utriusq; Juris Baccalaurei
 Hujus Ecclesiæ Canonici nec non
 Reverendorum in Christo patrum
 Johannis Watsoni & Thomæ Cooperi
 Hujus Diocesos Episcoporum Cancellarij,
 Integerrimi, posuit Conjux pia Margareta
 Hoc Amoris sui Monumentum.
 Excessit è vivis, 10 Die Julij A^o Salutis
 Humanæ 1613. Ætatis suæ 71.

Near the same place in the same aisle, a little towards the south west, on a plain black marble stone, is this inscription :

Here lyeth the Body of
 John Haslewood, Doctor
 Of Divinity, and Rector of St.
 Olaves Parish in Southwark,
 Who dyed in this City August 16th
 1708, in the 61st year of his Age.

Near the east part of William of Wickham's monument, on a black marble stone, are these arms : in the field two bendlets ; with the following inscription :

H S E
Henricus Bradshaw
S T P
Hujus Ecclesiæ
Præbendarius
Obiit Anno { Domini 1690 } Apr. 13.
 { Ætatis 74. }

Near the west end of William of Wickham's monument, in the same aisle, on a whitish stone, the arms thus, in the field three flower-de-luces in a fess, engrailed between three lions passant ; the crest is a flower-de-luce, with this inscription :

Here lyeth the Body of Mr.
William Smith, of this Citty,
Who departed this Life
The 14th of October, A^o Dⁿⁱ
1671, being aged 63.

Near him lies buried, Anne his Wife.

Between William of Wickham's monument and the south wall of the south aisle of the church, on a plain black marble stone, is the following inscription :

H S E
Godson Penton, Wintoniæ
Civis Patricius Civitatisque
Præfectura Honorifice ter
Functus Est
Obiit Augusti XV^o
Anno { Ætatis, 64.
 { Salutis, 1700.

Near the west end of William of Wickham's monument, in the same south aisle, on a little square white marble stone, is this inscription :

Hic
Sepultus est
Guilielmus Harris
S. T. P.

And on the pillar at the head of the said stone, is a mural monument erected of white marble, whereon is this inscription :

M. S.

Gulielmi Harris, S. T. P. Hujus Ecclesiæ
Præbendarij, & Collegij Bte Mariæ Winton prope fundati
Scholaris, Socij, Archidasculi

Viri inter Prima Gentis Wicchamicæ
Nomina memorandi, & Fundatori Optimo
Cum Tumulo, tum pietate & Munificentia
Conjunctissimi.

Utpote Qui in hac Ecclesiâ Orientalem
Chori partem (legatis in id unum Octingentis
libris) Adornandum Curavit. Collegiis
Wicchamicis, sæpius utriq; benefactionem
libras ultra Quingentas dedit, & Colerniæ
Sue Natalis in Agro Wilts pauperitus in perpetuum
Sublevandis trecentas libras impendit.
Cætera quæ Clam erogavit plurima
Palam aliquando rependit Deus.

Obiit 9^{no} Dic Novembris Anno { Dni 1700
Ætatis sue 52.

Near the west end of the south aisle, on a black marble stone, are three arms, viz. in the field, three eagles' legs erased, and three stags' heads cabossed in a chief indented; the crest is an eagle's head, holding in his mouth an eagle's leg erased; with this inscription :

H. S. E.

Nicholaus Stanley, M. D.
Quid cum plures Annos summâ
Fide Medicinæ praxi Operam
Navasset morbo ineluctabili
Oppressus fato succubit 12^o
Septembris Anno Dni. 1687.
Ætatis 58.

Vitæ integritate inter Homines
Sue Professionis nulli secundus.

Near him lies buried his Wife Cecilia.

On the south side of the choir, near the Bishop's seat, is this inscription, on a brass plate, round a stone :

Hic jacet Thomas Cooper olim Lincolnienſis,
 Super Wintonienſis Epicoſus Munificentiffimus,
 Doctiffimus, Vigilantiſſimus, preſulq; qui
 Religioſiſſime in Domino obiit Aprilis
 29. An. Dom. 1594.

On the middle of the marble are theſe verſes :

Thesaurus Chronicorum, Cooperi cætera ſcripta
 Dum remanent, celebris Cooperi fama manebit.
 Oxoniensis erat, Gloceſtrenſiſque Decanus
 Continuus primæ Vice Cancellarius urbis,
 Cum Lincolnienſis ſit præſul, et inde mobetur
 Wintoniam, denos ubi ſedit Epicoſus annos,
 Summe doctus erat, ſummeque benignus egenis,
 Et ſummo ſtudio divina oracula pandit
 Terra tegit corpus, ſed ſpiritus eſt ſuper aſtra
 Celeſtes animæ celeſti pace fruuntur.

A little lower, this:

In obitum D. Thomæ Cooperi Sacræ Theologiæ
 Profeſſoris W. S. ΔΕΥΔΕΙΧΟΥ.

And near the ſame place, lies buried Nicholas, ſon of
 the aforeſaid Nicholas Stanley, under a black marble
 ſtone, with the ſame arms as the laſt, and this inſcription :

Nicholaus Stanley
 M. D.
 Obiit 5^o Septembris,
 Anno Dom. 1710.
 & Suxæ Ætatis 52.
 Abi Lector,
 Hoc breve mihi ſufficit Epitaphium
 & placet ſi legas, nec tui jam
 ſis Immemor Sepulchri

Near the weſt door of the ſouth aiſle, on a black
 marble ſtone, are theſe arms, viz. in the field a lion
 rampant, between ten flower-de-luces; the creſt is a lion
 paſſant; with this inſcription :

H. S. E.
 Georgius Beaumont
 S. T. P.
 Hujus Eccleſiæ Præbendarius
 Obiit Aug. 5^o
 Anno Dom. 1687. Ætatis ſuxæ 83.

Near the last, a little farther eastward, on a black marble stone, the same arms and crest with the last, is this inscription :

H S E
 Georgius Beaumont. A.M.
 Collegij Btæ Mriæ Winton.
 Propæ Winton
 Socius
 Filius Natu Maximus
 Georgij Beaumont, S. T. P.
 juxta Sepulti
 Obiit 15^o Die Sepbris Anno { Domini 1688.
 Ætatis suæ 36.

Near the west door of the same aisle, on a plain grey marble stone, is this inscription :

Johannes Warner
 A. M.
 Hujus Eccl. Præbendarius
 Et
 Uxor ejus Margarita.
 H. I.
 Obiit { Ille 4^{to}
 { Illa 10^{mo} } Octo.
 A. D. 1704.

In St. Mary's Chapel, at the east end of the church, is the following inscription, engraven on a large stone on the left side of the altar, erected in memory of the Rev. Dr. Layfield, who paved the altar-place with a sort of grey stone, brought from Sussex, called heath stone, very much resembling grey marble.

Anno { Sal. Humanæ, 1705.
 Ætatis suæ 58.

Carolus hunc posuit lapidem Layfieldus inanem
 Præsenti Exequias dum parat ipse sibi
 Si tamen hic nolit Deus illius ossa jacere
 Dum teneat vacuus Nomen iuane Lapis.

Opposite to this stone is another of the same form, left blank.

Near the west end of the middle aisle, is (just laid) a plain black marble stone, with this inscription :

Siste, Viator,
 Et dum splendida miraris Sepulchra
 Humile hoc nè prætereas marmor ;

Sub quo ponuntur Exuviae
 Thomæ Fletcher, S. T. P.
 Quo vix alium Sublimiorem invenies.
 Hic cum fecundissimam Indolem,
 Humanioribus exercitataam studiis,
 Divinarum rerum ditasset scientia
 Tenera Gregis Wicchamici Ingenia
 In pietate, bonisque instituit Literis ;
 Et cum diserte fari. Cœlestia sapere docuit.
 Laudem quam in Juventute Instituendâ meruit
 Ista, quas loqui fecit efferant Linguae.
 Quam fidelis S. Scripturarum Interpres,
 Quam fœlix & potens earundem Præco,
 Hæc Silente Auditore, testentur Mœnia.
 Ruras hasce Ingenii sui dotes
 Nec præsens, nec ventura celabit dies :
 Eruditionis enim & Pietatis Insolentiam
 Snavissimus adèo temperavit Moribus,
 Ut malorum declinâvit Invidiam,
 Bonorum Benevolentiam attraxerit.
 Hunc omnibus muneris absolutum,
 Istructorem Scholares ;
 Amicum Propinqui ;
 Patrem Nati ;
 Maritum Uxor ;
 Decus Collegium ;
 Columnen Ecclesia ;
 Diu plorabunt.

Natus Avintoniæ Prope Winton.	{ Anno }	1666.
Ecclesiæ Wellensis Prebendarius		1696.
Scholæ Winton. Didascalus.		1701.
Obiit		1713.

Bishops, Priors, Deans, and Prebendaries

OF THE SEE OF WINCHESTER.

BISHOPS.

Birinus was made Bishop of this See about the year 635, and died about the year 650.

Agilbertus about the year 650 was made Bishop here, by King Kynewaldus. Upon the expulsion of this Bishop, who was drove into France, his own country, where he was afterwards made Archbishop of Paris,

Wina, a monk of this place succeeded in 662, or, according to Cardinal Beaufort's Register, in 650, and being drove hence, he became the first instance of a Simoniac, in England, by purchasing the Bishopric of London from Wulphere King of the Mercians.

Elutherius, after a vacancy of four years, was consecrated Bishop of this See, by Theodorus, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the request of the late expelled Bishop Agilbert: he continued here about seven years, and died in 674.

Headda, or Hedda, in 673. He translated the body of St. Birinus, and the See, hither in 676, and died about 703.

Daniel, succeeded in 704, sat 42 years, and by reason of his old age, finding his inability to govern, he resigned his Bishopric in 741, and became a Monk of Malmsbury in Wiltshire, where he died in 745.

Humfridus, succeeded in 744, and governed here eight years, and died anno 756.

Kinebard, succeeded in 754, or 756, according to Cardinal Beaufort's Register.

Athelard, Abbot of Malmsbury, translated to Canterbury, anno, 790, or, according to Beaufort's Register, in 794.

Egbaldus.

Dudda.

Kynebirthus, anno 799, went to Rome, with Athelardus, then Archbishop of Canterbury.

Almund, was Bishop here in 803, he sitting in that capacity in the council of Clives-Ho,

Wigthenius, sat in the council of Clives-Ho in 824, and died before 829.

Herefridus was killed in a Battle against the Danes, together with Sigelm Bishop of Sherburn, anno 833, tho' Beaufort's Register says, 834.

Edmund, was Bishop here in 836, for a very short time, and died in 852.

Helmstan succeeded, and was tutor to Ethelwolf, youngest Son of King Egbert. He was a Monk of Winchester, and recommended his royal pupil to St. Swithun, then Prior here; from whom he received the habit of a monk, and was afterwards admitted into the order of Sub-deacons, by him. He died anno 837.

Ethelwolf succeeded his tutor here, for about seven years, was a great benefactor to the Church and Monastery, and by the dispensation of Pope Leo, was taken hence to be crowned King of England, after the death of his father, whose place he filled two and twenty years.

Swithun succeeded in 852, and died in 862. He is said to have been Chancellor of England, and has many trifling miracles recorded as performed by him, from Matthew Westminster.

Adferthus succeeded in 862, or (according to Beaufort's Register) in 863, and was translated to Canterbury.

Dumbertus succeeded, and gave the Manor of Stushe-ling to the building of this Church, and died in 879.

Denewulph, a swine-herd, who lived in the place where the celebrated Abbey of Athelney in Somersetshire afterwards stood. The story runs, that he preserved for some time, King Alfred in a disguise, whom the victorious Danes had forced to great streights. In this concealment the King is pretended to have been his tutor, and to have then fitted him for what he afterwards promoted him to, viz. this See, which he did after a great victory obtained over the Danes, and re-settlement in his throne, as a piece of gratitude to him for his late favours. The ridiculousness of this fable, will easily appear to any the least skilled in chronology. He governed this diocese twenty-four years, and at his death, was buried in his own Church.

Athelmus succeeded in 880, and in anno 888 went to Rome, to carry a present from King Alfred.

Bertulphus in 897, he is said to have been, with many more, constituted a guardian of the kingdom, by King Alfred, against the Danes.

Brithestane was consecrated in 905, sat many years here, resigned anno 931, and died in 932.

Brinstan was Bishop in 931, and died 934.

Elphegus Calvus, a Monk of Glastonbury, to the great satisfaction of the clergy, king, and people, succeeded in 934, and died in 951, (or according to Beaufort's register, 946.)

Elfinus, or Alfinus, succeeded in 946, afterwards, by bribes and simony, removed himself to Canterbury.

Brithelmus succeeded in 958, and died anno 963.

Ethelwald, consecrated on St. Andrew's Eve, 963, by St. Dunstan, then Archbishop of Canterbury; under whose government he was then a monk of Glastonbury, from whence he became Abbot of Abingdon, and after nineteen years' government here, he died Aug. 1, 984, and was buried here, on the north side of the high altar.

Elphege, Abbot of Bath, consecrated November 984, and installed on St. Simon and Jude's day following, translated to Canterbury in 1006.

Kenulphus, alias Elfius, in 1006, who dying, was buried in this Cathedral in 1008.

Brithwold, alias Ethelwold, succeeded in 1008, who dying in 1013, was buried in this Cathedral.

Alsimus, Chaplain to King Harrold, by whom he was advanced to this See in 1015, where he sat twenty-two years, and was translated to Canterbury.

Alwyn, a monk of Winchester, was consecrated in 1038, died, and was buried here, 1047.

Stigand, Chaplain to Edward the Confessor, made Bishop of Elmham, then removed to Norwich, where a powerful rival displaced him, from whom he shortly after recovered it again; from thence he was translated hither in 1047, which he held with Canterbury in 1052. These two Sees were deemed incompatible to be held together, and the tenure of them judged illegal; so that this Archbishop and Bishop being deprived in 1069, he died a prisoner in the castle belonging to this city, and was buried with one of his predecessors, Bishop Wina.

Walkelin, Chaplain and relation to William the Conqueror, a Norman by birth, (on the deprivation of Stigand) was nominated on Whitsunday 1070, and consecrated the Sunday following by Aramenfrid, the Pope's Legate: he died Jan. 3, 1098, and was esteemed a man of very great learning.

William Giffard, nominated 1100, (the See being kept in the King's hands from 1098) but not consecrated upon account of a quarrel between the King and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, till 1107. Here he sat twenty-one years, during which he built a house, formerly the seat of the Bishops of this See, in Southwark, near London, in Surry, which being now converted into streets of dwelling-houses, is a revenue appropriated to this See: he died Jan. 25, 1128, and was buried in his own Cathedral.

Henry de Blois, brother of King Stephen, first Abbot of Bermondsey, then of Glastonbury, and nominated to this Bishopric in October 1129, and consecrated here by William, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Nov. 17, following. He was a firm friend to his brother, and, 1141, made use of the Church's thunder against the Empress, the true heiress of the crown. The burning of the city, monastery, and twenty other churches, is laid to his charge, the spoils of which he is said to have put in his own pocket. The Hospital of St. Crosse, near this place, once destroyed by the Danes, was new founded and endowed by him in 1132, (or, according to Rudborne's Hist. Maj. Wint. in 1136.) He built Farnham Castle in Surry, afterwards destroyed by King Henry III: he died Aug. 6, 1171, and was buried in this Church, before the high altar. [Here is added in the Errata, — He was a very good man, and an extraordinary character is given of him in the Annales Wint. and Godwin: the former speaks that he had a design to make Winchester an Archbishopric, and convert Hyde Abbey into a Cathedral, and subject that and Chichester to it; he forsook his brother King Stephen, and was the means of mediating peace between him and the Empress. He was not buried at Winchester, but 'tis thought rather at Ivinghoe in Bucks, in which parish he founded a Nunnery. There is a statue in that church, which the inhabitants have a tradition is his; and, he having a palace there, might probably de cease there.]

Richard Toclyv, Archdeacon of Poitiers, (after three years' vacancy) was chosen Bishop here, 1173; and, contrary to all precedents, installed before his consecration, at Lambeth, anno 1174. He died Dec. 22, 1187, or rather, according to the inscription on his chest wherein his bones are, in 1189.

Godfrey de Lucy, son of Rich. Lucy, Chief Justice of England, consecrated Bishop here Nov. 1189, and,

dying anno 1204, he was interred in our Lady's-Chapel here.

Peter de Rupibus, a knight, was consecrated Bishop of this See, at Rome, anno 1204; afterwards made Chief Justice of England by King John, and no less in repute was he during the minority of King Henry III. being Protector on the demise of William Earl Marshall: he died at Farnham, June 9, 1238.

Will. de Raley, Bp. of Norwich, elected by the monks, anno 1238, contrary to the King's command, in favour of the Bishop elect of Valentia, which so much incensed him that after much trouble and confusion, the election was null'd at Rome; and, when upon a new one, the monks renewed their former election, 13 Sept. 1243, there followed much disturbance, tho' at last he was confirmed by the King in April 1244, and installed Nov. 20, following, where he continued to his death in 1250.

Ethelmarus, son of Hugh Earl of March, at the King's desire, elected Bishop here, but in nine years' time never consecrated: he afterwards, having by his large preferments, amassed a great sum of money, left the nation, and dying at Paris, was there buried.

John Gerney, (on the modest refusal of Henry de Wingham, then Chancellor of England, elected Bishop here in 1259) was consecrated at Rome in 1265, afterwards suspended by Ottobonus, the Pope's Legate, for siding with the Barons in their rebellion against King Henry III: he afterwards died at Viterbo, near Rome, 20 Jan. 1268.

Nicholas de Ely, Bishop of Worcester, translated hither the last day of April, and installed in June on the Whitsunday following, 1268, and dying in 1280, his body was buried at Waverley, and his heart in this Church.

John de Pointes, placed here by the arbitrary power of the Pope, being elected Jun. 9, 1282, and died Dec. 3, 1304.

Henry Woodlock, Prior of Winchester, elected by the monks Bishop, in the beginning of Febr. 1305, had the temporalities given him by the King, March 12, was consecrated by the Archbishop in the Cathedral of Canterbury May 30, and installed Oct. 10, 1305. He died at Farnham 28 or 29 Jun. 1316.

John de Sandale, admitted Canon of York, May 6, 1314, Chancellor of England 1315, and in August 1316,

elected Bishop of this See, where he continued 'till his death at his seat in Southwark, 2 Nov. 1319, and buried in the church of St. Mary Overy.

Reginald de Asserio, Canon of the Church of Orleans, and the Pope's Legate, was, by his master's usurped authority, consecrated at St. Alban's, on the Archbishop's refusal, by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester, Nov. 16, 1320: he died at Avignon April 20, 1323.

John de Stratford, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and Canon of York, was consecrated for this Sec 26 Jun. 1323. On Jun. 1333, he was translated to Canterbury, and made Chancellor of England.

Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, translated to Worcester in Nov. 1327, thence hither Dec. 1, 1333. He is remarkable for making those ambiguous verses which destroyed his prince King Edward II. and died blind July 18, 1345.

William de Edyngdon, Treasurer of England, elected to this See April 10, 1345, was made Chancellor of England Feb. 19, 1357, elected Archbishop of Canterbury May 10, 1366, which he refused, saying, "Tho' Canterbury had the highest Rack, yet Winchester had the deepest Manger." He was a great benefactor to this Church, and died Oct. 8, 1366.

William Wykham, elected Bishop Jul. 12, 1367. Afterwards Chancellor of England, a noble benefactor to this Church, and founder of two Colleges, dedicated to St. Mary; one near this place, and another at Oxford: he died Sept. 27, 1404.

Henry Beaufort, natural-son of John Duke of Lancaster, made Bishop of Lincoln in 1397, translated hither 1405, made Cardinal of St. Eusebius by Pope Martin, Jun. 23, 1426. He was a person of great frugality, very rich, and no less charitable: he died April 11, 1447, and left legacies of plate and jewels to almost all our English Cathedrals, more particularly to that of Wells.

William Waynfleet, bred at Winchester, chosen school-master of Eton School, afterwards made provost of that College by the Founder King Henry VI. consecrated July 30, 1447, to this See. He was a firm friend to his master King Henry VI. and suffered not a little for his loyalty from his master's rival Edward IV. He was founder of St. Mary Magdalen College, and the Hall adjoining, in Oxford, which he endowed liberally, and

lived to see the line of Lancaster reviving in the person of King Henry VII. to his great satisfaction: he died Aug. 6, 1486, and was buried in this Cathedral.

Peter Courtney, Bishop of Exeter, translated hither by the Pope's bull, dated 1487, Jan. 29; elected by the monks in the Febr. following, and died September 1492.

Thomas Langton, Bishop of Salisbury, (after a year's vacancy) translated hither 24 Jun. 1493. This worthy prelate erected a fair chapel on the south side of that dedicated to the blessed virgin; in the middle of which his body, in 1504, was laid in a noble tomb. He was designed for the See of Canterbury, vacant by the death of John Morton, but his death put a stop to the translation.

Richard Fox, D. D. first, Bishop of Exeter, then of Bath and Wells, afterwards of Durham, and at last translated hither; a liberal benefactor to this Church, a great assistant to Henry the seventh's advancement to the crown, and a particular favorite of that wise king: he died here 14 Sept. 1528, and was buried in a chapel erected for himself in this church.

Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York, held this See in commendam, as he did several other ecclesiastical and secular preferments. He was installed here by proxy, 11 April 1529, and died Nov. 29. 1530.

Stephen Gardiner, L. L. D. (after a vacancy of four years) was consecrated to this See 1534, deprived by King Edward VI. Feb. 14, 1550, restored and made Lord Chancellor of England in Aug. 1553, and died Nov. 13, 1555.

John Poynt, D. D. succeeded upon the deprivation of Bishop Gardiner. He was Bishop of Rochester in 1549, and translated hither afterwards. On Queen Mary's accession to the throne, he left the nation, and lived and died an exile at Strasburg in Germany, April 11, 1556.

John White, D. D. Master of Winchester School, then Warden of that College, elected Bishop of Lincoln, on the deprivation of Dr. John Tayler, and soon after, in May 1557, translated hither. At length he was deprived of his Bishopric by Queen Elizabeth, in June 1559, whence he retired to South-Warnborough in Hampshire, and dying Jan. 11. 1559, he was buried in this Cathedral.

Robert Horne, Dean of Durham, consecrated in 1561. He died Jun. 1, 1580, and left this Character behind

him; given in a book intituled, the ancient rites and monuments of the Cathedral Church of Durham, Lond. 1672. Svo. pag. 122, wrote by one belonging to that Church, who (speaking of his demolishing several antient monuments of that Church during the time of his Deanery) acquaints us, "that he could never abide any antient monuments, acts, or deeds, that gave any light of, or to Godly Religion."

John Watson, made Bishop of this Sec much against his inclinations, and consecrated September 18, 1580: he was a liberal benefactor to several public places, and died January 23, 1583, and was buried opposite to his predecessor, in this Church.

Thomas Cooper, D.D. Bishop of Lincoln, translated to Winchester in 1584: he was the author of the book intituled 'Thesaurus Linguæ Romanæ Britannicæ,' folio, London, 1565, which was so much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, that ever after she made it her business to advance the author as high in the church as she could: he died 29th. April, 1594, and was buried here.

William Wickham, bred at Eton School, was successively fellow of the colleges of King's in Cambridge, and Eton in Bucks, 1556, Præbend of Westminster, anno 1570, Canon of Windsor, 1571, Dean of Lincoln, 1557, afterwards Bishop of the same See, from whence he was translated hither about the latter end of March, 1595, where he continued till his death at Winchester-House in Southwark, which happened on June the 12th. following, and was buried in St. Mary Overy's church.

William Day, elected Provost of Eton College, June 5, 1561, and installed Dean of Windsor, August 31, 1572, advanced to this See in 1595, and died in 1596.

Thomas Bilson, consecrated Bishop of Worcester, June 13, 1596, and translated hither in 1597, and made one of the Privy Council to King James I.: he died June 18, 1616, and was buried on the south side of Westminster-Abbey, near the monument of King Richard II. not far from the entrance into St. Edmund's Chapel.

James Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, translated hither in 1617, and dying July 20, 1618, he was buried on the north side of the body of the Church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul at Bath, where, over his grave, between two pillars, is a high altar monument with his proportion lying on it.

Lancelot Andrews, D. D. Bishop of Chichester, then of Ely, and at last translated hither 22 of February, 1618, where he continued 'till death overtaking him in Winchester-House in Southwark, 26 of September, 1626 : he was buried in St. Saviour's near that place, and has a noble monument erected there to his memory.

Richard Neile, successively Dean of Westminster, Bishop of Rochester, 1608 ; Litchfield and Coventry, 1610 ; Lincoln, 1613 ; Durham, 1617 ; came hither in 1628 ; and left this place for the Archbishopric of York, in 1631 ; where he died 31 of October, 1641, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.

Walter Curle, D. D. became Chaplain to King James I. Dean of Lichfield in June, 1621, Bishop of Rochester in 1627, was translated thence to Bath and Wells in 1629, thence to Winchester in 1637. He was Lord Almoner to King Charles I. and died about the year 1647, having been a great sufferer for his loyalty to King Charles the martyr.

Brian Duppa, D. D. Bishop of Chichester, removed to Salisbury in 1641, and hither September 24, 1660. He died March 26, 1662, and was buried in the arch of Westminster Abbey, on the north side of King Edward the Confessor's Chapel.

George Morley, D. D. Dean of Christ-Church, in Oxford, consecrated Bishop of Worcester, October 28, 1660, was translated hither, and confirmed May 14, 1662 : he died 29 Oct. 1684, and was interred in this church.

Peter Mews, L. L. D. was born at Purscandle in Dorsetshire, March 25, 1618, educated in Merchant-Taylors' School, London, thence elected scholar, and afterwards fellow of St. John-Baptist's College, Oxford ; after which he was an officer in the army of King Charles I. during the whole rebellion, 'till the murder of that prince in 1648, thence he went to Holland, and lived in exile in King Charles II's service 'till the Restoration, and then returned to his college, by whose favor he became Rector of South Warnborough in Hants, afterwards of St. Mary's in Reading, Canon of Windsor, and Prebendary of St. David's, Archdeacon of Berks, and President of his College, Aug. 5, 1667 : he was nominated Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, Sept. 1669, was some time Dean of Rochester, and on Feb. 2, 1672-3, during the time of his Vice-Chancellorship, made Bishop of Bath and Wells ; upon which he

resigned his Presidentship in October 1663. In this diocese he was much beloved by all the loyal gentlemen, much esteemed for his generous hospitality, and very much lamented when he was removed, though to their loss, yet to his own benefit, hither, November 22, 1684. In June following he did signal service against the rebellious Duke of Monmouth, then in arms in the west. To conclude, after having sat here 22 years, he died at Farnham Castle in Surry, November 9, in the 89th. year of his age, and was buried in his own cathedral.

Sir Jonathan Trelawny, created D.D. by diploma, from the University of Oxford, consecrated Bishop of Bristol, November 8, 1685, removed to Exeter, and thence translated hither in 1706.

This Bishopric was formerly valued in the King's, books, at 3885*£*. 3*s*. 3*d*. now at 2793*£*. 4*s*. 2*d*. though, according to another account, it is said to be rated at 2491*£*. 9*s*. 8*d*. and before the reformation, paid to the Pope, for the first-fruits, 12000 Ducats. This Diocese contained the Counties of Surry, and Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, to which Queen Elizabeth added the Isles of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, and Alderney, once appendages of the Bishopric of Constance in Normandy. The Bishops of this See are Chancellors of the See of Canterbury, and Prelates of the most noble Order of the Garter; which last was vested in them, at its first institution, by King Edward.

PRIORS.

Brithonus, Abbot of Ely, Prior here about 970.

Elsicus, translated to York in 1023.

Wulfsigius, died in 1065.

Simon, brother of Bishop Walkelin, succeeded in 1065, and afterwards by his brother's interest, was made Abbot of Ely, 1082.

Godfrey, a monk of this place, born in Cambray, succeeded in 1382: he was esteemed a good scholar, wrote a book of epistles, some satirical epigrams, and other pieces of poetry. In the Cotton library is a book of epigrams, wrote by him, under Vitellius's head, A. 12: he died 1107.

Gaufridus, a monk here, succeeded anno 1107, and was deposed by Bishop William Giffard, an. 1111.

Gaufridus II. put into the place of the last mentioned,

by Bishop Giffard, III. made Abbot of Bruton in 1114, and died August 2, 1151.

Eustachius, died in the year 1120.

Hugh, succeeded in 1120.

Gaufridus II. died in 1126.

Robert, afterwards elected Abbot of Glastonbury in 1171

Walter, afterwards removed to the Abbey of Westminster, in the year 1175 or 1176.

John, died 1187.

Robert II. succeeded in 1187, afterwards elected Abbot of Bruton, and confirmed by the King there, Jan. 23, 1214.

Roger, a Norman, in 1215.

Walter II. died November 10, 1239:

Andrew, forced upon the monks by the King, in 1239, that he might influence the approaching election of a bishop, in favour of the Bishop of Valentia: he died in 1243.

Walter III. placed here in 1243; he was excommunicated by Bishop Raley, resigned his office April 3, 1247.

John de Chauce, succeeded in 1247, made afterwards in 1249, Abbot of Peterborough.

William de Tanton, put in the room of Chauce, anno 1249; chose Abbot of Middleton, in the middle of the year 1256, and afterwards, by the monks here, elected Bishop of this See, 3 of February, 1261, but being rejected by the Pope, he let fall his plea.

Andrew de Loudonia, put in here, against the inclinations of the Convent in 1256, by Bishop Ethelmar, afterwards an expensive suit given against the monks, and another prior they had elected, by the Pope, who had been corrupted by Ethelmar's Golden Arguments. Upon the banishment of Ethelmar, his patron, he resigned his office, 12 of July 1258, and was the same day re-elected by those monks who had formerly refused him, and unwillingly accepted of it, being again forced to resign, by Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1261.

Ralph Russell, succeeded, and died July 8, 1265.

Valentine, succeeded July 21, 1265, and resigned about the middle of the year 1267. Re-elected in July 1268, and resigned again 1276, afterwards restored once more, by Nicholas de Ely, then Bishop, August 1, and in the very same year, on December 3, deprived by the same Prelate.

John de Dureville, put in against the consent of the

Convent, by Bishop Ely, in 1276, and died December 3, 1278.

Adam de Farnham, succeeded in 1279, who, during the vacancy of this See, refusing to submit to the visitation of John, Archbishop of Canterbury, was, for disobedience, excommunicated July 10, 1282, but was pardoned, upon his submission, August 31, 1282, and died in 1284.

William de Basyngge, succeeded, resigned 1284, and died April 3, 1288.

William de Basyngge II. elected by the Convent, and confirmed August 25, 1284, by the Archbishop of Canterbury: he died in May 1295.

Henry Wodelock, elected here January 6, 1295, and afterwards elected Bishop of this See, in 1305.

Nicholas de Tarente, confirmed here by Bishop Wodelock, July 29, 1305, and died in July 1309.

Richard de Enford, confirmed by Bishop Wodelock, August 25, 1309.

Alexander was Prior here in 1332 and 1346.

Hugh de Basyngge was Prior here in 1366 and 1382.

Robert Roddeburne was Prior here 1385, and 1393.

Thomas Nevyle was Prior of this place at the Metropolitan Visitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, October 17, 1404.

Thomas Shyrebourne.

William Aulton was Prior here 1444 and 1447.

Richard Marlborough succeeded in 1447.

Thomas Hunton.

Henry Berle, 1457.

Thomas Silkested, in this person's time, there being a vacancy in the Sees of Canterbury and Winchester, the convent of Canterbury, made a Visitation of this place, 2 of February, 1501; at which time here were 35 monks, and a revenue of 1000*£*. per annum belonging to them.

Henry Brooke.

William Kingsmyll was Prior here at the dissolution, and delivered up his trust November 15, 1539, to King Henry VIII. who procured an act of parliament to dissolve all the religious houses in this nation: he afterwards, on March 28, in the thirty-second year of his reign, founded this Church, and instituted a Dean and Chapter, of twelve Prebendaries, and dedicated the same to the holy and undivided Trinity.

DEANS.

William Kingsmyll, the last Prior, was made the first Dean on the new foundation.

Sir John Mason, Knt. made Dean, and installed Oct. 9, 1549. He being a Lay-man, and yet eating the bread of Clergymen, was very justly termed by our learned antiquary, a great intruder into ecclesiastical livings : he resigned in 1553.

Edmund Steward, L.L.D. installed March 22, 1553, and continued here to 1559.

John Warmer, M.D. Prebend of Ulfcomb, in the church of Sarum, and in this church too ; made Dean here, October 15, 1559, and died March 21, 1564.

Francis Newton, S. T. P. admitted March 21, 1565, and died 1572.

John Watson, M.D. admitted Feb. 14, 1572, and afterwards made Bishop of this See, in 1580.

Lawrence Humphrey, D.D. admitted October 24, 1580.

Martin Heton, S. T. P. Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, nominated to this Deanery, and installed March 20, 1588, afterwards being removed to the See of Ely, (which had lain void for above 20 years, and its Revenues applied to secular uses) he was consecrated February 3, 1599, where he died July 14, 1609.

George Abbot, S. T. P. admitted March 6. 1599, consecrated Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, Dec. 3, 1609, translated to London, at the latter end of January following, in 1610, thence translated to Canterbury.

Thomas Morton, S. T. P. admitted January 3, 1609, afterwards translated to Litchfield and Coventry, 1618, and thence to Durham, July 12, 1632.

John Young, S. T. P. installed July 8. 1616.

Alexander Hyde, L.L.D. Sub-Dean of Salisbury, in May 1637. Upon the restoration of King Charles II. by the interest of Sir Edward Hyde, then Lord Chancellor of England, he was not only made Dean of this church, and installed August 8, 1660, but consecrated to the See of Salisbury Dec. 31, 1665, where he died, and was buried in 1667.

William Clark, S. T. P. succeeded in 1665, and was installed February 1 : he was also Canon of Windsor, and Rector of St. Olave's, Southwark.

Richard Meggott, D.D. Canon of Windsor, Rector of St. Olave's, Southwark, and Vicar of Twickenham in Middlesex, was installed here October 9, 1679, on the death of Dr. Clark.

John Wickart, D.D. the present Dean, installed here Jan. 14, 1692, on the death of Dr. Meggott: he is also Canon of Windsor.

PREBENDARIES

Of the Cathedral, who take place according to the times of their installation in this Church, have been as follows:

Edmund Steward, L.L.D. about the year 1541, afterwards Dean here.

John Crayford, S.T.P. Arch-deacon of Berks, about the year 1541.

John Dean, S.T.P.

John Draper, Clerk.

Henry Milles, Clerk.

Thomas Runcorne, M.D. made one of the first Prebendaries by King Henry VIII.

William Medowe, Presbyter.

Richard Ryder, Presbyter.

Peter Langrick, M.A. made one of the first Prebendaries.

Thomas White, L.L.D. Arch-deacon of Berks and Chancellor of Salisbury, about 1541.

Anthony Barker, Presbyter.

John White.

The before mentioned twelve, I take to be those who were at first put in upon the new foundation, by the King, and were succeeded by the persons following, upon their promotions or deaths.

Cuthbert Oxley, L.L.B. installed June 17, 37 Henry VIII.

Richard Vernon, clerk, installed October 9, 1547.

John Warner, M.D. installed March 15, 1549, and afterwards made Dean here.

Leonard Bilson, M.A. installed July 7, 1551

John Rudd, S.T.B. installed September 7, 1551.

John Watson, M.A. Arch-deacon of Surry, and Chancellor of St. Paul's made Prebendary here afterwards, December 14, 1551, successively Dean and Bishop of this See.

- John Seyton, S.T.P. March 19, 1553.
 Stephen Cheston, L.L.D. Arch-deacon of Winchester, installed April 11, 1554, died in 1571.
 Richard Edon, S.T.B. installed June 21, 1554.
 Richard Martiall, S.T.P. Dean of Christ Church, in Oxford, installed here July 2, 1554.
 Thomas White, L.L.D. Arch-deacon of Berks, Chancellor of Sarum, and installed July 21, 1554, Prebendary.
 Thomas Hardyng, S.T.P. installed July 25, 1554.
 Edmund Marvin, M.A. Arch-deacon of Surry, ejected by Queen Elizabeth, and installed here Sept. 20, 1554.
 Thomas Hyde, M.A. installed June 23, 1556.
 John Watson, M.A. installed August 26, 1559.
 Thomas Langlie, S.T.B. installed Oct. 15, 1559.
 William Overton, S.T.B. installed Dec. 20, 1559.
 Walter Wright, L.L.D. Arch-deacon of Oxford, installed January 11, 1559.
 Edward Haydon, M.A. Rector of Crawley, near Winchester, installed in the year 1559, the Register mentions not the month or day.
 Michael Renniger, installed August 3, 1560
 Thomas Odyl, M.A. installed June 8, 1561.
 Thomas Stemp, L.L.D.
 James Turbervyle, S.T.P. elected hence, and consecrated to the see of Exeter, September 8, 1555, was deprived by Queen Elizabeth, in 1559.
 Robert Hill, Clerk. The installations of the three last mentioned, are not entered into the register.
 Robert Reynolds, L.L.D. installed November 25, 1558.
 Robert Ryve, L.L.B. installed September 7, 1559.
 John Ebdon, S.T.P. Arch-deacon of Winchester, installed December 7, 1562
 David Padye, M.A. no date specified in the register.
 John Bridges, S.T.P. August 19, 1565.
 William Cole, S.T.P. installed May 31, 1572.
 John Sprint, S.T.P. Arch-deacon of Wiltshire, and Dean of Bristol, installed March 4, 1572, in the room of Dr. John Watson, promoted to this see.
 John Chaundler, S.T.P. installed Sept. 3, 1574, upon the resignation of Dr. White.
 Thomas Bilson, S.T.P. installed Jan. 12, 1576, afterwards Bishop of this see.
 Henry Cotton, D.D. installed April 12, 1577, on the

death of Mr. Padye, afterwards on Nov. 12, 1598, consecrated Bishop of Salisbury.

John Constantine, M.A. installed February 12, 1579, on the resignation of Mr. William Cole.

Michael Renniger, S.T.P. installed April 9, 1581, on the death of Mr. Edward Haydon, Rector of Crawley, and Arch-deacon of Winchester.

Abraham Browne, S.T.B. installed April 10, 1581, on the death of Mr. Thomas Stemp.

William Barlow, B.A. installed April 11, 1581, on the resignation of Mr. Michael Renniger, Arch-deacon of Salisbury.

William Harward, M.A. installed December 31, 1581, on the death of Mr. Thomas Langlie.

Christopher Perrin, M.A. installed October 4, 1583, on the resignation of Mr. John Sprint.

William Say, L.L.B. installed October 29, 1583, on the death of Mr. John Constantine.

John Harmer, L.L.B. Warden of Winchester College, installed January 10, 1594, on the death of Mr. John Chaundler.

Robert Bennet, S.T.P. installed here August 15, 1595, on the death of Dr. Robert Reynolds; was, after many great preferments, made Bishop of Hereford.

Theodore Price, S.T.P. installed Sept. 9, 1596, on the promotion of Dr. Bilson to the see of Worcester. He was master of the hospital of St. Crosse, and sub-dean of Westminster.

George Ryves, S.T.P. installed November 17, 1598, on the promotion of Dr. Henry Cotton to the Bishopric of Salisbury.

Robert Kercher, S.T.B. installed February 27, 1602, on the promotion of Dr. Robert Bennet to the see of Hereford.

Ralph Barlow, S.T.P. installed Jan. 12, 1610, on the resignation of Dr. John Bridges, Bishop of Oxford. He was Arch-deacon of Winchester, and made Dean of Wells in September 1621.

Nicholas Love, D.D. installed Oct. 15, 1610, on the death of Mr. Christopher Penn. He was Warden of Winchester College.

Robert Moore, S.T.P. installed June 4, 1613, on the death of Dr. George Ryves, and died Feb. 20, 1639.

Francis Alexander, L.L.D. installed Oct. 14, 1613, on the death of Dr. John Harmer.

George Beaumont, D.D. rector of Alresford, installed Sept. 29, 1666, on the death of Dr. Richard Hyde.

Thomas Kenn, D.D. installed April 20, 1669, on the death of Dr. Gulston, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Thomas Sutton, D.D. rector of Wolverton, installed Jan. 15, 1672, on the death of Mr. Hugh Haswell.

Seth Ward, M.A. Sept. 15, 1676, on the death of Dr. Thomas Gumble, also arch-deacon of Wiltshire, chancellor of Sarum, and rector of Brightwell, Berkshire, installed here, and resigned in 1681.

I. Abraham Markland S.T.P. now master of the hospital of St. Crosse, rector of Meon-Stoke, installed here July 4, 1679, on the death of Dr. William Burt.

Samuel Woodford, D.D. rector of Hartly Maurdit, installed November 8, 1680, on the death of Dr. Myrth Wafferer.

William Harrison, D.D. rector of Chérrington, master of the hospital of St. Crosse, installed prebendary here November 3, 1681, on the resignation of Mr Ward.

John Nicholas, D.D. warden of Winchester College, installed prebendary here April 2, 1684, on the death of Dr. Dayrell.

Francis Morley D.D. installed prebendary here, April 5, 1684, (on the resignation of Dr. George Beaumont) by his Uncle, Bishop Morley. He was also rector of Bishop's-Waltham.

Samuel Palmer, M.A. on the death of Dr. Sharrock, was installed July 14, 1684, and was rector of Crawley.

Gyles Thornburgh, M.A. rector of Cranley, in Surry, installed March 6, 1684, on the promotion of Dr. Kenn to the see of Bath and Wells.

II. Charles Layfield, S.T.P. rector of Chilbolton, installed Dec. 25, 1687, on the death of Dr. Thornburgh.

Samuel Mews, B.D. canon of Wells, installed October 5, 1689, on the death of Dr. Paine.

Edward Waple, B.D. installed prebendary here, April 29, 1690, on the death of Dr. Bradshaw. He was also installed prebendary of Kilverton Prima, viz. the golden prebend of the church of Wells, in May 1680. Installed arch-deacon of Taunton, April 22, 1682, and on the death of Dr. Bell, July 26, 1683, he was made vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, where he continued to his death, on June 8, 1712, from whence being brought from London,

he was on the 11th. of the same month interred in a neat brick grave in the outer chapel of St. John's College, in Oxford, over which against the west wall, is erected a fair marble tablet, by his executor, Mr. Robert Waple, with a peculiarly modest and humble inscription on it, composed by himself, as appears by his last will* in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, in which are mentioned several benefactions, which deserve not to be passed over in obscurity, viz. a legacy of £700. to this college, the place of his education and patrons of his living, beside a gift of £500. in his life-time. He also gave to the beautifying of St. Sepulchre's Church £200. and an excellent and most judicious, as well as numerous collection of books, to the library belonging to Sion-College, for the use of the clergy of London.

Baptista Levinz, D.D. canon of Wells, installed here, August 5, 1691, on the death of Dr. Hawkins. He was afterwards made Bisop of the Isle of Man.

George Fulham, D.D. arch-deacon of Winchester, rector of St. Mary's, near Southampton, installed here February 5, 1692, on the death of Bishop Levinz.

John Warner, M.A. rector of—, in Co. Bucks, was installed here August 13, 1694, on the death of Dr. William Harrison.

William Harris, D.D. installed here, January 8, 1695, on the resignation of Dr. Beeston. He was school-master of Winchester-College, and a generous benefactor to this church, to which he gave £800. to the beautifying the high altar.

III. William Louth, S.T.B. rector of Buriton, Hants, installed October 8, 1696, on the death of Dr. Morley.

Welbore Ellis, D.D. installed November 7, 1696, on the death of Dr. Sutton, now Bishop of Kildare in Ireland.

Thomas Sayer, D.D. rector of Wonston, installed November 13, 1700, on the death of Dr. William Harris.

* Hic jacet Edvardus Waple,
 Hujus Collegii quondam Socius,
 Christi Mlnister indignissimus,
 Suo merito Peccatorum maximus,
 Dei gratia Pœnitentium minimus,
 Inveniat Misericordiam in illo die,
 Stet Lector Pœnitentialis hæc Tabella,
 Obiit octavo die Mensis Junii,
 Anno Dom. MDCXII.
 Annoque Ætatis suæ Sexagesimo primo,

IV. Robert Eyre, S.T.P. rector of Avington and Martyr Worthy, installed January 15, 1700, on the death of Dr. Woodford.

V. William Delaune, S.T.P. lately for four years together successively vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, installed here March 4, 1701, on the death of Mr. Samuel Palmer. He is at present president of St. John Baptist's College in Oxford, and rector of Long-Hanborough, in Oxfordshire.

VI. Thomas Rivers, L.L.D. fellow of All-Souls College, in Oxford, installed Dec. 8, 1702, on the death of Dr. Fulham.

Alexander Forbes, D.D. rector of Compton, near Guilford in Surry, and Havant in Hampshire, installed October 7, 1704, on the death of Mr. Warner, and was unfortunately drowned in the river near Guilford, in the time of a great flood in 1712.

VII. Charles Woodroff, L.L.D. rector of Upham, installed June 12, 1706, on the death of Mr. Samuel Palmer.

VIII. Richard West, S.T.P. presented by the crown on the promotion of Dr. Ellis to the see of Kildare, Ireland.

IX. Mainwaring Hamond, S.T.P. rector of Ducklington in Oxfordshire, installed here June 12, 1713, on the death of Dr. Sayer.

X. Thomas Sprat, A.M. installed here November 18, 1712, on the death of Dr. Nicholas. He is arch-deacon of Rochester, and prebendary of Westminster.

XI. Thomas Newy, S.T.P. chanter of the cathedral of Exeter, rector of Wouston in Hampshire, installed here June 23, 1712, on the death of Mr. Waple.

XII. John Cook, M.A. rector of the Sine-Cure of Overton in Hampshire, installed November 17, 1712, on the decease of Dr. Forbes.

The Names of CHANCELLORS *or* VICARS-GENERAL *of this See, mentioned in the Church Registers.*

John Dowman, L.L.D. anno 1501.

Nicholas Harpsfield, L.L.D. 1533.

Edmund Steward, L.L.D. 1537.

Robert Reynolds, L.L.D. 1556.

John Kingsmill, M.A. 1576.

William Say, L.L.B. 1580.

Sir Robert Ridley, Knt. L.L.D. admitted September 7, 1596.

Sir Robert Mason, Knt. L.L.D. admitted April 30, 1628.

Sir Moundeford Bramston, Knt. L.L.D. admitted July 15, 1662.

Sir Charles Morley, Knt. L.L.B. admitted October 15, 1679.

Sir Peter Mews, Knt. L.L.B. admitted August 20, 1698, the present chancellor.

ARCH-DEACONS of Winchester.

Vincent Clement, died in 1474.

John Morton, afterwards arch-bishop of Canterbury, succeeded in 1474.

Robert Frost resigned in 1502

John Frost succeeded and resigned in 1511

Hugh Asheton succeeded and resigned in 1519.

John Fox, L.L.B. succeeded and resigned in 1526.

Richard Pates, A.M. succeeded in 1526, and resigned in 1528

William Bolen succeeded in 1528.

John Philpot, temp. Edward VI, and was burned for religion, December 18, 1555,

Stephen Cheston, L.L.B. succeeded and died in 1571.

Dr. John Ebden resigned in 1575.

Michael Renniger, D.D. succeeded in 1575, and died August 26, 1609.

Ralph Barlow, S.T.B. installed October 3, 1609.

Edward Burbey, D.D. installed Sept. 24, 1631.

George Roberts, D.D. installed August 9, 1660, on the death of Dr. Burbey, and died March 17, 1661.

Dr. Thomas Gorges, installed March 19, 1661, on the death of Dr. George Roberts.

Walter Dayrell, D.D. installed May 3, 1666, by the resignation of Dr. Thomas Gorges, and died March 29, 1684.

Robert Sharrock, L.L.D. installed April 21, 1684, on the death of Dr. Dayrell.

Thomas Clutterbuck, D.D. installed July —, 1684, on the death of Dr. Sharrock.

George Fulham, D.D. installed Nov. 17, 1700, on the death of Dr. Clutterbuck.

Ralph Brideoake, M.A. Dec. 1, 1702, on the death

of Dr. Fulham. He is the present arch-deacon, and rector of St. Mary's, near Southampton.

ARCH-DEACONS of *Surry*.

William Smyth, arch-deacon of Surry, installed about 1460, afterwards made Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, from thence translated to the see of Lincoln in 1495. He was also chief founder of Brasen-Nose College in Oxford.

John Stokeslie, chaplain to Ric. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was by him made arch-deacon of Surry.

John Watson, was arch-deacon of Surry, about the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the crown.

John Fox was about 1523, arch-deacon of Surry.

James Cottington, D.D. died at the latter end of the year 1605.

Arthur Lake, D.D. installed October 19, 1605.

George Hakewill, D.D. installed February 7, 1616.

John Pearson, D.D. installed September 26, 1660, afterwards made Bishop of Chester.

Richard Oliver, B.D. admitted July 30, 1686, on the death of Bishop Pearson.

Thomas Sayer, D.D. admitted Sept. 28, 1689, on the death of Mr. Oliver.

Edmund Gibson, S.T.P. rector of Lambeth in Surry, installed June 9, 1740, on the Archbishop of Canterbury's option upon the death of Dr. Sayer, and is the present arch-deacon.

At the foundation of this Cathedral Church by King Henry VIII. anno regni sui 32^o. there was given to the Dean and Chapter, and their successors, for ever, a schochen [escutcheon] with signs and tokens in manner and form following, that is to say, a minster or church silver masoned table. In the gate of the church the holy image of the blessed Trinity, gold and silver, crowned imperial with a diadem gold of the most high and mighty prince the king their founder, a canton partie per pale gules and silver with a rose, with the sun beams celestial counter-changed of the field, the seed pomely gold, with these words of poesy:

Benedita sit Sancta Trinitas.

ADDENDA.

ARCH-DEACONS of Winchester, from 1231 to 1459.

Rogerus Archidiaconus Winton. ob. 1231.

Bartholomeus Archidiac. Wint, Temp. Hen. III. circ. 1240.

Hugo de Rupibus Archidiac. Wint. ob. A.D. 1253.

Richardus de la Moore Archidiac. Wint. A.D. 1280.

Robertus Wikeford, L.L.D. Archidiac. Wint. temp. Ed. III. postea archiepiscopus Dublin, Hibern. 1375.

Rogerus de Walden resignavit A.D. 1395, postea Epūs Lond, et Arpūs Cant.

Willielmus Danyell accolitus, Archidiac. Wint. February 1395.

Johannes Pakenham, L.L.B. Archidiac. Wint, Resig. 1459.

ARCH-DEACONS of Surry.

R — arch-deacon in the reign of Hen. II. or Rich. I.

Walter Bronescombe arch-deacon, A.D. 1257. afterwards Bishop of Exeter.

Lucas, arch-deacon about the year 1260.

Mr. Peter de Sancto Mario, ob. ante A.D. 1297.

Philip de Barton about the year 1300. ob. circ. 1320.

Oliver Dynham, brother to the last Lord Dynham, arch-deacon in King Henry VII.'s time, died May 1500.

Christopher Baynbrigge, arch-deacon January 25, 1500, afterwards Bishop of Durham and Archbishop of York.

Edmund Marvyu, M.A. arch-deacon of Surry, was in Queen Mary's time, an. 1554, Sept. 20, installed a so prebendary of Winchester, but was ejected on Queen Elizabeth's accession to the crown.

The History of Hyde Abbey.

Next to the Cathedral Church of Winchester, the Abbey of Hyde deserves an especial remembrance, on account of its being originally founded within the precincts of the cathedral cemetery, where it continued for 200 years, till it was from thence transplanted to Hyde.

The first denomination this monastery had, was Newminster, to distinguish it from the cathedral called in those days Oldminster after the building of this; which name it lost on its removal, which was occasioned by the differences the too near neighbourhood these great churches bred.

This foundation was begun by King Edward the elder, in pursuance of his father King Alfred's will, in which at the finishing and consecration of the same, anno 903, he placed secular canons, designing to appoint S. Gimbold to preside over them, but his death prevented it. These, after 60 years continuance, were turned out to give place to monks, anno 964, by Athelwold, Bishop of Winchester, and the college changed into a monastery; the abbots of which stiled of Newminster, before the translation of it to Hyde, as before observed, (which was done by King Henry I. and William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester) had large privileges, as being honoured with a mitre, and having place in parliament as peers of the realm, &c. Neither were their revenues less considerable, for a little before the dissolution, anno 26. Hen. VIII. the lands of this monastery were rated at £865. 18s. per annum. —But besides the founder, King Athelsan, King Edmund, King Edred, King Edgar, King Edmund Ironside, King Edward the Confessor, King William the Conqueror, and particularly King Henry I. and Q. Maud, (as appears by the charters in the Monasticon) were great benefactors. However, this house was not without its misfortunes; for William the Conqueror at his coming, finding the abbot and twelve of his monks in arms against him, seized upon their estate, and held it above two years; and in the reign of King Stephen, Henry de Blois his brother, then Bishop of Winchester, was so oppressive, that he got from the monks almost all their church plate, and dispersed them so, that of 40 monks there remained but ten.

In this abbey were buried, before the removal of it to Hyde, King Edward, and his son Prince Alfred, and S. Eadburga, daughter of King Edward the founder, and Alfred son of King Edulf, whose remains were, no doubt, translated to Hyde. But of all these and divers other memorable persons interred there, viz, at Hyde, are not the least remains; and of the grandeur of this magnificent abbey, is nothing left but the name, the very ruins being as it were perished, and not so much as the walls standing of this goodly church, which stood just without the City-Gate, and was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, S. Peter, and S. Grimbald.

Touching the names of those who have been abbots hereof, I shall in like manner as done before of the Bishops, &c. of Winchester, subjoin a catalogue, which because they sat at Newminster, before at Hyde, I shall divide the series into two parts, viz, of Newminster and Hyde.

Abbots of Newminster.

1. Athelgarus, anno 964, was made by Bishop Athelwold, the first abbot; he was promoted to the bishopric of Selsey, anno 980, and 8 years after removed to the arch-bishopric of Canterbury, but 2 years before his translation to Selsey.

2. Alsinus, anno 978, became abbot; he sat till the year 995, when

3. Brightwoldus was instituted, which he held till 1008, in which year

4. Brithmerus occurs; after whom

5. Alnothus, anno 1021, to whom succeeded

6. Alwynus, anno 1035, and

7. Alfnotus, anno 1057; upon whose death or resignation

8. Alwynus, anno 1063, called in the Monasticon:— Godwin, uncle to Harold, afterwards King of England, was preferred to the abbey. This person, anno 1066, appearing in behalf of his nephew King Harold in arms against the Norman invasion, with twelve of his monks was slain in the field of battle, which so enraged the Conqueror, that he for some time held this abbey in his hands, but at length restoring it,

9. Wlfric or Wlvric, anno 1069, was constituted abbot who being deposed, anno 1071,

10. Rualdus called in the An. Wint. Revelanus, anno 1071, succeeded; he occurs abbot, anno 1071, after whom I find

11. Radulphus said to be abbot, upon whose death, which happened anno 1087, as the Annales Wint. inform us, King William Rufus committed this abbey to Ralph Passeflabere his chaplain for some time; but not long after, viz. anno 1091, this abbey was bought of the King by Herbert, first Bishop of Norwich, for his father.

12. Robert de Losinga, which occasioned this verse,

Filius est Præsul, Pater Abbas, Simon uterque;

alluding to the simony, how long he held it I find not, or whether on his death, which is likely, but Passeflabere, to whom the King committed all vacant preferments for his use, obtained the custody of it a second time; and held it anno 1100, when, upon the accession of Henry I. to the crown, this Ralph Passeflabere, for several illegal practices, was thrown into prison; and

13. Hugh, monk of this place, was appointed abbot, after whom, anno 1206,

14. Galfridus occurs abbot in whose time, anno 1121, this abbey was as aforesaid, removed to Hyde, and the abbots from henceforth entituled,

Abbots of Hyde.

15. The first of which, after the death of Galfridus, was Osbertus, anno 1124, who succeeded three years after the removal, took care of compleating what his predecessor had begun. He died anno 1135, the first of King Stephen. After his death, this monastery was much oppressed by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, as aforesaid, who appointed, says the Monasticon,

16. Hugh Schorcheoyleyn abbot hereof. This Hugh, called in the annals of Winton, Hugh de Lens, was much accused and appealed against, as was the Bishop who endeavoured to pervert the state of the abbey; and about the year 1143, tried to prevail with the Pope to make his see an arch-bishopric, and this abbey a bishopric, and subject that and Chichester to it. These controversies against the bishop and abbot, ended in deposing abbot Hugh, anno 1149. after whom

17. Salidus was abbot; after whose death, which is said to happen 1171,

18. Thomas, Prior of Montacute, was elected abbot, though I have not seen that he was consecrated so before the year 1174 ; he resigned anno 1180, and

19. John, Prior of Cluny, succeeded, who dying anno 1222,

20. Walter de Astone was made abbot ; he died anno 1249, and

21. Roger de S. Waleric the same year was elected abbot ; upon whose death, anno 1263,

22. William de Wigornia succeeded ; he died anno 1282, and

23. Robert de Popham became abbot, as did

24. Simon de Caninges, anno 1292 ; upon whose death, anno 1304,

25. Geffry de Ferynges succeeded ; and on his surrender or resignation, anno 1317,

26. William de Odiham was elected abbot ; but he held it not long, for anno 1319,

27. Walter de Fifhyde succeeded him ; how long he held it I have not seen, but

28. Thomas Peithy, anno 1362, occurs abbot, on whose death or surrender,

29. John Eynesham, about the year 1381, was made abbot ; he died anno 1394, and

30. John Letcombe or Lattecombe, succeeded, after whom

31. John London, anno 1407 occurs abbot, who dying anno 1413,

32. Nicholas Strode was elected abbot next, after whom I find

33. Thomas Bromele, anno 1440, to occur abbot, which he held till about the year 1460, when

34. Henry Bonvile occurs abbot, who was succeeded by

35. Thomas Wyrscetur, anno 1471, on the first of December ; when he died I find not, but anno 1480, he occurs abbot, and so probably did till the year 1485, when

36. Thomas Forte was elected abbot, which he held not long ; for anno 1489,

37. Richard Hall was elected abbot ; he occurs abbot anno 1500, and probably continued so for near 40 years ; for after him I find no other abbot before the year 1528 ; about which time,

38. John Salcot, alias Capon, D.D. of Cambridge, was translated from the abbey of Holme in Norfolk, to

this place. He was the last abbot; and (as a reward for having been very instrumental in procuring in his own university the passing the king's divorce) anno 1534, April 19, he obtained to hold with this abbacy in commendam the bishopric of Bangor; and for his good services at the dissolution, anno 1539, and readily yielding his abbey to the king, in the surrender of which he procured his monks, 21 in number, to join, he was promoted to the bishopric of Salisbury, which he held for 20 years, not dying, it seems, till the year 1559.*

The Arms of Hyde Abbey were argent, a lion rampant sable, on a chief of the second 2 keys indorsed argent.

[Here terminates the Reprint of Gale's History of Winchester.]

* See memoirs of him in Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury.

Bishops of Dorchester and Winchester, before the Conquest.

BISHOPS OF DORCHESTER.

I. BIRINUS.

APPOINTED A.D. 634 or 635. — DIED BEFORE A.D. 650.

THE accounts of the first introduction of Christianity into this island, are so involved in obscurity and mixed up with fable, as to render it impossible to make any statements on the subject with any degree of historical accuracy. I shall therefore pass over the very questionable traditions respecting King Lucius* and others, and proceed to the narrative of Venerable Bede, who informs us that Christianity was published among the Gevissæ† or West-Saxons, by Birin, “dubium unde oriundus” (*Malm. de Pontif. lib. 2.*)—“natus Romæ,” (*Leland. Itin. 1. p. 93.*) who visited Britain for the express purpose, under the auspices of Pope Honorius, having received episcopal consecration at the hands of Asterius, Bishop of Genoa. The precise period of Bishop Birin’s arrival is not fixed, but may be correctly ascertained by reference to the Saxon Chronicle, whose author, as Wharton justly observes, is entitled to especial credit in all that relates to the West-Saxons, from his connexion with that district of Britain. That work places the arrival of Bishop Birin at the year 634.‡

* So called, because supposed to have introduced the great *light* (*lever maur*) into Britain.

† Gevissæ is synonymous with Western. The Gevissæ means the West-Saxons; thus Visi-Goths, the Western Goths. The Saxon particle *Ge* being in the former case prefixed. The Saxons were so called from *stax*, a crooked sword.

‡ Radulphus Dicetensis says 633, *X Script. p. 438*, I invariably prefer the authority of the Saxon Chronicle and Bede, which I conceive paramount.

The narrative of Birin's ministry is thus given by Bede (lib. 3. cap. 7.) "Eo tempore Occidentalium Saxonum qui antiquitus Gevissæ vocabantur, regnante *Cynigilso fidem Christi suscepit, prædicante illis verbum Birino Episcopo, qui cum consilio Papæ Honoriî venerat Britanniam; promittens quidem se illo præsentem in intimis ultro Anglorum partibus quo nullus Doctor præcessisset, sanctæ fidei semina esse sparsurum. Unde et jussu ejusdem Pontificis per Asterium Genuensem Episcopum in Episcopatus consecratus est gradum. Sed Britanniam perveniens, ac primum Gevissorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem Paganissimos inveniret, utilius esse ratus est ibi potius verbum prædicare, quam ultra progrediens, eos quibus prædicare deberet, inquirere.

"Itaque evangelizante illo in præfata provincia, cum Rex ipse catechizatus, fonte Baptismi cum sua gente ablueretur contigit tunc temporis sanctissimum ac victoriosissimum Regem Nordanhymbrorum (Northumbrians) Osualdum adfuisse, eumque de lavacro exeuntem suscepisse, ac pulcherrimo prorsus et Deo digno consortio, cujus erat filiam accepturus in conjugem ipsum prius secunda generatione Deo dicatum sibi accepit in filium."

With regard to the episcopal see assigned to Bishop Birin, Bede thus proceeds:—

"Donaverunt autem ambo reges eidem Epō civitatem quæ vocatur Dorcic,† ad faciendum inibi sedem episcopalem, ubi factis dedicatisque ecclesiis, multisque ad Dominum pio ejus labore populis advocatis, migravit ad Dominum, sepultusque est in eadem civitate."

Here we must express our regret that the historian did not more particularly define the place of the episcopal see, for it has been doubted whether Dorchester in Dorset, or Dorchester in Oxfordshire, be intended. The learned editor of Bede explains it as referring to the latter.

I have already alluded to the dubious traditions of the early existence of Christianity in West-Saxony. The Saxon Chronicle by the adoption of *one* word, overthrows the opinion at once, that the Christian faith had an earlier

* Cynegils began to reign 611, and filled the throne 31 years, being the 6th. from Cerdic, who founded the kingdom of the Visi-Saxons in 519.

† "Iste dedit S. Birino, civitatem Dorcestriam ut sederet interim in ea, donec conderet ecclesiam tanto pontifice dignam in regia civitate." *Annales Ecc. Wint.—Angl. Sac.* l. 288.

date in those parts than A.D. 634. For the benefit of those who do not understand Saxon, I shall quote the words of the English translation: "This year Bishop Birinus first preached baptism to the West-Saxons under King Cynegils." Now baptism being the initiatory sacrament of Christianity, the "first preaching of baptism is equivalent to the first introduction of the Gospel."

But little more at this distant period can be gleaned respecting Birin. The events with which he was connected are thus stated by the Saxon Chronicle:—"Birinus was sent hither by the command of Pope Honorius, and he was Bishop there to the end of his life."

A.D. 635. This year King Cynegils was baptized by Bishop Birinus, at Dorchester.

A.D. 639. This year Birinus baptized King Cuthred, at Dorchester, and received him as his son.

After this date I find nothing more of him. His day in the Roman Catholic Calendar, is kept December 3. Preferring contemporary to posthumous accounts of miracles (for the reasons given by the excellent Paley) I pass over the wretched fictions related by Malmesbury, which Bede with more sense and taste has omitted. The reader, however, who may have a relish for such absurdities, may find the detail *lib. 2. p. 241. De Pontif.* and in *Capgrave's Legenda Sanct. Angl.* Bishop Birin must have died anterior to 650, as we then find him succeeded in that year. "Birinus sepultus Dorcasteriæ." *Leland. Itin. 1. p. 93.*

II. AGILBERT.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 650.—EJECTED A. D. 660.—DIED
BISHOP OF PARIS.

"A. D. 650. This year, Egelbert from Gaul, after Birinus the Romish Bishop, obtained the Bishopric of the West-Saxons."—*Saxon Chron.*

King Cynegils was succeeded by his Son Coinualch in 643. This Coinualch, who at first declined embracing the Christian Faith, was driven from his dominions by Penda, King of the Mercians, whose sister he had married

and repudiated. Having taken refuge with the King of the East-Angles, he through his medium, as it would appear from Bede, was brought to a better way of thinking, and at length, in 650, at once recovered his Kingdom and embraced Christianity; and so great was his attachment to the sacred cause, as to induce him to order that the Old* Church, or rather Pagan Temple, at Winchester, should be re-built in the name of St. Peter. By him we find Agilbert appointed to the Bishopric.

Agilbert was by birth a Frenchman, but had latterly come to this country from Ireland, where he had been studying the Scriptures. It seems he had of his own accord attached himself to the King, in the quality of Chaplain or Confessor, and the latter observing his learning, industry, and talents, promoted him to the Prelacy.

☞ Thus early we may observe, en passant, that though the Church of England derives from that of Rome a genuine episcopal succession from the apostolic source, yet the latter did not, at this early period, intermeddle at all with, much less claim as a right peculiar to the "apostolic see," the nomination to vacant Bishoprics, but left the concerns of the Church, quoad hoc, in the power of the King: thus tacitly recognizing the orthodox and constitutional principle, that the latter is the Head of the Church in these dominions. For had any other idea then prevailed at Rome, doubtless, so accurate an historian and conscientious an individual as Bede, would not have failed to have recorded the fact. But here, without the smallest reservation of any power elsewhere, he candidly says, "Rex rogavit eum, accepta ibi sede episcopali, suæ genti manere Pontificem:" and adds that the Bishop on his part, "precibus ejus adnuens eidem sacerdotali juri præfuit:" Not a syllable of sending to Rome for the papal consent, or even confirmation. So entirely and absolutely were these matters left where they now are and ever ought to be.

But to return. The King who spoke only the Saxon language, at length it seems, grew tired of Bishop

* This epithet ('old') says the Translator of the Saxon Chronicle, appears to have been inserted in some copies of the Saxon Chronicle, so early as the 10th. Century, to distinguish the *old* church or minster at Winton from the new, consecrated A.D. 903.

Agilbert's frenchified pronunciation of the Saxon tongue, (*pertæsus barbaræ loquclæ*, as Bede has it) and being determined to have a more polished preacher for his royal city, he appointed in his place Vini or Wina. The King now divided the Bishopric into two portions, and nominated Wina to the portion called WINCHESTER. In consequence of this partition of the Diocese, Agilbert indignantly retired to France, where he became Bishop of Paris and attained to a considerable age.

Bede thus relates the foregoing circumstances:—
 “Tandem Rex subintroduxit in provinciam alium suæ linguæ episcopum vocabulo Wini et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum, dividensque in duas parochias, provinciam, huic in civitate Venta, quæ a gente Saxonum Vintancaestri appellatur, sedem episcopalem tribuit: unde offensus graviter Agilberctus, quod hoc, ipso inconsulto ageret Rex, rediit Galliam et accepto Episcopatu Parisiacæ civitatis ibidem senex ac plenum dierum obiit.”

☞ The word ‘IPSO,’ in the foregoing passage is strong. His indignation arose not, as some modern Roman Catholic writers would have us imagine, from his ejection being effected by the King on his own authority, and without the consent or approbation of the holy see. Had the Pope arrogated to himself, at this period, the jurisdiction to which in after times he set up a claim, Bede, *the accurate and Catholic* Bede, would not have said merely ‘*ipso inconsulto*,’ thus making it a matter of individual feeling, but “*Sede apostolicâ inconsultû*,” as an insult to and infringement of the divine rights of the Papal dominion. But Bede understood THE CONSTITUTION of the Romish Church better than it has since been understood by the aspiring and encroaching members of that communion.

It is really amusing to read the *obiter* observations of Bishop Milner on Agilbert's retirement to France, and to observe the gravity with which he insinuates the claims of the holy see: “Being well acquainted with the irregularity and *invalidity* of this measure,” (*i. e.* the KING's division of the diocese, which “he *ventured* to do on his *own* authority”) he resigned his see entirely, and returned to his native country,” &c.

BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER.

I. WINA or VINI.

APPOINTED A. D. 660.—EJECTED 663.—DIED BISHOP OF LONDON.

THE Editor of BEDE is in error when he places 664 in the margin as the period of Agilbert's loss of the royal favor, and the substitution of Wina in his room, for the SAXON CHRONICLE thus records those events under the year 660: "This year Bishop Egelbert departed from Kenwal, and Wina held the Bishopric three years."

This Prelate, in his turn, lost the Bishopric (*pulsus est Vini ab eodem rege de Episcopatu. Bede.*) and going over to Wulfere, King of the Mercians, is recorded by Bede to have bought the Bishopric of London, where he sat till his death. Thus the diocese of West-Saxony must have been without a Bishop for some years, viz. from 663 to 670.

Bede (lib. 3. p. 137) has a remarkable passage relative to this Bishop. Speaking of Ceadda, Archbishop of York, he says, "Unde diverterunt ad provinciam occidentalium Saxonum ubi erat Uini Epūs et ab illo est vir præfatus (Ceadda) consecratus antistes," &c. *Non enim erat tunc ullus excepto illo Uine in tota Britannia canonicè ordinatus Epus.*

Rudborne in his *Hist. Maj. Wint. in Angl. Sacra.* vol. 1. p. 192, writes, "Expulso Agilberto, Wynus, natione Anglus ac monachus Wyntoniensis ecclesiæ successit in episcop. A. D. 662,* et anno regis Kynewaldi 14 ut habetur per vigilantiam in libro *de Basilica Petri.* Qui Winus post biennium† per regem Kynewaldum simi-

* 660. Sax. Chr. ut. sup.

† The discrepancy in the chronological statements of the monkish historians is unaccountable. The Sax. Chr. says three years.

liter expulsus emit a rege Merciorum Wilfero, (Here, again, Rudborne, a thorough paced Catholic, in naming the appointment by the King, says not a word of the regal usurpation of the Papal right) sedem London : civitatis; ubi longo tempore cathedram tenuit Pontificialem. Sed triennio ante mortem suam pænitentia ductus pro Symoniâ,* (not, ☞ pro peccato ejus, auctoritate Papæ despectâ, as he would have said had the right, at that time, been deemed to belong to the Pope) episcopatum deserens, reliquam partem vitæ suæ in Wyntoniensi ecclesia, ubi et primo infulatus est, sub monastica conversatione peregit, in qua corpus ejus decentissime traditur sepulturæ, ut scribit Florentius in Florario Historiali lib. 3. cap. 6, semper apud semet ipsum hæc verba ruminabat, *Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes.*

Misfortunes, those best correctives of our faults, seem to have brought King Coinualch to his senses. When he denied Christianity, his enemies were permitted to take his kingdom. When he wantonly deposed the Prelates of the Church, or caused them, by his arbitrary conduct, to become self-exiled, his enemies were again permitted to have the ascendant. Ingenuous enough, however, to perceive that this was the finger of God, and that *when his kingdom was destitute of its Bishop, it was also destitute of the divine presence*, he sent an embassy to the exiled Agilbert, in France, soliciting his return. The venerable and injured Bishop, pleading his connexion with his present Bishopric, declined returning to England, but recommended to the notice of the King, his (Agilbert's) nephew, who accordingly received consecration from Theodore, Archbishop of Dover, in the year 670.

II. LEUTHERIUS.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 670.—DIED A. D. 676

The see had been vacant seven years, if the chronology of the Saxon Chronicle is correct, or four years if Rudborne is correct, p. 192.

* Bishop Wina was the first whom historical writers brand with the crime, that by a strange misnomer is called Simony.

The Saxon Chronicle, under the year 670, observes that Lothere, the nephew of Bishop Egelbert, succeeded to the Bishopric over the land of the West-Saxons, and held it seven years. There must be some mistake here in the Saxon Chronicle. This assertion is contradicted under the year 676, which is the year fixed for Headda's succession. He appears to have been consecrated at Winton ('in ipsa civitate consecratus,' *Bede*.)

Bede (lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 154.) records "Quartus occidentalium Saxonum Antistes Leutherius fuit. Siquidem primus Birinus, secundus Agilberctus, tertius exstitit Vini. Cumque mortuus esset Coinvalch, quo regnante idem Leutherius Epūs factus est, acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis et divisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter decem: ipsisque regnantibus defunctus est ille, ex episcopatu functus est Headdi pro eo. Rudborne addit from Will. of Malm. "Hic cum S. Adelmo fundavit cænobium Meldunense." This was formerly the hermitage of St. Aldhelm's master, Maydulph, and subsequently the famous Abbey of Malmesbury. See article of Bishop Aldhelm in the Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury. *Bede* gives his character thus; "sedulo moderamine episcopatum gessit."

III. ST. HEADDA.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 676.—DIED A. D. 703, SAX. CHRON.
or 705, UT AL:

"A. D. 676. This year Hedda succeeded to his Bishopric,"* *Sax. Ch.* He was consecrated by Archbishop Theodore, in London. *Bede*, lib. 4. cap. 12. p. 154.

He had before been a Monk and Abbot. *William of Malmesbury de gest. Pontif. lib. 2. De Epis. occi.* *Bede's* editor says he had been Abbot of Streaneshalch, but quotes no authority. He should have quoted Rudborne, who in *Angl. Sac.* 1. p. 192. says, "Prius fuit

* We were before told by the Sax. Chr. that Headda's predecessor succeeded in 670 (see that year,) and held the bishopric seven years. How then could the successor come in in the year 676, as here stated ?

monachus et Abbas in monasterio quod tunc Streneshalce sed nunc Whyteby nuncupatur." (Whitby.)

His character is thus drawn by Bede :—" Bonus quippe erat vir et justus, et episcopalem vitam, sive doctrinam magis insito sibi virtutum amore quam lectionibus institutus exercebat."—Lib. 5. cap. 18.

William of Malmesbury declares that his letters which he had seen in the monastery there, addressed to Aldhelm, prove him to have been no contemptible scholar. (*De gest. Pont. lib. 2.*)

It appears that Bishop Headda both translated the see from Dorchester and also the body of Bishop Birin, (Bede, lib. 3. cap. 7. Gul. Malm. and Rudb. Leland. Itin. 1. p. 93. "Hedda Epus transtulit corpus Birini ad Ventaniam civitatem,) where the former was also buried, according to Rudborne, himself a Wintonian. What seems to have determined Bishop Headda in removing the see, was that the kingdom of the Mercians in which his predecessors had hitherto maintained an authority being now converted, four several Bishoprics were by the authority of the metropolitan erected, so that the West-Saxon Bishop having no longer any authority there, had no occasion to reside at Dorchester. Headda departed this life in 703, if we follow the Saxon Chron. though Bede and others after him, have fixed his decease at 705. The former authority in noticing his death, adds, "having held the see of Winchester twenty-seven winters," while Malmesbury, "he held the see above thirty years," and after him Butler in his Saints, makes the same record. The latter also adds that he was a Monk of St. Hilda, but quotes no authority.

Richardson, the editor of Bishop Godwin, adopts a curious but very confused mode of quotation, by mixing up two authorities, as to two separate facts under the quotation of one author. Thus, for instance, he says, "Sedit (Headda) annos 27 et obiit Wintoniæ, A. D. 703;" for both which facts he quotes Chron-Sax. Now that work says nothing of his dying at Winchester.

Headda's day in the Roman Calendar, is kept July 7. Miracles are said to have been performed at his tomb. See Bede, lib. 5. cap. 19. though Bede himself does not say so. Bishop Godwin is wrong in saying that Bede mentions the performance of miracles during Headda's prelacy. "Deus præsulatum ejus miraculis non paucis

illustravit." Bede asserts no such thing. He only quotes Pecthelm as having asserted it.—Bede, lib. 5. cap. 18.

Headda's prelacy was rendered memorable, chiefly for the translation of the see, though the precise period seems not to be settled. The *Annales breves Winton*: record, "Sedes Episcoporum W. Saxonum in Ecclesia de Dorcestria mansit per spatium 42 annorum, usque ad tempora Heddæ, qui quinto loco S. Birino in Episcopum successit; qui sedem transtulit de Dorcestria una cum corpore sancti patris nostri Birini in Ecclesiam Summæ Trinitatis tunc, modo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Wintoniæ anno gratiæ 683, anno Pontificatus sui X, anno vero Escuini Regis W. Saxonum III."

On this, Wharton remarks—"Verius Hedda Episcopatum sortitus est triennio post Kynewaldi Regis obitum, anno ultimo Escuini Regis, Xⁱ vero 676, consecratus Londoniæ a Theodoro Epō. Annum exhibet Chron. Sax. locum Beda, l. 4. c. 12. Sedit annos 27. Obiit Wintoniæ, anno 703, teste eadem Chronologia cui fidem astruit Beda, l. 5. c. 19."—No, not exactly. Bede would rather lead us to suppose he died in 705, as the following passage would shew:—"Anno dominicæ incarnationis 705 Aldfrid Rex Nordanhymbrorum defunctus est, anno regni sui 20 necdum impleto; cui succedens in imperium filius suus Osred regnavit annis 11. *Hujus regni principio* (viz. 705). Antistes Occid. Sax. Haeddi caelestem migravit ad vitam."—Lib. 5 c. n8

Bishop Headda appears to have stood high in the estimation of King Ina, since the exordium of nine of Ina's Statutes, as recorded in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. 1. p. 58. under the year 693, states that they were formed by the advice and assistance of that Prelate.

To the foregoing we have only to add from Archbishop Usher's Antiquities, p. 59; "Haeddi Epus in superiore cœmeterio monachorum in Pyramide saxea quondam nobiliter exsculpta adhuc requiescit,

IV. DANIEL.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 703.—RESIGNED A. D. 744.—DIED A. D. 745.

On Headda's death, the diocese of Winchester was

divided into two portions. The one retaining its former name and the other receiving that of Sherborne, and which, in process of time, became known as the diocese of Salisbury.

“Quo defuncto (Headda) Episcopatus provinciæ illius in duas parochias divisus est. Una data Daniheli, quam usque hodie regit, altera Aldhelmo.”—*Bede, lib. 5. c. 18.*

“Remanserunt autem Epō Wint. duæ provinciæ tantum, Hamptonensis sc. et Suthriensis, alteri vero provinciæ, Wiltunensis, Dorsetensis, Berucensis, Somersetensis, Devoniensis, Cornubiensis.”—*Matt. Westm. a° 704.*

“Synodali concilio, diocæsis, ultra modum protensa, in duas sedes divisa.”—*Will. Malm. in Vt. S. Aldhelm. Angl. Sax. vol. 2. p. 20.*

To both the Bishoprics of Winton and Sherborne, were appointed men of the greatest character in the kingdom for learning and piety, who were also both of them monks of the new monastery and school of Malmesbury. Daniel had such a reputation for sacred literature, that Ven. Bede did not think it beneath him to receive literary assistance from him, which he acknowledges in *Præfat. Eccl. Hist. Vossius, de historicis Latinis. lib. 2. cap. 28.* records the following works of this Prelate:—“Condidit Historiam suæ provinciæ.—Australium Saxonum gesta.—Res insulæ Vectæ.—Vitam Ceddæ Epī.—Historiam de obitu Adhemi, et alia.”—The last writer adds, “Epistola ejus catechetica, de ratione instituendi infideles, ad S. Bonifacium, Anglorum Apostolum missa, apud Baronium legitur.”

His prelacy is rendered remarkable by a devout pilgrimage to Rome, which is thus noticed by Cressy. *Church Hist. of Brittany, vol. 2. p. 565*:—“The same year, 721, is recorded the devout pilgrimage of Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to Rome, who is supposed by some to have subscribed to a synod, about this time assembled there, in which a heavy anathema is pronounced against all such as presume to associate to themselves in marriage any virgins or other women consecrated to God, or those [women] whose matrimonial society, men being promoted to such orders have, according to the church's discipline, been obliged to forsake.”—*See Bk. 22. ch. 11.*

In 744, Bishop Daniel resigned the see and became a monk, which circumstances, together with his death shortly

after, are thus noticed by Cressy:—"The year following (744) the Reverend and Holy Bishop of Winchester, Daniel, having spent forty-three years in the administration of that diocese, to the end he might conclude his long lasting age in quiet repose, surrendered his Bishopric and became a monk of Malmesbury, from the ancient tradition of his own monastery. But his repose on earth continued a short time, for the year following he happily attained to an eternal repose in heaven. Though by his great virtues he well deserved a name among our saints, yet we do not find him recorded in our calendar." —*Bk. 23. ch. 13. p. 601.*

There is the usual discrepancy among the old writers as to chronology, respecting Daniel. The Saxon Chron. says, "Forty-three winters had then elapsed (viz. in 744) since he received the episcopal function." Rudborne has these words:—"Daniel qui post beatissimum Patrem Heddam in Wyntoniensi Ecclesia annis 34 (probably a mis-print for 43) strenue pontificavit, senio confectus Meldunum rediit, cujus monasterii monachus fuerat: ubi residuum vitæ sub monastica religione consumpsit et sanctus reputatur." These latter words are directly conflicting with the assertion of the accurate Cressy on that subject. *Vid. sup.* Vossius says, "Decessit sub Sigeberto Visi Saxonum rege, anno episcopatus sui 42."

Malmesbury asserts that this prelate was buried at Malmesbury, which seems probable, although he admits that the Wintonians claim him; but he adds they are unable to shew any tomb to his memory, whether real or fictitious.

Wharton thus sums up the dates with which Daniel was connected:—"Daniel sedem Wint. adeptus post Heddæ mortem, anno 703, tenuit annis 42, anno 721 Roman adiiit; anno 731 Tatwinum Arpūm consecravit; anno 744 Episcopatu cessit; anno 745 defunctus est. Ista tradit Chronologia Saxonica; cui de cessione convenit Florentius, de obitu, Huntindoniensis. Obitum tamen in anno 746. Mailrosensis cum Florilego collocavit; et unum plus justo annum Malmsburiensis Pontificatui dedit."

V. HUMFERTH, HUMFRID, or
HUMPHREY.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 744.—DIED A. D. 754.

The Saxon Chronicle states the dates of his succession and death, but nothing more. Rudborne tacet. Malmesbury merely says, "Cujus, memoria fit in concilio Cuthberti Archpī." Cressy says, "His (Daniel's) successor was Humfrid, whose name we find among the subscriptions to a synod assembled at Cloveshoe, the second time, shortly after."—*Cressy ut. sup.*

Of this prelate and several of his successors, nothing whatever is to be gleaned beyond the dates of their succession and death.

VI. CYNCARD.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 754.—SAX. CHRON.

VII. ATHELARD.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 754. WHARTON.—TRANSLATED
A. D. 790 TO DOVER.

Rudborne records that he had been a monk of Malmesbury.

VIII. EGBLADUS or EGBALDUS.

I find nothing of him except his subscription to a charter given by King Offa to Croyland, in 793.—See *Ingulphus*.

IX. DUDDA or CUD.

X. CYNBERT.

The Saxon Chronicle records his journey to Rome with Archbishop Ethelbert, in 799. In 806, he appears signing a charter of King Kenulph to Croyland, in Ingulph, but the monastic charters are so frequently not genuine, that we can place but little reliance on them in a chronological point of view.

 XI. ALMUND.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 803.

He was at the Council of Cliff in that year. He is also said to have been at that of Bapchild, in 798.—*Wilkins's Concil.*

 XII. WIGBERT, WIGHTIN, or WYDERGIN.

Had been a monk of Glaston. He went to Rome with Wilfred, in 812.—*Sax. Chr.*—Died before 829.

 XIII. HEREFRID.

SUCCEEDED in or BEFORE A. D. 829.—DIED A. D. 833.

I have thus placed his succession, because he made his profession to Archbishop Wilfred, who died in that year. He was killed in battle with the Danes, together with Sigelm, Bishop of Sherborne, in 833.—*Saxon Chron.*—Bishop Godwin erroneously has it 834.

 XIV. EDMUND.

The three first of these, says Richardson, are buried in the crypt and the four last in the nave of the church. Edmund near the entrance of the choir, as says Vigilantius.—*MS. Barlow.*

XV. HELMSTAN.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 833.—DIED 852.

He appears signing a charter to Croyland, in Ingulph, in 833. Rudborne says, that he had been a monk of Winchester, and that King Egbert entrusted to him as a pupil, his son Atulph, p. 199. Godwin places his death at A. D. 837, but Rudborne says 852. He was buried according to a MS. of Barlow, quoted by Richardson, in his own church before the high altar. He adds, “Sed modo in locello plumbeo positus, ex boreali plaga altaris supra tumulum Ric. Toclivii Ep̄i.” Godwin says he lies buried with Kenulph, who succeeded him at the distance of 200 years, and quotes the following lines:—

Pontificis hæc capsula duos tenet incineratos,
Primus Helmstanus, huic successorque Kenulphus.

XVI. ST. SWITHUN.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 852.—DIED A. D. 861.

Of the *imbriferous* St. Swithun, who has not heard? But it is perhaps not so generally known that the establishment of TITHES in this country was effected during his prelacy by his pupil King Ethelwolf, the father of the illustrious Alfred, in which there can be but little doubt that St. Swithun bore a part. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. 1. page 183. A. D. 855. Concilium Wintoniense.

Bishop Swithun was born at Winchester (in pago Wintoniensi. *Higden*) the 26th. of King Egbert. He became a monk* and afterwards a prior of the old monastery there. His learning and piety induced King Egbert to take especial notice of him, and to place under his care his son Ethelwolf, as well as to make use of his counsels in the government of his kingdom. Upon the death of Bishop Helmstan, Ethelwolf appointed him to this see, to which he was consecrated by Ceolnoth,

* Early in life he took the religious habit amongst the regular clergy of the cathedral.—*Capgrave, Leg. Sanct.* fol. cclxxviii.

Archbishop of Canterbury, in 852. His profession of faith may be read in Rudborne, p. 203.

He appears to have been indefatigable in promoting the good of the whole kingdom, but particularly of the city and diocese of Winchester, insomuch that a great part of the merit in whatever was well or wisely done by his pupil, was justly ascribed to him. (*Will. Malm. de Pont.*) He built many churches in those parishes where none had before existed, (*Capgrave in life of Swithun,*) and he also, as the same author records in his *Legenda Sanctorum*, built the bridge at the east end of Winchester. This fact is recorded in the very ancient lives of the Saints, in verse, quoted by the Rev. Thomas Wharton. —*Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. I.

Seynt Swithan his bushopricke to al goodnesse drough
 The towne also of Wynchestre he amended inough
 Ffor he lette the stronge bruge withoute the towne arere
 And foud thereto lym & ston & the workmen that there were.

[f. 93. MS. Vernon.]

William of Malmesbury, Capgrave, and other early writers, represent him as a treasury of virtues, but those by which he was most distinguished were his mildness and humility. (“Solitariae sanctitatis amator, nulla pompa bona sua prostituebat”). When called on to consecrate any new church, however distant, it was his custom to go to it *on foot*, (not “bare-foot,” as Butler in his lives of the Saints ornamentally tells the story) and that he might neither be exposed to ridicule or eulogy, he always travelled to it by night. His affection for humility he carried, as Bishop Milner has it, beyond the grave, giving orders in his last sickness, that his body should not be buried with marks of distinction in the cathedral itself, but among the common people in the church-yard; where it lay at the north-west end of it for more than a century.

It is recorded of Bishop Swithun, by Rudborne, that Ethelbald (son of Ethelwolf and brother of Alfred) having contracted an incestuous marriage with Judith, the late King’s widow, such was the effect of St. Swithun’s eloquence and sanctity, that he not only induced the young monarch to dissolve this unnatural connexion, but also publicly to repair the scandal he had given by his licentious conduct, and perceiving how much the city of Winchester, and particularly the cathedral was exposed

to the violence and cruelty of the Pagans in any sudden invasion, St. Swithun further persuaded him to secure the Church and Cloisters by fortifications.—*Hist. Maj. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

☞ The institution of tithes during Swithun's prelacy must not be omitted. The following is from Ingulphus: "Inclytus Rex Ethelwulphus, omnium prælatorum ac principum suorum qui sub ipso variis provinciis totius Angliæ præerant, gratuito consensu, tunc primo, cum DECIMIS omnium terrarum ac bonorum aliorum sive cattallorum universam dotaverat ecclesiam Anglicanam." This important act took place in Winchester as appears by the charter to this effect which is extant in most of our histories. (*Matt. Westm. Ingulph. Rudb.*) Rudborne erroneously dates the charter 844, but the other historians concur in 854 or 855. This charter was subscribed by Ethelwolph himself, in the Cathedral Church at Winchester, before the high altar, after which it was placed by the King on the altar.—*Will. Malm.*

Swithun died according to the Saxon Chronicle in 864. Rudborne and Malmesbury say 863. He was buried, as was before noticed, according to his own desire, outside the north gate of the cathedral, where afterwards a small chapel was built.

Matthew of Westminster records many of his miracles. Much trash of this sort may also be found in the other chroniclers respecting him. The following is rather too choice a *morçeau* to be omitted. Malmesbury gravely tells us, that while the Bishop was building the bridge at the east end of Winchester, the labourers happened to overthrow and smash all the eggs which a woman was carrying in a basket to market. The holy man vouchsafed immediately to restore the said eggs to their due shape and consistency!

His bones were removed into the Church by Bishop Ethelwold. Lantfred, in 980, wrote an account of this event, but not a life of the Saint as Rudborne, Pits, and Bale erroneously state.—*See Leland de Scriptoris and Sim. Dunelm. X. Script. col. 157.* Rudborne says, this disinterment took place 110 years after the Prelate's death. On this occasion many miracles are said to have been performed in the presence of an immense concourse of people, his ashes never having condescended to display their miraculous powers till after the expulsion of the seculars by Ethelwold.—*See Ang. Sac. vol. 1. p. 223.*

Archbishop Nicolson observes, that "St. Swithun's miracles were recorded by Lamfrid or Lantfred, a benedictine monk of Winchester, about the year 980, of whose book we are told there was a MS. copy in the Lord Lunley's library, (Pits, p. 178) and we are sure there now is one in Cotton's. (Nero. E. 1. Vid. et Galba. A. 13.) This treats only of the great things he did after his death, but it is probable there was a former part of the discourse which seems also to have been translated (Preface to Ang. Sac. 1. pp. 29, 30.) into the Anglo-Saxon. The like, says Pits, (p. 181) was penned by Wolstan, the same famous monk of Winchester, who about the year 1000, did as much for St. Ethelwald.—*Historical Library*, p. 106.

St. Swithun is commemorated in the Romish Calendar on the 2nd. of July, which was the day of his death, but his chief festival in England was the 15th. of that month.—See *the Sarum Breviary and Missal*.

The following passage from *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, p. 271, may not be uninteresting:—"ST. SWITHUN'S DAY. Blount tells us, that St. Swithun, a holy Bishop of Winchester, about the year 860, was called the weeping St. Swithun, for that, about his feast, Præsepe and Aselli, rainy constellations arise cosmically and commonly cause rain. The following is said to be the origin of the old adage: "If it rain on St. Swithun's day, there will be rain more or less forty succeeding days." St. Swithun, Bishop of Winton, dying, was canonized by the then Pope. He was singular for his desire to be buried in the open church-yard, and not in the chancel of the minster, as was usual with other Bishops, which request was complied with; but the monks, on his being canonized, taking it into their heads that it was disgraceful for the saint to lie in the open church-yard, resolved to remove his body into the choir, which was to have been done with solemn procession on the 15th. of July. It rained, however, so violently on that day, and for forty days succeeding, as had hardly ever been known, which made them set aside their design, as heretical and blasphemous; and instead, they erected a chapel over his grave, at which many miracles are said to have been wrought."

In Mr. Douce's interleaved copy of the *Popular Antiquities*, is the following note:—"I have heard these lines on St. Swithun's day:

St. Swithun's day, if thou dost rain,
 For forty days it will remain:
 St. Swithun's day, if thou be fair,
 For forty days 'twill rain na mair.

This is an old saying, that when it rains on St. Swithun's day, it is the saint christening his apples," &c.

XVII. ALFRITH.

SUCCEEDED BETWEEN A.D. 861. AND 863.—TRANS. TO
 CANTERBURY A.D. 871—DIED A.D. 889.

'A Prelate,' as Matthew of Westminster says, 'of great learning.' Florilegus calls him 'vir in rebus ecclesiasticis sufficienter eruditus, qui vices antecessoris aliquanto tempore prudenter exegit.' He is said to have been translated to Canterbury in 871, where he had been a monk, and where he was buried

XVIII. TUNBERT, or DUNBERT.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 871.—DIED A. D. 879.

He is only known by having given the manor of Stusheling to the church; *Rudb.* p. 206, and as having crowned King Alfred. Florence of Worcester places his death at 879.

XIX. DENEWLF.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 879.—DIED A. D. 909.

Said to have been the herdsman that sheltered Alfred. But, with Wharton, I should be sceptical on this point.

Rudborne plainly asserts, "Alfredus quendam subulcum nomine Denewlphum inveniens, ad scholas misit qui postmodum Doctor in Theologia Oxoniis factus, per ipsum Alfredum Regem in Epūm Wintoniensem ordinatus est." William of Malmesbury qualifies a similar assertion with "Si famæ creditur." This fable has

been copied by all our historians. For that it is a fable is evident from chronology, for Alfred did not quit Athelney (in Somerset) where the herdsman entertained him, before 878, and in the following year Denewlph was appointed Bishop. Bishop Godwin was so far imposed on by this story as to repeat it, though he conjectures that the herdsman's *wife*, who it will be remembered found fault with Alfred's skill in cookery, was dead at the period of the monarch's promotion of his quondam host, to the purple.

In 897, he was appointed to the important post of Governor of the royal city of Winchester.—*Matt. Westm.* ad. an. 897.

Rudborne adds that Denewlph sat here twenty-four years; and was buried in his own cathedral. But he must have sat thirty years, according to the date assigned for his death by Florentius and the Saxon Chronicle.

XX. FRITHSTAN.*

SUCCEEDED A. D. 910.—RESIGNED A. D. 932.—DIED A. D. 933.

After the death of King Alfred, the Pope being informed that there was no Bishop in the western parts of England, interdicted both the King and the kingdom.

But Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, hastened to Rome, and informed the Pope that King Edward had, in a late synod, (*Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. 1. p. 199.) held in 904, founded some new and supplied all the vacant Bishoprics. The Pope was satisfied, and the Archbishop consecrated on one day at Canterbury seven new Bishops, among whom was Frithstan, to Winchester.

The chronology of these circumstances is very conflicting: for it had been represented that the Sees in West-Saxony had been vacant seven years, which was not the fact. In the next place Formosus is called Pope at that

* Between Denewlph and Frithstan, William of Malmesbury inserts Athelm, and others Bertulph, but as there seems no sufficient authority for so doing, and nothing but their bare names recorded, I have omitted them.

time, whereas the then Pope was Sergius III. (*See Wilkins's Conc.* vol. 1. p. 199, note 1) and thirdly, the letter attributed to Formosus, is proved by Wharton to have been a fiction. That seven Bishops were consecrated on one day has been stated by so many historians, that I should be unwilling to doubt the circumstance. The question is as to the year in which those consecrations took place. Most writers erroneously fix the event at 904. Ralph Dicetensis alone says 909, and he probably is correct. For if the Bishops of the new dioceses were consecrated in 904, there could not have been seven at once consecrated, since Denewlph at Winton and Asser at Sherborne were not then dead; but if seven were consecrated together, then the consecration could not have taken place in 904.

These discrepancies may be thus adjusted. King Edward and Archbishop Plegmund convened a synod in 904, and in it, decreed upon the erection of three new Bishoprics in West-Saxony. Those Bishoprics were to be taken out of the dioceses of Winchester and Sherborne; but they thought it unjust to make a spoliation of those dioceses during the incumbency of the respective Prelates, especially as each deserved well of the King and the nation at large. They therefore decreed that the matter should be carried into execution whenever their demise might take place. Now, in the year 909, it happened conveniently that Winchester and Sherborne both were destitute of their Prelates, as also Mercia Australis and South-Saxony; the three new Bishoprics therefore being constituted, and new Bishops appointed to them, Plegmund consecrated the seven Prelates at once in 909.

Bishop Godwin places Frithstan's succession at 905, and says he was consecrated to Winchester with six other Bishops by Archbishop Plegmund; but that date we have shewn to be impossible. Of the remarkable anachronism to which the spurious letter attributed by some monk to Formosus, gave rise, I have treated fully in the *Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury*, part I. pp. 68-73.

The Saxon Chronicle, which in most similar cases, I hold to be *instar omnium*, fixes Frithstan's succession at 910. "An. DCCCCX. Hoc anno capessit Frithstanus Episcopatum in Wintecester."

Richardson, the editor of Bishop Godwin, at p. 209, in a note, correctly observes;—"De his episcopis, in

authore MS. incerto de Ep. Wint. sic scriptum legimus." "Inter S. Swythunum et Frithstanum lapsum 49 annorum tres fuerunt Ep̄i: viz. ALFRITHUS, cujus tempore Canonici venerunt in vetus monasterium Wynton: TRUMBERTUS (DUMBERT) qui manerium de Mestelying huic contulit ecclesiæ: DENEWLPHUS, deinde S. Frithstanus qui sedit 21 annis. Cui successit Brinstanus qui sedit 4 annis."* Swythun died 861, to which add 49 years, and we are brought to 910, the year fixed by the *Sax. Chr.* for the succession of Frithstan.

Rudborne thus notices our Prelate:—"Iste Frithestanus discipulus fuit St. Grimbaldi, et ab eo suscepit habitum monachalem: fuit enim primitus unus ex clericis sæcularibus, qui videns monachorum sanctissimam conversationem, sæculum reliquit et ad religionem convolvit: ut scribit Vigilancius in libro *de basilica Petri*, cap. 9. Hic beatus Frithestanus ob eximiam sanctitatem factus est Episcopus; et 22 annis in omni sanctitate pontificavit, sed postea amore divinæ contemplationis, curam deserens pastorem, ordinavit Sanctum Brynstanum loco sui, Episcopum, ac ipse pauperem et monasticam vitam usque in finem transegit," &c. *Hist. Maj. Wint. lib. 3. cap. 7*, and in the following chapter he adds, "Sanctus Frithestanus Wyntoniensis Ecclesiæ Præsul pontificabat XVII. annis temp. Edw. senioris et V. temp. Regis Athelstani: mortuus vero sepultus est in ecclesia cathedrali Wyntoniensi."

Placing his succession, therefore, as above, at 910, his resignation must have taken place in the year 932. But Godwin incorrectly has it 931, and his death in 932; whereas his death did not take place till 933. The *Sax. Chron.* thus records it: "An. DCCCCXXXIII. Hoc anno decessit Frithestanus Episcopus."

XXI. BRYNSTAN.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 932.—DIED A. D. 934.

He also had been Grimbald's disciple, and a secular.

* This is incorrect. He sat Bishop only two years and a half. *Saxon Chron.* Vid. Brinstan infra.

The Saxon Chronicle thus notices his succession: "An. DCCCCXXXII. Hoc anno consecratus est Byrnstanus [this metathesis is very common] ad Wintanceaster, IV. Kal. Junii et tenuit episcopatum duobus annis cum dimidio."—But Rudborne says, "*quatuor* annis regens episcopatum." Wharton, in a note subjoined, observes, "Brinstanum episcopatum anno 932 iniisse Rudburnus in *Hist: minori* rectè tradit. Obiit autem anno 934, ad festum Omnium Sanctorum juxta chronologiam Saxoniam, Florentium, Hovedenum aliosque; ideoque biennio et quinque mensibus tantum sedit."

This prelate had a singular custom of going round the burial places near Winchester, nightly, saying, *Placebo et Dirige*. On one of these nocturnal perambulations, the holy man is recorded to have met with, not a ghost, but a singular adventure. Having concluded his prayers for the souls of the departed, with "*requiescant in pace,*" a multitude of voices, as his biographer Rudborne gravely assures us, exclaimed—'Amen'! How could a church stoop so low as to invent, or any individual be so infatuated as to propagate, or give credence to such monstrous and palpable absurdities!

Byrnstan having distinguished himself in the mistaken piety of the times, has had the honour of fathering divers miracles.

William of Malmesbury thus draws his character:—"Hic Dominici exempli ardentissimus executor, pedes egenis omni die, semotis arbitris lavabat, mensam et cibos apponens, nec minus pro disciplina famulantium reliquias abstergens. Obsequio consummato, pauperibusque dimissis, ad multas ibi remanebat horas, orationibus, ut creditur, vacans, Quadam ergo die pro consuetudine ingressus, nulla antea interpellatus molestia ægitudinis, subito clam omnibus spiritu vitali caruit.—*De Pontif. lib. 2. fol. 138.*

"An. DCCCCXXXIV. Byrnstanus Epūs decesit in Wintanceaster ad festum omn. sanct."—*Sax. Chron.*

Bishop Tanner, on the authority of Leland (*Itin. vol. 3. p. 61. vita S. Brinstani*) observes, "an hospital was founded near one of the gates of this city (Winchester) by Brinstan, Bishop here, who died A.D. 935, [read 934,] but his editor queries whether this was not St. John's hospital, wherein was the image of this St. Brinstan.—See *Leland Itin. vol. 3. p. 100. and Notitia Monastica* under Winchester.

XXII. ELPHEGE, (the Bald).

SUCCEEDED A. D. 935.—DIED A. D. 951.

“An. DCCCCXXXV. Hoc anno capessit Ælfeagus Epūs episcopatum in Winceastre.” *Chron. Sax.* He had been a monk of Glaston. *Rudborne, Hist. Maj. lib. 3. cap. 8.* It appears that he ordained St. Dunstan and Bishop Ethelwold, one of his own successors in the see of Winton, Priests.—*ibid.* The monkish chroniclers, according to the foolish fancies of those times, assert that he was gifted with the prophetic spirit, and Rudborne, William of Malmesbury, Cressy, Capgrave and Matt. Westm. under the year 946, record some absurd stories respecting him. He was uncle of the celebrated St. Dunstan, “by whom he was much promoted in the ways of piety.”—*Cressy’s Ch. Hist: vol. 2. p. 822, or Book 31. ch. 2.*

This Bishop is not to be confounded with Elphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, tho’ Cressy seems to identify them in the Index or Table at the end of vol. 2, but not so in the place there cited

The latter historian thus records the death of the Bishop. “But a more considerable losse came to the Kingdom by the death of the holy Bishop Elpgeg, surnamed the Bald, Bishop of Winchester, and uncle to St. Dunstan. In the annals of the church of Winchester there is recorded a copy of the will made by him before his death, by which he disposed of his hereditary lands to the benefit of certain persons, men and woman of kindred, who were to enjoy the fruits of them during their lives only, after which they were to remain to several churches and monasteries in the city of Winchester.”—*Ch. Hist. p. 847.*

The date of his death is variously assigned. Matt. Westm. p. 188 says 946. But Mailros and the *Saxon Chronicle* more correctly 951. The latter thus notices that event. “An. DCCCCLI. Hoc anno decessit Ælfeagus, Wint. Epūs in festo S. Gregorii.” And the former, thus: “Anno DCCCCLI Sanctus Elphegus Wint. Epūs huic mundo ereptus est.”—*Chronicain Gale Script. vol. 1. p. 148.*

“In propria ecclesia Cathedrali corpus ejus traditur sepulturæ.”—*Rudb. Hist. Maj. lib. 3, cap. 10.*

XXIII. ELFSIN or ALFSY.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 951.—TRANSLATED TO CANTERBURY
 ·A. D. 961.—DIED A. D. 961.

Rudborne calls this Prelate “*Vir regalis prosapiæ et egregiæ literaturæ.*”—*Hist. Maj. lib. 3. cap. X.*

I can find no authority for the assertion made by Bishop Milner in his *Hist. Winchest.* that this see was offered to Dunstan, and on his refusal of it, fell a prey to Elfsin. For it happens that it was Canterbury, and not Winchester that was offered to and rejected by Dunstan, though the former was afterwards accepted by him. What he means by a Bishopric ‘*falling a prey,*’ I know not, as I hear of no spoliation of either Winchester or Canterbury by Elfsin. It is indeed said, but neither do I find any sufficient evidence of that fact, that Canterbury was simoniacally obtained by our Prelate; such charges must be received with caution, since it is much easier to traduce and vilify than to make out a case against the accused. Consult *Osbernus de vit: S. Dunstani ap: Wharton Ang. Sac. 2. 109.*

Being anxious to procure the papal confirmation to Canterbury and the archiepiscopal pall, without which, in Roman Catholic times, the archiepiscopal power was imperfect, he hastened to Rome in very unseasonable weather, for the accomplishment of those objects, when in crossing the Alps he experienced such intense cold as induced him to cause the bodies of the horses on which he and his retinue rode, to be cut open in order to preserve his own vital heat by plunging his feet into them; but this expedient failing, he died amidst the snow, and his body was brought home for interment. *Rudborne and Will. Malms.* The former tells a long and ridiculous story about the apparition of Archbishop Odo, his predecessor at Canterbury, &c. which the reader who has a relish for such Romish puerilities may find at p. 215 of the 2nd. volume of *Wharton's Ang. Sacra.*

In a note respecting the Pall (for an account of which see the *Lives of the Bishops of Sarum, Pt. I. p. 93.*) Bishop Milner in his *Hist. Winton* observes that the pallium is still “quartered” in the Arms of the See of Canterbury. He should have said is still “retained.” It never was and never could, by possibility, be

quartered: for quarterings come by heiresses, as every one knows.

Bishop Godwin says he was translated to Canterbury in 958. But this is at variance with the *Sax. Chron.* which fixes Archbishop Odo's death at 961. This, therefore must be the earliest date we can assign to Bishop Elfsy's translation. A note in Bishop Gibson's edition of the *Sax. Chron.* p. 117 observes, "Post Odonem, Archpūs factus est Alfsinus, (alii Elsinus) qui tamen a plerisque historicis omittitur, quippe haud multo postea, dum Roman ad Pallium petendum proficisceretur, in Alpinis montibus gelu constrictus periit."

XXIV. BRITHELM.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 961.—DIED A. D. 963.

Some writers have incorrectly placed this Prelate's succession at 958. But if Archbishop Odo died in 961, it follows, as Elfsin was his immediate successor, that this See could not have been vacated till that year. But little is recorded of this Bishop, and that little partakes of considerable uncertainty. Bishop Godwin says he sat here five years, and died in 963. This is evidently a confusion of chronology. The date he appears to have copied from *Matt. Westm.* but the Saxon Chronicle by stating that Bishop Althelwold succeeded here in 963, virtually places his demise at least at, if not anterior to that year.

XXV. ETHELWALD.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 963.—DIED A. D. 984,

"An. DCCCCLXIII. Eodem anno capessit Athelwoldus Abbas, Episcopatum in Wintanceaster, et consecratus est in vigilia Si. Andreae quæ dies fuit dominica."—*Sax. Chr.*

This Prelate, who was decidedly the most distinguished and munificent yet recorded, was a native of Winchester

and born of respectable parents.* His holy orders he received from Bishop Elphege.

“ Now began,” says the accurate and intelligent Cressy, “ the great contention long continued and sharply prosecuted between the secular clergy and monks, about the right of possessing monasteries and several cathedral churches. The first place where it was set on foot was the church of Winchester, and the first person who gave occasion thereto was St. Ethelwold, this year [963] made Bishop of that See.” The historian then proceeds to give the following sketch of this Prelate’s life : “ St. Ethelwold, when he was grown up, being of a sharp wit, was delivered to masters to be instructed in sacred learning, wherein he made such progress that King Athelstan hearing a good report of him sent for him to court, and took care to have him ordained Priest by Elphegus, who at the same time also ordained St. Dunstan,” &c. After this, Ethelwald went to Glastonbury [Brompton says *ut sup.* “ Glastoniæ educatus est”] where St. Dunstan gave him the monastical habit [cucullatus.] He was for his humility and other virtues beloved of all, and constituted by the abbot, Dean of the monastery [this preferment is omitted by Bishop Godwin, &c.] in which office his humility received no diminution ; for he would oft labour in the garden, and prepare roots and fruit for his brethren.

The odour of his sanctity was so far spread, that it came to King Edred, who by the recommendation of his mother Edgiva, gave to him a certain place called Abendon,† where anciently had been a monastery, then neglected and desolate, for the repairing of which the King furnished him out of his own treasure, and his mother more liberally. Being made therefore Abbot‡ of that place, he assembled a congregation of monks, whom he governed with great sanctity, &c. After fifteen years, St. Ethelwold was made Bishop of Winchester, where he found horrible disorder among the canons of the church ; for they, avoiding the laborious office of the choir, appointed Vicars in their places with slender pensions, whilst they consumed

* Capgrave, *Legenda.* fol. cxliii. and Brompton *X. Scriptores.* p. 877.

† He continued Abbot of Abingdon till his elevation to the mitre.—See *Hist. Cænob. Abendon.* in *Ang. Sac.* 1. p. 166.

‡ See Rudborne *Hist. Maj. Wint. lib.* 3. cap. 12.

the revenues of the church in their pleasures. Yea, moreover, contrary to the custom and laws of the church, they took to themselves wives, which they as easily discarded again for new ones : and when upon the admonitions of King Edgar, S. Dunstan, Archbishop, and their own Bishop, they would not be corrected, the King bestowed their Prebends upon their Vicars ; but they also being become rich, appointed other Vicars to perform their duties, and became worse than the former. The Bishop did not cease to exhort and reprehend them ; but all his admonitions and reprehensions were in vain upon hearts insensible to all goodness. Yea, such a deep hatred they conceived against him for his charitable care of their souls, that they prepared poison which he unawares drank down, but the power of his faith hindered any ill effect. Hereupon seeing them incorrigible, he received power from King Edgar to leave it to their last choice, either to reform their lives or to depart ; they chose the latter as less grievous to their corrupt natures, and thereupon were thrust out of the church, and a congregation of monks introduced in their place.* Notwithstanding, in great compassion and kindness to the said disorderly canons, S. Ethelwold assigned for their maintenance many lands belonging to the church, and those the nearest to the city and richest for revenues." *Church Hist. of Engl.* book 32, ch. 12. I have omitted some nonsense about miracles, as not worth repetition.

Bishop Godwin records an anecdote very honourable to this Prelate, which has been overlooked by some of the old historians. In a time of great scarcity he sold all the plate of his church, to procure food for the poor ; saying that if the church was reduced to poverty, it might again be enriched, but that if the poor were starved, it was not in the power of man to recall them to life.

"On the second year after he was consecrated," says the *Sax. Chron.* "he made many minsters (confecit multa monasteria) and drove out the clerks from the bishopric, because they would hold no rule, and set monks therein. He made there two abbacies ; one of monks, another of nuns. That was all within Winchester. Then came he

* Of the order of St. Benedict, brought from Abingdon.—Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*. Art. Winchester.

afterwards to King Edgar, and requested he would give him all the minsters that heathen men [the Danes] had before destroyed, for that he would renew them. This the King cheerfully granted, and the Bishop then came first to Ely, where St. Etheldritha lies, and ordered the minster to be repaired," &c.

For a remarkable charter given by Edgar, conferring freedom to St. Peter's minster, at Medhamsted (Peterborough) &c. See Gibson's *Sax. Chron.* Oxon. 1692, or the new translation, 4to. 1823, p. 153.

Among other public works for the benefit of Winchester, one ought not to be forgotten, the benefit of which is still felt by its inhabitants. These experiencing great inconvenience for want of water, which then only flowed in one current at the east end of the city, St. Ethelwold made different canals, one of which begins near the village of Worthy, and thus distributed the water at great toil and expense throughout the greater part of the city." The above is recorded by Bishop Milner in his *Hist. Wint.* and by Richardson, the editor of Bishop Godwin, on the authority of a MS. which it is to be wished they had more particularly designated. Richardson adds (p. 210,) from Wood's MS. "Ecclesiam hanc de novo renovavit et in honorem apostolorum Petri et Pauli dedicavit anno 1^{mo}. Etheldredi Regis, ipso rege et præsulibus et proceribus præsentibus, anno gratiæ 980 sub die 24 Octobris, S. Dunstano Ecclesiam dedicante." To these particulars, says Bishop Milner, it must be added, that the cathedral was conjointly with the said Saints dedicated also to St. Swithun, and that the fame of this our native Saint, soon caused the church and monastery to be called by his name alone. On this occasion he built the crypts under the east end of the church, which still remain as he left them. Wolstan in his *Epistle to St. Elphege* thus alludes to this fact: "insuper occultis studuisti atque addere cryptas." The same writer, in the same epistle, speaking of the advantage of that part of the river called "the Loch pond," which one Bishop brought into the monastery of St. Swithun, and which still runs through the close, says,

————— hucque
Dulcia piscosæ flumina traxit aquæ
Secessusque lacu penetrant secreta domorum
Mundantes totum murmure cœnobium.

He likewise new modelled and enlarged the benedictine

nunnery began by King Alfred, or Alswitha his Queen, and finished by their son King Edward the elder, in this city. (*Will. Malm. de Pontif. Tanner, Not. Mon.*) Tanner says nothing of the assistance which Milner says Bishop Ethelwolf gave to King Edgar in re-establishing a monastery at Romsey.

This Bishop collected and placed in a magnificent shrine the remains of Bishop Birin and placed them in the new Cathedral. He also translated the remains of Bishops Frithstan, Brynstan and Elphege. *Rudb. p. 223* He dedicated the church with eight assistant Bishops, in the presence of King Etheldred, XIII. Kal. Nov. 980.

He died in the year 984. The *Sax. Chr.* thus notices the event. "An. DCCCCLXXXIV. Hoc anno decessit benevolus Ep̄us de Winceaster, Athelwoldus, MONACHORUM PATER."—"Kalendis Augusti. *Hist. Cænob. Abend. Ang. Sac.* 1. 166.

Bishop Godwin, by his own shewing, is clearly wrong in saying that he sat Bishop only nineteen years. He says he succeeded in 963 and died in 984, and yet states "sedit annos novendecim," whereas he must have filled the see twenty-one years. Richardson, on the authority of a MS. adds, "sepultus est in cripta ex australi plaga summi altaris infra propriam ecclesiam." Rudborne says nothing of the crypt, but barely "sepultus est infra propriam ecclesiam ex australi parte magni altaris."

More may be read of this eminent Prelate in the copious Latin Life by Malmesbury, in his book *de Pontif.* I shall only subjoin the passages in Bishop Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, that record the religious foundations that Bishop Ethelwold patronized:—

Berks. "The Benedictine Abbey at ABINGDON being destroyed in the Danish wars, was, A. D. 955 restored by Ethelwold its Abbot, afterwards Bishop of Winton, and the bounty of King Edred and King Edgar. The site of this Abbey was granted 1 Edw. I. to Sir Thos. Seymour, and 5 Edw. VI. to Sir Thos. Worth.

Cambridgeshire. IX. ELY. In 970, Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, introduced an Abbat and regulars, nobly re-edified the monastery, and amply endowed the same, partly by his own purchases and partly by the munificence of King Edgar and other benefactors.

THORNEY. XXVI. This house having been destroyed

by the Danes, Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, A.D. 972, re-founded it for Benedictine Monks, to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary.

Hants. XXXV. NUNNAMINSTER. This house was also new modelled and enlarged by Bishop Ethelwold. [Not founded by him as Capgrave says, f. 144, and Leland *Coll.* I. 26.]

Hunts. ST. NEOT'S. If credit may be given to the Ely historian, St. Neot first placed Monks here, who being dispersed by the Danes, were afterwards restored, and the monastery again bestowed by the bounty and piety of one Leofric and his wife Leofleda, upon the encouragement of Ethelwold, Bishop of Winton.

Norts. PETERBURGH. After it (scil. the Benedictine Abbey there) had flourished about two hundred years, it was destroyed by the Danes A.D. 870, and lay in ruins till A.D. 970, when Ethelwold, Bishop of Winton, assisted by King Edgar and his chancellor Adulf, re-built it in a more stately and magnificent manner.

Surrey. CHERTSEY. Beocca the Abbot and ninety Monks having been killed, and the Abbey burnt to the ground, during the Danish wars, it was re-founded by King Edgar and Bishop Ethelwold to the honour of St. Peter.—See *Chronicon Evesham.* Leland *Coll.* I. 70.

XXVI. ELPHEGE II.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 984.—TRANSLATED TO CANTERBURY 1005.—DIED A. D. 1012.

The Saxon Chronicle under the year 984, writes this Prelate's name with an alias, viz. GODWIN. His consecration took place the 14th. day before the calends of November, and he took his seat on the episcopal bench on the mass day of the two apostles Simon and Jude, at Winchester. *Vid. ut sup.* Bishop Elpheg or Elfeah sat here twenty-one years, and in 1005 was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, being consecrated the following year.—*Ib.* See *Ingram's Trans.* p. 178.

His life occupying twenty folio pages, is written in Latin by Osborne, and may be found in the *Anglia Sacra*, vol. 2. p. 122.

The following memoirs compiled chiefly from Osborne, by Bishop Milner, will be found preferable to the dull and tedious recital of the monkish biographer :

“ In the same year that St. Ethelwold died, viz. in 984, St. Elpheg II. or the martyr, was consecrated in his place, by St. Dunstan, Bishop of Winchester. He was of a good family and well educated, and in his early youth became a monk at Deerhurst [in cænobio *Hirstensi.] in Gloucestershire (*Wm. Malm. de Pont.*). Thence removing to Bath, † many persons resorted to him, who forming a monastery thus gave a beginning to what afterwards became the cathedral of that city. [*Godwin int. Archpos. Cant. p. 54.*] In this situation, his virtues shone out so resplendently that he was judged worthy to succeed the great S. Ethelwold in this See. His elevation made no alteration in his devotions or austerities. He continued both in winter and summer to rise at midnight, in order to perform the divine office, and prolonged his prayers till it was broad day, [*Osberne and Malmesb.*] and he never eat flesh meat except when sickness rendered it necessary, and was otherwise so abstemious that his body seemed to be reduced to a skeleton. [*ib.*] In his public charge he was indefatigable, particularly in his attention to the poor, which was so exemplary and well conducted that there were no beggars in his diocese during the time that he governed it. His zeal was also conspicuous for the due performance of the public service of the church, ☩ and he is recorded for having introduced the use of organs into Winchester cathedral. [*MS. note by Baker in Richardson's notes p. 211.*] Having governed this See in the most exemplary manner during the space of 22 years, he was, on the death of Alfric the Archbishop, much against his own inclinations, removed to the See of Canterbury in 1006, whither he took with him part of the relics of St. Swithun. In this exalted station his zeal and piety were no less conspicuous than they had been at Winchester

* See Tanner, *Notit. Monast.* art. Derehurst. “ Elphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, was about that time [980] a monk here.—*Leland Col. I. 19. ii. 249.*

† Milner has omitted Elpheg's first perferment. He was Prior of Glastonbury before he was Abbot of Bath.—See *Will. Malm. lib. 2. cap. XI. (de reg.)*

In conclusion, being reserved by God to witness the heavy calamity which befel his metropolitical city, in 1013, from the wide wasting Danes, he acted the part of the good shepherd, in its utmost extent, exhorting, comforting, and assisting his flock, and opposing himself to the fury of the barbarians. He was seen to rush between the murderers and their helpless victims, crying out to the former, "If you are men, spare at least the innocent and the unresisting; or if you want a victim, turn your swords upon me; it is I that have so often reproached you with your crimes, that have supported and redeemed the prisoners whom you have made, and have deprived you of many of your soldiers, by converting them to Christianity." The person and the merit of St. Elphege were well known to the Danes, he having been sent upon different embassies to them, and rendered them many charitable offices.—[*Matt. West.*]—Hence they did not dare to strike him, but satisfied themselves with seizing upon him, and committing him to close custody, intending to extort an enormous sum for his ransom. During his confinement of seven months, these Pagans being alarmed at an epidemical distemper which afflicted them, were upon the point of releasing him without any ransom. At length, however, their avarice prevailing, they sent for him to Greenwich, where their fleet then lay, and put the question finally to him, whether he was prepared to pay 3000 marks of gold which they had imposed as his fine. His answer was that all the money which he could command had been spent upon the poor, and that if he had more it would be their property: in a word that he had no gold to bestow upon those, in whose presence he stood, except that of true wisdom which consisted in the knowledge of the living God. Being provoked at this answer, they beat him to the ground, and began to overwhelm him with stones and the horns of slaughtered oxen, [*Matt. West.*] whilst he, raising up his eyes to heaven, thus addressed himself to his divine master: 'O good shepherd, do thou watch over the children of thy church, whom, with my last breath, I recommend to thee.' Our saint having pronounced this prayer, and continuing to suffer, a Dane, by name Thrúni, whom he had the day before baptized, moved by a cruel kind of pity, struck him on the head with his battle-axe, and completed his martyrdom.

Osborne, as above, gives a long account, which is annexed to the life, of the translation of the martyr's body from London to Canterbury.—See also *Rudborne, Hist. Maj. p. 223.*

Matt. Paris records him as subscribing a charter in 996. Vol. II. p. 241.

XXVII. KENULF.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1006.—DIED EOD. AN.

He is sometimes written with an *alias*, viz. *Elsius*. Bishop Godwin accuses him of having obtained the bishopric simoniacally, but on what ground does not appear, as he quotes no authority.

Rudborne thus records him: "Elphego in Episcopatu Wyntonie codem anno [1006] successit Kenulphus, ejusdem ecclesie monachus, ut scribit Vigilancius, in libro *de Basilica Petri*. Rudborne erroneously adds, that Kenulph sat Bishop here not quite three years. He did not sit Bishop one year. Florentius properly says he died the same year he was consecrated.—See *Wharton's Ang. Sac.* vol. I. p. 226.

He was buried in Winton Cathedral.—*Rudborne, ut sup.*

XXVIII. BRITHWOLD or ETHELWOLD II.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1006.—DIED A.D. 1015.

Rudborne calls him Ethelwold, and says he sat here six years, and that he was buried in the Cathedral. *Hist. Maj. p. 227.* Wharton's dates in this part of the history, are preferable to those of Rudborne, who is frequently erroneous, and adds much of his own, without authority, to the older writers. He is often well corrected by Wharton.

XXIX. ELSIN,* or ELFSY.

SUCCEDED A. D. 1015.—DIED A. D. 1032.

Rudborne, and the other chroniclers, are so confused in their dates in this part of the history, and the former so repeatedly contradicts himself, that it is quite impossible to arrive at any degree of chronological exactness.

Bishop Godwin calls this Prelate, Chaplain to King Harold; and says, the latter appointed him Bishop of Winchester: but this is impossible, as Harold was not King 'till 1036: and, moreover, the Bishop died in 1032. Yet the same author, in defiance of chronology, says he was translated to Canterbury in 1038, which was six years after his decease. The Eadsin, therefore, who was Archbishop of Canterbury, was a different person.

The Saxon Chronicle thus records the death of this Prelate, and the succession of the next: — “A. D. MXXXII. The same year died Elfsy, Bishop of Winchester, and Elfwin, the King's priest, succeeded him.”† The same fact is also asserted in the *Annal. Petrob. &c.*

XXX. ELFWIN, or ALWIN.

SUCCEDED A. D. 1032.—DIED A. D. 1047.

“King Canute,” says Rudborne, “in the 18th. year of his reign, and A. D. 1033, appointed Alwyn Bishop after the death of Ethelwold.” This is evidently a mistake, the name Ethelwold having been inserted instead of Elsin. The authority of the Saxon Chronicle is far preferable to that of Rudborne. The former, both places the succession of our Prelate a year earlier, and calls his predecessor by his right name.

Alwyn was a man of family, and related to Queen Emma, who was committed to his care by Richard, Duke of Normandy, when he sent her into England to be espoused to King Etheldred. He was a warrior, and had been

* Written also, Alsin and Eadsin.

† Ingram's transl. p. 206.

appointed to preside over the province of Southampton, and fought bravely against the Danes. Rudborne, (*Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sac.* vol. 1. p. 233.) says, he was created Earl of Southampton. But this creation is not noticed by Dugdale (*Baronage*, vol. 1, p. 16) who only names, under the old Earls of Southampton, Osric, who enjoyed that honor so early as 860; Ælfegus, who died 981; and Alfelme, in the reign of Canute, who married the Earl's daughter Ailiva, mother of King Harold.

Preferring an ecclesiastical to a military life, Alwyn exchanged the sword for the cowl, at the conclusion of the peace between Edmund Ironside and Canute, and became a Monk of St. Swithun's. Bishop Ethelwold himself, from respect to his connexions, investing him with the cowl of St. Benedict. He afterwards became Sacristan, and in the nineteenth year of his Monkhoo, he was appointed, as Rudborne expressly states, *by the King himself*,* and at the desire of Queen Emma, to the Bishopric of Winchester.—A fact, particularly worthy of observation, as incontestibly furnishing another instance, and that on the authority of a Roman Catholic Historian, that the "Holy See," as yet, laid no claim to the right of appointing to vacant English Bishoprics, by "papal provision."

For some political reason, with which the old Historians do not condescend to make us acquainted, Robert, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the then favorite of the monarch, published a calumnious report against Emma, the mother Queen; charging her with a criminal connexion with our Prelate, as well as being accessory to the death of her Son Alfred, and throwing impediments in the way of the succession of Edward the Confessor. The ground work of the base insinuation which formed the first charge, was, no doubt the great friendship and regard which subsisted between the Bishop and his royal ward. The Archbishop, at the order of the King ('*precipiente rege*') convened a Synod, and it was determined (adds my author, though the older historians are silent on the point,) that the Queen should undergo the test, so usual in that superstitious age, of the fiery† ordeal.

* "*Per Knutonem Regem in Episcopatum ordinatus est.*"

† The word *ordeal* is derived from *or* great, and *deal* judgment. Ordeal was of four kinds. 1st, By red hot iron, either held in the hand

To this test she gladly assented, and walked over nine red-hot plough shares, which were placed on the pavement in the nave of Winchester Cathedral, without suffering the least injury from them. Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Hovedon, and Simeon of Durham, have not recorded this extraordinary event. But Ralph Higden, a writer of the 14th Century, in his *Polychronicon*, relates it at length; and it is also transmitted by the more recent historians. The Saxon Chronicle, though it speaks of the harsh conduct of the Confessor, towards his mother Emma, (see A. D. 1043) says nothing of the ordeal.

Wharton in his *Hist. Engl. Poetry*, vol. 1. p. 89, says, that in the year 1338, (about three centuries after the fact) when Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Winton, visited his Cathedral Priory of St. Swithun in that city, a minstrel, named Herbert was introduced, who sung the tale of 'Queen Emma delivered from the ploughshares', in the hall of the prior. Alex. de Herriard. He cites as his authority *MSS. in Archiv. Wolvesey. Wint.* The event, if it took place at all, must have taken place between 1043 and 1047, the former being the period of Edward's Consecration as King; (*Sax. Chron. A. D. 1043*) and the latter, the time of the demise of Bishop Alwyn, who was present at the ordeal. This delivery of Queen Emma was, it seems, the fortunate means of enriching Winchester Cathedral with no less than twenty-one manors. The King having conferred on it three, Queen Emma nine, and the Bishop nine. Rudborne thus particularizes their several donations: The King (Edward the Confessor) gave Portland, Wykhelewelle, [Wyke Regis.] and Waymuthe. Queen Emma gave Brandesbury, Bergefeld, Fyffhide, Hoghtone,

or walked upon with the feet, hare. 2nd, By boiling water, into which the person accused was to plunge his arm. 3rd, By cold water, into which the suspected party was thrown. 4th, By duel. These several modes of impiously tempting God, were repeatedly sanctioned by the laws of the Kingdom, as may be seen in *Brompton's Collections*; such was the blind superstition of that age. Bishop Milner makes a remark upon this unchristian judgment, which if it did not proceed from a Roman Catholic, one must suppose emanated from one not sound in the intellect. "Being practised with an *upright* mind and *lively faith*, there is *no doubt*", but the Almighty did frequently interpose in behalf of innocence." But of this, I beg to doubt, nor does "the authentic history" to which the learned Historian of Winchester alludes, at all remove my scepticism. King James I, who as a Protestant Monarch, ought to have known better, revived some of these foolish and impious practices.

Mychelmeryshe, Ivyngheo, Wycombe, Weregravys, and Haylynge. The Bishop gave Stoneham, East and West Meone, Hentoue, Wytneye, Yelynge, Mylbroke, Polhamptone, and Hodyngtone. As for the ploughshares, they received an exemption from future duty, being buried in the West Cloister of the Cathedral. The whole of this ridiculous story, is treated by Bishop Godwin, with merited contempt. "Quæ de Emmæ purgatione referuntur fabulæ (ne dicam *aniles*) monachales," p. 57.

I find nothing else in the ancient memorials of this Bishop except that he gave £1500 sterling to the Cathedral. He died in the year 1047, having sat Bishop here 15 years.

"A. D. MXLVII. "This year died Elfwine, Bishop of Winchester, on the 4th day before the calends of September," *Sax. Chron.*

Bishop Godwin thus speaks of his burial place: "Sepultus jacet supra parietem presbyterii, ubi tumulo ejus epitaphium vidimus adscriptum hujusmodi,

*Hic jacet Alwini corpus qui munera nobis
Contulit egregia, parcito Christe rogamus."*

His Editor, Richardson, adds in a note "Sepultus fuit primitus in crypta ex parte australi summi altaris, nunc vero positus in Sacrifago plumbeo super osteum illius cryptæ."

XXXI. STIGAND.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1047.—TRANSLATED TO CANTERBURY
A. D. 1052.—DEPRIVED AND DIED 1070.

The *Saxon Chronicle* (*Ingram's Translation*) thus records Stigand. "A. D. 1043, (p. 213) Stigand the Priest was consecrated Bishop over the East Angles;" and (eod: an: p. 19), "Soon after this, Stigand was deprived of his Bishopric." "1044, (p. 215), Stigand returned to his Bishopric." "1047, (p. 216) This year, died Elfwine, Bishop of Winchester, on the 4th day before the Calends of September; and Stigand, Bishop of Norfolk, was raised to this See." "1052, (p. 239) Stigand succeeded to the Archbishopric of Canterbury." "1058, (p. 249) Pope Benedict sent him the Pall."

The *Sax. Chron.* is silent as to Grynctel's procuring by means of bribing the Judges, the ejection of Stigand from Elmham, as will afterwards be noticed.

This Prelate was first chaplain to Queen Emma, (*Dart. Hist. Cant.* fo. 115) and afterwards to King Harold Harefoot. He gained the Bishopric of Elmham, by simony* in 1038 according to *Matthew Westm.* (p. 210) and *Florentius*, though *Godwin* (p. 212) erroneously says 1043.

For having sided with the King, he was subsequently, when Hardicnute obtained the crown, ejected from his Bishopric, in 1040, by Grimketel, (*Matt. Westm.*) who held it with the See of the South Saxons. Hardicnute, who succeeded his brother Harold in that year, turned out most of his brother's friends, but dying in two years time, the scene was changed, Hardicnute's friends were ejected and Harold's restored; when Grimketel being in his turn ejected, our Prelate was restored, and made chaplain to Edward the Confessor: for in a register of Bury, as Blomefield the Historian of Norfolk observes, it is said that Edward the Confessor, in the first year of his reign came to Bury, and then gave Mildenhall manor to that Monastery. Soon after which, Stigand his chaplain, was made Bishop of the East Angles, to whom they granted that manor for life: and he held it all the time he was Bishop, and after he was Archbishop of Canterbury. He by way of retaliation, got the Bishopric of the South Saxons to be taken away from Grimketel, and the administration of it committed to himself: and so governed both Sees to 1047. And then at the death of Alwin, Bishop of Winchester, he took that See, leaving this to his brother Egelmare. *Rudb. His. Maj.* p. 239. He sat at Winchester five years; and then Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury being banished, he seized that See in 1052, Robert being alive, and not deposed; and held it with Winchester. Godwin says he was a man of very great spirit, though very illiterate, and exceedingly covetous; for after Robert's death, he held both Sees till William the Conqueror conquered all the land except Kent: the people of which county, by Stigand's advice,

* Qui prius, data pecunia, fuerat. Epus Helmhamensis ac deinceps Wintoniensis.—*Matt. Paris*, vol. 1. p. 7.

assembled together, and every man taking a bough in his hand, in order to prevent their being distinguished by the royal party, surprized the King at Swanscomb, as he passed through that county, and forced him to promise them that they should be governed by their ancient laws and customs, which he performed,* dissembled his anger at the time, and seemed to be his friend; he first shewed his resentment by being crowned by Aldred, Archbishop of York, instead of Stigand; and when he came into Normandy, under pretence of doing him the greater honour, he took him with him, but the truth was he was afraid to leave him at home, and after he had settled every thing in Normandy, and had returned home, he thought of nothing more than to degrade him; and for this end he sent privately to the Pope, who dispatched three Cardinals into England, to examine, place, or displace the Archbishop and the rest of the English clergy; upon which Stigand fled into Scotland, and after that hid in Ely monastery.

At length a general synod of the† clergy being called at Winchester,‡ anno 1070, he was not only deprived but degraded of all his orders and condemned to perpetual imprisonment for these three crimes or rather pretences, first because he held two bishoprics, which was no more than Dunstan and Oswald two of the Pope's saints had done before. The second was because he took the archbishopric of Canterbury unjustly, while Robert was alive, who could not enjoy it when he was banished, neither could he have kept it against the King's will. The third and true reason why the §Pope was so unmerciful to him, was, because he received not the pall at the hands of Pope Benedict the VIIIth. whom the Cardinals had deposed, and would not take it again of Leo the IXth, or any other lawful Pope. From the time of his deprivation he was kept his whole life a close prisoner in Winchester,¶

* Brady in his Hist. p. 189, &c. says that Stigand took part with the Earls Edwyn and Morcar and others of the nobility who had designed Edgar Atheling their King, but repented, and followed Duke William to Waulingford, and there made peace with him. But this was not forgotten.

† Brady's Hist. 213. Holingshead p. 829. and Godwin, p. 58.

‡ According to Godwin, 1069

§ He was under excommunication when the Conqueror was crowned, which that King made use of, as a pretence for not being crowned by him.

¶ Tirel's Hist. p. 29.

where he lived very meanly, wanting even common food, being so covetous that he would advance no money out of his vast treasures, which at his death were found under ground, and seized by the King and carried to the treasury.* He was buried at Winchester, in a leaden coffin, placed on the top of the wall on the north side of the presbytery, thus inscribed :

Hic jacet Stigandus Archiepiscopus.

He died the year he was deprived, [1070] "not without suspicion," as Blomefield adds, "of bad usage in his life." *Hist. Norfolk.* vol. 2, p. 327. I have followed Mathew of Westminster's date instead of that assigned by Godwin, viz. 1069. The former says, "A. D. 1070, Pascham, apud Wintoniam celebravit ecclesia tota Anglicana, rege procurante. Ibi Stigandus Archiepiscopus degradatus est et Aihmarus frater ejus."

Bishop Godwin defends Stigand. Ordericus and Matthew Paris speak of him in strong terms of censure. The former, at p. 516 says, "perjuri et homicidii inquinatus erat, nec per ostium, archipræsulatum introierat." The latter has these words: "Primò Stigandum perpetuo carceri mancipavit [Gul. Conq. scil.] *et merito*, quia &c." "Ipse similis arundini ventis agitatae nunc Regi nunc Anglis videbatur inclinare." Vol. 2, p. 47, line 50. Paris in vol. 1, p. 7, calls him Apostata. Matthew of Westminster distinctly accuses him of Simony: "Stigandus ut avaritiæ propriæ satisfaceret Cantuariensem et Wintoniensem data pecunia thronos ascendit." See under the year 1038, and also *Flores Hist.* p. 210, under the same year.

Richardson, in a note on Godwin respecting the monumental inscription above recorded by the latter, adds, "Nunc vero hoc modo inscribitur. In hac cista A. D. 1661 promiscue recondita sunt ossa Principum et Prælatorum, sacrilega barbarie dispersa, A. D. 1642."

The following are the notices of this Prelate by William of Malmesbury (Post Bedam de Pont. lib. 1.).

Tunc Stigandus quidam, qui quondam dimisso orientali Anglorum Episcopatu, sublimiorem gradum meditatus Wintoniensem invaserat, rapuit occasionem desideratam ut innocentis regis simplicitatem circumveniens Archi-

* Godwin, p. 84. Willis's Hist. of Convent. 1 pt. 296.

episcopatum septendecim annis tantis honoribus adjungeret: alias sane nec imprudens, nec inefficax. Cæterum adversus ambitum nihil dignitati suæ consulens, quæcunque posset aliis præripere sibi abscondere, nunquam avaritiam suam moderari: sacros honores Ecclesiarum hos sibi pecunia comparans, istos aliis lingua vendicans: prorsus publicas nundinas in Episcopatibus et Abbatibus faciens, et ibi cupiendi modestiam admittens, ubi quod cuperet deesset. Nonne illud belluinæ rapacitatis dices, quod Wintoniæ episcopatum et Cantuariæ Archiepiscopatum,* præterea multas Abbatias solus ipse possidebat, quæ singula satis superque sufficerent alicui probo viro? Sed ego conjicio illum non judicio sed errore peccasse, quod homo illiteratus (sicuti plerique et pene omnes tunc temporis Angliæ Episcopi, nesciret quantum delinqueret, rem ecclesiasticorum negotiorum sicut publicorum actitari existimans. Quare nunquam pallium a Roma meruit, quamvis et ibi venalitas multum operetur, nisi quod quidam Benedictus apostolicæ sedis persuasor ipsi misit gratulatus, quod eum quem alii Archiepiscopi ducebant ludibrio, ipse Papam appellasset. Sed illo non multum dejecto, omnia ejus facta evacuata, decretumque consilio salubri non potuisse eum dare legitime pallium qui juste non habuisset Papatum. Non resipuit super his Stigandus sed perstitit, parum cogitans de animarum salute, tantum forensi frueretur honore. Interea Willielmus Comes Normanniæ Angliam veniens armis Provinciam perdomuit cum et Dei permissio suffragaretur et nonnullæ causæ suppetere, quas non infirmas ipse arbitraretur. Qui cum et belli Hastingsensis victoria et castelli Dofrensis deditione terrorem sui nominis sparsisset, Londoniam venit, venienti Stigandus cum potentissimis Anglis processu et favore suo applausit: consertisque loquelis Willielmum eum in patrem et Archiepiscopum, ipse Willielmum in regem recepit et filium. Veruntamen coronam regni de manu ejus Rex detraxit suscipere, astutia qua consueverat, prohibitores ex parte Apostolici subornans. Nec multo post in Normaniam navigans sub velamine honoris illum renitentem secum traxit, ne quid perfidie se absente per ejus auctoritatem in Anglia pullularet. Inter quæ difficile dictum est, quantis eum exceperit officiis dignanter ubicunque loco-

* What would he have said of Wolsey, had he lived in his time?

rum assurgendo et contra eum in omnibus Episcopatibus Normanniæ et Abbatibus longa serie pompæ procedi faciendo. Sed quicquid his tegebatur involucris, erupit in clarum veniente in Angliam Ermenfredo, Seduense Episcopo, Legato Alexandri Papæ, qui ad voluntatem regis, coacto concilio Stigandum deposuit, fidem Willielmi appellantem et violentiam reclamantem. Et quamvis ille se blande excusans præceptum Papæ objectaret, non tamen in opinionem affectatæ depositionis exclusit, quod eum toto ævo in vinculis Wintoniæ habuerit. Ibi ergo Stigandus tenui victu vitam toleravit, quod ei parum de fisco ferebatur, et ipse ingenita mentis duritia nihil de suo inferri pateretur. Quin et hortantibus amicis et præcipere regina Edgitha Edwardi regis relicta, ut se delectatius vestiret et pasceret, per omne sanctum pejerabat non se habere nummum nec valens. Sed huic sacramento soliditatem veri abfuisse probavit ingens vis opum post mortem ejus in subterraneis specubus inventarum. Ad quarum indicium ut veniretur, auxilio fuit clavicula collo exanimati dependens, quæ familiaris scrinii esset custos. Ea seræ immissa, manifestavit per cartas inventas et qualitatem metallorum et quantitatem ponderum.

The same writer (*Gul. Malm. de gestis reg.* lib. 2, p. 82, l. 28) thus expresses himself: "Invasit continuo illo vivente [Roberto] Stigandus qui erat Epûs Wintoniensis Archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ; infamis ambitus pontifex et bonorum ultra debitum appetitor, qui spe throni excelioris Episcopatum Saxonum Australium deserens Wintoniam insedit, illam quoque eum Archiepiscopatu tenuerit. Quapropter ab Apostolica sede nunquam pallium meruit, nisi quod Benedictus quidam persuasor Apostolatus misit, pecunia scilicet ad persuadendum corruptus vel quod mali gratificantur similibus. Sed ille mox a Nicholao, qui ex Epō Florentiæ legitime Papatum susceperat, expulsus zelo fidelium, indebitum nomen exiit. Stigandus quoque temp. R. Willielmi Conquestoris per Cardinales Romanos degradatus perpetuisque vinculis innodatus, inexplebilis aviditatis nec moriens fecit finem."

Rudborne contradicts the assertion of William of Malmesbury above quoted, as to Stigand's being held in chains by King William, and quotes the author *De Concordantiis* (*sub litera S.*) as saying that Malmesbury was napping when he said this. William, he says, had him in custody in the castle at Winchester, but within it he had full liberty of person.

Bishops of Winchester, since the Conquest.

I. WALKELIN.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1070.—DIED A. D. 1098.

This Prelate, who was a Norman by birth, and a cousin of William the Conqueror, had taken his degree of D. D. at Paris, (*Rudb.*) and was appointed Stigand's successor in 1070, on the day of Pentecost, (*Hoveden*) being consecrated by Bishop Armenfride the Pope's Legate.

Malmesbury informs us that at his first entering on the See, he conceived a violent disgust towards the monks, whose situations he meant to supply with secular canons; but that afterwards, being induced to alter his opinion, he cherished them as sons, &c. "Deinceps fovens eos ut filios, diligens ut fratres, honorans ut Dominos." Instead of dislodging them, he set about reforming them, through the means of his brother Simeon, who was chosen their Prior. This Simeon, and his successor Godfrey, as the *Annales Wintonienses* record under the year 1082, p. 294, succeeded in inducing them to abstain from flesh meat, and to be content with fish; "Data sunt autem eis pisces et abstinerant a carnibus."

But not to dwell on these silly reformations and fond conceits, we will now pass on to a splendid act of our Prelate, which deservedly immortalizes his name. I allude to the rebuilding of Winchester Cathedral in a noble style of architecture, entirely at his own expence, a work which he commenced in 1079 ["Anno MLXXIX Walkelinus Epūs a fundamentis Wintoniensem cœpit reedificare ecclesiam." *Annal. Wint.* p. 294. "Anno gratiæ 1079 Incipitur renovari ecclesia episcopatus Wintoniæ." *Matt. West.* p. 228.] The reader will recollect that this re-building of the Cathedral is just 99 years since it had been built by Bishop Ethelwold, for soon after the former erection had been completed, the city fell into the

hands of the Pagan Danes under Swayne, and doubtless the Cathedral must have suffered greatly under their sacrilegious and rapacious devastation.

The author of the *Annales Wint.* under the 1086, p. 295, relates a circumstance which occurred during the course of this work. William permitted Walkelin to take from his wood called Hemptage, about three miles from Winchester on the Alresford road, as much timber as he could cut and carry away in four days and nights, (not three, as Bishop Milner says). The cunning Bishop accordingly collected an immense number of carpenters, and actually removed the whole wood to Winchester. The King happening to go that way, looked about with astonishment, and exclaimed, 'Am I fascinated? Have I lost my senses? Where am I? Had I not a delightful wood here close to Winchester?' Being informed of the fact, he was much enraged; but the Bishop gaining admittance, under a disguise, threw himself at the monarch's feet, and offered to resign his bishopric, so that he could but retain the friendship which the King had entertained for him while in the more humble capacity of his chaplain. The generous monarch, disarmed of his resentment, restored him to his favor; saying, 'Walkelin, I was too liberal in my grant, and you too avaricious in the use you made of it.'

This affair happened in the last year of William's life: after which the building was continued seven years longer, and at the end of fourteen years, viz. in 1093, the new church was rendered fit for divine service, and the conventual offices for the reception of the monks; almost all the Prelates and Abbots of England attending the dedication, which took place July 16, being the festival of St. Swithun. The next day, the Bishop's workmen began to demolish the old monastery. *Annales Wint.* 1093, p. 295.

The Saxon Chronicle records none of these circumstances, nor does even the name of Walkelin occur in the index annexed to Ingram's Translation, excepting once where his death is recorded, at p. 317; but Malmesbury, a contemporary historian, (*reg. lib.* 3, and *de Pont.* l. 2,) speaks fully on the point.

William Rufus being in Normandy, and in want of money, sent an order to Walkelin to send him, without delay, £200. a large sum in those days, which the Bishop being unable to raise, without either selling the valuables

of the Church or stinting the poor, prayed that he might be delivered from the nurseries of life; an event which took place within ten days. *Annales Wint. ut sup.*

He was buried in the nave of his Cathedral, at the foot of the steps leading into the choir. (*Rudborne, Hist. Maj. lib. 5, cap. 1. p. 256.*)

His character is thus drawn by Malmesbury; *Cujus bona opera famam vincentia senium a se vetustatis repellent quamdiu inibi sedes Episcopales durabit. Una in re multum peccavit, nimirum quod ad centum libratas terras Monachis auferens, suis et successorum usibus applicuit.*

Godwin, in a culpable manner, passes over the important fact of his being the refounder of our Cathedral. He merely says, "Illo sedente, anni nimirum 1079 Ecclesiæ Cathedralis fabrica quam nunc cernimus, primum erigi cœpta." p. 213.

The following sketch is from *Rudborne, p. 255.*

Post Stigandum, qui contra decreta Canonum ambas sedes occupaverat Cantuariensem viz. et Wyntoniensem, in sede Wyntoniensi, Stigando deposito, successit in Episcopatum Wentanæ civitatis Walkelinus, vir magnæ literaturæ, doctor in Theologia egregius, in studio Parisiacensi cathedram ascendit magistralem, consanguineus enim erat Willielmi Conquæstoris et natione Normannus. Hic primis temporibus suæ consecrationis Monachos Ordines S. Benedicti supra modum exosos habebat; ut habetur in *Gest. Pontif. lib. 2.*" Unde et 300 libratas terræ Monachis Ecclesiæ suæ auferens, suis et successorum suorum usibus implicuit. Iste Walkelinus incitavit omnes Epōs Angliæ ad expellendum Monachos a Cathedralibus Ecclesiis in Anglia, ut habetur in *Gestis Pont. lib. 1, cap. 7.*

Walkelinus Epūs fieri fecit turrin Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis, ut modo cernitur; cætum Monachorum in ipsa Ecclesia augmentavit; et postquam strenue rixisset Wyntoniensem Ecclesiam 27 annis, quievit in Domino; illum nempe

Atropus occurrit, Lachesis traxit, reparavit
 Clotho colum dire; patriæ flos cœpit abire.
 O Walklyne pater salveris, quod locus ater
 Nunquam te violet, qui male semper olet.
 Sed plausu plena cuncto Paradisus amæna
 His animam teneat atq; fovere queat.
 Sitq; pater tibi dux, sit rector, sit tibi vita.
 Filius et sua crux lux tibi fiat ita.

Sicq; viam universæ carnis Walkelyno ingresso, in propria Ecclesia sepultus est idem Præsul benignissimus, ut ita dicam. Sed et quamvis monachos omnes in Anglia et ecclesiam suam in principiis deliciarum exosos habuisset; infra breve tamen pænituit et quod per prius inordinate in animo concesserat, religiosissime corripuit, et restitutionem de malefactis ordini Monachorum illatis cum omni humilitate fecit. Et hoc mihi et omnibus in testimonium suæ satisfactionis devenit; quia obitum suum tam solemniter celebrat Wyntoniensis Ecclesia, tanquam pro speciali benefactore suo; quod non faceret, si ingratus eidem Ecclesiæ minimum exstitisset. Jacet enim ejusdem Præsulis venerabile corpus humatum in navi ecclesiæ ad gradus sub Pulpito, in quo erigitur crux argentea magna Stigandi Arpī cum duabus imaginibus argenteis magnis, ad pedes, viz. Wil. Gyffard quondam Wynt. Epūs; et in lapide marmoreo superposito sculpuntur hi versus;

Præsul Walklynus istic requiescit humatus
Tempore Wilhelmi Conquestoris cathedratus

Rudborne, p. 255.

Bishop Walkelin's death is thus recorded in the *Sax. Chron*:—"A. D. 1098, In this year, Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, within this* tide departed;" p. 317. *Ingram's Trans.*

II. WILLIAM GIFFARD.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1100.—DIED A. D. 1128 9.

After the death of Walkelin, William Rufus kept the See in his own hands till the period of his death in 1100.

On the accession of Henry I. Pope Gregory the VIIth. *watchful* for the interests of his church, set up a claim in opposition to the King of England to the right of appointing to the vacant Sees by capitular election, which Henry vigorously resisted. Accordingly on the latter appointing

* That is, within the 12 days after Christmas or the interval between Christmas day, properly called the Nativity and the Epiphany; the whole of which was called Christmas tide or Yule tide, and was dedicated to feasting and mirth.

Giffard, who had been Chancellor of England, *temp. Gul.* 1. (A. D. 1073 & 1788, *orig. Jurid. Chron. Ser.* p. I. *Dugdale*) to the diocese of Winchester, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused him consecration. In this dilemma the King applied to Girard, Archbishop of York, who, with becoming loyalty, consented to his Sovereign's will: but such was the blind awe in which Giffard stood of the authority of Anselm* and the Papal See, that he was actually weak enough to refuse† the proffered consecration. The natural consequence of this contempt was, his banishment,‡ which took place in 1102. (*Malm. de pontif.* & *Hoveden lib.* 1, *fol.* 269.) The matter however, was at last arranged, the Pope consenting that Anselm should consecrate the Bishops already nominated, and the King, on his part, agreeing not to interfere in future with canonical election. The King was to possess the right of recommending the future Bishops — the Church, that of investing them with the spiritual insignia: but the Bishop elect was to do homage to the King, for his temporalities and barony. See *M. Paris* and *Malm.*

The consecration of this Prelate, after much altercation, took place in the year 1107. *Dunelm. Paris, Hoveden, &c.*

Bishop Giffard was not a native of this country (*Rudb.*) Probably a Frenchman, as he had been high in the favor of the Conqueror. He sat at Winton 28 years. Rudborne adds, (*Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sacra.* 1) “Pentecostalia huic ecclesiæ contulit.” He has left several monuments of his liberality and piety. He founded the Monastery of St. Mary Overy (i. e. St. Mary over the Rie—Rie meaning *water*), at Southwark, now called St. Saviour's. He built the§ body of the Church in 1106, 7. H. I. Matthew of Westminster says, that Canons regular then newly come into England were placed here, and by Bishop Giffard, according to the *Hist. Maj. Win.*; but Bishop Tanner observes, that this account is incon-

* “Rigorem timens S. Anselmi.” † W. Malmesbury, *M. Paris*, vol. 1, p. 58, l. 56, and Rudborne and the rest of the Romanists who have recorded these events, are not content with saying he *refused* this consecration, but use the word “*sprevit*.”

‡ For the real causes of the enmity which subsisted between the King and Anselm, see *Turner's Hist. Engl.* under Will. 2. ch. 5.

§ Stow's survey of London, 1. p. 10.

sistent with what had been said (in the last page) that Bishop Giffard was then in exile, which in truth, he then was, and had been for some years, for refusing to be consecrated by the Archbishop of York. Tanner under the article Overy, Hospital of St. Thomas, *Surry*, XX. 2., speaks of the burning of St. Mary Overy, A. D. 1207, which was rebuilt, but in 1228, was removed to the other side of the Borough, with the consent of Peter de Rupibus, then Bishop of Winchester, and dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr. He adds, it was accounted of the foundation of the predecessors of the Bishops of Winchester, and they had the patronage of it." Bishop Godwin deprives Giffard of the honour of being sole founder. He merely says, "ad fundationem magnam contulit pecuniam;" but Rudborne distinctly attributes the foundation to our Bishop. His words are, "Obiit Algodus Prior Mariæ de Southwerk quod Monasterium fundavit Willelmus Giffard, Wintoniensis Episcopus."—p. 282.

He established in 1128 an Abbey of Cistercian Monks, at Waverly, near Farnham, *Annales Waverl.* being the first house which that order possessed in England. Bishop Tanner notices this in his *Notitia* under *Surry* XXIII. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and had in it about the time of the dissolution, thirteen religious, and was endowed with £174. 8s. 3d. It was granted with all the estates belonging thereunto to Sir William Fitz Williams.—28 Henry VIII.

He also founded a Priory of Black Canons at Taunton, *Rymer, Fæd.* vol. XIV. p. 635. which Tanner thus notices under Somerset:—On the East part of this town (Taunton) was a Priory of Black Canons, erected by William Giffard, Bishop of Winton, temp. Henry I. to the honour of St. Peter and St. Paul. It was valued 26 Henry VIII. at £286. 8s. 10d. and granted 36 Henry VIII. to Matthew Colehurst.

But the most important work of a religious character that Bishop Giffard executed was, the removal of the new Minster, or St. Grimbold's Abbey, founded by Alfred, from the North side of the Cathedral to Hyde Meadow in 1110, *Annal Wint.* p. 297, where, through his influence with King Henry I. he procured the foundation of a stately Abbey. See Tanner, *Notitia. Hants.* XXXV. 3. and the authorities there quoted. At the dissolution, Hyde Abbey was valued at £865 18s. p. an.

Dugdale. The site was granted 37 Henry VIII. to Richard Bethell.

The reason assigned for this removal by Tanner, and the authors he cites, was, that the Churches and habitations of the two societies were so near together, that differences arose to a great height, occasioned by singing, the ringing of bells and other matters. Milner, quoting Trussel's MSS. attributes it to the unhealthiness of the situation, from the waters which issued from the new made castle ditches passing through a great part of the city, and at last, settling round the Abbey. This seems confirmed by Malmesbury's remark on the newly erected Monastery at Hyde, viz—"sanius incolitur." *De Pontif.*

In addition to these acts of munificence, the Bishop built a spacious Palace at Southwark, near London bridge, for the town residence of the Winchester Prelates. Gale, as has been observed in our reprint of his work, observes, that this Palace is now converted into streets of dwelling-houses, the rent of which is appropriated to the See.

A plate of Winchester house, bank side, Southwark, is engraved in the *Gent. Mag.* 1791, p. 1169, accompanied by the following account:—"Winchester House was built by William Giffard, Bishop of that See, about the year 1107, 7. Henry I., upon a plot of ground belonging to the Prior of Bermondsey, as appears by a writ directed to the barons of the Exchequer, 1366, 41. Edward III. and was undoubtedly one of the most magnificent of its kind in the city, or suburbs, of London. We find the Bishop of Winchester in the reign of Henry VI., on his being made Cardinal of St. Eusebius in France, was, on his approach to London, met by the Mayor, Aldermen, and many chief citizens on horseback, and conducted by them in great state to his palace at Southwark. To judge of the original grandeur of this place, an intelligent spectator need only visit it in its present state of ruin. Time has not yet been able to extinguish the marks of venerable antiquity; though perhaps from its commercial situation, few places have been more exposed to the attacks of violence."

It appears from the *Annales Wint.* under the year 1122, that great disorder arose between the Cathedral Monks and the Bishop, on account of the latter's alienation of some of the revenues. Their disagreements were at length settled by the interference of the King; and under the

year 1128, we find the Bishop living in the greatest harmony among the monks, and at length he even took the monastic habit.

After having sat Bishop here 21 years, reckoning from his actual consecration, Giffard died according to the *Annal. Wint.* p. 299, and *Matt. Paris*, vol. 1. p. 71, l. 47, in 1128; but according to Florentius's Continuation, and the *Sax. Chron.* in 1129. The latter adds, that he was buried at Winchester the 8th day before the Calends of February. See *Ingram's Trans.* p. 359.

The following is his Epitaph, engraved on a stone, placed just above the tomb of his predecessor:—

Wilhelmus Giffard, Præsul jacet hic tumulatus,
Qui suscepti adhuc vivens habitum Monachatus.

Rudb. l. 5. c. 3.

III. HENRY DE BLOIS.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1129.—DIED A. D. 1171.

This Prelate was nephew of King Henry I., being a son of his sister Adela, and son of the Earl of Blois, and brother of King Stephen. He was previously to his elevation to the purple, Abbot of Glastonbury. "A. D. 1129, The King (Henry I.) gave the Bishopric after Michaelmas to the Abbot Henry, of Glastonbury, his nephew, and he was consecrated Bishop by the Archbishop, William of Canterbury, on the 15th day before the Calends of December."—*Sax. Chron.* p. 359.

He had been a Monk at Clugny. "Cluniacensis a puerilibus annis monachus existens." *Girald. Camb. de vitis.* 6 *Epis. coæt.* p. 421. Gale and others, call him Abbot of Bermondsey. Giraldus does not mention that preferment. In 1134 he was appointed the Pope's legate.—*Annal. Wint.* p. 299.

I have endeavoured in this work, as much as possible, to keep *Biography* and *History*, distinct: but in the present instance, so involved was this Prelate with the measures of the Court, in consequence of his near affinity to the reigning monarch, that the history of the man, will in a great measure, necessarily be the history of the times.

King Henry I. called Beauclerk, dying in Normandy at the end of 1135, his nephew Stephen hastened to London, and used such diligence, that he procured himself to be crowned on the ensuing festival of the saint of his name, only 22 days after his predecessor's demise. Our Prelate, whether from natural affection or ambitious views, took part with his brother.

At this period the Prelates, like the lay nobles, built their Palaces in the form of castles, and Bishop Blois in 1138 (*Rudb. An. Wint.*) erected the Castle of *Wolvesey*, at the east end of the city of Winchester, as likewise others at his principal manors Merden, Farnham, Waltham, Downton, and Taunton. (*Annal.*) The King, suspicious of the fidelity of his more potent subjects, and impelled by avarice, seized upon several of the castles belonging to the Prelates, and appropriated their treasures to his own use. His barbarity towards Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, we have already had occasion to notice in the *History of the Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury*. The ingratitude of King Stephen towards that Prelate, and the violence offered to the Church in the person of some of its most distinguished members, alienated in some degree, though as the sequel shows, not irretrievably, even his own brother the Bishop of Winchester, who employed his authority as papal legate to convene a Synod at Winchester, before which, he cited the King to answer to the outrages he had committed; but the arguments of Aubrey de Vere, an able lawyer on the King's side, disconcerted the assembly: in consequence of this, the Prelates had recourse to supplications which the King treated with indifference, and he thereby alienated the affections both of the Prelates and Citizens.

In this situation of affairs the Empress Matilda (or Maud, as she is frequently called), landed with her brother Robert, Earl of Gloucester, on the coast of Sussex, (*Prid. Cal. Oct. an. 1139, W. Malm.*) and the flames of civil war were soon lighted up throughout the Kingdom. The Empress was apprized of the favourable dispositions of the people of Winchester towards her, (*W. Malm. Hist. Novel*) and she even hoped that her cousin, (our Bishop,) who had lately as well as on many other occasions opposed the unjust pretensions of his brother the King, would assist her cause. But he had marshalled himself on his brother's side, and to support his cause, put in practice a most unjust and base stratagem

towards her. He invited a great number of the Nobility and chief men in the interest of Matilda, to an hospitable entertainment at his new Castle of Wolvesey, and causing the gates to be shut upon them, he then endeavoured, partly by persuasion and partly by constraint, to induce them to give up the strong holds they were in possession of to his brother. (*Matt. Paris, ad. an. 1139.*) The scheme, however, failed in the most important article of it, which was to secure the Castle of Winchester: for the chief magistrate of the city, who was the commanding officer of that fortress, suspecting what was intended against him, escaped in time from Wolvesey, and flying to the citadel, secured it for the Empress.

The war continuing with increasing fury and ravages, Stephen at length, after performing prodigies of valour, was taken prisoner under the walls of Lincoln, and almost the whole Kingdom declared in favour of Maud. In these extremities, our Bishop found it necessary to enter into a negociation with the Empress and Earl Robert; (*Will. Malm.*) the terms of which being settled, he went out as far as Magdalen Hill in solemn procession, accompanied by the Nobility, Bishops, Abbots, Citizens, Priests, the Monks of both Universities, and even the Nuns of the Abbey,* in order to receive her and her brother, together with the Nobility that attended her. Dismounting from her horse, she was accordingly conducted by her cousin, the Bishop on her right hand, and the Bishop of St. David's on her left, with four other Bishops, and the company above described, through the principal street of the City, amidst unbounded acclamations and joy, to the Cathedral. (*Will. Malm.*) The service being concluded, she retired to the Castle, when both the City of Winchester and the Kingdom in general, flattered themselves they had seen an end of their calamities, which in fact were only then beginning. The cause of their recommencement as we are informed by William of Malmesbury, who, as himself, informs us, was present at the Synod which was held at Winchester, he acknowledging Matilda's title. The Bishop who was

* "In patenti planitie camporum juxta Winton." *Will. Malm.* "On Madg. Hill."—*Trussel.* For an account of these transactions see *Chron. Gervas. an. 1141.*

desirous of establishing a peace upon secure grounds, and who probably knew what would satisfy his family under existing circumstances, proposed to Matilda that the paternal estates on the Continent of the captive King, should be settled upon his son Eustace. The Empress, who had already lost the Citizens of London by her haughtiness, (*Gul. Newbrig. Rer. Angl.*) treated this proposal with the utmost contempt. (*Will. Malm.*) This conduct disgusting the Bishop, made him neglect to pay court to her in the manner he had done since the late pacification. Matilda on her part, growing suspicious, came from Oxford where she had spent some time, to Winchester, with a considerable force, under pretence of taking up her residence in the Royal Castle; but, evidently for the purpose of securing the Bishop and his Castle at Wolvesey. Accordingly as he had neglected to wait upon her, she sent him a summons to attend her, to which he returned the following ambiguous answer:—‘I will prepare myself.’ (*Will. Malm.*) And so he did, by putting his Castle in fit condition to stand a seige, which was speedily laid to it by the Empress’s partizans, Robert her brother, and David King of Scotland her uncle. This event was a signal of insurrection to Stephen’s Queen, also named Matilda, to his General, William of Ipres, and to his partizans in general, who were numerous in London. (*Will. Malm.*) They accordingly marched in all haste to the relief of the besieged Prelate, upon whose arrival the tables were turned, and those who had made the attack were now forced to stand on their defence. The armies were great and warlike on both sides, and they carried on their military operations seven weeks (*Gervas. Chron.*) in the heart of the city: (*Annal. Wint.*)—a calamity almost unparalleled in the history of other cities. The party of the Empress had possession of whatever was to the north side of the High-street, where the houses of the citizens stood in general together with the Royal Castle. The King’s party held the Bishop’s Palace, the Cathedral, and whatever else was to the south of the High-street. By degrees, also, they forced their enemies from all the other quarters of the city, and confined them to the Castle; but in effecting this, they made use of a most barbarous stratagem. They threw fire balls from Wolvesey upon the houses possessed by the opposite party: (*Will. Malm.*) a destructive measure in which the Earl of

Gloucester disdained to imitate them. (*Will. Malm. de Novel.*) The havoc thus occasioned was dreadful. The Abbey of St. Mary, 20 Churches, the Royal Palace, the Suburb of Hyde, and the Monastery of St. Grimbald, formed but a part of the wreck. Gervase distinctly ascribes the guilt of burning Winchester to the Bishop; but William of Malmesbury, who dedicated his work to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and who, therefore, cannot be accused of partiality for the Bishop, as Milner justly observes, by his silence acquits him of being instrumental in this savage destruction. Even Gervase admits that the Bishop withdrew from the City, and Milner quotes Trussel for the place of his retreat—Waltham.

The war continued with various success ten years longer; a measure originated at Winchester with our Prelate, which tended greatly to diminish its general horrors. By his legantine authority he held a Synod here, in which it was resolved that ploughs should have the same privileges of sanctuary with churches, and a sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the whole assembly against all who should attack or injure any person engaged in the agricultural employments. (*Matt. Paris, ad. an. 1142.*)

At length, King Stephen having lost his only son Eustace, his Brother, and his Queen, was induced by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and our Prelate (*Henry Huntingdon,*) to enter into pacific views, and at length a final conclusion was put to the war: terms of pacification being agreed upon between Stephen and Henry at the siege of Wallingford Castle, and publicly ratified at Winchester.—(*Gervase.*)

Character, Benefactions, &c.—His character is thus drawn by Milner:—“He was certainly a man of great talents, and many virtues, though with a mixture of some failings or vices; but having taken the unpopular side in the civil war, which was that of his brother, the former have been too much depressed by most ancient writers, and the latter too much magnified. From this censure must be excepted one contemporary writer, and fellow Bishop of his, (*Giraldus Cambrensis de vitis sex Episcop. coetaneorum. Ang. Sac. vol. II. p. 421*) who enlarges in the highest strains, not only upon his talents, birth, and power, but also upon his piety, regularity, and episcopal zeal. Speaking of the works which he constructed for

the benefit of his Sec, he says, that besides building the Castles above mentioned, he made vast lakes, and constructed aqueducts, that were in the beginning conceived to be impracticable; and, that he collected all the most rare and wonderful productions of nature that could be met with: some of which, surpassing all belief, are specified by authors of credit.* He was a watchful guardian of his Cathedral Church and Monastery, having recovered much property that had been unjustly alienated from them, and increased it by many presents of his own. He likewise improved the fabric of his Cathedral; and in particular, he collected together the remains of the illustrious personages who had been there interred, into mortuary chests, which he disposed in the most honourable manner round the sanctuary. (*Rudborne.*) He was no less liberal to the Convent of Taunton, founded by his predecessor; (*Godwin and Harpsfield Hist. Ecc. Ang.*) and by a singular expedient, he became the benefactor of all the poor parishes of his diocese. It had been decreed in a Synod at which he presided, that no chalices of tin or other metal, except gold or silver, should be used at the altar; (*Brompton and Gervase*) and whereas, many Priests in the country neglected to furnish their Churches with such chalices, under the pretext of poverty: the next time a free gift or tax from the Clergy was required, he ordered that each rector of a parish should for his share, contribute one silver chalice of a weight prescribed. These being brought in, he ordered them to be returned to the several parishes, and there made use of, undertaking himself to raise the sum necessary for the wants of the state.—(*Girald. Camb.*)

His principal work, however, and that which has most contributed to perpetuate his memory at Winchester, was the foundation of the church and hospital of St. Cross, at a place where, in the time of the Saxons, a small convent had stood. Here 13 poor men were decently provided for with necessaries in every respect; and 100 others, the most indigent belonging to Winchester, were each day furnished with a plentiful meal. In the famous contro-

* Gul. Newbrig. Rer. Ang. l. 2. c. 28, says, that he kept in his house a living dog, which was found in a mass of solid stone when sawn asunder. —*Credat Judæus!*

versy which took place between the King (Henry II.) and the metropolitan (Thomas Becket,) he disdained to barter the rights of his order and of religion itself, for the smiles of the court, and in the end he was applauded by the King himself for the conscientious part which he acted in this important business. (*Godwin.*) In the early part of his episcopacy, being already possessed of legantine power which placed him in a rank above all the other prelates, whether Bishops or Archbishops in the kingdom, he had formed a plan which was approved of and nearly executed for raising the see of Winchester to the metropolitanical rank, (*Matt. West. ad an. 1142, Rudb. and Walsingh.*) by subjecting to it all the six sees (viz. Salisbury, Exeter, Wells, Chichester, Hereford and Worcester) which had been taken out of it, making a seventh of Hyde Abbey, by which means this would have been far the most considerable of the three Archbishoprics. However the civil war in England, and the death of Pope Lucius, at Rome, frustrated this project. In his old age this prelate increased his charities to such a degree as hardly to leave himself and his servants the means of procuring one slender meal in the day. (*Girald. Camb.*) In addition to the loss of sight which he suffered with great resignation, (*Harpfield*) he added voluntary mortifications, in the practice of which, and of constant prayer, he died," *ut sup.* Pope Eugenius used to say of this Prelate,—*Hic ille est qui potuit lingua sua duo regna corrumpere: in cujus erat potestate ad nutum creare potentes et evertere.*—*Giraldus de vitis sex Epis.*

Benefactions,—Thus noticed by Tanner:—"A Benedictine Nunnery was founded by him at Meuresly, alias St. Margaret's, alias Ivingho, about A. D. 1160, to the honour of St. Margaret. Herein were nine religious women; yet their possessions were valued 26 Henry VIII. but at £14. 3s. 1d. per ann. *Dugd. £22. 6s. 7d.*—*Speed.* They were granted 29 Henry VIII. to Sir John Dance."—See *Leland's Collectanea*, I. 83, *MS. Catalogue of Monasteries in the Ashmolean, and Tanner, Not.*—*Bucks. XVII.* "Merewell or Marvell Park. College.—A College of four Priests, founded by Henry of Blois, and augmented by Peter Roche and Henry Woodlock, two of his successors. In the chapel in the park, was a chantry, till the dissolution, which, with the lands thereunto belonging, was granted to Sir Henry Seymour,

5 Edward VI." Speaking of St. Cross, Leland merely says, "Domus St. Crucis prope Winton. Henricus Blesensis Epūs Wint: fundator 1132. 33 Henry I. qui obiit, 1171."—*Collectanea*. I. 68.

The following interesting detail of this celebrated spot, so dear to the Antiquary for its fine specimen of early architecture, is from Bishop Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*, p. 65-72.

The *hospital of St. Cross at Sparkford, near Winchester, was founded by Bishop Blois, in 1132,† for the health of his own soul and the souls of his predecessors, and those of the kings of England. The founder's institution requires, that 13 poor men, so decayed and past their strength, that without charitable assistance they cannot maintain themselves, shall abide continually in the hospital, who shall be provided with proper clothing and beds suitable to their infirmities; and shall have an allowance daily of good wheat bread, good beer, three messes each for dinner and one for supper. If any one of these shall happen to recover his health and strength, he shall be respectfully discharged, and another admitted in his place. That beside these 13 poor, 100 other poor of modest behaviour, and the most indigent that can be found, shall be received daily at dinner time, and shall have each a loaf of coarser bread, one mess, and a proper allowance of beer, with leave to carry away with them whatever remains of their meat and drink after dinner. The founder also ordered other charities to be distributed to the poor in general, as the revenues of the hospital shall be able to bear; the whole of which was to be applied to such uses. The endowment of the hospital consisted chiefly in a donation of several considerable rectories, ‡for the most part belonging to the diocese of

* The account of St. Cross is collected from *Regist. Wykeham*, and *MS. Coll. Nob.*

† *MS. penes Dom. Episcopum Wint.* fol. 22.

‡ The churches of Ferreham, [with the manor of Ashton] Nuttessel-lynge, Mellebrock, Twyford, Henton, Alwastock, Exton, Husseborne, Wytcherche, Chilbalton, Wodehay, Awelton [or Aulton in Caayngmersh, Com. Wilts] Wynkney [or Wyfeney, Com. Oxon.] Stocton, [Com. Wilts] Ovyngton, with their appertenancies and dependencies; and the tythes of the lordship of Waltham, and other rents assigned in the city of

Winchester, and of the Bishop's patronage; the greatest part of which, though granted to the hospital by the terms of the charter of foundation, were, from the first, only subject to the payment of certain annual pensions to it; the rest were appropriated to the hospital. The revenues of the hospital appear, by an old record of inquisition, produced in Wykeham's time by the Prior of Winchester, from the archives of his monastery, without date, to have amounted to £250. per annum; they are said by Wykeham in his letters to the Pope, to be above £300. per annum, and are proved by the testimony of one who had been long steward of the hospital, and many others, to have been, at that time above £400. per annum. The whole revenues of the hospital were free from all taxes, both to the King and Pope, as being wholly appropriated to the poor, except £7. 4s. 6d. (called elsewhere £8.) per annum, which was the valuation of the prior's or master's portion.

The particular allowances to the poor, with their valuations according to the above mentioned record of inquisition, were as follows; each of the 13 secular brethren had daily one loaf of good wheaten bread, of 5 marks weight, (or 2½ lb. 10oz.); one gallon and half of good small beer; a sufficient quantity of pottage; three messes at dinner, namely one mess called *Hertrill*,* made of milk

Winchester. These by the charter of foundation. To these were added by the founder, the churches of Waltham Upham, and Baghurst; and by the same or some other benefactor, that of Farle. "Licet in ista charta [Fundationis] contineantur diverse donationis ecclesiarum fact. domui Ste. Crucis predicte, nihilominus dicta domus nullas earum habet sibi appropriatas præter ecclesias de Husborne, Whitcherche, Fareham, and Twyford, cum capellis, sed habet ex eis certas pensiones, ut superius dictum est. De ecclesia vero de Wytteuye nihil omnino percipit." MS. penes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol. 2.

* The Glossaries give us no very satisfactory account of these words: the meaning of the first is better determined by the description here given, than from any other explication that I can find of it. *Wastel bred* was a better sort of bread; so called from *Wastell*, the vessel, or basket, in which it was made, carried, or weighed; as it seems probable from the following passage; "Octo panes in *Wastellis*, ponderis cajuslibet *Wastelli* unius miche conventualis." *Regist. Wykeham*. part 3. 6. fol. 177. The word *Wastel* seems to answer to the French *gâteau*, a cake. It appears from the prologue of Chaucers' *Canterbury tales*, that it was bread of a finer sort: for the Prioress, who is represented as a very delicate lady, fed her lap-dogs with it:

"Of smale hounds hadde she, that she fedde
With rosted flesh, and milk, and wastel brede."

and **Wastel bred**, one mess of flesh or fish, and one pittance as the day should require; and one mess for supper; the whole valued at 17d. a week; in Wykeham's time at 3d. a day. On six holidays in the year they had white bread and ale in the same quantities; and one of their messes was roast-meat, or fish of a better sort; and on the Eves of those holidays, and that of the founder's obit, they had an extraordinary allowance of 4 gallons of ale among them. The 100 poor were fed in a place called **Hundredmenshall**: each of them had a loaf of coarser bread of 5 marks weight, 3 quarts of small beer, a sufficient quantity of pottage, or a mess of pulse, one herring, or two pilchards, or two eggs, or one farthing's worth of cheese; value 3d. a week: of which 100 poor were always 13 of the poorer scholars of the great grammar school of Winchester, sent by the school-master. On the anniversary of the founder's obit, Aug. 9, being the eve of St. Lawrence, 300 poor were received at the hospital; to each of the first 100, were given one loaf, and one mess of the same sort with those of the brethren's ordinary allowance and three quarts of beer: to the second 100, was given the usual 100 men's allowance; and to each of the third 100, half a loaf of the brethren's bread. On six holidays in the year the 100 men had each a loaf of the better sort of bread, and a double mess. There were besides, maintained in the hospital, a steward, with his clerk, two servants, and two horses; a porter; nine servants; two teams of six horses each, and three carters.

The founder had in the year 1157,* constituted the master and brethren of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, guardians and administrators of his hospital of St. Cross, saving to the Bishop of Winchester his canonical jurisdiction. A dispute arising between Richard Toclive, Bishop of Winchester, immediate successor to Henry de Blois, and the master and brethren of St. John of Jerusalem, concerning the administration of the hospital, King Henry II. interposed, and by his mediation an agreement was made between them. The master and brethren ceded to the Bishop of Winchester and his successors the administration of the Hospital, the Bishop giving them the impropriation of the churches of

* MS. penes Dom. Episc. Wint. fol 23.

Mordon and Hanniton for the payment of 53 marks per annum, and procuring them a discharge from the pension of 10 marks, two wax candles, and 10lbs. of wax, paid to the Monks of St. Swythun for the house of St. Cross, by composition between them and the brethren of St. Cross, made in the time of the Founder and the Bishop, moreover out of regard to God, and for the health of the King's soul and his own, (and because the revenues of the Hospital were sufficient for the maintenance of many more poor, and ought not to be converted to other uses as Wykeham represents to the Pope), orders, that beside the number instituted by the Founder, 100 additional poor should also be fed every day in the same manner at the Hospital. This agreement is dated April 10, 1185, and was made at Dover in the presence of the King and attested by him. This new institution of feeding 100 additional poor was not of long continuance, it had ceased long before Wykeham's time; and instead of it, by what authority I cannot say, was introduced the establishment of 4 Priests, 13 secular Clerks, and 7 Choristers, who were maintained in the Hospital for the performance of divine service in the Church. The 4 Priests dined at the Master's table and had each a stipend of 13s. 4d. and the whole allowance to each was valued at £3. 6s. 8d. per annum, the 13 clerks had each daily a loaf of wheat bread, weight 61 shillings and 8 pence, (*i. e.* 2lb. 7½oz. nearly, *or almost 2½lb.) 3 quarts of beer, and one mess of flesh or fish of the brethren was allotted to two of them, value 10d. a week; the 7 choristers had each one loaf of the common family bread, and one mess, or the fragments of the Master's table and common hall, so as to have a sufficient provision value 5d. a week, and were taught at the school in the Hospital."—*Lowth's Life of Wykeham*, p. 65-72.

Bishop Blois sat at Winton between 42 and 43 years.

* "Constat quælibet Libra ex xxv. solidis. Et sciendum, quod quælibet libra de denariis et speciebus, utpote in Electuariis, consistit solummodo ex pondere xx. s. Libra vero omnium aliarum rerum consistit ex xxv. solidis." Tractat. De Pond. et Mensuris, 31 Ed. I. in Cay's statutes at large. "Quælibet libra ex pondere xxv. solid. Libra vero auri, argenti, electuariorum et hujusmodi Apothecar. Confectorum, consistit solummodo ex pondere 20 solid. Sterlingorum." Fleta lib. 2, cap. 12. "Una libra ponderat pondus xxv. solidorum legalium Sterlingorum." MS. 54 Hen. III.

From the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into weights and measures, 1758.

He died in 1171, and was buried in the Cathedral before the high altar. *Rudb. Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sac. I.*

The Bishop left certain writings behind him : one concerning the discovery of King Arthur's monument at Glastonbury, which took place while he was Abbot there ; another concerning the state of his Cathedral. These MSS. appear to have been extant in the time of Harpsfield.

IV. RICHARD of ILCHESTER*, alias TOCLIVE, alias MORE.

SUCCEDED A. D. 1174.—DIED A. D. 1188-9.

King Henry, after having kept this see vacant for some years, as he also had others, at length, at the request, as Bishop Godwin says, of certain Cardinals, permitted in 1173 the Monks of Winton to elect Richard of Ilchester, and he was accordingly, as Le Neve records, elected May 1. This Bishop was born in the diocese of Bath, (*Radulph de Dicet*, col. 540,) at Sok or Sock, † (*Regist. Droknensf. Ep. B. & W.*) and became Archdeacon of Poitiers. He was confirmed October 1, and consecrated at Lambeth the 6th, 1174, ('ordinatus et consecratus,' *Annales Wint.* See also *Le Neve's Fasti*. p. 285,) by the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with Robert, Bishop of Hereford, and Geoffry Bishop of Ely. (*Benedict. Abbas. Petr. in Vit. Hen. II.* p. 93.)

Bishop Toclive had pursued a different conduct from his predecessor, in the famous controversy between the King and Thomas à Becket, and had taken so active a part against the persecuted Prelate, as to draw on himself the sentence of excommunication. *Radulph Dicet Ymag.* But the death of the latter brought about that peace and uniformity of sentiment in ecclesiastical matters which he could not procure in his life time.

Toclive, after his promotion to the see, was constituted in 1176 justiciary of Normandy, in the room of William de Traco, *Bromt. col.* 1116, and in the parliament held

* It was under this name that he was excommunicated.

† About three Miles from Yeovil, Somerset.

at Windsor, in 1179, 25 H. II. he was constituted one of the itinerant justices for Hants, Wilts, Gloucester, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Berks, and Oxon, and afterwards by the same king chief justice of England. Dugdale records that he was justice itinerant for Hants and Devon, 1179, 25 H. II. *Orig. Jurid. Chron. Scr.* p. 3, and *Hoveden, fol.* 337.

He endeavoured to improve the charitable institution of his predecessor at Sparkford, viz. the hospital of St. Cross, (*Lowth's Life of Wykeham*) but afterwards seems to have founded another upon a similar plan at an equal distance from the city, on the opposite side of it, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. See *Milner's Hist. Wint. vol.* 1. p. 226.

Gale, in his MS. records that he gave to the church of Winton the manors of Ham and Groel, as Richardson, p. 217 quotes. Rudborne says, "qui mannerium de Hamme redemit et de Cnoel emit et suæ contulit ecclesiæ." The latter adds, "Sedit annis 17." This is incorrect; he sat but 14 years; for there is no question as to his succession in 1174, and the only discrepancy as to the period of his death is whether it took place in 1187-8, or 9.

He died according to Gervase and Ralph Dicetensis, Jan. 22, 1188. Westminster and Florentius say 1187. His epitaph 1189. He was buried in the north side of the high altar near the choir. *M.S. Gale.* 'Infra Winam,' *Godwin.* The following is the inscription:

*"Præsulis egregii pausant hic membra Ricardi
Toclif, cui summi gaudia sunt poli."*

Bishop Toclive is mentioned in the will of Henry II. *Testamenta vetusta. I. p. 2. vis & p. 3.*

Richard de Gravenell having given to the Priory of St. Mary Overy the tithes of the manor of Tooting, Surry, and the advowson of the church, the grant was confirmed by Richard [Toclive] Bishop of Winton.—*Manning and Bray's Hist. Surry, III. 373.*

V. GODFREY DE LUCY.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1189.—DIED A. D. 1204.

Son of Richard de Lucy, chief justice of England. Had been Dean of St. Martin's, London, (*R. de Diceto.*) Archdeacon of Derby, (*Gervase Chron. f. 1459,*) Canon of York, (*Bromt. f. 1156,*) and Justice Itinerant. (*Hoved. f. 337.*) He was nominated by the King at Pipewell, Sept. 15, 1189, (*Dicet Ymag.*) consecrated at Westminster, in St. Catherine's Chapel, Oct. 22. (*ib. and Hoved.*)

The most important and useful of Bishop Lucy's acts to the city of Winchester and the neighbouring country, was his restoring the navigation of the river Itchen, not only from the port of Northam, the old Southampton, as far as Winchester, but also to the very head of the river, (*Trussel's MS.*) in the neighbourhood of Alresford, where, by raising a vast mole or head, he formed a great lake, now called Alresford Pond, by which means a large tract of marshy land thereabouts was drained, and a reservoir of water provided for supplying the navigation. This expensive work, which shews the greatness of Bishop Lucy's genius, as well as of his beneficence, was not finished till the beginning of the following reign, when he obtained for himself and his successors the royalty of the said river from the above-mentioned lake down to the sea, which the latter still enjoy: also a charter for collecting certain duties on this navigation. He likewise purchased of the King the manors of Wargrave and Meues, for the benefit of his cathedral, which had belonged to it before they were alienated by the Conqueror, (*Hoved.*) and for himself and the future Bishops of this See, the custody of the royal castle, with the dignity and rights of EARL OF WINCHESTER. (*Ib.*) Of these, however, he was subsequently dispossessed by the King. "Dissaisivit Godefridum Wintoniensem Episcopum de Castello et comitatu Wintoniæ." *Ib.*

Bishop Lucy however did not neglect the duties that more immediately belonged to his station. He completed and greatly enlarged the Priory of Lesne or Westwood, in Kent, which had been established by his father, and he performed such repairs and works in his cathedral here, as to merit being enrolled among its principal founders.

The east end of the church, which was of Saxon workmanship, and had been left remaining by Walkelin (*Ann. Wint. an.* 1093,) by this time stood in need of repairs. Our prelate accordingly determined to rebuild this portion of the church, in what is now called the Gothic style, beginning with a tower† which seems to have stood over the present chancel, and continuing his work to what was then the extremity of the Lady Chapel. (See *Rudborne.*) For completing this great work he entered into a contract with a society of workmen, who were bound to execute their undertaking within the space of five years. (D. Wintoniensis G. de Lucy constituit confratriam pro reparatione ecclesiæ Wint. duraturam usque ad quinque annos completos.”—*Annal. Wint. A.D.* 1202.)

He died in 1204, *Matt. Westm. Sept.* 12. “Died 1204, Sept. 11,” says another. “He was buried in his own cathedral.” *Weaver Funeral Mon.* p. 337, and *Le Neve Fasti.* p. 285. “Godefridus Epūs Winton (Lucy) moritur 1204.” *Leland Collect.* 2, 341.

“Ad altare B. Mariæ extra capellam B. Virginis humatus.” *Rudborne Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sac.*

Manning, speaking of the grant of the manor of Lambeth to the Archbishop of Canterbury, observes, “Confirmations were obtained from King Richard I. and the Prior and Convent of Canterbury in the same year, and by Godefred, Bishop of Winchester, in whose diocese Lambeth is situate.” (*Hist. Surry*, 3. 470.) Bp. Godfrey it seems possessed the power of institution to the rectory of Lambeth after the alienation of the manor, for in 1197, we find him instituting Bishop Gilbert de Flanville to it, on the petition of Archbishop Hubert. *Denne.* 169. See more on this subject in *Manning’s Hist. of Surry*, 3. 473.

VI. PETER ROCK, or DE LA ROCHE, or DE RUPIBUS.

SUCCEDED A. D. 1204-5.—DIED A. D. 1238.

About the end of this year, Peter de la Roche, a native

† “An. 1200. Hoc anno inchoata est et perfecta turris Wint. Eccl.”

of Poitiers, who had served in France under King Richard, by whom he had been knighted, (*Matth. Paris*) was consecrated Bishop of Winchester, at Rome, on "the 25th of September, 1205" as Matthew of Westminster has it. He had been Archdeacon of Poitiers, (*Annal. Margan.*), treasurer of the same, (*Pat. 6. John*) and also precentor of Lincoln (*Pat. 6. John. m. 3. n. 11.*)

The following remarkable discrepancies respecting this Prelate's preferments occur in Willis: "1205, Archdeacon of Stafford, and in 1213 made Bishop of Winton." *Cathed.* 1. 417, and again, "instituted in 1203 or 4, precentor of Lincoln, and in 1206, Bishop of Winchester." *Cath.* 2. 83.

This Prelate was of great authority under King John and Henry III. He, with two other Bishops, viz. Philip, Bishop of Durham his countryman (a Pictavian) and John Gray Bishop of Norwich, instigated King John to withstand the Pope's excommunication, but, says Bishop Godwin, "they were all feign to cry 'peccavi' (rather 'peccavimus') at last."

In 1214, King John appointed him chief justice of England. Rex in Pictaviam transfretaturus, dominum P. Winton Episc. (sc. Petrum de Rupe) Justic. Angliæ constituit loco suo ad pacem regni Angl. tuendam. T. R. apud Portesmueth, 1. Feb. *Pat. 15. Joh. m. 4. &c. m. 3.* and *Dugdale Orig. Jurid. Chron. Ser. p. 7.*

After the death of King John, during the minority of Henry, this Kingdom was long governed by Bishop Roche. On the decease of William Earl Marshal, he was chosen in his room protector of the King and realm, and afterwards, the King, when arrived at years of discretion, relied implicitly on the Bishop's judgment. Envy however procured the latter many enemies. Polydore Virgil says, that a large supply of money being requisite for the purposes of the state, the Bishop advised his royal pupil instead of extorting money from the poor, to resume a great number of valuable grants which he had inconsiderately distributed among his courtiers. This act, of course did not lessen the number of his opponents, among the most active of which was the famous Roger Bacon, then one of the King's chaplains, but afterwards a Franciscan friar and distinguished mathematician. This able man endeavoured to prejudice the royal youth against his guardian and minister. On one occasion he asked

the King what things he thought a prudent pilot in steering a ship was most afraid of? The King replied, that Roger himself, who had made many voyages, could best answer that question. "They are," said Bacon, "*Stones and Rocks*," alluding to the two names of our Prelate,—Peter Rock. (*M. Paris*.) His enemies, at length, and principally the chief justice Hugo de Burgo, succeeded in supplanting him in Henry's favour. The consequence was his retirement to the holy land in 1226. Here he continued about five years, and on his return home, as *M. Paris* records, he was received in his Church with a solemn procession by the monks and clergy. Being shortly after visited by his royal pupil at Winton, he soon regained his former influence over him, (*Matth. Westm.*) which he held about two years, when the royal indignation was so powerfully excited against him and his principal agents Peter de Rivalis or Dorival, treasurer of England (his nephew, or as some say, natural son) and Stephen Segrave, that the two former found it necessary to fly for protection to the Cathedral, and the latter to the Church of St. Mary's Nuns in Winton.—(*id.*) The Bishop, however, once more recovered the King's favor, and being sent for from abroad by the Pope, he, with his usual talent, extricated himself from his difficulties, and obtained the confidence of the Emperor and other Princes on the Continent.—(*id.*)

This Prelate crowned King Henry III. October 28, 1216, at Gloucester, (*Banks's Stem. Ang.* 321) and was one of the executors of the will of King John: (*Testamenta Velusta*. vol. I. p. 5.) where he is erroneously said to have sat Bishop of Winchester till 1243: read 1238.

After an Episcopate of 34 years, he died at Farnham Castle, June 9, 1238, (*Matt. Paris*) and according to his own desire, was buried without the least parade in his Cathedral.

Character.—Matthew of Paris, p. 399, says of him, that "In his death, England, both in Church and State, received a great wound. Whatever good happened to the Church, either by peace or war, in the holy land, at the coming of the Emperor Frederic, is especially to be ascribed to the wisdom of this Bishop; and when discord between the Pope and the Emperor threatened the destruction of the whole Church, he was especially the means of compounding the peace between them."

Matthew Paris calls him "vir equestris ordinis."—Hence, as Matthew of Westminster observes, he was thought "in negotiis plus bellicis quam scholasticis eruditus:"

Benefactions.—He augmented the College at Merewell, founded by Bishop Blois.—*Tanner, Hants. XX.* Vide in Mon. Angl. tom. iii. p. ii. p. 55 pat.; 18 Ed. II. p. 2. m. 14. recit. Cartam foundationis et ordinationes stabilitas per Petrum de Rupibus, A. D. 1226. He founded at Portsmouth, *temp. John*, a famous hospital, called 'God's house,' which was dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas; and valued 26 Henry VIII. at £33. 19s. 5d.—See *Matt. Paris, A. D. 1238.* "In the west-south-west part of the town."—*Leland. Itin. III. 13.* "At Seleburne, Hants.—Austin Canons: a Priory of Black Canons, founded by Peter de Rupibus, A. D. 1233, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary; but it was suppressed, and granted to William Waynflēt, Bishop of Winton, who made it part of the endowment of St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxon. The Bishops of Winton were patrons of it."—*Tanner. Hants. XXIX.* King John, in the 16th year of his reign, gave the manor and advowson of the Church at Selburn to the Bishop, for the purpose of this foundation. At Titchfield (called by Bishop Godwin, Tickford), the Bishop having obtained of King Henry III. a grant of that manor, built an Abbey there for Premonstratensian Canons, to the honour of the Virgin Mary, A. D. 1231. It was granted at the dissolution, 29 Henry VIII. to Sir Thos. Wriothesley, 'who built there a right stately house.'—*Leland. Itin. III. p. 3. Collect. I. 85 and 114, and Tanner, Hants. XXXIII.*

He first placed the Dominican or Preaching Freres at Winchester, after A. D. 1221. The House or College stood somewhat north within the town, says Tanner. Godwin says, near the east gate: it was granted in exchange, 35 Henry VIII. to the warden and fellows of Wykeham's College here.—*Leland Itin. III. p. 100, and Tanner, Hants. XXXV. 14.* Speed in his *Mag. Brit. Antiq.* makes these Freres to have been founded (*temp. R. John*), in whose reign this order was not known in England, whither they were brought in 1221 by this Prelate.

Under Hales, or Halesoweyne, Salop. (XIII.) Tanner

observes, "King John, anno regni 16, gave the manor and advowson of the Church here to P. de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, for the endowment of an Abbey for Canons of the Premonstratensian order, which seems to have been begun and finished at the charge of the crown, though the Bishops of Winchester had the patronage. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist. The site and most of the lands belonging to this Monastery, were granted 30th Henry VIII. to Sir John Dudley."

Bishop Godwin most strangely identifies, by means of an *alias*, Bishop Roche's foundation at Halesowen, Salop, and Selborne, Hants.—"Halisowen, alias Saleburn," mentioning at the same time (*Richardson's edit.* 1743. fol. p. — and *English edit.* p. —) a Premonstratensian foundation at Hales, without further designation as to county, &c. Richardson adds, *ut supra* (*note*) "Seleburn prioratus, qui jam ad Coll. Madg. Oxon. pertinet in cujus archivis occurrit liber istius prioratûs. *MS. Barlow.* Richardson notices not this confusion of two distinct places and endowments. The Vicarage of Selborne, near Liphook, Hants, is in the patronage of Magdalen College, Oxford.

He is said by Bishop Godwin to have founded Edwardstow, *i. e.* Nettle Abbey, near Southampton. But this must be erroneous. Roche died in 1238, and this Abbey was not founded till the following year. King Henry III. was the founder. Leland has fallen into the same error. *Collect.* 1. 69. To this assertion Bishop Tanner properly observes, 'He might *intend* or perhaps *begin* this Monastery.' Nettle was for Cistercian Monks from Beaulieu, and was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Edward.—See *Tanner, Notitia, Hants. XXII.*

Leland enumerates among the benefactions of Chertsey Abbey, 'Petrus de Rupibus Epûs Wint.' *Collect.* 1. 70. "Ao. 1238, 23 Henry III. Peter de la Roach, Lord Chief Justice, and Bishop of Winchester, founded the Chapel on the south side of the Church, dedicating it to the honour of God and St. Mary Magdalen."—*Concanen's Hist. of St. Saviour's, Southwark* 1775, p. 74.

"The Priory of St. Mary Overy having been burnt about 1207, the Canons founded an Hospital near their Priory, where they celebrated, till the Priory was repaired. This Hospital afterwards, by consent of Peter de la

Roche, Bishop of Winchester, was removed into the land of Anicius, Archdeacon of Surry, in 1228."—*Stow's London, II. p. 11.*

"This Bishop founded a large Chapel of St. Mary Magd. in the said Church of St. Mary Overy: which Chapel was afterwards appointed to be the parish Church for the inhabitants near adjoining."—*Stow. ib.*

Matthew Paris adds, that while in the holy land, he removed the Church of St. Thomas the Martyr from a very unfit to a fit situation, and reformed the statutes of the company belonging to that church, causing the patriarchs of Jerusalem to take orders, that whereas they were heretofore lay-men, they should now be under the templars and their society. He fortified also Joppa, a well known refuge of the Christians, and made a remarkable will, giving to each of the said places a large sum of money. To the house of St. Thomas of Acon, he gave 500 marks, the least of any of the sums he bequeathed. Notwithstanding all this he left his bishopric very rich, and well conditioned for his successor.

Among the benefactions to his Cathedral it would be unpardonable to omit one recorded by Rudborne, with true Roman Catholic absurdity. This was no other than the *foot* of St. Philip, but how the Bishop *met* with it, nor by what means it had been preserved for so many centuries, he condescendeth not to inform us. "Petrus de Rupibus Ecclesiæ Wint. exstitit in omnibus specialis pater et amicus. Qui *pedem* S. Philippi suæ ecclesiæ contulit cum plurimis *aliis ornamentis.*" *Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sac.* How could any human being be so infatuated as to call such a thing an *ornament*? and, or how could such delusions ever obtain credence or currency?

VII. WILLIAM DE RAYLEIGH.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1243.—DIED A. D. 1249.

The Bishop had been a favorite Chaplain of King Henry III., Prebendary of Kentish Town, (*Newcourt, Repertor. I. 160.*) Treasurer of Exeter Cathedral, and Prebendary of Lichfield. Contrary to the knowledge of

the Monks he had been elected Bishop of Chester, upon which the King gave him his option, and he accordingly chose the See of Norwich, and was consecrated to it by Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's, September 25, 1239. (*ib.*)

On the death of Rock, the King was anxious to appoint to the vacant See of Winton, William, Bishop elect of Valentia,* the uncle of his lately espoused Queen. But the Monks taking it into their heads that he was a "sanguinary man," (*M. Paris*) persisted in refusing to elect him, and instead of so doing they successively elected two of the King's ministers and favorites, William de †Raleigh, then Bishop of Norwich, and Ralph Nevill, Bishop of Chichester. (*ib.*)

These attempts, however, equally discordant to the discipline of the Church, and subversive of the prerogative of the King, effected the exclusion of both those Prelates from the sunshine of the royal favor. This dispute, so discreditable to the rebellious Monks, and so subversive of the unity of the Church, continued five years; during which time, the diocese was destitute of a Bishop, notwithstanding that William, Bishop of Valentia, the innocent cause of this contention, had died in the first year of its commencement. The Monks most deservedly felt the weight of the royal resentment, their temporalities being seized, and themselves imprisoned. Nevertheless, so incorrigible were they, and so inflexible in their lawless opposition to their King, that they re-elected Raleigh, their former elections having been invalidated at Rome, through the King's means. ‡

Raleigh, at length, A. D. 1243, having procured his translation to be ratified by the Pope, repaired to Winton to take possession, but he found the gates shut against him, the mayor being ordered by the King to refuse him

* He was elected Bishop of Valentia A. D. 1224. In 1236 he accompanied his niece into this country, and died 1239. See *Guichon's Hist. de Savoy*, I. 256.

† Wharton in the *Angl. Sac.* vol. I. p. 307 says, he was elected in 1238, prior to his promotion to Norwich.

‡ There are extant two Papal Bulles directed to the King and others, enjoining that no one should be elected to the See of Winton, who might be in the slightest degree objectionable to the King. The one dated Lateran, 2, Id. Jan. The other Lateran, 6, Id. Feb. 13th, of the Pontificate of Gregory, that is, A. D. 1239. See *Rymer's Fœdera*. I. pp. 337-8.

admission. In vain did the holy man, as Paris and Westminster record, go barefooted round the walls, preaching to the civic powers and clergy, who heard his harangues from the upper parts of their houses with perfect sang-froid. Finding these means useless, he consoled himself with fulminating an interdict on all the parties, and having so done betook himself to France.

The following year by the intercession of Boniface, the Archbishop, and the Pope's earnest letters to the King and Queen, peace was restored, and Raleigh took possession of his diocese, the interdict being removed. The King, (says Paris,) even condescended to dine with him, and to give him the kiss of peace. He was enthroned Nov. 20, 1244.

Two years after this, viz. in 1246, the Bishop performed in the King's presence the magnificent ceremony of dedicating the royal Abbey in the New Forest, called Beaulieu (de bello loco).—*M. Paris*.

From feelings of gratitude for the fatherly concern the Pope had taken in getting him peaceable possession of the bishopric, Raleigh sent him a present of 6000 marks, doubtless expecting that a part of the present would be declined. Vain hope! His Holiness good-naturedly accepted the whole, not returning him a single penny. The payment of this money, adds Godwin, and the anxiety he had experienced, preyed upon his mind, and hastened his dissolution, which took place Sept. 20, 1249, at Turenne, whither he had withdrawn with a small retinue a year before.

Bishop Milner, vol. I. p. 245, says, he died at Tours in 1250: but this appears to be neither the place nor the date. That writer observes, that Bishop Raleigh received the last rites of his Church with circumstances of the most "*edifying devotion*." I was curious to ascertain what these circumstances of edifying devotion might be, and on referring to Matthew Paris, I find them to have consisted chiefly in his unscriptural and puerile mistake of the bread and wine for the real body of Christ, (*i. e.*) confounding the *signum* with the *significatum*, and by inevitable consequence admitting the absurdity that Christ held *himself* in his hand, when he uttered the words "Take, eat, this is my body," &c. Being near death, observes Milner, he had the Sacrament brought to him, [*i. e.* the vicarious elements of bread and wine,] and

perceiving the priest entering his chamber with it, he cried out—‘Stay, my friend, let THE LORD come no nearer unto me, it is more fit that I be drawn unto HIM like a traitor, that in many things have been a traitor unto him!’ His servants, therefore, by his desire, drew him out of his bed to the place where the Priest was, and there with tears he received the sacrament, and spending much time in prayer, afterwards ended this life, &c.” Though we cannot but admire the *ferveur* of Roman Catholic piety, our admiration is ever mingled with pity for the vain conceits and erroneous doctrines which a distorted zeal and blind superstition, have appended to the faith of a true church.*

He died, says Paris, “anno 1250, circa festum Matthœi,” p. 692—“circa festum S. Ægidii.”—*Wicks Chron.* p. 48. “Die primo Sept. *Obituar. Wint.* and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Martin at Turenne. *Annal. Wint.* His anniversary was celebrated in Norwich Cathedral, July 20, being St. Margaret’s day. *Reg. VII. Eccl. Cath. Norv. fo. penult.*

Arms. Gules. a bend lozengy. argt. *Blomefield. Hist. Norfolk. edit. 1806, vol. III. p. 485,* on the authority of collections of P. Le Neve. A few more particulars of him as Bishop of Norwich may be found in *Blomefield.*

Rudborne, *Hist. M. Wint.* records him thus:—“Willelmus Rale, qui sedit annos X.” This is evidently wrong.—*vide supra.*

Leland, *Collect. 2.* 341 thus, “Gul: de Radelege, ex Epō Norwic: fit Epūs Wint: A. D. 1242, obiit 1250: Ds. Adamarus de Lusingnano frater Henry III. regis Angl. successit.”

VIII. ETHELMAR, alias AYMER DE VALENCE, or VALENCIA, alias AUDOMAR.†

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1250.—DIED A. D. 1261.

This Prelate, by birth a Pictavian, was uterine brother of King Henry III., being 4th son of Isabella,

* When I apply the expression “a true Church” to that of the Catholics, I would be understood to mean true in its essential constitution, i. e. an Episcopacy and Priesthood of Apostolic origin.

† Sic in *Lib. Tax. Wint. Annal. Winton.*

relict of the preceding King, by her second husband Hugh Le Brun, Earl of March,† (in the confines of France and Poitou.)

Ethelmar's earlier preferments were the living of Deddington, County of Oxford in 1247. (*Regist. Grosthead.*) That of Kyrkehayn (sic) in the diocese of York. *Pat.* 31 *Henry III.* To this Church the King presented (postulatione ejus a Papa confirmatâ), 3 Aug. *Pat.* 35 *Henry III.* He had the Church of Wermuth (qy. Warmsworth) before his election, and held it after through the Pope's indulgence. *Pat.* 37 *Henry III. m.* 17. *Ita. MS. Hutton.* He was also Rector of Compton, County of Warwick.—*Dudg. p.* 407.

The King was so anxious for the appointment of his uterine brother to the See of Winton, that he went down to that city, and having assembled the Monks in the chapter-house, addressed them in a long speech, the purport of which was to induce them to elect Ethelmar. In his address, though he used the language of a suppliant, yet he backed his requisition by no obscure threats of vengeance in the event of non-compliance;—[“*stricto supplicabet ense.*”] The Monks retiring, and being shut up together in a chamber, with heavy hearts began to reflect on what they had heard, and the present posture of affairs. These contumacious persons discovered, or fancied that they had discovered, that Ethelmar was destitute of all the necessary qualifications for the Prelacy. He had, as they deemed, neither morals, nor literature, nor previous orders, nor even a canonical age to recommend him, as Matthew Paris states, (A. D. 1250, p. 693.) But on the other hand, the evils that had befallen them by their late rebellious obstinacy to the commands of their sovereign, and being fully aware that the King possessed far more ample means than themselves of making an impression on the Papal mind in a pecuniary way, they prudently gave up the point, voting in compliance with the King's directions; (*ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῶ.*) The election was confirmed, and Ethelmar became possessed

† Isabel's issue by the Earl was as follows: 1st. Hugh, Earl of March. 2d. Guido of Lusignan. 3d. William of Valencia, a distinguished baron, temp. Henry III. and afterwards Earl of Pembroke. 4th. AUDOMAR, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. And 5th. Geoffry of Lusignan, Lord Hastings;—Lusignan is 12 miles from Poitiers, the Bishop's native place.

of the bishopric: though, as it should seem, without consecration. He had, says Godwin, at that time other spiritual preferment equivalent to the revenue of the Archbishop of Canterbury, (non constat) in order to keep which, and yet receive the income of Winton, he determined not to be consecrated at all, but to hold it by his election only, which it appears he did nine years.

M. Paris records, that the Bishop conducted himself with much severity towards the Monks. Once he shut them up for three whole days in the Church without food, which caused them to exclaim, 'It is with justice we suffer this, because fearing the wrath of man more than of God, we raised this unworthy youth to the power which he so much abuses!' But in all probability the Bishop found himself obliged to resort to severe measures to keep in order such untractable beings.

The Prior, William of Taunton, repaired to Rome to accuse the Bishop, particularly for turning *him* out of his office, and substituting Andrew of London. *Annales. Wint. and M. Paris.* The Prior prevailed; and in an assembly of the nobility, held at Winchester, Ethelmar and three of his brothers, who had all conducted themselves with perhaps too high a hand, and being foreigners, had excited the jealousy of an English faction, were sent into banishment. *Ann. Wint. A. D. 1258, and Pat. 42 Henry III. m. 15.* Certain nobles were appointed for the safe conduct of Audomar, Bishop elect of Winton, viz: Guido of Lusignan, Geoffry of Lusignan, and William of Valencia, brothers of the King, to Dover, and thence to 'parts beyond the sea,' in 1258. Letters were also dispatched to the Pope praying him to remove the Bishop from the administration of the diocese, because he had troubled it many years, and protesting that the writers would not receive him if he designed returning to England.—*Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. I. p. 660.

In consequence of Ethelmar's non-consecration, the Monks were permitted to proceed to a new election. The King overawed probably by the party formed against his brothers, did not oppose the course adopted. The Bishop went abroad in 1258, and Henry Wingham the Chancellor was elected, but he alleging as an excuse his want of learning, very honorably refused to accept of the bishopric under such circumstances, and was soon after made Bishop of London. Meanwhile in 1260, Ethelmar

succeeded in procuring his consecration at Rome: which fact, M. Westminster thus distinctly states: (though Godwin raises a doubt respecting it.)—Æthelmarus, Winton electus, cum per tres ferme annos in Curia Romana stetisset, tandem Papali obtentâ benedictione, ab eodem, ut dicitur, in Episcopum consecratus." The author of the Chronicle of Osney states the same fact.—“Anno 1260, ad festum ascensionis domini, Adomarus electus Wintoniensis frater Regis Henrici consecratus est in Episcopum a domino Papa Alexandro quarto, *cassatis* in curia Romana *omnibus sibi objectis* a Baronibus Angliæ et Monachis Winton, cum magno apparatu Angliam adire disponebat, præmisso D. Vincentio Turonensi Archiepiscopo et sedis Apostolicæ Legato eum plenâ potestate totam Angliam interdicto subijcere, nisi eum pacifice terram intrare et Episcopatum Wintoniensem plenius sinerent obtinere.” The King’s and the Bishop’s triumph therefore was complete. The Bishop was on the point of returning to resume his bishopric, when his death took place at Paris. He was buried (*M. Wesmt. p. 377*) in the Church of St. Genevieve; his heart being, according to his own desire, conveyed to Winton Cathedral, where a monument in the south wall of the choir is to be seen with this inscription:—

Obiit A. D. 1261,

Corpus Ethelmarî (cujus cor nunc tenet istud
Saxum) Parisiis morte datur tumulo.

The *Annal. Wint.* say, ‘Obiit in vigilia St. Nicholai sc. pridie nonas Decembris 1260.’

Rudborne gives a different account from Westminster of the burial of Ethelmar. But the former is often very erroneous. “Audomarus frater Henrici III. qui sedem occupavit annis 12 (only 11) *cujus corpus ad aquilonarem plagam altaris reconditum est.*”—*Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sac.*

The Bishop was an executor of the will of King Henry III. *Test. Vetust.* vol. I. p. 7.

IX. JOHN GERVASE,

(Called also JOHN of OXFORD, of EXON, and of GUERNSEY.)

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1262.—DIED A. D. 1267-8.

Godwin erroneously places this Prelate's succession at 1265, (*edit.* 1615, p. 230) which would have left the See vacant four years. He was appointed by papal provision in 1262, (*M. Westm.*) and consecrated at Rome, a little before the festival of St. Michael the same year; (*Wharton ex fide Chron. Dvorenensis*) though Godwin says, on his own authority, that he was consecrated in 1265, a mistake which his editor Richardson has rectified at p. 221. He had been Chancellor of York. (*M. Westm.*) One of his first concerns in taking possession of his Bishopric, was to inflict punishment on Andrew of London, the Prior whom his predecessor Ethelmar had appointed in the room of William of Taunton. Not content with deposing him, he caused him to be confined at Hyde Abbey, from whence he effected his escape. (*M. Westm.*) Bishop Godwin relates a circumstance of this prelate, only however on an *on dit*, respecting which Bishop Milner has observed a profound silence, viz. his payment of 6000 marks to the Pope for his consecration, and a like sum to Jordan, the Pope's Chancellor. Bishop Gervase taking part with the barons then in arms against the king, was on this account deservedly suspended by Ottobone, the Pope's legate. This occasioned him to take a journey to Rome, where he died at the papal court, Jan. 20, 1267 or 8, (*Annal. Waverl. Wint. and Wigorn.*) and was buried at Viterbo. (*Annal. Wint.*) Westminster says 1265. Godwin (*edit* 1615) says 1261, which is four years before the time at which he has fixed his succession. If the events and dates were transposed, he would be nearer the truth. He sat six years, says the *Chron. Dovor. and Rudborne*. His death is also fixed as above by *Leland, Collect.* II. 341, who calls him "De Exonia."

X. NICHOLAS OF ELY.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1268.—DIED A. D. 1280.

Bishop Nicholas was appointed to Winton from Worcester, by papal provision, Feb. 24, 1267-8.

He had been Archdeacon of Ely, whence his name, and was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1260, and again in 1263. Godwin says he had been Lord High Treasurer 'about 1260.' He occurs Treasurer from 1263, while Archdeacon of Ely, to 1266, having been so constituted, as it would appear, a second time Dec. 18, 1263. *Pat.* 47 H. III. m. 1. See Catalogue of Chancellors appended to Dugdale, p. 12. Chron. Series.

On the 19th. Sept. 1266, he was first elevated to the purple as Bishop of Worcester, where he sat scarcely a year. Godwin says, p. 222, fol. edit. int. Epōs Wint. "anno vix integro," & inter Wigorniensis, p. 461, he erroneously fixes his consecration to Worcester at 1268, thus contradicting himself, but it should have been 1266.

He was translated from Worcester hither by papal provision, Feb. 24, 1267, scilicet, anno exeunte, and was confirmed by the papal legate April 23, 1268, sc. anno ineunte, being enthroned at Winton May 27, 1268.

He was one of the twelve appointed by the King and Nobles at Kenilworth to settle the peace of the kingdom.

The Cistercian Abbey of Waverly near Farnham, which we have already noticed, found in Bishop Nicholas a friend and benefactor, and the church being in his prelacy rebuilt, he performed the dedication of it in 1278 with great solemnity, and entertained entirely at his own cost, the numerous company that resorted to it during the octave of that festivity. On the day of dedication the number of guests, among whom were many persons of distinction, consisted of between 7 and 8000. (*Annal Wigom.*)

The Bishop sat here twelve years and died "circa natale Domini 1279," *MS. Wood.* "Ob. 12 February," *Annal: Waverl:* and *Wigorn.* He was living July 26, 1269. See *Pat.* 7. F. 1. m. 11. and his bishopric was vacant February 15, 1270. *Pat.* 8. E. 1. m. 28. Therefore his death is easily fixed within those seven months.

According to his own desire his body was buried in the

Church at Waverly and his heart deposited in his Cathedral in the south side of the presbytery, with this inscription :

“ Intus est cor Nicholai Episcopi cujus corpus est apud Waverly.”

This Bishop is commemorated says Richardson, among the benefactors of Cambridge. He gave by will 60 marks for the re-building the tower of Worcester Cathedral. *Green's Worcest. I.* 187. Rudborne calls him, “ hujus Ecclesia (Wint.) specialis Patronus.”—*Hist. Maj. Wint.*

XI. JOHN SAWBRIDGE,* alias PONTISERRA, or PONTYS.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1282.—DIED A. D. 1304.

After the death of Bishop Nicholas in 1280, licence for election was granted Feb. 18, (Pat. 8. Edward I. m. 23 :) whereupon the Monks of the Cathedral gave their votes in favor of Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath, but Archbishop Peckham successfully opposed his appointment at Rome, on the ground of his being a pluralist.—(*Wharton's Ang. Sac. vol. 1. p. 315.*) The Monks then chose, Nov. 6, 1280, (*Annal. Wigorn.*) Richard de la More S.T.P. Archdeacon of Winton and Sub-dean of Lincoln, (*H. Wharton. Ang. Sac. I.*) who was accordingly admitted by the King to the possession of his temporalities; but when the election was notified to Archbishop Peckham, he positively refused to confirm it on the same ground as before, alleging the Canon lately enacted in the council of Lyons (“virtute canonis a concilio Lugdunensi anno 1271, lati.” *id.*) against pluralists, in which situation the elect stood. (*Ang. Sac. ut sup.*) Richard went in person to Rome the following year to prosecute his appeal, and to obtain a dispensation from the aforesaid impediment. On the other hand, the Archbishop sent letters to the same place, in which, among other things,

* This Prelate's real name, Anglice, was doubtless as I have put it. Sawbridge has been latinized by *Pons*, a bridge and *Serra*, a saw. Perhaps the most absurd of these latinized English names is that of Andrew Borde, which as Granger somewhere says, was transformed into *Audreas Perforatus*.

he declared that if the canons were allowed to be infringed, the English Church was ruined, and he was determined to resign his dignity. (*Ang. Sac.* 1. 315.) These representations had their due weight with the Pope, who, setting aside Richard, in the plenitude of his power took upon himself to appoint John de Pontoys, or de Pontissera, who had been Chancellor of Oxford, and Archdeacon of Exeter, but who at that time was P. C. L. in the city of Modena, to be Bishop of Winton, and caused him to be consecrated in the city of Rome, before the end of May 1282. *Rymer's Fæd.* vol. II. p. 204. The temporalities were restored Aug. 11. *Pat.* 10 Edward I. m. 6. The Bishop immediately after returned to England, and to the possession of his See. His own register proves that he was elected June 9, 1282.

Being a man of learning and experience, he discovered the best mode of terminating those dissensions, which had frequently taken place between his predecessors and the monks of his cathedral. The convent gave up to the Bishop and his successors the advowson of a great many Churches in the Diocese, to which they before had claimed a right of presenting; the Bishop on his part, resigning to the convent, for himself and those who were to succeed him, all his right to various manors; as likewise the custody of the convent itself, upon the death of its priors, whom he ordained should be henceforward perpetual, and not moveable at the pleasure of the diocesan as they had hitherto been; reserving to himself, the right of patronage, with certain other rights specified in the original register.* The most important act, however, of his episcopal government, and that which was afterwards successfully copied by his most illustrious successors, was the establishment of a College† for the propagation of piety and literature among his Clergy. This College, which was dedicated under the name of St. Elizabeth of Hungary,‡ was situated opposite to Wolsey Castle, to the south east of the present College.

* *Registrum de Pontoys. Epit. Ang. Sac. Hen. Wharton. Notæ ap. Godwin.*

† “*Coll. S. Eliz. in Winton. Joannes de Pontissera Epus Wint; fundator primus.*” *Leland, Collect.* 1. 85.

‡ This lady was daughter of the King of Hungary. For some account of this foundation, see *Pat.* 33. Edw. 1. par. 1. m. 12, and *Pat.* 1. E. 2.

The statutes which the founder made for the government of this College, prove his zeal for the advancement of piety according to the mistaken notions of those times. This foundation was completed in 1301, three years before his death.

The Bishop was at Rome in the beginning of the year 1304, with highly recommendatory letters from the King. See *Rymer. Fœd.* vol. II. p. 946. He died the 3d. or 4th. of December of the same year at Wolvesey Castle, and was buried on the north side of the high altar in Winton Cathedral.—*Rudborne.*

Westminster says, he died in 1305. The following is the inscription on his tomb :

Defuncti corpus tumulus tenet iste JOANNIS
POUNTES Wintoniæ præsulis eximii.

Rudborne is erroneous in saying he sat 24 years. He should have said 22, because, though Nicholas Ely died in 1280; the disputes caused the See to be vacant two years.

XII. HENRY WOODLOCK.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1305.—DIED A. D. 1316.

This Prelate, also called DE MEREWELL, from the place of his nativity, an episcopal manor near Winchester, had been Prior of St. Swithun's. The licence for his election was dated Dec. 23, 1305. The royal assent was given Jan. 29, and restitution of the temporalities Mar. 12, *Pat.* 33 Edward I. He was confirmed by the Archbishop in the beginning of Lent, (*Regist. Cant.*) and consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral May 30, 1305, (*Regist. Winchelsea*) and enthroned Oct. 10.

When his Metropolitan, Robert of Winchelsea, labored under the royal displeasure, Bishop Woodlock interposed in his behalf. The consequences were, that he himself was outlawed by the King, and his effects seized upon and confiscated. See *Stephen de Birchington, vit. Arp. Cant. &c.* King Edward dying soon after, his son, the young King, restored both Prelates to their former rights.

This Bishop crowned King Edward II. and his Queen Isabella, He was not unmindful of the place of his

nativity, having considerably increased the foundation which had been made there by Bishop Blois in 1226.—*Tamer. Not. Mon. Hauts. XX.* The lands at the dissolution were granted to Sir Henry Seymour. He is also recorded as having bestowed many rich ornaments on his own Cathedral.—*Ang. Sac.*

He died at Farham Castle on the Vigil of S. S. Peter and Paul, A. D. 1316, (28th or 29th of June) and was buried at the entrance of the choir of the Cathedral of Winchester.—(*ib.*)

XIII. JOHN SANDALL.

· SUCCEEDED A. D. 1316.—DIED A. D. 1319.

Our next Bishop was John Sandall, or de Sandale, called by Walsingham de Kendal, a Canon of York, who had been successively Treasurer and Chancellor of England.

The licence for electing was dated July 8, 1 *Pat.* 10 E. II. m. 38; his election took place before August 5; restitution of the temporalities was made Sept. 23. 1 *Pat.* 10 E. 2. He had been constituted locum-tenens of the treasurer, in the Exchequer, Oct. 4, 1312, *Pat.* 6 E. II. p. 1. m. 14, and next year treasurer, canon of York, 6th. of May, 1314, (*Wharton*) lord chancellor before July 7, A. D. 1315, *Pat.* 8 E. II. p. 2. m. 21.* and held it after his appointment to the Bishopric till Oct. 1317, 1 *Pat.* 11 E. II. Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccl. Sac.* xiv. records that he neglected his diocese, and that he suffered the episcopal houses to get out of repair. He is also said to have permitted a convent of nuns at Witney, to be dissolved for want of timely assistance, for which he was called to account by his metropolitan, Walter.

He died at the end of October, 1319, at his palace of Southwark, and was buried in the church of St. Mary Overy. (*Southwark Register.*) John Kokermonth and John Heydon being his executors. (*MS. Wren.*)

A recommendatory letter of the King to the Pope,

* See Dugdale. Orig. Jurid. Chr. Ser. p. 36.

in behalf of Henry Burghersh, after Sandall's death, is extant, bearing date Nov. 2, in Rymer's *Fædera*, vol. 3, p. 793.

XIV. REGINALD ASSER.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1320.—DIED A. D. 1323.

The next was a contested election. The King recommended a favorite clerk, for whose promotion he was solicitous, Henry de Burghersh, or as Milner calls him Burghwash; but the Monks chose one of their own community, whose name was Adam, and whom Harpsfield calls a man of extraordinary learning. The Pope, however, to whom the matter was referred, appointed, by way of provision, as it was termed in the canon law, his own legate in England, Reginald de Asserio to be Bishop: thus realizing the fable of Justice and the Oyster. Reginald was accordingly consecrated by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester; the Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter, rightly deeming the appointment an irregularity, refused performing the ceremony.

Asser's episcopacy was but short. He died in 1323, Nov. 12, at Avignon, as Wharton says, where the Pope's court was then held.—*Cont. Hist. Wint.* But Walsingham, p. 90, says, at St. Alban's, on the 16th. St. Edmund's day.

He is thus noticed by Wharton:—"Post Johannis obitum Monachi Winton Adamum Commonachum Suum die 30th. Nov. elegerunt. Verum ante hac auditâ Johannis morte, Papa provisionem Episcopatus Winton, sibi reservavit, eidemque invito Rege præfecit Rigaudum de Asserio, nuncium suum in Anglia per plures annos et Canonicum Aurelianensem. Consecratus is fuit ex mandato Papæ ab Epō Londinensi, Eliensi, et Roffensi, in Cænobio S. Albani 1320, 16th. Nov. et professionem obedientiæ Waltero Archpō. apud Cantuariam renovavit 1321, 16th. Jan. Obiit apud Avinionem in Curia Romana 1323, 12th. April. Nuncius mortis ejus ad Archiepiscopum delatus est 1323, 25th. April, Male itaque Chronicon breve Winton obitum ejus in diem 11. Martii retulit."—*Ang. Sac.* 1. 316.

XV. JOHN DE STRATFORD, L.L.D.

SUCCEDED A.D. 1323.—TRANSLATED TO CANTERBURY*
A. D. 1333.—DIED A. D. 1348.

This Prelate, whom Godwin, (*Eng. edit.* 1615. p. 136) calls a native of Stratford-on-Avon, was, as appears from a note by Richardson, p. 106 of Merton. Coll. Oxford, J.C.D. 1314. In 1317, he became Prebendary of Lincoln (*Castor*) *Willis. Cath.* 2. 162; was admitted Sept. 13th. 1319, Archdeacon of Lincoln, (*id.* 2. 101); and 2nd. Non. June. 1320 Prebendary of Tachbrook in the diocese of Lichfield (*id.* 1. 464.) Wharton also calls him Canon of York.

The following list of his high political appointments will shew how eminent a Statesman he must have been considered, and how high he stood in the estimation of his sovereign.

He was appointed Treasurer of the Exchequer, 16th. Nov. 1319, *Pat.* 12, Edward II. p. 1. m. 18.—*Dudg. Orig. Jurid. Chron. Ser.* p. 38.—Constituted locum tenens of the Treasurer 6th. Nov. 1327, 20 Edw. II. *Dudg. Orig. Jurid. Chron. Ser.* p. 38.—Habuit magnum Sigillum sibi a rege ad custodiendum traditum 28th. Nov. 1331, 4 Edward III. claus. 4 Edward III. in dorso m. 16.

Magister Rob. de Stratford, frater Joh. Winton Ep̄i, habuit custodiam Sigilli dum frater suus quibusdam negotiis regis intendebat, 23 Junii 1333, 6 Edward III. Claus. 6 Edward III. in dorso. m. 22..

Cantuar. electus confirmatus Cancellarius 6 April, et liberavit magnum sigillum magistro Rob. de Stratford, fratri suo custodiendum. Clau. 8 Edward III. m. 27 in dorso.

The reigning Pontiff, John XXII. at the recommendation of Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed him to the vacant See. He was accordingly consecrated June the 26th. 1323, at Avignon, being then Ambassador at the Papal Court. The King had been desirous that

* "Johannes Stratford sedit 10 an; et postmodum Archiepiscopus Cantuarię ordinatus est."—*Rudborne.*

his Chancellor, Robert Baldock, Archdeacon of Middlesex, should have been appointed. He therefore, at first shewed his resentment against the new Bishop, by outlawing him, and seizing his temporalties. (*S. Birchington.*) This obliged the Bishop to keep himself concealed for above a year amongst his friends, till at length he was restored to the favour of his sovereign, to whom he proved an able and faithful friend and minister, in the turbulent times that succeeded. His temporalties were restored June 28th. 1324. *Rymer. Fœd.* 4. 461. He made his profession to the Archbishop, at Mortlake, Dec. 1. (*Ang. Sac.* 1. 316.) In the 20th. year of the same King, William Melton, Archbishop of York, being promoted to the Treasurership of the Exchequer, July, 30th, 1325, (*2 Pat.* 18. Edward II. m. 5) at Stratford; while the Bishop of Winton was constituted Deputy Treasurer, Nov. 6. (*Com de Term. Michael.* 20 Edward II. A.D. 1327.)

At length the affairs of King Edward II. becoming desperate, our Bishop was one of the persons deputed to induce that ill-fated monarch to sign his own abdication. —(*Polydore Virgil.*) The King was murdered in 1327. The Bishop falling afterwards into disgrace with the haughty Mortimer, whose power was then the greatest that was known in England, he, with great difficulty, escaped the fate of the loyal Bishop of Exeter, who had been beheaded for his fidelity to the late King. In 1329 he was hunted by the said Mortimer, who thirsted after his blood, from place to place, being at different times concealed at the Abbey of Wilton, in the woods about Waltham, and with individuals in Winchester. Having escaped this danger, by the subsequent disgrace and punishment of his adversary, he was afterwards honoured with different preferments. In the 4th. of Edward III. A.D. 1331, he had the great seal committed to his charge, Nov. 28th. After two years, his brother Robert, subsequently Bishop of Chichester, was made keeper of the great seal, while our Bishop was engaged in some of the royal concerns, June 23rd, 1333.—(*Claus. 6 Edward III. m. 22 in dors.*)

In 1333 he was translated to Canterbury.* In 1341

* "Papa providit de Arch. Cant. 1mo. die Dec. 1333, non virtute postulationis Capituli sed proprio motu," says Walsingham, p. 115. "Nihilominus a capitulo prius fuerat electus ante 18th. Nov."—See *Rymer. Fœd.* vol. 4, 582.

14 Edward III. he was constituted Chancellor and Lord Keeper: but in a short time supplicated to be relieved from the burthen of those offices. This he obtained on the Festival of St. Andrew the Apostle, when he resigned the great seal.—*Claus. 14 Edward III. par. 2. m. 12.*) He was succeeded in the Chancellorship by Rob. de Burgherk.—(*Claus. 14 Edward III. par. 2. m. 15 indors.*)

For a further account of him as Archbishop of Canterbury, see Stephen Birchington *de Vit. Archpm. Cant.* and Godwin *de Præs.* ap. Richardson. p. 107. or *Englished it*, 1615, p. 132. He died at Mayfeld on the vigil of St. Bartholomew A.D. 1348, and the 15th. of his translation.—*Birchington, p. 41.* He was buried under an alabaster tomb on the south of the high altar of Canterbury Cathedral. He gave his mitre and various other things to that Church, and built and endowed a College at Stratford-on-Avon, thus noticed by Tanner, Warwickshire. XXVII. “The large Chantry or College was founded 5 Edward III. by John de Stratford, then Bishop of Winton, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, for a Warden, 4 Priests, 3 Clerks, and 4 Choristers, who were to celebrate divine service at the altar of St. Thomas, in the south aisle (by him then newly built) of the parish Church of the holy Trinity. The site of this College was granted 4 Edward VI. to John Earl of Warwick.”

The whole of his property he bequeathed to his domestics. He is thus recorded in “*Canonici Lichfeldensis Indiculus de Successione Archiep. Cant.*”—

“*Electus est [sc. ad sedem Cant.] anno 1333, die 3, nonas Novembr. electioni consensit 16. Calend. Decemb. die 6. Calend. Decemb. Papa, dissimulatâ Monachorum electione, illum de sede Wintoniensi ad Cantuariensem transferendum decrevit. Anno sequente Nonis Febr. dato Regis fidelitatis juramento, admissus est ad Temporalia. Die 9. Calend. Maii, Pallium accepit: intronizatus die 7. Id. Octobr. Obiit anno 1348. in vigilia S. Bartholomæi, die Sabbati. Sic habet *Registrum Cant. MS.* Electionem eo die factam esse confirmat Birchingtonus et Willelmus Thorn; inthronizationem Birchingtonus et Walsingham obitum Birchingtonus et Obituarium Cantuariense MS. provisionem Papalem, admissionem ad Temporalia, et Pallii receptionem idem Birchingtonus. Addit is Bullas Translationis papales receptas a Johanne fuisse anno 1333. Calendis Febr. publicatas in Ecclesia Cant. die 11. Febr. Sedit*

annos 13. menses 6. septimanas 4. dies 4. juxta Catalogum Ussurianum MS. Rectè quidem, si pro annis 13. substitutas 14"—See *Wharton. Ang. Sac. vol. I. pp. 89 and 316.*

XVI. ADAM DE ORLTON, LL.D.

SUCCEDED A. D. 1333.—DIED 1345.

This Prelate was a native of Hereford, of which See he became Bishop, September 22, 1317. Thence he was translated in October 1327 to Worcester, where he sat six years, and in 1333 to Winchester.

Amongst those who had shared in the guilt of Mortimer, yet who escaped partaking in his punishment, was this Bishop; who had been one of the most active agents of the Barons in the first war, which they raised against the King in order to oblige him to banish the Earl of Winchester and his son Hugh Despencer the younger, Earl of Gloster. (*Walsingham. Ypodig.*) For this, while Bishop of Hereford, he was, contrary to all law, and in defiance to all precedent, tried by the ordinary secular tribunal. Usher, (*Antiq. Britan.*) thus records his speech on this occasion to the King. "Domine Rex, vestra regia majestate semper salva, Ego sanctæ ecclesiæ Dei minister humilis ac membrum, et Episcopus consecratus, licet indignus, ad tam ardua nequeo respondere, nec debeo absque Domini Cant. Arpī, post summum Pontificem mei immediati judicis, et aliorum patrum Epōrum, meorum parium, conniventia vel consensu.

The same author, speaking of this irregular transaction, proceeds in these words; Quo dicto, Arpī et Epī, qui interfuerunt, assurgentes regi pro collega suo intercesserunt: cumque rex exorari noluit, totus Clerus Epūm a Regis judicio subeundo, tanquam ecclesiæ membrum, vindicavit. Quorum actus clamoribus Rex cum Cantuariensi Arpō custodiendum, alias de criminibus responsurum, tradidit. Sed paulo post, regio jussu, iterum captus et ad regium tribunal ductus est. Qua re Episcopis, qui Londini fuerant nunciatâ, Cant. Ebor. et Dublineusis Arpī, crucibus erectis, decem aliis Epīs magnaque hujus modi caterva comitati, ad locum judicii magna celeritate contendunt. Quorum adventu, fugatis ministris regis, confratrem et co-episcopum suum a cunctis derelictum ac

solum in custodiam suam susceperunt: Eoque abducto, illico sub anathematis pœna indixerunt, ne quis ei manus violentas adferre præsumat. Rex hac Cleri audacia commotus, eo absente, inquisitionem de suis perpetratis legitimam instituit. Ita convocatis laicis (nam Cleri sæcularibus, præsertim capitalibus, judiciis adesse tum ne regia autoritate adduci aut cogi poterant, proposuit crimina, quæ certis jam distincta formulis et articulis ante Herefordensi Ep̄o objecta fuerant: eos jurejurando astrictos jussit, ut inquisitione per legitimas conjecturas factique evidentiam ex juris præscripto habita reque tota inter se perpensa et communicata, quia de articulorum veritate crederent, communi responso referrent. Illi sive metu regis, sive Ep̄i odio, sive rei veritate aut probabilitate ducti, respondent. Ep̄m Herefordensem omnium criminum in articulis comprehensorum proscripsit, prædia et terras in suam custodiam cœpit, bonis omnibus spoliavit.

In consequence of this treatment, a revengeful and treasonable feeling seems immediately to have taken entire possession of the Bishop's heart; for when Isabella raised the standard of civil war against her husband, she was immediately joined by Orleton, who marching with her adherents, urged them on to the utmost lengths of rebellion. Being at Oxford, he is said to have preached upon these words: "my head, my head acheth," (2nd. Kings, ch. 4, verse 19) endeavouring to prove that, as the head of the kingdom was disordered, it was the duty of the members, independently of him, to provide for their welfare. (*Walsingham.*) The Bishop is also accused of having been a principal instrument not only in deposing, but in murdering the unhappy Edward II. and in proof of this participation, the following story is related. (See *Camden. Glocestersh. I. p. 262, Gough's edit. — &c.*)

When application was made to him on the subject of the King's murder, by the Governors of Berkeley Castle, he is said to have returned this reply, full of oracular ambiguity: Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est. The words, if a comma is placed after timere, would convey assent to the murder, but if after nolite, they would be dissuadatory. Now, unquestionably treasonable as the doctrine contained in the Bishop's sermon was, and heinous as his conduct under any circumstances of aggravation would have been towards his King, still I

must contend that he had no participation in the murder, and my opinion is formed on these points;—first, would King Edward III. when representing to the Pope the Bishop's various crimes, in order to supersede his translation to Winton, especially the treasonable sermon and his overt acts of rebellion, have omitted so weighty a charge as the murder of his royal predecessor and father, Edward II. if the Bishop had been instrumental in it? Now not even an insinuation to that effect occurs. Secondly, the story respecting the ambiguous reply above noticed, turns out on investigation to have been *borrowed*, and that the words were used *upwards of a century before Orlton's time*, by an Archbishop of Strigonium, with reference to Queen Gertrude, wife of Andrew, King of Hungary; (*Alberici Chr. p. 473,*) and lastly, which I think must clear the memory of the Bishop from this foul aspersion, he left England in 1327, to solicit the Pope's dispensation, in order to the marriage of the young King with his cousin Philippa of Hainault, and was at Avignon with the Pope in September, where the Pontiff promoted him to the See of Worcester. Thus he was beyond sea all the time of the King's confinement in Berkeley Castle, who was brought thither April 3, and murdered Sept. 21, in the same year 1327.

The Queen's cause was triumphant, and Orlton was by her interest, in 1327, translated to Worcester.

Having escaped all punishment, and even enquiry into the seditious line of conduct he had adopted, he appears afterwards to have gained the favour of Edward III. so far as to be employed by him as his ambassador at the court of France. Here he evinced so much address as to induce Philip to interest himself warmly with the Pope in order to get him translated a second time, viz. from Worcester, which he then held, to Winton, (*Walsingh. Ypodig.*) which at that time (1333) became vacant by the promotion of Bishop Stratford to Canterbury. Orlton is noted for being the third English Bishop (Stigand and Richard Poore of Sarum, being the others) that had yet been translated a second time. This gave occasion to the following verses, in the style of the age:

Thomam despexit; Wulstanum non bene rexit;
Swithunum maluit.—Cur?—Quia plus valuit.

(*Ex Archiv. Castr. Belv. Ang. Sac. vol. I. p. 534.*)

The three patron saints, Thomas of Hereford, Wulstan of Worcester, and Swithun of Winton, are here put to denote the Churches themselves.

King Edward III. who intended the See for Simon Montague, (*Cont. Hist. Wigorn.*) in vain opposed the appointment of Orlton, representing to the Papal Court the enormities of which he had been guilty. The Bishop however eluded the charges brought against him by an ingenious and well-penned apology. (*Twysd. ap. 10 Scrip.*) In short, he carried his point at Rome, though Edward refused to admit him to the possession of his temporalities till the next year, when he granted this favour at the request of the other Prelates, in a parliament held at London. (*Godwin, p. 225, and Whart. Ang. Sac. I. 317.*) He now took possession of his See in triumph; some time after which, making a visit to the Prior of the Cathedral, Alexander, he was entertained by him in the great hall of the priory, with the performances of Herbert, a celebrated minstrel of these times, who sung to him the popular songs of Winchester, how *Guy, Earl of Warwick, overthrew and killed Colbrand, the Danish Champion, under the walls of this city; and how Queen Emma walked unhurt over the glowing plough-shares in this cathedral.* (*MSS. Wolvesey. ap. Tho. Warton's Hist. Eng. Poetry, vol. I. p. 89.*) This prelate losing his eye-sight some years before his death, (*Cont. Hist. Wint.*) was thereby incapacitated from mingling any more in the busy scenes of life, and died at Farnham, July 18, 1345. (*Ang. Sac.*) He was buried in a chapel which he seems to have prepared for himself in the cathedral. (See *Richardson, Notes, p. 225.*)

XVII. WILLIAM DE EDYNGDON.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1345.—DIED A. D. 1366.

This Prelate was a native of Eddington, Wilts, and had been Prebendary of Leighton-Manor, in the Cathedral of Lincoln.—*Willis Cath. II. 208.*

Upon the decease of Adam de Orlton, the Monks chose one of their own community, John de Devenishe (*Thorne. Chron. de Abbat. Cant.*) who seems to have been son of the worthy and charitable magistrate of the city of Winton,

the founder of St. John's house. The King, however, designed the See of Winton for an ecclesiastic of great talents and merit, whom he had lately constituted his treasurer, (1345, April 10, *Pat.* 18 E. III. m. 22.) viz. William de Edyngdon, who was accordingly consecrated, and John de Devenishe was, by way of compromise, constituted Abbot of Canterbury.—(*Wharton. Ang. Sac.*)

In addition to the dignity of this See, our Bishop being in such high favour, we are not surprized that he should have been appointed by the King, Prelate or Chancellor of the newly-instituted order of the Garter, in 1350; an honour which was to descend and has ever since been held by his successors the Bishops of Winchester. In 1357, he also had the Great Seal delivered to him, (*Feb.* 19, *Claus.* 30 *Edw.* III. *in dors.* m. 4.) In this difficult post he conducted himself with great approbation, (*Contin. Hist. Maj. Wint. Ang. Sac.*) and is only reproached with having coined certain kinds of money, viz. groats and half groats, of less weight than they had hitherto been, by which means the price of labour and the commodities of life rose beyond their former nominal value, and could never afterwards be brought back to it.—*Contin. Polych. Walsingh. Ypodyg.* p. 122.

On the death of Archbishop Islip, he was elected May 10, 1366, to the See of Canterbury. This however he positively refused to accept, though authors are divided, as to the motives of his refusal. One ascribes it to his humility, (*Harpsfield. Hist. Eccl. Sac. XIV. C. XIX.*) another to his advanced age, (*Hen. Wharton. Cont. Hist. Wint.*) whilst a third attributes it to a motive of avarice, putting into his mouth the following expression:—“Though Canterbury is the higher rack, yet Winchester is the richer manger.” (*Godwin.*) But how little he was then under the influence of avarice, appears from his works of piety and charity, and from his distributing almost all his remaining unappropriated money amongst the poor, during his life time. (*Chronic. Anonym. Cont. Hist. Win.*) He was the founder of a college of secular clergy, at his native place of Edington (*Ex literis fundat. ap. Harpsfield*) which at the request of the Black Prince, who was an admirer of a certain order of hermits, called Bon-Hommes, he changed into a Convent of that order. (*Monasticon. Stevens sub. fin.*) Of this, Leland records, “Gul. Edington Epūs Wint. fundavit primò hanc domum

pro Canon: regul: et postea ex concensu regio transtulit in religiosos hujus ordinis." *Collect.* 1. 66

He died October 8, 1366, and was buried in his Cathedral, (*Rudborne*,) where his chantry, tomb, and epitaph are still to be seen. The Historian of Winton thus describes the chantry: Within the 10th arch from the west end, adjoining to the steps leading towards the choir is an ancient chantry, by no means to be compared with that of Wykeham, but in the same style of architecture. This contains the monument and the figure of William of Edington. The following epitaph in [wretched] Leonine verse may still be discovered.

Edyndon natus Wilhelmus hic est tumultus
Præsul prægratus in Wintonia cathedratus
Qui pertransitis ejus memorare velitis.
Providus et mitis ausit cum mille peritis.
Pervigil Anglorum fuit adjutor populorum
Dulcis egenorum pater et protector eorum
M. C. tribus junctum post, L. X. V. sit I junctum
Octava sanctum totat hunc Octobris inunctum

"William, born at Edington, is here interred ;
He was a well-beloved Prelate ; and Winchester was his See.
You, who pass by his tomb, remember him in your prayers ; [sagacity.
He was discreet, and mild, yet a match for thousands in knowledge and

He was a watchful guardian of the English nation ;
A tender father of the poor, and the defender of their rights.
To one thousand add three hundred and fifty, ten, five, and one,—
Then the eighth of October will mark the time when he became a saint."

Wharton quotes an anonymous chronicle which he terms '*insigne*,' as stating that he was buried "apud Edyngton in loco quæm ipse fundaverat.—(*Ang. Sac.* 1. 317). But this must be erroneous, as the Epitaph above recorded, says, "hic est tumultus;" words of course that could have no place on a Cenotaph.

The same author has the following remarks respecting the Bishop's will:—"Eodem anno (1366) die 11th. Testamento condito præcepit, ut de bonis suis expenderetur ad perfectionem navis* Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wint.

* There is a singular propriety and much beauty in this word *navis*, as applied to the church ; which is, in truth, the *ship*,—the *ark* of salvation in which we sail over the turbulent waves of the world to the haven of peace. The origin of the word aisles, is evidently from *alæ* wings, being buildings appended, like wings, to the *body*, or nave of the Church.

a se inchoatæ, et ad subsidium domûs sive Cantuariæ de Edyngdon a se fundatæ. Reliqua domibus religiosis quamplurimis et famulis suis legavit. Astipulatur enim Chronicon Anonymum insigne, additque ipsum omnem fere thesaurum suum seipso vivente pauperibus erogasse.”

A few more brief notices may be found of this Prelate in *Leland. Collect.*, vol. IV.

Benefactions.—The Bishop thus occurs in Tanner, under Wilts xiv. “Bonhommes. The Church and manor here were anciently a prebend of the Abbey of Rumsey, in Hants, said to be worth 100 marks p. annum or more. William de Edindon, Bishop of Winton, built a new church at this his native place, and therein founded to the honor of the blessed virgin St. Katherine, and All Saints, a large chantry or college of a dean, and 12 ministers, whereof part were prebendaries, about the year 1347. These were afterward, at the desire of the Black Prince, changed into a reformed sort of Friars of the order of St. Austin, called Bonhommes, who were settled here under the government of a Rector A. D. 1358. Its yearly revenues at the suppression, amounted to £442. 9s. 7d. *Dudg.* The site was granted to Sir Thomas Seymour, 33 Henry VIII., and to William Pawlet and Lord St. John, 3 Edward VI.” Clopton, a tithing in the parish of Michleton, county of Gloucester, belonged to this priory of Bonhommes.—*Atkins's Glo.* 556.

He also founded a Chantry in the Chapel of Farnham Castle, (*temp.* Edward III.) for which he had various patents from the King, authorizing him to grant for its maintenance a tenement at Lestnes in Southwark, a rent of 8 marks out of the manor there, and a messuage, 3 acres of land, and a rent of 8 marks out of the manor of Farnham. And accordingly he granted to John Castrie, his Chaplain, and his successors performing divine service in the Chapel of his Castle of Farnham, 1 messuage, and 3 acres of land in Farnham, and 8 marks out of the manor.—*Manning and Bray. Hist. Surry.* 3, 137.

Nor must we forget the words of his will above quoted, “ad perfectionem navis ecclesiæ,” &c. For these afford evidence that he actually begun that great work, the *whole* credit of which is ascribed to his successor.

Rudborne adds, “Hic multa ornamenta et jocalia (jewels) suæ ecclesiæ contulit.”—*Hist. Maj. Wint.*

XVIII. WILLIAM WYKEHAM.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1366-7.—DIED A. D. 1404.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Collected from Records, Registers, Manuscripts, and other Authentic Evidences: by ROBERT LOWTH, D.D. Prebendary of Durham, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.—VIRG.

London: Printed for A. Millar, in the Strand; & R. & J. Dodsley, Pall-Mall.
MDCCLVIII.

SECTION I.

From the Birth of Wykeham to his being made Bishop of Winchester.

THAT natural curiosity, which leads us to inquire into the particular circumstances of the lives of such as have in any way made themselves greatly eminent, cannot be more properly or laudably employed, than in reviving the memory of those illustrious persons, who have more especially distinguished themselves by their beneficence and public spirit; by their endeavours to do good to their own age, and to posterity; to their country, and to mankind. In this case at least, it is not merely the effect of an idly inquisitive disposition, nor does it propose to itself only an empty amusement: it partakes in some measure, of the same generous principle which engages its attention; perhaps it arises from a mind possessed with a sense of benefits received, and is no improper exertion of that love, respect, and gratitude, which is due to the author of them. The subject of the following pages, may, I presume, in this respect, merit the attention of such as have a due regard for the memory of a man, who, besides his high station and great abilities in public affairs, was an eminent example of generosity and munificence; and much more of those,

who have felt the beneficial influence of his liberality, who have been, or actually are, partakers of his bounty. It is, indeed, principally for the sake of these latter that the present inquiry has been undertaken: it will be pursued with that care and fidelity and strict regard to truth, which is due to the public in general; and, for the satisfaction of these in particular, even with what may perhaps be esteemed by others a minute and scrupulous exactness; in confidence that their veneration for the name of Wykeham, their generous benefactor, will make every thing that relates to him interesting, and will not suffer them to think any particularities jejune, trifling, or insignificant, that in any wise tend to rescue his memory from oblivion, to verify his history, or to vindicate his character.

William Wykeham, or Of Wykeham, (for *he uses both ways of expressing his name, but commonly the latter,) was born at Wykeham, Hants, in the year 1324, the 18th Edw. II: consequently after the 7th July, from which the years of Edw. II. begin; and before the 27th Sept. of the same year; for on that day of the year 1404, on which he died, he is said to have been fully, or above 80 years old.

It is commonly supposed that he took his name from the place of his birth, according to a custom much in use in those times, when surnames† were not so appropriated to families as to descend regularly from father to son as they now do. There are however some circumstances, which at first seem to afford us sufficient reason to doubt of this. We meet with several of his kindred, living at the same time with him, who bore the same name: Nicholas Wykeham, Archdeacon of Winchester, and Warden of New Coll. whom he expressly calls his kinsman. Richard de Wykekam, Warden of St. Nicholas's Hospital, Portsmouth; the same probably with Richard Wykeham, called likewise his kinsman in

* He calls himself William Wykeham, not de Wykeham, in his will; as also sometimes in his own Register: he is so called in Registr. Edyndon.

† One is surprized that so accurate a scholar as Lowth should fall into this vulgar error. Surname conveys no idea. He means no doubt sire-name or sirname, that is, the appellation of one's sire. To write sirname with the letter u in conformity to the pronunciation, would be like writing burd for bird.—[Ed.]

the rolls of accompt of New Coll. 1377: John Wykeham, rector of Mapledurham, (diocese of Winchester;) who is mentioned in his will among his kindred, and was admitted as such, fellow of his College. Add to these William, Thomas, and John Wykeham, admitted likewise fellows of his College in the years 1387, 1390, and 1395, respectively; who were his great nephews, the sons of his niece Alice, the wife of William Perot, and took his surname instead of their father's. His kinsman John Fyvyan paid him the same compliment, and relinquished his own name for that of Wykeham. Both these instances seem to make it still more probable, that it was something more than a casual name taken from the place of his birth. He mentions his father and mother only by their christian names, John and Sybill: if their surname had been different from that which he bore himself, it would have been natural, if not necessary, to have mentioned it; if the same, there was plainly no occasion of expressing it, as implied of course.

I meet with a note in the first register of New College which if it does not confirm this opinion, that Wykeham was properly his family-name, yet shews at least that it is not altogether new and unprecedented. It is in the following terms: "Hyt ys welle to be prooved that wyllyam wykeham bysshope off wynton was borne in a towne in Hampchere called wykeham, and that hys graunt father's name was wykeham, although there hath bin some doute of hys father's name." The hand-writing as well as the expression of this note carries with it evident marks of age: and yet upon due consideration I do not think it to be of sufficient antiquity to give it any great weight in determining the present question.

And after all, we must have a care, lest, being pre-possessed with notions taken from our own usages, we should be led into error in our reasonings upon those of former times. If we consider the uncertain state of family-names at the time of the birth of Wykeham, we shall not think it strange that there should be such doubt with regard to the surname of his family, or even if it should appear that he had properly no family-name at all. Surnames [sirenames] were introduced into England by the Normans at the Conquest: "But certain it is, says Camden, that as the better sort, even from the Conquest, by little and little, took surnames; so they were not settled among the common people fully until about the

time of Edw. II." As we must allow Wykeham to have been what the Romans called *novus homo*, so with regard to his surname, he might perhaps be strictly and literally the first of his family. Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot help giving credit to the testimony of a *pedigree of Wykeham's family, preserved in an ancient register of Wint. Coll. which mentions his father by the name of John Longe; which, whether it was the proper surname of the family, or a personal bye-name given him on account of his stature, (in which case his true surname might be Aas, the same that was borne by his brother Henry) 'tis neither material nor possible to determine. This pedigree must be allowed to be of good authority,

[*Here I have thought it right for the sake of juxta-position, to reprint this Pedigree, found in the Appendix, No. I. EDIT.]

" *E. Veteri Registro Coll. Winton.*

Alicia, quæ fuit soror Johannis Longe patris Domini Wilhelmi Wykeham Episcopi Wynton & fundatoris istius Collegii. desponsata fuit Johanni Archemore, ex quibus processerunt tredecim filia, quarum una vocabatur Emma mater Johanna Warner & Wilhelmi Carpenter.

Altera vocabatur Margeria, mater Edithæ Ryngborne & Isabellæ Mavyle & Johannis Rokle.

Altera vocabatur Alicia, mater Roberti Mavyle de Strata Hyde Wynt.

Altera vocabatur Matilda, ex qua processit Agnes adhuc vivens in West-Stratton, ex qua processit Johanna desponsata Johanni Bolue in Com. Sussex.

Altera vocabatur Johanna, mater Zelotæ quæ morabatur apud Westmeone.

Agnes Chawmpeneys, soror Domini Wilhelmi Wykeham fundatoris nostri, fuit mater Aliciæ Perott, quæ Alicia fuit mater Thomæ Wykeham Militis

Item secundum quosdam Wilhelmus Stratton procreavit de Amicia Stratton, filia Domini de Stratton juxta Selborne, quatuor filios Ricardum, Stephanum, Robertum, & Johannem, qui obierunt sine liberis; ac etiam tres filias, scil. Aliciam, Julianam, & Alienoram.

Aliciam duxit Wilhelmus Bowade in uxorem, de qua habuit filiam nomine Sibillam, quam Johannes Longe duxit in uxorem, ex qua procreavit filium nomine Wilhelmum Episcopum Wint. & filiam nomine Agnetem, quæ Agnes habuit filiam nomine Aliciam quam Wilhelmus Perott duxit in uxorem, ex qua procreavit tres filios, Wilhelmum, Johannem, & Thomam, mortuos nunc; qui Thomas vocabatur Wykeham Miles, & duxit in uxorem filiam Wilhelmi Wylkecys Armig. de qua procreavit filios & filias.

Julianam Anitam matris Fundatoris duxit Ricardus Botesle in uxorem, de qua habuit filiam nomine Emmam, quam Ricardus Benet duxit in uxorem, de qua habuit filium nomine Ricardum.

Alienoram Amitam matris Fundatoris duxit in uxorem Ricardus Kerswell de Stokebrigg, de qua procreavit filiam nomine Elizabetham, quam Rog. Goryng de Sarum duxit in uxorem, de qua habuit filiam nomine Johannam.

Item secundum alios Johannes Longe pater Fundatoris habuit fratrem nomine Henricum Aas, qui Henricus Aas habuit tres filios, Wilhelmum, Ricardum, & Radulphum: Radulphus iste habuit filium nomine Wilhelmum, & tres filias, s. Feliciam olim Abbatissam de Romeseye."

as it was drawn up in the next age to that of Wykeham himself, as it is in many particulars confirmed by collateral evidence, and as there does not appear any reason to question the truth and exactness of any part of it. Whatever else has been alleged on this subject ought to be of little account: it is a point that must be determined by authority and evidence; and the authority of this pedigree seems sufficient to maintain itself against all arguments whatsoever, that are only founded on probable supposition and conjecture. His parents were persons of good reputation and character, but in mean circumstances. It has been said, that he himself, or some of his ancestors were of servile condition: that is, had been tenants in villenage, or had held lands by certain customs and services owed to the lord; which is considered as a kind of servitude or bondage by our laws, and which was at that time, for the most part, the state and condition of the bulk of the common people of England. However, of his mother, we are particularly informed, that she was well-born, and of a gentleman's family: which is moreover confirmed by the pedigree before mentioned. The number of his contemporary relations which we meet with occasionally mentioned, and upon undoubted authority, is surprisngly great, considering the distance of time and the obscurity in which this part of his history lies; and seems to prove, that he was not of such very low extraction as some authors have represented him. They appear in general to have been persons of reputable condition, and of a middle station in life. On the other hand, I see no reason for rating his family higher: I am even inclined to think that he himself disclaimed all further pretensions. The celebrated motto which he added to his Arms, (of which, *probably, he might have received a grant when he began to rise in the world) I imagine was intended by

* "The said Bishoppe bare his Arms diversly at two sondry tymes, as the seals thereof, shewed by Sir Richard Fynes, testify. Before he was Bishoppe, when as yet he was but Archdeacon of Lincolne, he sealed but with one cheveron in his Armes between three roses: but after, when he was advanced to the Bishoppricke, he sealed with two cheverous between three roses: and so ar generally known to this day to be his without contradiction.—It hath been demaunded of me by the sayd learned menne, whether the Armes which the said Bishoppe used were gyven unto him in respect of his dignity Episcopall, or were boren by him before, as receved from his auncestry and race. Whereunto I coulde not answer affirmatyvely, because I had never seen matter of the first allowance of them. But havyng read certyne learned wryters' opinions of the sayd Bishoppe, which do agree in this, that he was *humilis*

him to intimate something of this kind: **Manners makyth Man**: the true meaning of which, as he designed it, I presume to be, though it has commonly been understood otherwise, That a man's real worth is to be estimated, not from the outward and accidental advantages of birth, rank, and fortune, but from the endowments of his mind, and his moral qualifications. In this sense it bears a proper relation to his arms, and contains a just apology for those ensigns of his newly acquired dignity. Conscious to himself that his claim to honour is unexceptionable, as founded upon truth and reason, he, in a manner, makes his appeal to the world; alleging, that neither high birth, to which he makes no pretensions, nor high station, upon which he does not value himself, but "Virtue alone is true nobility." It seems to be agreed on all hands, that his parents were in such narrow circumstances, that they could not afford to give their son a liberal education. However, this deficiency was supplied by some generous patron, who maintained him at school at Winchester, where he was instructed in grammatical learning. Here he gave early proofs of his piety and his diligence. It has always been supposed, rather from a common tradition than from any authentic account that I can meet with, that Wykeham's first and great benefactor was Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wykeham, and governor of Winchester castle, an officer of great note in those days. After he had gone through his school education, he was taken into his patron's family, and became his secretary. That he was secretary to the constable of Winchester castle, is all that we find

conditionis, and that he was called Wykeham, *a loco unde natus est & non a parentibus*: as it is also affirmed in the chapter of his lyf before al-leaged, wherein also his father called John is sayd to be *progenitorum libertate dotatus*: and he himself, by Ranulph Monke, of Chestre, being noted to be *libertinus, vel a patre libertino natus*: I was moved to thinke, as I told them, that those Armes came not to him by descent. And agayne, behouldinge the Armes sometyme with one and then after with two cheverons, *quæ quidem signa per Carpentarios & domorum factores olim portabantur*, as Nicholas Upton wryteth, and comparing them to the quality of the berar, who is sayd to have had his chiefe preferment for his skill in Architecture, *Erat enim regi Edwardo III. in principio a fabricis eo quod erat ingeniosus & architectura delectatus*, as Dr. Caius maketh mention in his bookes *de antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academicæ*: I was also induced to thinke per conjecturam Heraldicam, that the Bishop himself was the first berar of them." Report of Robert Glover, Somersett Herald, to Lord Treasurer Burghley, concerning the dispute between Sir Richard Fiennes and Humphrey Wickham Esq.; dated March, 1572. MS. Aut. Wood. No. XXVIII. in Museo Ashmoleano Oxon.

mentioned in the most ancient writers. He is said to have been afterwards recommended by Uvedale to Edyngdon, Bishop of Winchester, and by both to have been made known to King Edward III.

The latter writers of Wykeham's life, have generally mentioned his removing from Winchester to Oxford to prosecute his studies, and that he continued there almost six years. They seem to have no sufficient authority for what they say. Writers nearest his time make no mention of his being at Oxford at all, or rather suppose the contrary. I must here give the reader what Chaundeler says to this purpose in his own words: "*Illum Speculativa (Sapientia) minime forsan occupavit: perhibetur enim nec Artium, nec Theologiae, sed nec utrorumque Jurium scholas exercuisse—quomodo potuit ab inopi & pauperrima ductus parentela sine exhibitione scholas aut literarum exercitasse studium?—de Practica vero—vir summe sapiens.*" Which I think is as much as to say in express terms, that he never studied in any university. Chaundeler, who within about 50 years after the death of Wykeham, was warden of New College and chancellor of Oxford, might at that time have easily known whether he had ever studied there or not, by consulting the university registers. Besides it does not appear that he ever had any academical degree, nor is there the least tradition of his having belonged to any particular society there. The above passage of Chaundeler gives us the real character of Wykeham with respect to his learning; and lays open to us the true and only foundation of that tradition, which has been delivered down from early times, and has received many additional circumstances from the invention of latter writers; that Wykeham was an illiterate person. One that after having been chiefly employed for several years in secular affairs, and without having ever gone through the usual course of academical learning, should become a Clergyman, however furnished with most parts of truly useful knowledge, yet such as the schools were then entirely unacquainted with, would of course be looked upon as deficient in a principal part of a clerical, that is, according to the opinion of those times, of a learned education. But whoever considers the miserable state of learning in general, and in particular in the university of Oxford, in that age, will not think it any disadvantage to him to have been led into a different

course of studies. 'Twas just at the time when Wykeham must have been at the university of Oxford, if he had ever been there at all, that certain logical contentions turning merely upon words so far prevailed, as to divide the scholars into perpetual factions, and to become almost the only object of their studies and attention. The nominals listed themselves under the standard of Occham the invincible Doctor, in opposition to the reals, the followers of Duns Scotus, entitled the subtile Doctor. This occasioned the revival of the old quarrels between the northern and southern men: the former, for want of a better reason as it seems, joining themselves to the party of their countryman Scotus; and consequently the latter, out of mere spirit of opposition, siding with Occham. The consequence of these disputes was not only the establishing in the schools an unintelligible jargon, (the thing that is chiefly meant at this time when they talk of knowledge and learning) but the introducing a scandalous barbarity and brutality of manners into the place appropriated to the studies of humanity and politeness. The parties in their madness soon transgressed the bounds of academical disputation, and came to blows: they had frequent battles, which generally ended in bloodshed. Six years spent at the university just at this time, and in that part of life in which prejudices of all kinds take the fastest hold and make the most lasting impression, might have unhappily given a wrong turn to a person of as great genius, as extensive knowledge, and as sound judgment, as any which that age produced. As he had a capacity that would probably have carried him to the top of any profession into which he might have chanced to have been thrown, he might indeed have become an eminent schoolman, an irrefragable perhaps, or even a seraphic Doctor: but we should have absolutely lost the great statesman, and the generous patron and promoter of true learning. 'Twas certainly for abilities very different from what were commonly attained at that time in the university, that Wykeham was recommended to Edward III. He is said to have been brought to court, and placed there in the King's service, when he was about 22 or 23 years of age. What employment he had there at this time, (if he was really employed by the King so soon) I cannot say: for the first office which he appears upon record to have borne was that of clerk of all the

King's works in his manors of Henle and Yeshampsted. The patent conferring this office upon him is dated May 10, 1356. The 30th. Oct. following he was made surveyor of the King's works at the castle and in the park of Windsor. By this patent he had powers given him to press all sorts of artificers, and to provide stone, timber, and all other materials, and carriages. He had 1s. a day while he stayed at Windsor, 2s. when he went elsewhere on his employment, and 3s. a week for his clerk. Nov. 14th. 1357, he received a grant from the King of 1s. a day payable at the exchequer over and above his former wages and salary. ☞ It was by the advice and persuasion of Wykeham that the King was induced to pull down great part of the castle of Windsor, and to rebuild it in the magnificent manner in which it now appears; and the execution of this great work he committed entirely to him. Wykeham had likewise the sole direction of the building of Queenborough castle: the difficulties arising from the nature of the ground, and the lowness of the situation, did not discourage him from advising and undertaking this work; and in the event they only served to display more evidently the skill and abilities of the architect. Wykeham acquitted himself so much to the King's satisfaction in the execution of these employments, that he gained a considerable place in his master's favour, and grew daily in his affections: for from henceforth we find the King continually heaping upon him preferments both civil and ecclesiastical. It seems to have been all along his design to take holy orders: he is styled '*clericus*' in all the above-mentioned patents; I find him called so as early as 1352. He had as yet only the clerical tonsure, or some of the lower orders. The first ecclesiastical benefice which was conferred upon him, was the rectory of Pulham in Norfolk, by the King's presentation: it is dated the 30th. Nov. 1357. He met with some difficulties with regard to this preferment, from the court of Rome; wherefore he received from the King, April 16th, 1359, a grant of £200 a year over and above his former appointments, until he should get quiet possession of the Church of Pulham, or some other benefice to the value of 100 marks. This dispute, whatever it was, was not settled till 2 years afterward; when on 10th. of July, 1361, he had from the King a new presentation to Pulham. On March 1st. 1358-9, he was presented by the King to

the prebend of Flixton in the Church of Lichfield: this he exchanged for some other benefice with John de Waltham, in Nov. 1361. July 10, 1359, he was constituted chief warden and surveyor of the King's castles of Windsor, Leeds, Dover, and Hadlam; and of the manors of Old and New Windsor, Wichemer, and several other castles, manors, and houses, and of the parks belonging to them: with power to appoint all workmen, to provide materials, and to order every thing with regard to building and repairs; and in those manors to hold leets, and other courts, pleas of trespass and misdemeanors, and to enquire of the King's liberties and rights. The King seems at this time to have been very intent upon carrying on his buildings at Windsor: for we find next year workmen were imprest in London, and out of several counties by writs directed to the sheriffs, who were to take security of them, that they should not leave Windsor without licence from Wykeham. May 5th. 1360, he had the King's grant of the Deanery of the royal free Chapel, or collegiate Church of St. Martin Le Grand, London. He exchanged this deanery for the prebend of Iwerne-minstre, in the Diocese of Sarum, Oct. 3, 1361. Yet as he is styled the year after dean of St. Martin's, we must conclude that he was presented to it again the second time: and as he was admitted again to the prebend of Iwerne in the monastery of Shaftesbury, (the same I suppose with the former) by presentation from the King in the vacancy of the abbacy, (July 2d. 1362) he probably had exchanged it before for some other benefice. He held the deanery of St. Martin's about 3 years: during which time he generously rebuilt, in a very handsome manner, and at a very great expence, the cloister of the chapter-house and the body of the Church. Wykeham attended upon the King in Oct. 1360, at Calais, when the treaty of Bretigny was solemnly ratified, and confirmed by the reciprocal oaths of the Kings of England and France, in person. In what character or office he waited on the King there I cannot say; but he assisted at this ceremony as a witness, and, as it seems, in quality of public notary. To proceed with the list of his ecclesiastical preferments: he received from the King grants of the following dignities, which I set down in the order of time, with the date of each presentation. A Prebend in the Church of Hereford, July 12th, 1361. A Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Abergwilly, July 16th; and

the same day, a Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Llandewy Breys, both in St. David's Diocese. A Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Bromyard, Hereford Diocese, July 24th. : this he quitted in Oct. following. The Prebend of Oxgate in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London, Oct. 1st. A Prebend in the Monastery of Wherwell, Winton Diocese, Dec. 20th. All these in the same year: in which likewise by presentation from other hands he was admitted to the following dignities. The Prebend of Yatmenster Overbury in the Church of Sarum, Aug. 16th. ; the Prebend of Fordington and Writhlington in the same, by exchange of the former, Oct. 9th. ; the Prebend of Bedminster and Ratcliff in the same, Oct. 15th. The Prebend of Totenhall in the Church of St. Paul, London, Dec. 10th: which he resigned a few days after, and was again presented to it by the King in April following. He was Canon of Lincoln in June, 1362: it was the Prebend of Sutton which he held in that Church. He had the Rectories of Aswardby, Wodeland, and Gosberkirk, Lincoln Diocese; the latter of which he exchanged for the Prebend of Langtoft in the Cathedral Church of York, this same year: which he also quitted the next year for the Prebend of Laughton in the same Church. The King gave him moreover, a Prebend in the Collegiate Church of Hastings, Chichester Diocese, Feb. 17th. 1362-3; a Prebend in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, April 21st. 1363; the Archdeaconry of Northampton, April 26th.; the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, May 23rd.; on accepting which he resigned the former; and the Prepositure of Wells with the Prebend annexed, Dec. 15th. the same year. Some of the foregoing dignities he was possessed of before he was in holy orders. He was admitted to the inferior order of Accolite, Dec. 5th. 1361; to the order of Subdeacon, a superior and holy order in the Church of Rome's account, March 12th. following; both by Edyngdon Bishop of Winchester, in his Chapel at Southwark; and was there likewise ordained Priest by the same, June 12th. 1362. It does not appear when or by whom he was ordained deacon. His advancement in the State still kept pace with his preferment in the Church. In June, 1363, he was warden and justiciary of the King's forests on this side Trent. March 14th. following, the King granted him an assignment of 20s, a day out of the

exchequer. He was made keeper of the privy seal on May 11th. 1364. And within 2 years after he was made secretary to the King. In May 1365, he was commissioned by the King to treat of the ransom of the King of Scotland, and the prolonging of the truce with the Scots, together with the chancellor, treasurer, and the Earl of Arundel. Not long after this, he is called chief of the privy council and governor of the great council: which terms however, I suppose, are not titles of office, but express the great influence and authority which he had in those assemblies. There are several other preferments both ecclesiastical and civil, which he is said to have held; but I do not mention them, because the authorities produced for them, are such as I cannot entirely depend upon. And as to his ecclesiastical benefices already mentioned, the practice of exchanging them was then so common, that 'tis hard to determine precisely which of them he held all together at any one time. However, we have a very exact account of this matter as it stood in 1366, when the sum of his Church preferments were at the highest, given by Wykeham himself on occasion of Urban V's. bull against pluralities: the practice of which prevailed greatly in the Church at this time; so that there were some in England who, by the Pope's authority, possessed at once twenty ecclesiastical benefices and dignities, with dispensation moreover for holding as many more as they could lawfully procure, without limitation of number. This bull was published May 1365, and orders all ecclesiastical persons whatsoever possessed of more benefices than one, either with or without cure, to deliver to the ordinary of the place where they commonly reside, a distinct and particular account of such their benefices, with the sum which each is taxed at in the King's books, to be transmitted to the metropolitan, and by him to the Pope. The certificate of the Bishop of London, made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the account exhibited to him by William Wykeham of his benefices, is as follows. "In the same year and month [Oct. 1366.] Sir William of Wykeham, Clerk, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and *Secretary* of our Lord the illustrious King of England, and Keeper of his Privy Seal, by reason of his said office residing and commonly dwelling in the City and Diocese of London, intimated and in writing exhibited to us Simon, Bishop of London, clearly, particularly, and

distinctly, as he affirmed, that he holdeth the Archdeaconry of Lincoln, having no ecclesiastical benefice nor manse annexed unto the same, which is reputed to be a dignity in the Church of Lincoln, and is a benefice with cure, and incompatible with another cure; not taxed; the true and common annual value of the same, if the Archdeacon visiteth all the Churches of his Archdeaconry, and receiveth the whole procurations every where in ready money, extendeth to £350. sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Sutton in the said Church of Lincoln; it is a benefice without cure, and compatible with a benefice with cure: the tax of the same is 260 marks sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Laughton in the Church of York; it is a benefice without cure, and compatible with a cure, and is so held and reputed; the tax of the same is 110 marks sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Bonham in the Collegiate Church of Southwell, York Diocese; it is a benefice without cure, and compatible with a cure: the tax of the same is 55 marks sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of the Altar of St. Mary in the Collegiate Church of Beverly, York Diocese: it is a benefice without cure, and compatible with a cure: the tax of the same is £16. sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Totenhale in the Church of London; a benefice likewise without cure, and compatible with a cure: the tax of the same is 16 marks sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Fordington in the Church of Sarum; a benefice also without cure, and compatible with a cure: the tax of the same is 25 marks sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Wherwell in the Monastery of the nuns of Wherwell, Wynton Diocese; it a benefice without cure, and compatible with a cure: the tax of the same is 60 marks. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Iwerne in the Monastery of the nuns of Shafton, Sarum Diocese; a benefice likewise without cure, and compatible with a cure, and so held and reputed: the tax of the same is 30 marks sterling. Item, the Canonry and Prebend of Swerdes in the Church of Dublin in Ireland: it is a benefice without cure, and compatible with a cure: the tax of the same is 90 marks sterling. Item, the Prepositure of Wells with a Prebend in the Church of Wells, annexed to the same: the aforesaid prepositure is a simple office, and without cure, and compatible with

another benefice with cure, and so it is held and reputed : the tax of the Prepositure with the Prebend annexed to it is 68 marks sterling ; and out of the fruits and produce of the said Prepositure are paid to 14 Canons for their Prebends, and to the Vicars and other ministers of that Church, yearly 175 marks sterling. Item, the aforesaid Sir William of Wykeham did hold at the time of the date of the aforesaid monition, by collation of our Lord the illustrious King of England, the Canonry and Prebend of Almethle, in the aforesaid our Lord the King's free Chapel of Bruggenorth, Coventry and Lichfield Diocese ; it is a benefice without cure, and compatible with a cure ; and the same, being of the King's patronage, he hath wholly resigned and simply quitted in form of law as well really as verbally : and that the tax of the same, the episcopal registers, as well as those of our Lord the King, and those of our Lord the Pope's Nuncio in England, having being searched, and all requisite diligence by him used in the same, could not be made appear, nor doth appear ; wherefore the true and common value of the said Prebend, he hath exhibited unto us, Simon, Bishop of London aforesaid, that it extendeth annually to £23. 6s. 8d. Item, the said Sir William did hold, by virtue of apostolical dispensation unto him in this behalf sufficiently made and granted, at the time of the date of the monition aforesaid and since, the parish Church of Manyhynet, Exon Diocese, at that time of lay patronage : it is a benefice with cure, not compatible with another cure ; but the same Church he hath wholly resigned and simply quitted in form of law as well really as verbally : the tax of the same is £8 sterling. Item, he did obtain a rescript or bull apostolical in the time of our Lord Pope Innocent VI. of happy memory, directed to the Bishop elect of St. David's, to examine the said William personally, and if he should be found duly qualified, to grant unto him by provision, the Canonry and Prebend of the Church of St. Andrew of Aukelond, Durham Diocese, which, formerly, Thomas de Brydekylt, Abbot of Karlelis, held in the said Church during his life ; but, by virtue of the same, he neither hath since had collation, nor the said Canonry and Prebend hath he possession of, nor hath in any wise had, nor intendeth to have for the future, nor in any manner to make use of the rescript or bull

apostolical: the tax or value is not known." By this instrument it appears, that the yearly value, partly taxed and partly real, of the benefices which Wykeham had for some few years, altogether, was £873. 6s. 8d. and of those which he still remained in possession of, and continued to hold till he became Bishop of Winchester, was £842. It is needless to observe, in what a high degree of favour Wykeham stood with the King, after having given so many substantial proofs of it. But the testimony of Froissart, a contemporary historian, personally acquainted with the affairs of the English court, and at* this very time residing there, and employed in the service of both the King and Queen, is too remarkable to be omitted. "At this time," says he, "reigned a Priest called William of Wykeham. This William of Wykeham was so much in favour with the King of England, that every thing was done by him, and nothing was done without him." The King had raised him to some of the highest offices in the state, and intended to carry him still higher: it was in a manner necessary that his station in the Church should be proportionable. The King might easily have procured him a Bishopric before this time: but as Bishoprics were not absolutely in his disposal, nor translations from one Bishopric to another become the common steps of advancement in the Church, he seems to have reserved Wykeham for the Bishopric of Winchester, which in point of honour and revenue would be a proper station for his favourite minister, and which in the course of nature must shortly become vacant. He probably had it in his power to place him in the See of Canterbury, which became vacant about half-a-year before that of Winchester; but Edyngdon was now declining apace, and Wykeham, perhaps, was desirous of being settled in his native country; that this, rather than any other, might be the nearest and most immediate object of his care and beneficence. In the mean time, the King conferred upon him as many ecclesiastical preferments, of a lower degree, as he could legally be possessed of, as marks of royal favour, and supports of his state and dignity, while this great expectative was depending.

* See Froissart, Vol. 4. Chap. 61. & 119.

SECTION II.

From the time of his being made Bishop of Winchester to the last year of Edward III.

WILLIAM de Edyngdon, Bishop of Winchester died 8th. Oct. 1366. Upon the King's earnest recommendation, Wykeham was immediately and unanimously elected by the Prior and Convent to succeed him. The congè d'elire is dated Oct. 13. The King approved the election on the 24th. of the same month. The Pope constitutes him administrator of the spiritualities and temporalities of the vacant See, by his bull dated Dec. 11 the same year; and he was admitted to the administration of the spiritualities by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Feb. 22nd. following. By his bull of July 14, 1367, the Pope gives him leave to be consecrated, referring in it to the bull of provision of the same date, by which he confers on him the Bishopric. He was consecrated in St. Paul's, London, Oct. 10, 1367, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London and Sarum. The same day the Archbishop celebrated the feast of consecration with great magnificence at his palace of Lambeth. Two days after, Wykeham received from the King the grant of the temporalities of the Bishopric. Thus was it a whole year from the time of the vacancy, and even from the time of his election, before he could get into full possession of his new dignity. The delay which this affair met with, has been taken notice of by many authors; some of whom have assigned no reason for it; others, chiefly the latter writers, have given a false one. Some say, that the King was very unwilling to promote to so high a station in the Church, a person who was very deficient in point of learning: this is not at all probable; Wykeham was recommended by the King, the election was made, and was approved by him, all within sixteen days after the vacancy happened; with as much dispatch as was possible in an affair of this nature. Others pretend that the Pope made the same objection: the contrary to this appears from the words of the bull above-mentioned, dated Dec. 11, 1366, in which the Pope speaks of Wykeham "as recommended to him, by the testimony of many persons worthy of credit, for his knowledge of letters, his probity of life and manners, and his prudence and circumspection in

affairs both spiritual and temporal." Which testimony of his learning is the more to be insisted upon, as it appears on examining all the bulls of this kind that occur in Rymer's Collection of public Records through this century, that this part of the bull, in which the character of the person preferred is given, for the most part runs in more general terms, and has more frequently than otherwise no mention of learning at all. The Pope was so far from making the objection, that he seems fully persuaded that there was really no room for it: for we may be sure the court of Rome had more address than to go out of its way, and depart from a common form, to compliment a person for the very quality in which he was notoriously deficient. But the true state of the case, and the reason of this delay on the side of the Pope, seems to be this. Since the time of Henry III. the Kings and Parliaments of England had resolutely opposed the usurpations of the See of Rome: one considerable article of which, among many, was the Pope's assuming to himself the disposal of all Church preferments by way of provision and reservation. The pretence was, that the holy Father, out of his great care for the welfare of the Church in general, and of such a Diocese in particular, had *provided* for it a proper and useful person to preside over it, lest in case of a vacancy it might suffer detriment, by being long destitute of a pastor; for which reason, out of the plenitude of his authority, he *reserved* to himself for this turn the disposal of the Bishopric, decreeing from that time forward all interposition or attempts to the contrary of all persons whatsoever null and void. The most effectual method of putting an end to these encroachments on the rights of the King, Chapters, and Patrons, seemed to have been taken under Edward III., by the statutes of provisors and premunire: however, the Pope still continued his pretensions, and his provisions in reality took place; only the person so preferred, was obliged to renounce in form, all manner of right to the temporalities which might be derived to him from the bull of provision, and all words contained in it prejudicial to the rights of the crown. This was the occasion of perpetual disputes between the King and the Pope, and of the delay in the present case. Wykeham was probably a person very agreeable to the Pope, who had several times made use of his interest to the King; and we see

that at this very time he made no difficulty of granting to him as to the presumptive successor, the administration of the vacant See. The point in question was not, whether Wykeham should have the Bishopric of Winchester or not; but by what title, and by whom it should be conferred on him. The Pope's right of provision was not to be dropt in the disposal of so great a preferment, and when he had an opportunity by it of making a merit with the first minister of the greatest prince in Europe. The King defended the right of election; the Pope pretended that election in this case gave no right to the Bishopric, and would have it acknowledged as a favour from himself.

The King had so great a regard for Wykeham, that he condescended at last to form an interest with the Pope to induce him to recede a little from his pretensions. He wrote to the Duke of Bourbon, one of his hostages for the King of France, to whom he had granted leave of absence about a year before, and had lately prolonged it at the Pope's request, desiring him to prevail with the Pope to confirm Wykeham's election. The Duke went to Avignon, where the Pope then resided, and solicited the affair in person. He was glad of this opportunity of laying the King and his minister under an obligation to him. And 'tis probable, that in consideration of this service, the King the more readily granted him his liberty the year following, on his paying 40,000 crowns for his ransom. The Pope was as well pleased to receive a petition from the King of England; 'twas the very thing he proposed to himself by all this delay. He so far complied with it, as to end the dispute without determining the merits of the cause; according to the general maxim of the court of Rome, never to give up its pretensions in any case whatever; but rather to yield to the desire of an opponent too powerful to be resisted, as out of mere grace and favour, without admitting his claim. However, in the present case, it seems to have been agreed that each party should in some measure allow the pretensions of the other. Accordingly the Pope's bull of July 14, 1367, before mentioned, in which he refers to the bull of provision, is nevertheless directed to William, Bishop elect of Winchester: and, on the other hand, the King in his letters patent of October 12, 1367, by which he grants him the temporalities of the Bishopric, acknowledges him Bishop of Winchester by the Pope's provision, without mentioning his

election. He was enthroned* in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, by William de Askeby, Archdeacon of Northampton, by commission from the Cardinal, Archdeacon of Canterbury's Procurator General, July 9, 1368; who acknowledges him to be Bishop of Winchester by election, confirmation, and consecration, without any mention at all of the Pope's provision. As soon as the dispute between the King and the Pope, which was in effect no other than a contention which of them should be the author of Wykeham's promotion, was accommodated; being now qualified by his advancement in the Church, to receive the highest dignity in the state, he was constituted Chancellor of England. He was even possessed of this great office while he was only Bishop elect; for he was confirmed in it Sept. 17, 1367. We need not be surprised to find, that the Parliament of the next year was opened by Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury, though Wykeham was then Chancellor: for the part of addressing the Parliament by the King's command, or

* The right of enthroning all the suffragan Bishops of the province, is by ancient custom, the peculiar privilege of the Archdeacon of Canterbury. It may not, perhaps, be displeasing to the reader to be informed of some parts of the ceremony formerly used, with the particulars of the Archdeacon's fees upon this occasion. The Bishop was received by the Archdeacon at his entrance into the city, where he alighted from his palfrey, and the Archdeacon immediately had the palfrey, with the saddle and all the furniture; and farther, if the Bishop's groom would deliver to him the cover of the saddle, the girt, and headstall, the Archdeacon was to reward him with the gift of two shillings, or more, as in his bounty he should think proper. The Bishop undressed himself in some church or house, near to the Cathedral; upon which the Archdeacon's servant seized his riding-coat, gloves, hat, and boots, for his master. From thence the Archdeacon conducted him to the Cathedral Church, robed in his pontificals, and placed him in his throne. He had an allowance of hay and provender for fifteen horses, as long as he continued in attendance upon this office, meat and drink for three days, and every night four gallons of wine at his supper; two great torches of wax during his whole stay; and every night, two lesser torches, and two dozen of wax candles. On the day of enthronization, the Bishop's table being at the upper end of the hall, a table on the right side of the hall was furnished for the Archdeacon and the company whom he should please to invite: the Bishop drank to him out of a cup of silver, or silver gilt; and the cup belonged to the Archdeacon. He had besides, ten marks sterling in money for the expences of his journey. The Bishop's bed also used antiently to be demanded and allowed, as the fee of the Archdeacon's chamberlain; but this seems very early to have grown out of use. And the rest of these customs began by degrees to be laid aside and to become obsolete, when the Bishops began to be enthroned by proxy, and the Archdeacons left off assisting at the celebration of this solemnity in person, and at last established the practice of performing their office by deputatiun; so that, I suppose, the pecuniary part of the fee, or some equivalent for the whole in that shape, is all that at present remains to them.

of speaker of the House of Lords, was not yet by custom appropriated to the office of Chancellor.

Considering the infinite multiplicity of affairs which Wykeham had transacted for the King, in the several employments with which he had been entrusted, it was impossible for the most upright or prudent man to have acted in every particular with so much exactness and caution, as to guard against the envy and malice of those enemies, which high station in a court is sure to create. As therefore, he had now quitted some of those employments, no more to be engaged in them, and was to act from henceforth in a new sphere, he thought it proper to secure himself with regard to the past, by obtaining a full acquittance and discharge from the King. This the King granted him in the fullest and amplest manner, by his letters patent, dated May 22, 1368.

A Parliament was summoned to be held at Westminster, May 27, 1369. The King, Lords and Commons being assembled in the painted chamber, the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, declared the cause of their meeting.* The King summoned a Parliament to meet Feb. 24, 1370-1, which the Lord Chancellor [Wykeham] opened with a speech.† In this Parliament the Lords and Commons represented to the King, that the government of the realm had been for a long time in the hands of men of the Church, by which many mischiefs had in times past happened, and more might happen in times to come, to the disherison of the crown, and great prejudice of the kingdom: they petitioned, therefore, that secular men only might be principal officers of the King's courts and household, and none of the Clergy: saving unto the King his prerogative of choosing and removing officers, provided they be of the laity. The King's answer to this petition was only, That he would do therein by advice of his council. Though he declined granting their request, so as to make a law in consequence of it for the future; yet he soon resolved to comply with their desire for the present. Accordingly, we find that on March 14, the Bishop delivered the great seal to the

* In a speech which may be found in *Rot. Parl.* 43 Edward III. and *Lowth.* p. 51.

† For the speech—see *Rot. Parl.* 45 Edward III.

King, which the King two days after gave to Sir Robert de Thorp. The Bishop was present at the ceremony of constituting the new Chancellor, and afterwards at that of his first opening the great seal in Westminster Hall. From which circumstances, as well as from the state of the case itself, we may conclude, that he was neither dismissed with any marks of the King's displeasure, nor was himself dissatisfied with his removal. To the same purpose it may be observed, that the two great and two privy seals, one of each of which was made the year before, on the King's resuming the title and arms of France, remained by commission from the King in his custody till the 28th. of the same month, when he delivered them to the King; and that soon after he received the King's writ of summons to attend the great council which was held at Winchester, to consider of a proper method of levying the £50,000. granted by Parliament. To this great council only 3 other Bishops, 4 Abbots, and 13 temporal Lords, were summoned, with whom were joined some of the Commons named by the King. Neither have we any reason to imagine, that the Bishop, in particular, was in any degree of disfavour with the Commons, or was at all sunk in their esteem and confidence. We find that in the year 1373, the Commons name him with 7 other Lords, whom they petition to have appointed as a committee, to confer with them on the supplies to be granted to the King. It has been said, that the removal of the Clergy from offices of state was owing to the influence of the Duke of Lancaster, who was not their friend. I know not with what foundation this is said, with regard to the Duke's inclination towards the Clergy in general, at this time; as to the Bishop of Winchester in particular, he seems on the contrary to have continued hitherto very much in the Duke's good graces, who both before, and not long after this, honoured him with singular marks of his friendship and confidence. The Duke, before his setting out on his expeditions to France in the years 1369 and 1373, obtained of the King a grant to certain trustees named by him, of the custody and intire administration of the revenues of all his castles, manors, and estates, for one year after his decease, in order to the payment of his debts, and for other uses as he should direct. He appointed the Bishop of Winchester one of his trustees for both these grants. In

the beginning of the year 1375, he likewise constituted him his attorney, together with the Earl of Arundel, to appear and act for him in any of the courts of England, during his absence at the Congress of Bruges.

SECTION III.

Ecclesiastical affairs during the same time.

Though Wykeham was so deeply engaged in affairs of state, and so much taken up in his personal attendance upon the King, yet he was not in the mean time wanting to his episcopal function, or remiss in the care of his diocese. While he was administrator of the See, he acted only by his commissary-general, John de Wormenhale. When he was in full possession of the bishopric, one of the first things that required his attention, was the care of the episcopal houses and buildings of all sorts, which his predecessor had left very much out of repair in general, and many of them in a ruinous condition. The buildings belonging to the Bishops of Winchester, were at this time very large and numerous: besides a great many granges, parks, warrens, and the like, they had ten or twelve different castles, manor-houses, or palaces of residence, properly accommodated for the reception of themselves and their retinue; to all which, in their turns, they usually resorted, living according to the custom of those times, chiefly upon the produce of their own estates. So great a demand as the Bishop had upon his predecessor's executors for delapidations, could not very soon or very easily be brought to an accommodation: however, the account was at last settled between them without proceeding on either side to law. In the first place, they delivered to him the standing stock of the Bishopric, due to him by right and custom: namely, 127 draught-horses, 1556 head of black cattle, 3876 wethers, 4777 ewes, 3521 lambs: and afterwards for delapidations, in cattle, corn, and other goods, to the value of £1662. 10s. sterling. The Bishop made a further demand of 700 marks, as still due to him, and allowed upon account; which Edyngdon's executors acknowledged and promised to pay. This matter was finally settled Feb. 6, 1371-2. The Bishop immediately set about this great work of repairing all the episcopal buildings, in such a manner as might have been expected

from one of his generous spirit, and of his skill and experience in architecture. To supply himself with the best stone in sufficient quantity, he purchased the use of the stone quarries of Quarrer Abbey in the isle of Wight, which were formerly much in repute, though now, for many ages, disused and neglected. The Abbot engaged to assist him as general director and surveyor of these preparations; and the Bishop wrote circular letters to all the ecclesiastics of the island, both regular and secular, to desire them to send in as many workmen, carriages, and other necessaries for the work, as they could supply him with, at the demand and according to the direction of the Abbot; all to be defrayed at his own expence. In these repairs of the episcopal houses, together with several new buildings raised by him upon the estates of the Bishopric, he expended in the whole above 20,000 marks. In the year 1373, the Bishop held a visitation of his whole diocese; not only of the secular clergy through the several deaneries, but also of the monasteries and religious houses of all sorts, all which he visited in person. The next year he sent his commissioners, with powers to correct and reform the several irregularities and abuses which he had discovered in the course of his visitation. Some years afterward, the Bishop having visited three several times all the religious houses throughout his diocese, and being well informed of the state and condition of each, and of the particular abuses which required correction and reformation, beside the orders which he had already given, and the remedies which he had occasionally applied by his commissioners, now issued his injunctions to each of them. They were accommodated to their several exigencies, and intended to correct the abuses introduced, and to recal them all to a strict observation of the rules of their respective orders. Many of these injunctions are still extant, and are evident monuments of the care and attention with which he discharged this part of his episcopal duty.* The Bishop was warned by the great abuses which he

[* Lowth here gives a long and very minute account of the foundation and constitution of the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester; but as this does not come within the scope of the present work, and is a total digression from Lowth's subject, though valuable in itself, I have been obliged to omit it. The curious reader may refer to Lowth, p. 72, or to the Regist. Wykeham and MS. in New Coll, whence the account is compiled.—EDIT.]

had seen at St. Cross, to keep a more watchful eye upon other charities of the same nature. While he had that affair upon his hands, he held a visitation of the hospital of St. Thomas, Southwark; still proceeding upon the constitution of Clement V. Afterwards he visited the hospital of Sandon in the county of Surry. Whatever irregularities he might find there, he met with no resistance to his authority. At the same time that Wykeham was thus engaged in the reformation of these charitable institutions, he was forming the plan of a much more noble and extensive foundation of his own, and taking his measures for putting it in execution. He had long resolved to dispose of the wealth which the Divine Providence had so abundantly bestowed upon him, to some charitable use and for the public good; but was greatly embarrassed when he came to fix his choice upon some design that was like to prove most beneficial, and least liable to abuse. He tells us himself, that upon this occasion he diligently examined and considered the various rules of the religious orders, and compared with them the lives of their several professors: but was obliged with grief to declare, that he could not any where find that the ordinances of their founders, according to their true design and intention, were at present observed by any of them. This reflection affected him greatly, and inclined him to take the resolution of distributing his riches to the poor with his own hands, rather than to employ them in establishing an institution, which might become a snare and an occasion of guilt to those for whose benefit it should be designed. After much deliberation, and devout invocation of the Divine assistance, considering how greatly the number of the clergy had been of late reduced by continual wars and frequent pestilences, he determined at last to endeavour to remedy, as far as he was able, this desolation of the Church, by relieving poor scholars in their clerical education; and to establish two colleges of students for the honour of God, and increase of his worship, for the support and exaltation of the Christian faith, and for the improvement of the liberal arts and sciences; hoping and trusting that men of letters and various knowledge, and bred up in the fear of God, would see more clearly, and attend more strictly to the obligation lying upon them, to observe the rules and directions which he should give them. Wykeham seems to have come to this resolution, and in some measure to have

formed in his mind his general plan, as early as his becoming Bishop of Winchester: for we find, that in little more than two years after, he had made purchases of several parcels of ground in the city of Oxford, which make the chief part of the site of his college there. His college of Winchester, intended as a nursery for that of Oxford, was part of his original plan: for as early as 1373, before he proceeded any further in his design for the latter, he established a school at Winchester, of the same kind with the former, and for the same purpose. He agreed with Rich. de Herton, that for ten years, beginning from Michaelmas of the year above-mentioned, he should diligently instruct in grammatical learning, as many poor scholars as the Bishop should send to him, and no others without his leave; that the Bishop should provide and allow him a proper assistant; and that Herton, in case of his own illness, or necessary absence, should substitute a proper master. Wykeham's munificence proceeded always from a constant generous principle, a true spirit of liberality. It was not owing to a casual impulse, or a sudden emotion, but was the effect of mature deliberation and prudent choice. His enjoyment of riches consisted in employing them in acts of beneficence; and while they were increasing upon him, he was continually devising proper means of disposing of them for the good of the public: not delaying it till the time of his death, when he could keep them no longer, nor leaving to the care of others what he could better execute himself; but forming his good designs early, and as soon as he had the ability, putting them in execution, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the beneficial effects of them; and that, by constant observation and due experience, he might from time to time improve and perfect them, so as to render them yet more beneficial.

SECTION IV.

His troubles in the last year of Edward III.

WHILE Wykeham was pursuing these generous designs, and was now prepared to carry them into execution, he was on a sudden attacked by a party formed against him at court, in such a manner, as not only obliged him to

lay them aside for the present, but might have reduced him to an inability of ever resuming them.*

Upon the return of the Duke of Lancaster to power, after the death of the Prince of Wales, he procured articles of accusation to be brought against the Bishop, by certain persons whose names are not transmitted down to us, for divers crimes committed by him during his administration of affairs: these were exhibited against him about the beginning of the next Michaelmas term; and are in substance as follows. I. That after the peace was made with France, the Bishop had the disposal and management of all the King's revenues, both at home and beyond sea, with all the subsidies granted by Parliament, and the sums received for the ransoms of the King of France, of the country of Burgundy, and of the King of Scotland: which receipts, reckoning for 8 years, during the whole time that Simon Langham, late Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Barnard, Bishop of Ely, were treasurers of England, (namely, from Nov. 26, 1361, to the year 1369,) amount to £1,109,600. sterling; besides 100,000 francs received from Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, and all the King's goods; which for the most part have not been applied to the profit of the King and kingdom. And when the peace had lasted 10 years, and the second war began, the King's treasury was found almost empty, and the King in great straits, was forced to burthen then his subjects with subsidies and loans: and all this was owing to the bad management of the Bishop. II. That the said Bishop, without regard to God, or equity, or the laws of the realm, caused Matthew de Gourney, Thomas Fog, John Seyntlowe, Degory Lees, Robert D'Eues, and many others, who in the King's wars had behaved well against the enemy, to be fined and ransomed, to the inestimable damage of the King and kingdom, in that all the soldiers, when they heard of this misprision, entered into companies, and

[* Here Lowth has indulged in a long historial and political narrative, wholly unnecessary, except in reference to the art of *book-making*.—The object of his narrative, seems to be to connect Wykeham with the history of the period. But as every reader of English history is already conversant with the events of that period, I have with the less reluctance omitted the digression, and have passed on from p. 96 to p. 109, as it ought to be numbered, for there is a typographical error here in the paging of Lowth:—what should be p. 109 purports to be 93.—EDIT.]

made war in France, which occasioned the renewing of the war, and other bad consequences. III. That the said Bishop, being keeper of the privy seal, chief of the privy council, and governor of the great council, caused the hostages of the King of France, and particularly the Dukes of Orleans, Berry, Anjou, and Bourbon, and many others, to be released and set at liberty, for his own profit; though the late Prince of Wales had often written both to the King and the said Bishop to have them kept carefully and securely; which if it had been done, the war would not have happened. IV. That when the governors of Ponthieu had given timely notice of the necessity of sending succours into that country to prevent the loss of it, the said Bishop put off the messengers with words, and took no care about it; so that by his negligence, in not ordering a proper remedy, that country was lost. V. That in the year 1369, John, the son of John Boulewas, having been guilty of acquiring lands without licence, was fined in £100. to the King for his pardon: and the said Bishop caused the fine to be lessened by £20., as appears by the memorandum of its enrolment. VI. That it having appeared by an inquisition, that John de Kirketon had intruded himself into the castle of Tateshale, the manor of Tomby, and other lands, of which John de Dryby died possessed, and had held the said castle and lands for so long a time that the rents and profits of them amounted to above 8,000 marks, which ought to have been placed to the King's account, as the said castle was held of him in chief; the said Bishop caused the King to remit all the said rents and profits, for his own private advantage, without taking or receiving any thing on that account from the said John de Kirketon for the King's benefit. VII. That when John de Barnet, Bishop of Ely, was treasurer of England, the said Bishop, by his own authority, and without warrant, caused to be taken out of the King's treasury the sum of 10,000 marks for buying of the King's tallies, as he affirmed; which sum remained in his hands 2 years and more, and then he returned into the treasury, for the said sum, tallies, amounting to 12,500 marks, or thereabouts, which advantage of 2,500 marks did not answer to the King, as he bought every £100. for £25., so that the increase and profit to the King ought to have been 27,000 marks. VIII. That the said Bishop, when he

was Chancellor, by his own authority, often caused fines, after they were enrolled, to be lessened, and the rolls to be rased; and in particular, that of John Grey of Retherfeld, who made a fine with the King, in the 41st. year of his reign, of £80. for licence of feoffment of certain lands and tenements; which was paid into the hanaper: but the said Bishop, on pretence of some bargain between him and the said John Grey, caused the first writing to be cancelled, by making another writing of the same tenor and date, for a fine of £40., and made the clerk of the hanaper repay the other £40. to the said John Grey, to the defrauding of the King.* The Bishop was heard upon these articles before a certain number of Bishops and Lords, and others of the privy council, assigned by the King for this purpose, about the middle of Nov. And in consequence of the judgment given by them upon the last article alone, writs were issued from the exchequer, dated the 17th. of the same month, to the sheriffs of the several counties concerned, ordering them to seize into the King's hands the temporalties of the Bishopric of Winchester. The Bishop was ordered to attend again at Westminster, for a further examination on Jan. 20th. following: but this was afterwards prorogued to an uncertain day, at the King's pleasure; nor was he ever after brought to a hearing on the occasion. To mortify the Bishop still further, he was forbidden in the King's name, to come within 20 miles of the court. The Bishop received this prohibition about the middle of Dec., and upon it immediately left his palace at Southwark. He retired to the Monastery of Merton, where, for the most part, he continued during the next month, and afterward passed some time in the Abbey of Waverly near Farnham. I find, indeed, that he was at Southwark again Jan. 4th., but he made no stay there. Possibly he might have leave to go thither, in order to make some necessary preparation for his defence at his second hearing: for it was not till three or four days after this that he received the King's letters, by which it was prorogued to a further day. In

* [Here Lowth enters into a long and tedious defence of the Bishop, but as this is of a *forensic* and not biographical nature, I have omitted the passage and passed on to p. 124.—EDIT.]

this situation were the Bishop's affairs when the Parliament was opened Jan. 27th. His great adversary the Duke of Lancaster, had re-established his power at court beyond all opposition.

The commons having granted the subsidies, petitioned the King, that in consideration of the year of his jubilee, the 50th of his reign just now completed, he would be graciously pleased to grant an act of general pardon to his subjects, of all crimes committed before the beginning of the said year, as he had done at the 50th year of his age. To this petition the King gave his consent. The only person excepted out of this general pardon was the Bishop of Winchester, in the following words of the statute: "But always it is the Kynge's mind, that Sir* William Wykeham Byshop of Winchester, shall nothing enjoye of the said graces, graunts, and pardons, nor in no wise be comprised within the same.†"

Though the Bishop had received no writ of summons to parliament from the King, yet he was regularly summoned to convocation by the Archbishop of Canterbury's mandate, executed by the Bishop of London. The Clergy met in Convocation Feb. 3. As soon as the King's message was delivered to the house, setting forth the necessity of his affairs, and desiring a suitable subsidy, William Courtney, Bishop of London, stood up and made a grievous complaint of many injuries done to himself and the Bishop of Winchester, of which he exhibited to the house a particular account in writing; and begged them not to consent to any subsidy, till satisfaction was made to the parties injured. The whole house, in a manner, seconded the Bishop of London's motion, as far as it regarded the Bishop of Winchester; and addressing themselves to the Archbishop of Canterbury as their head, declared, that they looked upon the proceedings against the Bishop of Winchester, as an injury done to the whole body of the clergy, and an infringement of the liberties of the Church; that they would in no wise enter upon the

* A common title given formerly to Clergymen of all degrees. See Rym. Fœd. vol. 6. p. 586. and the *Dramatis Personæ* of many of Shakespeare's plays. It is in the Original Record, Sire Willm. de Wykeham. Rot. Parl. 51. Ed. 3. tit. 24.

† Statute 51. Ed. 3. intitled by mistake in all the printed Statute Books 50. Ed. 3.

business proposed to them till all the members of the clergy were united ; that as it concerned all, it ought to be approved of all. The Archbishop, being of the Duke of Lancaster's party, or afraid of offending him, would have declined meddling with their suit : but they persisted so firmly in their resolution, that he was obliged to prorogue the Convocation, and wait upon the King with a representation of their grievances. The King took time to consider more particularly of their petitions, and dismissed the Archbishop with a promise, in general terms, that all the matters complained of should be redressed. Among these petitions of the Convocation, that which relates to the Bishop of Winchester is expressed in the following terms : " As to what concerns the Bishop of Winchester, that the things under-written, which are attempted against him, may be duly redressed. In the first place, that the temporalities of his Church, without sufficient consent and assent of those to whom it pertaineth, and whose assent is required in this behalf, have been taken into the hands of the King : and moreover, besides that he hath no where to lay his head in the temporal manors of his Church, he hath been forbidden, as by command of our lord the King, so he was informed, to make his abode in several monasteries, priories, and other places of his diocese, foundation, and patronage ; by which causes the said Bishop suffereth great grievances, the jurisdiction of holy Church is infringed, and the execution of his pastoral office in divers manners interrupted." This petition is the only one of them to which the King, after having considered of them, did not vouchsafe to give any answer. However, the Convocation maintained their resolution with such steadiness that the Archbishop could get nothing done in the King's business, without sending for the Bishop of Winchester. He returned to Southwark on this occasion, about the middle of February. He took his place in Convocation, and was received by the whole assembly with all possible marks of respect and reverence. The session of Parliament ended February 23, and that of Convocation about a week after. The Bishop still continued at Southwark, though the late remonstrances of the clergy seem to have had but little effect in bringing his affairs nearer to an accommodation with the court. The King, instead of restoring his temporalities, soon after made a grant of them to his grandson Richard, in part of payment of 4,000

marks a year, which he had settled on him at the time of his creating him Prince of Wales, and declaring him heir apparent of the crown. This was supposed to have been done by the Duke of Lancaster, with a design of taking off something of the odiousness of his proceedings against the Bishop, and to make himself a little more popular in the nation, by this instance of good will towards the young prince. Nothing more was done in the Bishop's affair till June 18th following, when the King restored to him his temporalities, in consideration of his having undertaken, in the presence of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lancaster, and others of the privy council, certain burthens in relief of the King, and for the defence of his kingdom: namely, he was to fit out upon the sea, three ships of war, in each ship fifty men at arms and fifty archers, for one quarter of a year, at such wages as were usually paid by the King, but the King was to pay the wages of the mariners: and in case such voyage should not take place, he was to pay to the King the sum to which the wages of the said 300 men by reasonable computation should amount. His sponsors for the due performance of these articles, were Edmund de Mortimer earl of March, Richard earl of Arundel, and Thomas de Beauchamp earl of Warwick, then present in council. These were three of the most considerable lords in the kingdom; and it is highly probable, that it was by their powerful intercession that the Bishop obtained the restitution of his temporalities. It has been said, that he procured this grant by purchasing Alice Perrers's good offices with the King in his favor, by a large sum of money in hand, and larger promises of future services; and that she gained this point for him very much against the inclinations of her friend the Duke of Lancaster. This has been advanced without any other foundation of proof, or colour of probability, than the supposed influence of this lady with the King, by some late writers, at a time when, as it could not possibly be verified, so neither could it easily be confuted.

On June 21, 1377, died Edward III. And thus the Bishop had the satisfaction of being, in some measure, restored to the favour of this excellent prince, his great patron and benefactor, a few days before his death: if he may be supposed ever to have forfeited it, which he certainly did not, 'till the King himself had, in a manner, lost his own liberty.

Upon the accession of Richard II. to the throne, all difficulties with regard to the Bishop's affairs ceased immediately; which gives us a further presumption, that Alice Perrers had no hand in removing them, for her power was now at an end. He was summoned to attend at the King's coronation, by the King's writ, dated June 26th., and accordingly assisted at that ceremony July 15. His pardon passed the privy seal on the 31st. of the same month, as soon as a thing of this nature, at such a time, could well be dispatched. It is conceived in the fullest and most extensive terms possible, as* Lord Coke has particularly observed.

SECTION V.

Civil affairs during the former part of the reign of Richard II.

[As this section is merely political and historical, and the substance of it may be read in the History of England, I have passed on to section VI., p. 176, where the Biography, properly so called, is resumed.—EDIT.]

SECTION VI.

Ecclesiastical affairs during the reign of Richard II.

UPON the accession of Richard II. to the throne, Wykeham, now delivered from the persecution of the Duke of Lancaster, and disengaged, as far as his high station and great authority would permit, from his former constant attendance on public affairs, was resolved to make use of the opportunity and leisure which these circumstances afforded him, and applied himself to the great work of executing his design for his two Colleges, upon which he had long before been determined, and for which he had many years been making preparations. His whole plan, was formed at once; and the design was noble, uniform, and complete. It was no less than to provide for the perpetual maintenance and instruction of 200 scholars, to afford them a liberal support, and to lead them through a perfect course of education; from the first elements of letters, through the whole circle of the

* "The most large and beneficial pardons by letters patents, which we have read and do remember, were that to William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, (for good men will never refuse God and the King's pardon, because every man doth often offend both of them;) and that other to Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal; which are learnedly and largely penned." III. Instit. chap. 105.

sciences. It properly and naturally consisted of two parts, rightly forming two establishments, the one subordinate to the other. The design of the one was to lay the foundations of science, that of the other, to raise and complete the superstructure; the former was to supply the latter with proper subjects, and the latter was to improve the advantages received in the former. The plan was truly great, and an original in its kind: as Wykeham had no example to follow in it, so no person has yet been found, who has had the ability or the generosity to follow his example, except one, and that a King of England, who has done him the honour to adopt and to copy his whole design. The work which demanded his attention at this time, was to erect his college at Oxford; the society of which he had already completed and established, and that, some years before he began to raise the building. For he proceeded here in the same method, which, as I have already shewn, he took at Winchester; as he began there with forming a private grammar school, provided with proper masters, and maintained and supported in it the full number of scholars, which he afterwards established in his college; so at Oxford, in the first place, he formed his society, appointed them a governor, allowed them a liberal maintenance, provided them with lodgings, and gave them rules and directions for their behaviour; not only that his beneficence might not seem to lie fruitless and ineffectual while it was only employed in making his purchases of lands, and raising his building, which would take up a considerable time; but that he might bestow his earliest attention, and his greatest care in forming and perfecting the principal part of his design, and that the life and soul, as it were, might be ready to inform and animate the body of his college as soon as it could be finished, and so the whole system be at once completed in every part of it. This preparatory establishment, I imagine, took place about the same time with that at Winchester, that is, in 1373: which agrees with the account that some authors give, that it was 7 years before the foundation of the building was laid: but they are mistaken, in supposing that there were only 50 scholars maintained by him in this manner; for it appears by the rolls of accounts of New College, that in 1376, the society consisted of a warden and 70 fellows, called *Pauperes Scholares Venerabilis Domini Domini Wilhelmi*

de Wykeham Winton Episcopi; and that it had been established, probably to the same number, at least as early as Sept. 1375. Richard Toneworth, fellow of Merton College, was appointed by him governor of this society, with the title of warden, and a salary of £20. per annum. The fellows were lodged in Blakehall, Herthal, Shulehall, Maydenhall, and Hamerhall; the expence of their lodging amounted to £10. 13s. 4d. per annum. They were allowed each of them 1s. 6d. per week for their commons: and they had proper servants to attend them, who had suitable stipends.

In 1379, the Bishop completed his several purchases of lands for the site of his college, and immediately took his measures for erecting his building. In the first place, he obtained the King's patent, granting him licence to found his college: it is dated June 30, 1379. He procured likewise the Pope's bull to the same effect. He published his Charter of foundation Nov. 26, following; by which he entitled his college, *Sainte Marie College of Wykeham in Oxenford*. It was then vulgarly called the New College, which became in time a sort of proper name for it, and in common use continues to be so to this day. At the same time, upon the resignation of Toneworth, he constituted his kinsman, Nicholas Wykeham, warden, with a salary of £40. per annum. On the 5th. of March following, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the foundation stone was laid: the building was finished in 6 years, and the society made their public entrance into it with much solemnity and devotion, singing litanies, and marching in procession, with the cross borne before them, at 9 o'clock in the morning, April 14, 1386. The society consists of a warden and 70 poor scholars, clerks, students in theology, canon and civil law, and philosophy; 20 are appointed to the study of laws, 10 of them to that of the canon, and 10 to that of the civil law; the remaining 50 are to apply themselves to philosophy (or arts) and theology; two of them, however, are permitted to apply themselves to the study of medicine, and two likewise to that of astronomy; all of whom are obliged to be in priests' orders within a certain time, except in case of lawful impediment. Besides these there are 10 priests, 3 clerks, and 16 boys or choristers, to minister in the service of the chapel.

The body of statutes, which Wykeham gave to his college, was a work upon which he bestowed much time and constant attention. It was the result of great meditation and study, assisted, confirmed, and brought to maturity by long observation and experience. He began it with the first establishment of his society, and he was continually improving and perfecting it, almost as long as he lived: and accordingly, it has been always considered as the most judicious and the most complete performance in its kind, and as the best model which the founders of colleges in succeeding times had to follow, and which indeed most of them have either copied or closely imitated.

That the first draught of his statutes was made as early as I have mentioned, appears from a letter of Wykeham himself, which he wrote to the warden of his college soon after the society had made their first entrance into it. In this letter he speaks of his statutes, as duly published and promulged, and in times past frequently made known unto them. The great care and attention which he employed in revising his statutes, from time to time, and in improving them continually, appears very evidently from an ancient draught of them still extant, and in which the many alterations, corrections, and additions, made in the margin, shew plainly how much pains he bestowed upon this important work; with how much deliberation, and with what great exactness he weighed every the most minute particular belonging to it. The text of these statutes appears, by some circumstances which it is needless here to enlarge upon, to have been drawn up about 1386; and therefore they cannot be the first which he ever made, since at that time he speaks of his statutes as often and long before published. At the end of 1389, he appointed commissaries to receive the oaths of the warden and scholars of his college, to observe the statutes which he then transmitted to them, sealed with his seal: this was a new edition of them, much corrected and improved; for I suppose it contained all the marginal alterations and additions above mentioned. He gave a third edition of his statutes, reckoning from the time when his college was finished, still much enlarged and corrected, an ancient copy of which likewise is yet remaining: it was probably of the year 1393. In 1400, he appointed another commission for the same purpose, and in the same form with

that of 1389 : with that he sent to his college a new edition likewise of his statutes, still revised and enlarged : it is the last which he gave, and is the same with that now in force.

The manner of election into his college at Oxford, seems to have been unhappily altered for the worse. The method which he established at the first, and which was accordingly observed, I believe, till 1393, was to fill up the vacancies of the preceding year by an annual election, and that in case before nine or ten months of the current year were passed, there should happen six or more vacancies, they were to be filled up by an inter-election. The only inconvenience of this method was, that the society would very often want its full compliment of members ; and Wykeham was very unwilling that any part of his bounty should ever lie dormant and inactive. By making it a pre-election to supply the vacancies immediately, each as they should fall in the year ensuing, he effectually prevented this inconvenience ; but, at the same time opened a door to much greater inconveniencies, to which the new method has been found liable ; to the greatest possible perversion of his charity, a shameful traffic between the fellow of the college that begins to sit loose to the society, and the presumptive successor ; an abuse of which he was not aware, the simplicity and probity of that age perhaps affording no example of the like. The laws of the realm have since endeavoured to remedy all abuses of this kind, but in vain ; nor is it perhaps in the power of those, who are most concerned to do it, to prevent them in every instance : but it behoves all such to exert their utmost diligence and resolution in putting an effectual stop to so scandalous a practice, if they have any regard for the honor of their society, or for their own reputation.

Wykeham endowed his college with lands and estates, whose revenues, at that time, were fully sufficient for the support of it, and amply supplied all the uses and purposes for which he designed it ; he procured a bull of the Pope, confirming his statutes, and exempting his college from all archi-episcopal and episcopal jurisdiction, except that of the Bishop of Winchester ; for by his statutes he had appointed his successors the Bishops of Winchester to be the sole visitors of it, recommending it to their protection and patronage. He himself, as long as he lived, cherished his young society with all the care and affection of a tender parent. He assisted them with his directions

in the management of all their affairs: he held several visitations of his college by his commissaries; namely, in 1385, 1392, and 1400. And thence he supplied himself with men of learning and abilities, whom he admitted to a more intimate attendance upon him, and by whom he transacted all his business: such were Nicholas Wykeham, John Elmer, John and Robert Ketton, Walter Aude, Simon Membury, and others; whom he rewarded with ample preferments.

While the Bishop was engaged in building his college at Oxford, he established, in proper form, his society at Winchester. His charter of foundation bears date Oct. 20, 1382, by which he nominates Thomas de Cranle warden, admits the scholars, and gives his college the same name of *Sainte Marie College of Wynchester*. The next year after he had finished his building at Oxford, he began that at Winchester, for which he had obtained both the Pope's and the King's licence long before. A natural affection and prejudice for the very place which he had frequented in his early days, seems to have had its weight in determining the situation of it: the school which Wykeham went to when he was a boy, was where his college now stands. The first stone was laid March 26, 1387, at nine o'clock in the morning: it took up six years in building, and the warden and society made their solemn entrance into it, chanting in procession, at nine o'clock in the morning of March 28, 1393. The school had now subsisted near 20 years, having been opened at Michaelmas 1373. It was completely established from the first to its full number of seventy scholars, and to all other intents and purposes; and continued all along to furnish the society at Oxford with proper subjects by election. It was at first committed to the care of a master and under-master only: in 1382, it was placed under the superior government of a warden. This was the whole society that made their formal entrance into it as above-mentioned. Till the college was erected, they were provided with lodgings in the parish of St. John upon the hill. The first nomination of fellows, was made by the founder, Dec. 20, 1394. He nominated five only, tho' he had at that time determined the number to be ten; but the chapel was not yet quite finished, nor was it dedicated and consecrated till the middle of the next year: soon after which we may suppose that the full number of

fellows, and of all other members designed to bear a more particular relation to the service of it, was completed by him. The whole society consists of a warden, seventy poor scholars, to be instructed in grammatical learning, ten secular priests perpetual fellows, three priests chaplains, three clerks, and sixteen choristers; and for the instruction of the scholars, a schoolmaster, and an under-master or usher.

The statutes which he gave to his college at Winchester, and which are referred to in the charter of foundation, are as it were the counterpart of those of his college at Oxford: he amended, improved, and enlarged the former by the same steps as he had done the latter; and he gave the last edition, and received the oaths of the several members of the society to the observance of them, by his commissaries appointed for that purpose, Sept. 9, 1400. In this case he had no occasion to make a particular provision in constituting a visitor of his college; the situation of it coincided with his design, and he left it under the ordinary jurisdiction of the Diocesan, the Bishop of Winchester.

Wykeham enjoyed for many years the pleasure,—a pleasure the greatest to a good and generous heart that can be enjoyed,—of seeing the good effects of his own beneficence, and receiving in them the proper reward of his pious labours; of observing his colleges growing up under his eye, and continually bringing forth those fruits of virtue, piety, and learning, which he had reason to expect from them. They continued still to rise in reputation, and furnished the church and state with many eminent and able men in all professions. Not long after his death, one of his own scholars, whom he had himself seen educated in both his societies, and raised under his inspection, and probably with his favour and assistance in conjunction with his own great merits, to a considerable degree of eminence, became an illustrious follower of his great example. This was Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, besides a chantry and hospital, which he built at Higham-Ferrers, the place of his birth; founded likewise All Souls' College in Oxford.*

* [Here much irrelevant matter about All Souls, Eton, Cambridge, &c. is omitted,—and I have passed on to the biography in hand, at p. 201, of Lowth.—EDIT.]

The Archbishops of Canterbury and the Abbots of St. Austin's in the same city, interfered very much with one another in their situation and privileges; and it was not to be expected, that two such great personages, in such circumstances, should ever be good neighbours. The constant jealousy that arose from hence, was in effect the cause of frequent disputes between them: the Archbishops watched every opportunity of establishing a disputed power: and the Abbots were always upon their guard against all attempts from that quarter. In 1380, Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, had a mind to assert his authority over the abbey, as legate by office of the holy See, though it was exempt from his Archi-episcopal jurisdiction: he pretended to make a visit of devotion to the bodies of the saints buried there, and coming thither robed in his pontificals, and with the cross carried before him. Michael Peckham the Abbot, alleging, in defence of the privilege and exemption of his abbey, that he had no right to come thither in such form and without permission, shut the gates against him, and placed a guard of armed men there to resist him, if he should attempt to enter by force. Here was matter enough for a long and violent contention: the Archbishop made his complaint to the Pope of the injury and affront offered him, and the Abbot on the other hand, pleaded the rights and immunities of his abbey. The Pope referred the whole matter to Wykeham, and by his bull gave him full powers to judge in the cause, to cite all persons, however privileged and exempted, and to give sentence in it, which was to be final and without appeal. Wykeham seems to have been very properly chosen upon this occasion, as one to whom neither party was like to have any exception: the Archbishop could have no distrust of one of his brethren; and no Bishop would probably have been more agreeable to the Abbot than the person from whose hands, by the Pope's permission, and at his own request, he had received the solemn benediction, on his promotion to that great dignity. But he had too much experience and caution to be over-hasty in proceeding in so delicate an affair, in which the most prudent and upright arbitrator could only expect to reap offence and ill-will from one or other, or perhaps both the parties. However, the miserable fate of the poor Archbishop, who about the middle of the next year was murdered by the rebels on

Tower-hill, prevented all difficulties of this kind, and put an end to the whole dispute for the present.

In 1382, the Bishops and Clergy began to be greatly alarmed at the progress which Wickliff's principles and doctrines were daily making, and especially in the university of Oxford. Several professors and doctors of the first distinction for learning there, began to defend and maintain them in the schools, and to preach them publicly; and in so doing, were openly encouraged and supported by the countenance of the magistrates of the university, and particularly by the authority of the chancellor, Dr. Robert Rygge.

A great quarrel happened this year between the priory of St. Frideswyd and the university of Oxford, on occasion of the latter's encroaching upon certain rights and privileges of the former. The King, upon frequent complaints made to him by the priory, interposed more than once with his authority, by writs directed to the university, forbidding all such encroachments, but without effect. Upon which he gave a commission to our Bishop and 6 others, to enquire into the merits of the cause, and to determine it finally. The commissioners gave judgment in favour of the priory, and the university submitted to their decision.

Our Bishop was likewise one of four commissioners appointed by the King to judge in a dispute that had arisen among the fellows of Oriel College, on occasion of the election of a provost in 1385, which was happily composed by their interposition.

Wykeham had no sooner finished his college at Winton, than he was looking out for some new subject upon which he might employ his munificence: and he immediately entered upon the design of repairing, and in great part rebuilding, his Cathedral Church in the same city, which was much decayed. The whole fabric then standing was erected by Bishop Walkelin, who began it in 1079. It was of the Saxon architecture, not greatly differing from the Roman; with round pillars much stronger than Doric or Tuscan, or square piers, adorned with small pillars; round-headed arches and windows; and plain walls on the outside, without buttresses: as appears by the cross-aisle and tower, which remain of it to this day. The nave of the Church had been for some time in a bad condition: Bishop Edyngdon under-

took to repair it in the latter part of his time, and by his will ordered his executors to finish what he had begun, And whether in pursuance of his design and by his benefaction, or otherwise, it appears, that in 1371, some work of this kind was carrying on at a great expence. However, Wykeham, upon due consideration and survey, found it either so decayed and infirm, or else so mean in its appearance, and so much below the dignity of one of the first episcopal Sees in the kingdom, that he determined to take down the whole from the tower westward, and to rebuild it both in a stronger and more magnificent manner. This great work he undertook in 1394, and entered upon it the beginning of the next year, upon the following conditions stipulated between him, and the prior, and convent, who acquit the Bishop of all obligation to it, and acknowledge it as proceeding from his mere liberality, and zeal for the honour of God; they agree to find the whole scaffolding necessary for the work; they give the Bishop free leave to dig and to carry away chalk and sand from any of their lands, as he shall think most convenient and useful for the same purpose; and they allow the whole materials of the old building to be applied to the use of the new. He employed William Winford as architect; Simon Membury was appointed surveyor of the work on the Bishop's part, and John Wayte, one of the monks, comptroller on the part of the convent. As the Church of Winchester is situated in low ground, which without great precaution and expence, affords no very sure foundation for so weighty a structure, Wykeham thought it safest to confine himself to the plan of the former building, and to make use of a foundation already tried, and subject to no hazard. He even chose to apply to his purpose some part of the lower order of pillars of the old church, though his design was in a different style of architecture; that which we commonly call Gothic, with pointed arches and windows, without key-stones, and pillars consisting of an assemblage of many small ones closely connected together; but which is more properly Saracen, for such was its origin: the crusades gave us an idea of this form of architecture, which afterwards prevailed throughout Europe. The pillars or piers of the old building, which he made use of, were about 16 feet in height; of the same form as those in the east side of the northern cross-aisle: these he carried up higher,

according to the new design, altering their form, but retaining their strength, and adopting them as a firm basis for his own work. The new pillars are nearly equal in bulk to the old ones; and the intercolumnation remains much the same. These circumstances, in which stability and security were very wisely in the first place consulted, have been attended however with some inconvenience, as it seems owing to them, that this building has not that lightness and freedom, and that elegance of proportion, which might have been expected from Wykeham's known taste in architecture, and from the style and manner of his other works in this kind; of which we have evident examples in the chapels of both his colleges, especially in the western part of that of New College in Oxford, which is remarkably beautiful. To the further disadvantage of its present appearance, an alteration which could not then be foreseen has since happened. At that time the buildings of the monastery covered the whole south side of the church, so that it seemed needless to be at a great expence upon ornaments in that part which was like to be for ever concealed. By the demolition of the monastery this side is now laid open, and discovers a defect of buttresses and pinnacles, with which the north side, which was then the only one in view, is properly furnished. Another alteration of the same kind has been made in the inside, and with the like effect: immediately before the entrance of the choir stood the vestry, which extending from side to side of the nave, prevented the entire conformity with the new design, but at the same time concealed the irregularity: in the time of Charles I. this was pulled down, and the present beautiful screen, the work of Inigo Jones, was erected; but no care was taken, by an easy and obvious alteration, to correct a deformity, which was then uncovered, and still continues to disgrace the building, in a part which, of all others, is the most frequently exposed to observation. However, with all its defects, which appear thus to be owing partly to an accidental and unforeseen change of circumstances, partly to the care of avoiding greater inconveniences, there is no fabric of its kind in England, after those of York and Lincoln, which excels this part of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in greatness, stateliness, and majesty. This great pile took up about 10 years in erecting, and was but just finished when the

Bishop died. He had provided in his will for the entire completion of his design by his executors in case of death; and allotted 2500 marks for what then remained to be done, besides 500 marks for the glass windows: this was about a year and half before it was finished; by which some sort of estimate may be made of the whole expence.

SECTION VII.

Civil affairs during the latter part of the reign of Richard II.

[This section is omitted for the reasons assigned at section V.; and I have passed on to section VIII. p. 266.—EDIT.]

SECTION VIII.

From the beginning of Henry IV.'s reign to the death of Wykeham.

Wykeham was now very far advanced in years, and had from his youth been constantly engaged in a multiplicity of business, of the greatest importance, both public and private, which he had attended with infinite assiduity and application: 'tis not to be wondered that old age and continued labour, in conjunction, should bring upon him those infirmities which are the usual consequences of each of them separate; and that he should be obliged, at last, to have recourse to ease and retirement. He had been blest with an excellent constitution, and had enjoyed an uncommon share of health. He had now been Bishop of Winchester above thirty years, and in all that time had never been interrupted by illness in the attendance upon his duty in every capacity, except once. He was somewhat out of order at Merewell about the middle of February 1392-3; as I find by a procuracy which he sent to Convocation, excusing his absence on that account. However his disorder, whatever it was, seems not to have been such as to hinder his attendance on common business at that time; and within a fortnight he was able to remove to Farnham, and to celebrate an ordination there. About the beginning of November he retired to High-Clere, and continued there near four months; where he was still able to transact business of all sorts; and, among the rest, to go through the ceremony of delivering the pall to Roger Walden the new Archbishop of Canterbury. During the two first years of Henry IV. I find him from time to time

removing from one to another of his palaces in the country, as he used to do. The first remarkable indication of his weakness and inability of body, appears in May 1401, when he was not enabled to undergo the fatigue of administering ordination; but, though present himself, he procured another Bishop to ordain for him: and he was ever after obliged to continue the same method of supplying that part of his office. At the end of this year he retired to South-Waltham; nor did he ever remove from thence, except once or twice on occasion of some particular business, and that no further than to Winchester.

The Bishop, with his usual precaution and care, had duly weighed and prepared for this contingency. To secure to himself his own freedom of action, and to prevent all disagreeable interpositions of authority, which however proper and necessary in such cases, may perhaps be attended with much inconvenience, and tend to aggravate rather than relieve the infirmities of age, he had above ten years before procured a bull from the Pope, by which he gave him leave and authority, in consideration of his age and ill health, to assume to himself one or more coadjutors, without the advice and consent of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of the Chapter of Winchester, and as often as it should please him, to remove them, and in the place of the removed to depute another or others, as he should think proper. The Bishop did not find himself under a necessity of making use of this faculty before the two last years of his life. January 4, 1402-3, he procured the Pope's bull, and having ordered it to be read and published he, in virtue of it, then deputed in proper form Dr. Nicholas Wykeham and Dr. John Elmer, to be his coadjutors: and from that time forward all business proceeded with their express consent, and by their authority.

Being thus relieved, in a great measure, from the constant personal attendance on the duties of his charge, he devoted his whole time and application to the disposal of his temporal goods, and to the care of his spiritual concerns. He finished and signed his will July 4, 1403. The largeness and multiplicity of his legacies, and the great exactness with which every thing relating to them is ordered, must have required much attention, and evidently shews in what strength and perfection he still enjoyed all the faculties of his mind. That extensive, and almost boundless generosity, which peculiarly distinguished his whole

life, is here fully displayed: it comprehends all orders and degrees of men from the highest to the lowest, and answers every possible demand of piety, gratitude, affection, and charity. He still maintained the same principle upon which he had always acted, and which is perhaps the most certain and indubitable test of true liberality: as he had always made it a rule to himself never to defer a generous and munificent action to another day, when he had the present ability and the immediate opportunity of performing it; so now he was no sooner come to a final determination with regard to the disposal of his riches, than he began himself to fulfil his own intentions; and in a great many instances in which his present liberality would enhance the benefit which he designed to confer, he distributed his legacies with his own hands, and became executor of his own will. This made it necessary for him, some time afterwards, to add a codicil to it, by which he declares these articles fully discharged, and acquits his executors of all demands on account of them and all others, in which he should for the future in like manner anticipate their office.

Wykeham by disposition, by education, by principle, and by habit, had a deep tincture of piety and devotion. He was persuaded of the truth of all parts of the religion in which he had been instructed in his childhood; but he seems to have been particularly possessed with the notion of the *reasonableness* and efficacy of prayers for the dead. It is recorded of him, that he always performed this part of the public service of the Church with peculiar intense-ness and fervor, even to the abundant effusion of tears. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if we find him more especially careful in procuring the intercession of the faithful in behalf of himself, his parents, and benefactors.* Beside the provisions which he made for this purpose in both his colleges by his statutes, he had long before founded a chantry of 5 priests, to pray for the souls of

* [Who, on reading this passage, would not suppose that LOWTH, if not an approver of, at least was not inimical to the Romish doctrine of praying for the dead? However amiable it may be in LOWTH to soften, or throw into shade, the erroneous faith of that patron, of whose collegiate bounty he partook, yet, surely, this sentiment ought, in a sound Protestant, to be so regulated and convinced as to bar even the appearance of coincidence with doctrines, which his reformed Church does and he as a member of it ought to, reprobate and condemn.—EDIT.]

his father and mother only, in the priory of Suthwyk. He likewise paid to the chapter of Windsor £200. for the purchase of 20 marks a year, to make a perpetual endowment for one additional chaplain, on condition that his obit should be annually celebrated, and his soul, and the souls of Edward III., of his own parents, and of his benefactors, be daily recommended in their prayers. But he thought it also more particularly expedient to establish a constant service of this kind in his own church, in that part of it which he had rebuilt, and where he had chosen the place of his burial. Accordingly he had designed from the first, and had now finished, in that part, a chapel or oratory, which was to be his sepulchre and his chantry. The situation of this chapel seems not at all well chosen, if we consider it with respect to the whole building; in which it has no good effect, but creates an irregularity and an embarrassment, which it had been better to have avoided. But Wykeham was determined to the choice of this particular place, by a consideration of a very different kind; by an early prejudice, and a strong religious impression, which had been stamped on his mind in his childhood. In this part of the old church there had been an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, with her image standing above it; at this altar a mass used to be celebrated every morning, which seems to have been a favourite one, and much frequented at the time when Wykeham was a boy, and at school at Winchester; for it had gotten a particular name among the people, and was called *Þekismasse*, from the name of a monk of the convent, who usually officiated in it. Young Wykeham was constant in his daily attendance, and fervent in his devotions, at this mass. He seems even then to have chosen the Blessed Virgin as his peculiar patroness, to have placed himself under her protection, and in a manner to have dedicated himself to her service; and probably he might ever after imagine himself indebted to her especial favour for the various successes which he was blessed with through life. This seems to have been the reason of his dedicating to her his two colleges, and calling them by her name; over all the principal gates of which he has been careful to have himself represented as her votary, in the act of adoration to the Blessed Virgin, as his and their common guardian. And this it was that determined the situation

of his chantry. He erected his Chapel in the very place where he had been used to perform his daily devotions in his younger days; between the two pillars, against one of which stood the altar above mentioned. He dedicated the chapel to the Blessed Virgin; the altar was continued in the same place as before, and probably the very same image was erected above it: which with the other ornaments of the same kind, both within the chapel and without, was destroyed in the last century, by the zeal of modern enthusiasm, exerting itself with a blind and indiscreet rage against all the venerable and beautiful monuments, whether of ancient piety or superstition.

The Bishop ordered his body to be deposited in the middle of this chapel; and a little before his death, he himself, by agreement with the prior and convent, directed the services which were to be perpetually performed in it, in the following manner.

The prior and convent, in consideration of a benefaction made to them by the Bishop of about the yearly value of 20 marks; and likewise in consideration of his having at a great expence, in a most decent and handsome manner, rebuilt from the foundations his and their Cathedral Church of Winchester, and given to it a great number of vestments and other ornaments; as also in gratitude for many other favours and benefits most generously conferred upon them by him; being desirous, to the utmost of their ability, to compensate with spiritual goods the many benefits both temporal and spiritual received from him, engage for themselves and their successors to perform for ever the following services for the health of his soul, and of the souls of his parents, and benefactors. In the first place, in the chapel in the nave of the church, where the Bishop has chosen to be buried, three masses shall be celebrated daily, for him and his benefactors particularly, by the monks of the convent: the first mass *De Sancta Maria*, early in the morning throughout the year; the two other masses, later in the morning, at tierce or at sixth hour, either *De Sanctis*, or *De temporali*, as the devotion of the persons officiating shall incline them; in each of which masses the collect *Rege quæsumus* shall be said during the Bishop's life for his good estate, and the prayer *Deus cui proprium*, for the souls of his parents and benefactors. After the Bishop's decease, instead of the collect *Rege quæsumus*, shall be said the prayer,

Deus cui inter Apostolicos. for the Bishop and for him only. The prior is to pay to each of these monks every day one penny. The sacrist is to provide for them bread, wine, book, chalice, vestments, candles for the altar, palls, and all other necessaries and ornaments. They moreover engage, that the charity boys of the priory shall every night for ever sing at the said chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the anthem *Salve Regina*, or *Ave Regina*, and after it say the psalm, *De profundis*, with the prayer *Fidelium*, or *Inclina*, for the souls of the father and mother of the Bishop, and for his soul after his decease, and for the souls of all the faithful deceased : for which the prior is to pay the almoner yearly on the feast of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin 6s. 8d. for the use of the said boys. It is further ordered, that the monks of the convent in priest's orders shall be appointed weekly to the performance of these services in a table by course; and that if any one so appointed shall by sudden infirmity or otherwise be hindered from officiating, he shall give notice to the prior or his substitute, who shall nominate another to supply his place. This engagement of the prior and convent is dated August 16, 1404.

Thus Wykeham having finally settled all his temporal and spiritual concerns, and being about this time full 80 years of age, with much piety and resignation waited the hour of his dissolution. He seems to have sunk by a gentle and gradual decay. Though weak in body, he retained all the faculties of his mind to the last. Even since he had taken his coadjutors to his assistance, he had still personally attended to and directed his affairs both public and private, as he used to do before; admitting all persons that had business to transact with him to his upper chamber. This practice he was able to continue at least till within four days of his death. He died at South Waltham on Saturday Sept. 27th. about 8 o'clock in the morning, in the year 1404.

He was buried according to his directions in his own oratory, in the Cathedral Church of Winchester. His funeral was attended by a great concourse of people of all sorts; many, as we may well suppose, being drawn thither by their affection to him, and regard for his memory; and great numbers, as we may be fully assured, of the poorer sort coming to partake of the alms still

extended to them by the same munificent hand, that had so long been continually open to relieve their wants. For he had ordered by his will that in whatever place he should happen to die, and through whatever places his body should be carried, between the place of his death and the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in all these places to every poor tenant that had held of him there as Bishop of Winchester, should be given, to pray for his soul, *4d.*; and to every other poor person asking alms, *2d.* or *1d.* at least, according to the discretion of his executors: and that on the day of his burial, to every poor person coming to Winchester, and asking alms for the love of God and for the health of his soul, should be given *4d.*

I shall here proceed to give a summary account of the other legacies, benefactions, and charities bequeathed by him in his will. To the poor in the prisons of Newgate, London, the Marshalsey, Wolvesey, Winchester, Oxford, Berkshire, Guilford, Old and New Sarum, he ordered to be distributed the sum of £200. This was one of those charitable bequests which he anticipated in his lifetime. He likewise lived to see his building of the Church of Winchester in a manner finished, for which he had also made provision by his will. To the King he bequeaths a pair of silver basins gilt, and remits to him a debt of £500. To the Archbishop of Canterbury, (Thomas Arundel), and to his successor in the Bishopric of Winchester, several legacies in jewels, plate, and books. To the Bishop of London, (Robert Braybroke,) his large silk bed and furniture in the best chamber of his palace at Winchester, with the whole suit of tapestry hangings in the same apartment. To the Church of Winchester, his new rich vestment of blue cloth, embroidered with gold, with 30 copes of the same with gold fringes; a pyx of beryl for the host, and a cross of gold with relics of the true cross. To the Prior of Winchester, plate to the value of £20., and to every Monk of the Convent, being priests, 5 marks, and to every one of them in lower orders, 40s. to pray for his soul. To his College in Oxford, his mitre, crosier, dalmatics, and sandals. To his College at Winchester, another mitre, the bible which he commonly used, and several other books. To each of the Wardens of his Colleges, 10 marks; and plate to the value of 20 marks; the latter to be trans-

mitted to their successors. To every Fellow, Chaplain, and Scholar, of his College in Oxford, from 13s. 4d. to £1. 6s. 8d. according to their orders and degrees; and £10. to be divided between the Clerks, Choristers, and servants. To the Schoolmaster of Winchester College, £5.; to each of the Fellows, 26s. 8d.; to the Usher and each of the Chaplains, £1.; to each of the Scholars, 6s. 8d.; and 10 marks to be divided between the Clerks, Choristers, and servants. To the fabric of the Church of Sarum, £20. for the celebration of his exequies on the day of his obit, and on the 30th. day after his death, by the Canons and Ministers of the said Church. To the Abbot of Hyde, a piece of gilt plate, value £10.; to every one of the Monks of the same Monastery, being Priests, 40s.; and to every one of them in lower orders, 20s. to pray for his soul. To the Abbess of the Monastery of St. Mary, Winton, 5 marks; and to every one of the Nuns, 13s. 4d. To the Prior and Convent of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, for the repair of their Church, and to pray for his soul, £40. being a debt remitted. To the Abbot and Convent of Waverly, £10. to pray for his soul. To the Abbey of Tichfield one pair of vestments, and a chalice. To the Prior and Convent of Taunton 100 marks, to pray for his soul. To the Abbess of the Monastery of Nuns at Romsey, 5 marks; to Felicia Aas, a Nun of the same Monastery, £5., and to each of the other Nuns 13s. 4d. To the Abbess and Convent of the same Monastery, for the repair of their Church and Cloister, a debt of £40. remitted. To the fabric of the parish Church of Romsey, 20 marks. To the Abbess and Convent of Wherewell, to pray for his soul, 20 marks. To the Prior and Convent of St. Dennis, Southampton, for the repair of their Church, 20 marks. To the Prioress and Convent of Wynteney, to pray for his soul, £10. To the Prior and Convent of Taurigge, to pray for his soul, £5. To be distributed among the brethren and sisters and poor, of the Hospital of St. Thomas, Southwark, to pray for his soul, 10 marks. To the Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester, one pair of vestments, with a chalice, and one pair of silver basins. To the Hospital of St. Nicholas, at Portsmouth, one pair of vestments with a chalice. To the Church of St. Mary, Southampton, one pair of vestments with a chalice. To the College of St. Elizabeth, Winton, a pair of silver

basins and two silver cups, for the use of the high altar. To the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, near Winchester, for the repair of the Church and houses belonging to it, £5. To the Sisters of the Hospital of the Almonry of the Church of St. Swithun 40s. to be equally divided between them, to pray for his soul. To each of the Churches of Hameldon and Eastincon, one service-book with notes, of those belonging to his own chapel, and one chalice. To each of 5 Churches of his patronage, one entire vestment, namely for Priest, Deacon, and Subdeacon, with a cope and one chalice, To each of 5 others likewise, one cope of those belonging to his chapel, and one chalice. To each of the Convents of the four orders of mendicant Friars in the city of Winchester, 10 marks, to pray for his soul. To 15 of his kindred, for themselves and for the children of some of them, from £100. to £20. a piece, in the whole £823. 6s. 8d. To Selote Purbyk £10. To each of the Chief Justices a ring value £5. To Mr. William Hengford a ring of gold, or one table diamond, to the value of £5. To Mr. Robert Faryngton, a psalter and a pair of beads. To John Uvedale and Henry Popham, Esqrs. each of them a silver cup or jewel, to the value of 10 marks. To John Chamflour, Nicholas Bray, and Stephen Carre, each of them a cup or jewel, to the value of £5. To Mr. Wm. Savage, rector of Overton, £20. To Dr. John Ketton, precentor of the Church of Southampton, £20. And other legacies in plate or money to be distributed to the persons named in a roll annexed to the will, and sealed with his seal, according to the directions therein contained. The number of the persons, being others of his friends, and his officers and servants of all degrees whatsoever, is above 150, and the value of these legacies in the whole amounts to near £1000. All these he discharged in his life-time, and had the pleasure of distributing with his own hands. He appoints Robert (Braybroke) Bishop of London, Dr. Nicholas Wykeham (Archdeacon of Wilts,) Dr. John Elmere (his official General,) Dr. John Campeden (Archdeacon of Surry,) Thomas Chelrey, steward of the lands of the Bishopric, Thomas Wykeham his great-nephew and heir, and Dr. Thomas Ayleward, rector of Havant, to be his executors. To whom he bequeaths £1000. in recompence for their trouble in the administration of his will, to

be equally divided among those of them only who should take upon them that charge. The residue of his goods he leaves to be disposed of by his executors for the health and remedy of his soul, (that is, to pious and charitable uses) faithfully and conscientiously, as they shall answer it at the last day. The whole value of the bequests of his will amounts to between 6 and £7,000, the intermediate condition of several articles making it impossible to reduce it to an exact estimation. He had before put Sir Thomas Wykeham his heir into possession of manors and estates to the value of 600 marks a year; and he deposited in the hands of the Warden and Scholars of New College £100. for the defence of his title to the said estates, to be kept by them, and to be applied to no other use whatever, for 20 years after the Bishop's decease; after which term, the whole or remainder, not so applied, was to be freely delivered to Sir Thomas Wykeham, or his heirs. As there are several other instances of Wykeham's munificence and charity, which I have not had occasion to mention before, I shall recite them here in the order in which they happen to occur. At his first entrance upon the Bishopric of Winchester he remitted to his poor tenants certain acknowledgments, usually paid and due by custom, to the amount of £502. 1s. 7d. To several Officers of the Bishopric, who were grown poor and become objects of his liberality, he at different times remitted sums due to him, to the amount of 2,000 marks. He paid for his tenants three several times the subsidies granted to the King by Parliament. In 1377, out of his mere good will and liberality he discharged the whole debts of the Prior and Convent of Selborne, to the amount of 110 marks, 11s. 6d.: and a few years before he died he made a free gift to the same Priory of 100 marks. On which accounts the Prior and Convent voluntarily engaged for the celebration of two masses a day, by two Canons of the Convent for 10 years, for the Bishop's welfare, if he should live so long, and for his soul, if he should die before the expiration of that term. From the time of his being made Bishop of Winchester he abundantly provided for a certain number of poor, 24 at the least, every day; not only feeding them, but also distributing money among them to supply their necessities of every kind. He continually employed his friends, and those that attended upon him, to seek

out the properest objects of his charity; to search after those whose modesty would not yield to their distresses, nor suffer them to apply for relief; to go to the houses of the sick and needy, and to inform themselves particularly of their several calamities: and his beneficence administered largely to all their wants. He supported the infirm, he relieved the distressed, he fed the hungry, and he clothed the naked. To the poor Friars of the orders subsisting on charity he was always very liberal. His hospitality was large, constant, and universal: his house was open to all, and frequented by the rich and great in proportion as it was crowded by the poor and indigent. He was ever attentive and compassionate to such as were imprisoned for debt: he inquired into their circumstances, compounded with their creditors, and procured their release. In this article of charity he expended 3,000 marks. The roads between London and Winchester, and in many other places, when they were very bad, and almost impassable, he repaired and amended, making causeways, and building bridges at a vast expence. He repaired a great number of Churches of his diocese which were gone to decay; and moreover furnished them, not only in a decent, but even in a splendid manner, with books, vestments, chalices, and other ornaments. In this way he bestowed 113 silver chalices, and 100 pair of vestments: so that the articles of this kind, few in comparison, which we find in his will, were only intended by way of supplement to what he had done in his life time; that those Churches of his patronage, which he had not had occasion to consider before as objects of his liberality, might not however seem to be wholly neglected by him. Besides all this, he purchased estates to the value of 200 marks a year in addition to the demesne lands of the Bishop of Winchester, that he might leave there memorials of his munificence of every kind. Though the other ornaments of his oratory are destroyed, yet his monument remains there intire and unhurt to this day. It is of white marble, of elegant workmanship, with his effigies in his pontifical robes lying along upon it; and on a plate of brass, running round the edge of the upper table of it, is the following inscription in Latin verse, of the style of that age.

Wilhelmus dictus Wykeham jacet hic necesse victus :
 Istius ecclesia presul, reparabit eamque.
 Largus erat, dapifer ; probat hoc cum dicitur pauper :
 Consiliis pariter regni fuerat bene dexter.
 Hunc docet esse pium fundatio Collegiorum :
 Oxonie primum stat, Wintonieque secundum.
 Jugiter oreis, tumulum quicumque videtis,
 Pro tantis meritis ut sit sibi vita perennis.*

[Here terminates the re-print of Lowth's *Life of Wykeham*.]

ADDENDA.

For the convenience of those who do not possess Bishop Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, I shall transcribe all the authorities quoted by that correct and indefatigable writer, with reference to Wykeham's foundations. I shall adopt the same plan at the end of WAYNFLET'S life.

His foundation at WINTON is thus recorded by Tanner, *Hants. XXXV. 8.* "That munificent Prelate, William of Wykeham, about the year 1387, began to build in the south suburb of this city a new and noble College to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was to consist of a warden, 10 perpetual chaplains or fellows, and 70 scholars in grammar, besides conducts, clerks, choristers, &c. It was 26 Henry VIII. endowed with lands worth £628. 13s. 6d. per ann. (*Dudg. £639. 8s. 7d. speed*) and being particularly exempted in the Act 1 Edward VI. c. 14, for the dissolution of Colleges, it flourisheth to this day, and is an excellent seminary for that other noble foundation of the said Bishop, commonly called New College in the university of Oxford.

For the reason above stated, I shall also subjoin all the references made by Bishop Tanner to the various authorities treating of the Bishop's foundation at WINTON and OXFORD.

WINTON.—Vide in *Mon. Angl. tom. III. p. 11. p. 106. pat. 6 Richard II. p. 1. m. 9. pro fundatione.*

* [There is one section more in Lowth's book, but as that is of a *forensic* and not of a biographical nature, it is omitted. It is thus entitled,—An Examination and Confutation of several things that have been published to his discredit.—EDIT.]

Ibid, p. 133. pat. 1 Edward IV. p. 7. m. 31. recitantem cartam Richard II. dat. 28 Sept. 19 regni pro fundatione et dotatione.

In Wilkins's Concilia, vol. IV. p. 8. injunctions given to Winchester College by the visitors of King Edward VI. A. D. 1547, p. 434. Archbishop Bancroft's orders to be observed by the warden and scholars of Winchester College, A. D. 1608, p. 517. Archbishop Laud's orders to be observed by the master, warden, fellows, &c. of Winchester College, A. D. 1635.

In Newcourt's Repertorium, vol. I. of the impropriations and advowsons of the Vicarages formerly belonging to this College, viz. p. 622. of Hampton: p. 644. of Heston: p. 675. of Isleworth: p. 757. of Twickenham.

Lelandi. Collect. vol. I. p. 69. ejusdem Itin. vol. III. p. 100.

Cartas, Registra, rotulos Curiarum, rentalia, et alia munimenta, penes R. V. V. custodem et socios hujus Collegii.

Rot. pat. 3 Richard II. p. 3. m. 22 pro Ecc, de Downton appropriand: Pat. 8 Richard II. p. 2. m. 4. pro maner. de Meanstoke, Eling, et Windsore, et Coombé Basset (Wilts.) Ibid. m. 6. pro maner de Aulton, Shaw (Berks.) Wheton (Bucks), Pat. 14 Richard II. p. 2. m. 1. et m. 10, 11, 12. Pat. 15 Richard II. p. 2. m. 9. pro tenem. in Meonstoke, Roppele, Sutton, Biketon, Draiton, Wynhale, et in Nova Alresford: Ibid. m. 14. pro ten. in Cestreton: Cart. 18 Richard II. n. 8. Pat. 22 Richard II. p. 2. m. 14. pro m. de Dyrinton et med. m. de Fernham.

Cart. 1 Henry IV. p. 1. n. 11. Fin. dio. com. 2 Henry IV. n. 28. de manerio de Derynton [Wilt]. Fernham (Southant.) &c. Pat. 3 Henry IV. p. 2. m. 7. vol. VIII. Pat. 4 Henry IV. p. 2. m. 15. Pat. 6 Henry IV. p. 1. m. 22. pro manerio de Shaw.

Pat. 1 Henry V. p. 1. n. 11. Pat. 2 Henry V. p. 3. m. 27 Cart. 2 Henry VI. n. 26. Pat. 6 Henry VI. p. 1. vol. II. m. 4. Claus. 8 Henry 6. m. 10 dors. de terris in Hermondesworth, Sibston, Longford, &c. Pat. 8 Henry VI. p. 2 m. 25. Rec. in Scacc. 16 Henry VI. Mich. rot. 80, 81, 82. Pat. 16 Henry 6. p. 1. m. 2. Pat. 17 Henry VI. p. 2 m. 25. Claus. 19 Henry VI. m. 35 dorso, pro maner. de Burton (Wight.) Rec. in Scacc. 21 Henry VI. Pasch. rot. 18. Pat. 21 Henry VI. p. 1. m. 8. de licentia

perquirendi c. marc. ann. terr. ratione deperditorum suorum in combustione villarum de Andover et Nov. Alresford: Cart: 21. &c. Henry VI. n. 26. Pat. 23 Henry VI. p. 2. m. 3. pro maner de Farnhall et Aldington: Pat. 24 Henry VI. p. 2. m. 19. Pat. 33 Henry VI. p. 2. m. 4. pro ten. in Wippingham et Caresbrook (Wight) Romsey, Stanbridge, Okley, Mayhenston, Wells, Hamelrise, Wynnale, et in civit. Wint.

Pat. 1 Edward IV. p. 1. m. 1. et p. 7. m. ult. vel penult. Rec. in Scacc. 3 Edw. IV. Pasc. rot, 23. Rec. in Scacc. 22 Edward IV. Trin. rot. 10.

Pat. 35 Henry VIII. p. 8. (12 Jul) pro maner de Moundesmore, Stubbinton, Woodmancote, &c. in consideratione pro maner. de Hermondesworth, &c.

OXFORD.—Oxfordshire XXIII. 19. New College or Winchester College. William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winton, in the year 1379 obtained licence of the King to found a College for a warden and seventy scholars, upon several parcels of ground which he had purchased in the parish of St. Peter, in the East in Oxon, towards Smithgate. Within 7 years next ensuing, that munificent Prelate carried on and finished his design with strong and stately buildings, and ample endowments, not only for the warden, and the above-mentioned number of scholars, but also for 10 chaplains, 3 clerks, and 16 choristers. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and its revenues were valued 26 Henry VIII. at £487. 7s. 8d. *per annum*.

Authorities quoted by Tanner. Vide Hist. et Antq. Unio. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 126, &c. Life of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, by Robert Lowth, D.D. (now Lord Bishop of London) 8^o. London, 1758, [here re-printed.]

In Newcourt's Repertor, vol. ii. p. 61. of the advowson of Birchanger, R. Essex: p. 336, of the manor, impropriation and advowson of the Vicarage of Hornchurch, and the ordinary jurisdiction there, p. 687, of the like at Writtle, belonging to their College.

Le Neve's Fasti, &c. p. 489-490, an account of the wardens of this College.

In Itin. Will. de Worcestre, p. 297, dimensiones ecclesie.

In Leland's Itin. vol. iii. p. 193, of the Priory of Hamelrise.

In Hutchins's Dorset, vol. i. p. 257, of the advowson of the rectory of Stoke-Abbas.

In Blomfield's Norfolk, vol. i. p. 592, of the advowson of the rectory of Saham Tony; vol. ii. p. 691, of the advowson of the rectory of St. John of Maddermarket, in Norwich; vol. iii. p. 131, of the advowson of the rectory of Stratton, St. Michael; vol. iv. p. 432, of the manor and advowson of the rectory of Weston; p. 441, of the manor of Wickingham, and the impropriate rectory and advowson of the Vicarage of Wickingham Magna, and of the advowson of the rectory of Wickingham Parva.

In Willis's Buckingham, p. 256, of the manor and advowson of the rectory of Radcliff, p. 315, of the same at Tingwick.

In appendice ad Adamum de Domerham, edit. Hearne, p. lix. e statutis Coll. Nov. de libris Collegii conservandis et non alienandis, et de portis et ostiis dicti Coll. claudendis et serrandis.

Catalogum 323. codd. MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Nov. Oxon. in catal. MSS. Angl. et Hib. Oxon. 1697. fol. tom. i. p. ii. p. 31.

Registra, cartas, rentalia, rotulos curiarum &c. penes R. VV. custodem et socios hujus Coll.

Papers relating to the Controversy about the Kindred of Fynes, and Wickham of Swaclift to the Founder.

Custodes et viri illustres et benefactores hujus Coll. MSS. in Bibl. Ashmol. Oxford, Wood, vol. xxviii. f. 102. vol. 1. f. 244. 278.

Descriptionem exemplarem Coll. B. Mariæ Wint. in Oxon. 100-que clericorum in eodem, MS. in Bibl. Coll. n. 288.

Statuta Coll. Nov. Oxon. MSS. penes Radulphum Thoresby de Leeds. arm. et in Bibl. Harl. 1343.

Registrum Soc. Coll. Nov. Ox. ab A.D. 1386, ad 1640, in quo loci nativitatem, gradus, dignitates et tempora mortis nonnullorum specificantur, MS. penes Ric. Parson, L.L.D. dioce. Glocestr. cancell. 1695.

Pat. 3 Richard II. p. 1. m. 5. pro eccl. de Stepilmorden (Cant), Radclive (Bucks), &c. Ibid. m. 32 et 33 licent. pro fundatione; Pat. 4 Richard II. p. 2. m. 4. pro eccl. de Abberbury approprianda; Pat. 5 Richard II. p. 1. m. 5 vol. 6; Pat. 6 Richard II. p. 2. m.; Pat. 8 Richard II. p. 2. m. 6; Pat. 10 Richard II. p. 1. m.

29 pro maner. de Russels in Herdwicke (Bucks); Pat. 11 Richard II. p. 1. m. 9. pro maner. de Stert et Colern (Wilts.); Pat. 12 Richard II. p. 2. m. 5. 10. et 24; Pat. 14 Richard II. p. 2. m. 1. 10 & 11. pro maner. de Anebury, &c. (Wilt.): Ibid. m. 27. pro eccl. de Writele; Pat. 15 Richard II. p. 2. m. 8 et, 9 pro mess. in Wedon, Wergrave, &c.; Pat. 16 Richard II. p. 1. m. 5. pro molindino apud Writele (Essex), Cart. 18. et 19 Richard II. n. 9.

Pat. 1 Henry IV. p. 4. m. 2. Cart. 1 Henry IV. p. 1. n. 10.

Pat. 1 Henry V. p. 2. m. 12. Ibid. p. 5. m. 12.

Pat. 2 Henry VI. p. 2. m. 32; Pat. 19 Henry VI. p. 2. m. 18 confirm. pro maner. de Newenton; Ibid. p. 3. m. 1. vol. 2. et m. 17 vol. 18; Pat. 21 Henry VI. p. 2. m. 12. Cart. 25. et, 26 Henry VI. n. 40 pro mercat. et feria apud Horwode Magna (Bucks.) et apud Colern (Wilt.)

Pat. 1 Edward IV. p. 1. m. p. 2. m. 11.; Pat. 2 Edward IV. p. 3. m. 27. Rec in Scacc. 3 Edward IV. Hill. rot. 77 pro maner. de Newenton Longavile.

Pat. 1 and 2 Phil. et Mar. p. 4. m. 21 Mart. pro rector. de Marshfield (Glouc.) in considerat. Maner. de Stippinglee, &c. in C^o. Bedford & Essex.

Dugdale thus notices some of the Bishop's civil appointments, in the *Chronica Series*, at the end of his work.

Wint. Ep. in officio Cancellarii confirmatus, 17 Sept. 1368. 41 Edward III.; Cart. 41 Edward III. *iterum* constit. Cancellarius et habuit magnum Sigillum sibi traditum 4 Maii, 1389. 12 Richard II.; Pat. 22 Richard II. p. 2. m. 7.

Constit. Cancel. 11 Oct. 1457, 35 Henry VI. Claus. 35 Henry VI. m. 10. in dorso.

Bishop Nicolson treating of the writers of the lives of some particular Bishops, thus notices those of *Wykeham*;

“William of Wykeham, the great founder of two famous Colleges in Oxford and Winchester, could not avoid the having his benefits carefully registered by some of those that daily tasted of the sweets of them: and indeed, there have been several of those who have thus paid their grateful acknowledgments to his memory. The first of them, I think, was Thomas Chaundler, some time warden of New College, who wrote the founder's life (MS. in Coll. Noyo, Oxon) by way of

dialogue, in a florid and good style. This is contracted, (by the author himself, as is supposed.) (*Ang. Sac.* II. p. 355); together with which, is published a piece of his larger Colloquy, wherein he touches upon the life of his patron, Thomas Beckinton, Bishop of Bath and Wells. The next writer of Wykeham's life was (4to. London, 1597 and Oxon, 1690), Dr. Martyn, Chaucellor of Winchester, under Bishop Gardiner; who had the greatest part of his materials out of Chaundler's book. After him, Dr. Johnson, some time fellow of New College, as well as the two former, and afterwards master of Winchester school, gave a short view of their founder in Latin verse: which being a small thing of itself, has been several times (*Vid. Ath. Oxon.* vol. I. p. 251) printed with other tracts. Bishop Godwin is (*Præf. ad Angl. Sac.* vol. I. p. 19) censured for having a little unfairly borrowed the account he gives us of this Prelate's life, one of the best in his book, from Mr. Josseline: without taking any notice of his benefactor."—*Historical Library, part II. ch. 6. p. 140.*

Rudborne thus speaks of our Prelate:—"Willelmus de Wykeham qui navem ecclesiæ cum alis prout nunc cernitur renovari et voltari fecit, aliaque quamplurima beneficia suæ ecclesiæ contulit, seditque annis 37 et in ecclesia sua, in opere quod fecit, honorifice in capella ad australem plagam tumulatus est."—*Hist. Maj. Wint. in Angl. Sac.*

The accurate Wharton gives us the following summary or outline of the Bishop's career:—"Post Edindoni obitum Monachi Wintonienses sub ejusdem anni finem Willelmum Wickham, Privati Sigilli regii custodem, rege sic volente, concorditer elegerunt. Natus is apud Wickham in agro Hantonensi, ex infima sorte ad summam dignitatem mira industria et felicitate emersit; favore et beneficiis ecclesiasticis ab Edwardo rege, cui diutius fideliter inservierat, adeo cumulatus, ut anno 1366, mense Junio Præter Archidiaconatum Lincoln. valoris annui 350 lib, 13. Præbendas e pinguioribus in variis ecclesiis Cathedralibus et ecclesiam de Manyhnet in Diocesi Exon tenuisse memoretur. Electionem ejus, nescio quam ob causam, Papa diu confirmare distulit; a rege tamen interpellatus administrationem episcopatus eidem contulit 1366. 11. Dec. quo nomine spiritualia sedis Wint. Willelmus ab Apō Cant. accepit 1367, 22 Feb. Post

integrum annum Urbanus Papa electione dissimulata Episcopatum illi provisionis titulo donavit 1367, 12 Julii. Consecratus est Londini in Eccl. S. Pauli a Simone Arpō 1367, 10 Oct, Cancellarius Angliæ circa eadem tempora die 17 Sept. renunciatus, anno 1376 Johannis Lancastr. Ducis insidiis favore regio, quem hactenus illæsum expertus fuerat, excidit, et dignitate sua pariter ac possessionibus spoliatus est. Causam Godwinus sibi notam data opera reticere voluit. Scire autem volentibus monachus Eveshamensis, qui Ramulphi Cestrensis Polychronicon continuavit, dabit. Refert is Willelmum de regiæ prolis successione sollicitum Edw. regi suggestisse, quod Philippa regina quondam uxor ipsius dictum Ducem in utero suo nunquam portavit, sed supposuit eum pro filio, quod ob timorem regis celavit, sed ante mortem suam, ut idem Epūs asseruisse dicitur, ut debuit, sibi fatebatur; et ei injunxit, ut hoc domino suo, cum videret opportunum, mandaret. Propter quod idem Dux fingens colorem eum persequendi, imposuit sibi, quod falsus fuit patri suo diversis modis, quando ipsius exstitit Cancellarius. Unde erat Regi in magna summa pecuniæ condemnatus. Pro qua condemnatione in manus regis omnia ejus temporalia erant capta anno 1376, nec sibi ante mortem regis (quæ medio anno sequenti contigit) fuerant restituta. Et licet totus clerus et tota communitas preces funderent pro eisdem, non tamen fuerant exauditi. Post Johannis obitum rebus iterum gerendis admotus, Cancellarius Angliæ constitutus est 1389, 4 Maii. Obit anno 1404, 27 Sept.—*Ang. Sac. I.* 318.

“Wilhelmus Wickham (Leland has here adopted as he frequently does in his sirenames, a wrong spelling) fundavit occidentiam ecclesiæ partem a choro eleganti opere et magno sumptu, in cujus medio inter duas columnas cernitur ipsius tumulus.”—*Leland's Collectanea.* vol 1. f. 76.

“The glass at the west end of the Cathedral was provided by Wykeham.”—*Milner. Hist. Winch.* vol. II. p. 43.

“In 1356, 30 Edward III. William of Wykeham, who was afterwards promoted to the See of Winchester, &c. was constituted surveyor or clerk of the works at Windsor with ample powers, which afterwards in 1359 were greatly enlarged.”—*Hakewill's Windsor*, p. 91.

The Bishop was executor to the wills of the following personages:—Edward Prince of Wales, proved 4 id.

June, 1376, 10th. June. *Testamenta Vetusta*. 1. p. 13; Joan, Princess of Wales, proved Dec. 9, 1385. *Test. Vet.* 1. p. 14; King Richard II. *T. V.* 1. p. 16; Edmund, Duke of York, proved Oct. 6, 1402, *T. V.* 1. p. 151; and also of John, Earl of Pembroke, proved Aug. 17, 1376, *T. V.* 1. p. 88.

His own will may be seen in Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*. vol. 2. p. 703, dated 1402.

It is worthy of note, that William Wykeham the first, and his two immediate successors, in the See of Winchester, viz. Cardinal Henry Beaufort and William Waynflete held the See 120 years. Wykeham succeeded in 1366, and Waynflete died Bishop of Winton in 1486.

Portraits. Granger thus notices the portraits of this Prelate:—"Houbraken *sc. large h. sh.* From a picture at Winchester College. *Illust. Head.* Gulielmus de Wykeham. *Episc. Winton et totius Angliæ Cancell. Fundr. Coll. B. Mariæ Wint. vulgo vocat. New Coll.* 1379; *et paulo post* (1387) *Coll. B. Mariæ Wint. prope Winton. J. Faber. f. large 4to.* William of Wykeham. *Taken from a most ancient picture of him, preserved in Winchester Coll. Grignon sc. whole length. sh.*"—*Biog. Hist. Engl.* vol. I. p. 48.

XIX. HENRY BEAUFORT, (A CARDINAL,)

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1404.—DIED A. D. 1447.

HENRY BEAUFORT was next brother of King Henry IV. being second son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster by his third wife Catherine Swinford. He with his brother and sister were fully legitimated by Act of Parliament, 20 Richard II. "excepta dignitate regali."

Godwin says, (edit. 1605, p. 241) that he was brought up for the most part at Aken in Germany, where he studied the civil and canon law many years: branches of literature most necessary in that age for a statesman. He adds, that he spent much time also at Oxford. In Richardson's Latin edition, p. 231 Godwin says, anno 1397, Oxoniæ literarum studiis incubuit, verum Aquisgrani plerumque educatus est. Bishop Milner has it that he was chiefly educated at Aix in France; while Richardson

in his notes claims him as a Cantab, on the authority of M.S. Wren, "Cantabrigiæ literis incubuit in domo S. Petri, ibique anno 1388, solvit 201, pro pensione camerae."

Having entered into holy orders, his connexion with the blood royal produced his early elevation to the episcopal dignity. His great prudence and frugality rendered him an important personage of his times; the latter, producing him that influence which immense wealth never fails to create; and the former, securing him from the dangerous consequences generally attendant upon an elevated station.

Synopsis of Preferments. He was Prebendary of Thame in Lincoln Cathedral, Jan. 7, 1389. *Willis. Cathedr. II.* 251. The same year he quitted Thame for the Prebend of Sutton cum Buckingham, alias Bucks, in the same Cathedral, but it seems he parted with it again the same year. *Willis. Cath. II.* 246. He became Prebendary of Riccall, in York Cathedral, August 22, 1390. *Willis. Cath. I.* 158. Prebendary of Horton, in Salisbury Cathedral, Dec. 20, 1397. *Hist. & Antiq. of Sarum & Bath*, p. 326. Bishop of Lincoln the same year, Chancellor of Oxford in 1399. *A. Wood.* From Lincoln he was, in 1404, by the favour of his half-brother King Henry IV. translated to Winton, being, as Willis observes, the first Bishop of Lincoln that chose to leave it for any other Bishopric. He became Chancellor and Custos Sigilli 1414, Claus. 1. H. V. Had the great seal again 1417, Oct. 12, 4 H. V. *ib.* in which year he assisted at the council of Constance. He was again constituted Chancellor and Keeper, 16 Jul. 1424, 2 H. VI. Claus. 2. H. VI. in dors. m. 2. and was, moreover, June 23, 1426, created by Pope Martin V. Cardinal of St. Eusebius. (See an attempt in 1431, to deprive him of the Bishopric of Winton on this promotion, *Rymer Fœd. X.* pp. 497 516.) He was known under the title of 'Cardinal of England,' by which title he calls himself in his will.

Pope Martin appointed him his legate or rather general of his forces against Bohemia. (See the Cardinal's petition to the King for leave to levy and carry over these troops, and the King's answer, the Cardinal's commission, &c. 1429, 1431. *Rymer, X.* 419, 427, 491.) He invaded Bohemia in 1429, with 4000 men raised by the contributions of the English clergy, and who under him

served in France before, on the loss of the battle of Patay.

In the decline of his life he applied himself sedulously to the care of his diocese, and performed many acts of munificence.

He was a prelate of excessive frugality, whereby he amassed so much wealth, that when Henry V. a little before his death, proposed to convert the revenues of the clergy into supplies for his foreign wars, the Bishop, his uncle, lent him £20,000 out of his own coffers, on the security of the crown jewels. The influence which his wealth gave him, and a good share of political prudence, soon gave him an ascendancy over his nephew the Duke of Gloucester, Protector in the absence of the Duke of Bedford. The Duke of Gloucester came at last to an open rupture with him, and brought him to a trial, in which he was acquitted, but the great seal was taken from him. As Henry VI. grew up, the Bishop gained great authority over him, and obtained several pardons, 1437 and 1442. He had just turned the tables on his rival the Duke of Gloucester, who was found dead in his bed at Bury, a month before the Bishop died.

In his youthful days, before he took holy orders, he had by Alice, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel, sister of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a daughter Jane, whom he married to Sir Edward Stradling Knight, of Glamorganshire.

It is remarkable of this Bishop that he, as well as his immediate predecessor and successor in this See, held the episcopal dignity longer than any other of our prelates except Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. Beaufort's immediate predecessor, Wykeham, enjoyed the See of Winchester from 1366 to 1404, Cardinal Beaufort from 1404 to 1447, and his successor Waynflete, from 1447 to 1486, making 120 years, and each of them about 40. If we add the time that Beaufort held Lincoln, he will have been a Bishop half a century.

He is thus noticed by Wharton, *Ang. Sac.* 1. p. 318.

“Henricus Johannis Lancastræ Ducis ex Catharinâ Swinforda filius, Epūs Lincolniensis, Henrici Regis fratris sui opera Willelmo successor per Papalem provisionem datus, Spiritualia Episcopatus Wint. accepit ab Arpō Cant. in Palatio Epī Londinensis, 1405, 18, Martii. Quater Angliæ Cancellarius factus est: primum

anno 1404, dein anno 1414. exin anno 1417. 12. Oct. munus deposuit 1418. 23 Jul. anno denique 1424. 16 Julii magni Sigilli custodiam accepit. A^o. 1426. Cardinalis Ecclesiæ Romanæ titulo S. Eusebii a Martino Papa die 23 Junii renunciatus, galerum accepit die 25 Martii sequentis. Obiit 1447, 11. Apr. annis non minus quam divitiis gravis. Testamento ante biduum condito, singulis fere totius Angliæ Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Cœnobiis vasa argentea gemmasque ingentis pretii et nominatim Ecclesiæ Wellensi vasa argentea deaurata ponderis 283 unciatum, et summam 148 lib, legavit."

Under St. Mary Overy, Manning says, "In 1423, 2 Henry VI. James I. King of Scotland was married to Joan, eldest daughter of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, brother to the Cardinal, by whom the match was made to support his family by an alliance with that kingdom. This was on the release of James from the prison, where he had remained 18 years, having been taken by Henry IV. as he was going to the court of France, which was perhaps part of the price paid for his ransom. The marriage feast was kept at the Bishop's house here."—*Hist. Surry.* vol. 3. p. 560.

It is, perhaps, not generally known, that the borough of Wilton once belonged to Bishop Beaufort. Jaquetta, widow of John, Duke of Bedford, re-married to Sir Richard Wydville, Knight, retained a life interest in the borough of Wilton, which the Bishop purchased of her by fine levied that same year; (*Pedes Finium in Dom. Cap. Westm.*) and the year following, viz. 20 Henry VI. obtained a patent to hold this borough (*inter alia*) per fidelitatem tantum pro omnibus serviciis, (*Rot. Patent.*) and in 25 Henry VI. by the name of Henry, Cardinal of England and Bishop of Winchester, gave his borough of Wilton to the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Cross, near Winton, towards their maintenance for ever.—*Dudg. Mon.* 2. 180.

Bishop Beaufort was executor of the will of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset: proved April 5, 1410; (*Test. Vetust.* 1. 174.) also, of that of John, Duke of Bedford: proved Oct. 7. 1441.—*Ib.* p. 242.

Beaufort died at Wolvesey Castle, Winchester, April 11, 1447. Rapin says in despair, that his riches could not exempt him from death. Shakspeare has beautifully improved the thought (*2nd. part Hen. VI. Act. 3. sc. ult.*)

“If thou be’st death, I’ll give the England’s treasure
 “Enough to purchase such another island,
 “So thou wilt let me live and feel no pain.”

Hence it is evident that an unusual attachment of life had been handed down as a characteristic of this celebrated Prelate.

He lies buried under a noble monument in the presbytery behind the high altar of his Cathedral. His figure in his Cardinal’s habit, lies on an altar tomb, on the verge of which remained of his epitaph in Bishop Godwin’s time only these words: *Tribularer si nescirem misericordias tuas*. A draught of the monument may be seen in Sandford’s *Geneal. Hist. of the Kings of Engl.* See *Willis. Cath.* 2.53.

Character. “Had he continued a Layman, it is probable,” says Bishop Milner, (*Hist. Wint.*) “that his character would have descended to posterity in the brightest colours. Certain it is, that he was a sage councillor of the state, an able politician, an intrepid general, and a true friend to his country. (*Polydore Virgil. Stow’s Annals.* 1448). Hence it is not surprising that his influence should have been great in the cabinets of his brother and of his nephew, and that during the early part of his little [read grand] nephew and god-son’s reign, viz. Hen. VI.* he should have been considered as the main prop of the state.”

Being involved in the vortex of worldly politics, it is true, he gave too much scope to the passions of the great, and did not allow himself sufficient leisure to attend to the spiritual concerns of his diocese. Nevertheless, there is no solid ground in history for representing him as that ambitious, covetous, and reprobate character which he has been drawn by an immortal painter of human manners, who has robbed his memory in order to enrich that of his adversary, termed by popular prejudice the good Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. If he was rich, it must be allowed that he did not squander away his money upon unworthy pursuits, but chiefly employed it in the public service, to the great relief of the subjects, (see an account

* Hen. VI. came to Winton in 1440 at which time being weary of the vassalage in which his uncle the Duke of Gloster had kept him, he threw himself under the protection of his great uncle Cardinal Beaufort by whose advice he released the Duke of Orleans, long a Prisoner in England, and sent over Commissioners to France, of whom the Cardinal was one, to make peace with that Country.

of the sums lent by him to the state, or expended upon it, in *Vetust. Monum.*, vol. II. 45.) as likewise in furnishing his cathedral, which was left incomplete by his predecessor, in repairing Hyde Abbey, relieving prisoners, and other works of piety and charity, (*Godwin, Collier, Ecc. Hist.*) But what has chiefly redeemed the injured character of Cardinal Beaufort in the city of Winton and its neighbourhood, is the new foundation which he made of the celebrated hospital of St. Cross. It was admitted by those who are not very favourable to his memory, that, towards the end of his life, he directed his thoughts chiefly towards the welfare of his diocese. (*Collier.*) It appears also that he prepared himself with resignation and contrition for his end, and the collected, judicious, and pious dispositions made in his testament,* the codicil of which was signed but two days before his death, (*viz.* April 9, 1447,) may justly bring into discredit the opinion that he died in despair.—“He dies and makes no sign.” *Shaksp.*

Benefactions. He founded near St. Cross's Hospital, another hospital for a master, 2 chaplains, 35 poor men, and 3 nurses, by the name of the ‘almshouse of noble poverty,’ whose annual revenue amounted to £188. Leland, in the *Collectanea*, I. 116, says, under ‘Hospitale de Winchester.’ “Hen Beaufort Epus Wint. *primus* fundator, dotavitque annuis redditibus valoris £158. 13s. 4d.

Tanner observes in the *Notitia*, under Hauts XXXV. 10, “A considerable addition was made *temp.* H. VI. to the Hospital of St. Cross, to the yearly value of £158. 13s. 4d. by the Cardinal or his Executors, for a Rector, 2 Chaplains, 35 poor Men,” &c.

Willis, in his *Cathedrals*, II. 53, says, “In his will he gave £200. to the fabric of Lincoln Cathedral, and £100. to Ashridge College, Bucks, with which the five cloisters now remaining there seems to have been built. He was also a benefactor to the University of Oxford,” &c.

Concannen, in the *Hist. of St. Saviour's*, has the following passage: “A^o. 1400, 2 Hen. IV. The whole Church was new built about this time. Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of St. Eusebius and Bishop of Winchester, from 1405 to the time of his death in 1447, might have

[* I have transcribed his will, which will be found very interesting.—
EDITOR.]

contributed towards the building, being a man of great wealth, for which he was called the rich Cardinal, as the arms of Beaufort are carved in stone, on a pillar in the south cross aisle, and by the remaining sculpture on each side, it appears to be done for strings pendant and platted in a true lover's knot from a Cardinal's hat placed over them. The arms* are quarterly France and England, a border compone ar. and az." p. 74. The same remark is made in *Manning's Hist. Surry, III. 560.*

Will.—I, Henry, commonly called Cardinal of England, Bishop of Winchester. My body to be buried in my Church of Winchester in the place I have appointed. I will that every day three masses be celebrated for my soul by three Monks of that Church in the chapel of my Sepulture. And that the name of Henry Cardinal be pronounced, and that in celebrating, the souls of John Duke of Lancaster, and Katherine his wife, my parents, the souls of Hen. IV. and Hen. V. Kings of England, John Earl of Somerset, Thomas Duke of Exeter, my brothers, Johanna Countess of Westmorland, my sister, and John Duke of Bedford, be specially remembered. I will that my funeral be not celebrated in too pompous a manuer, but according to the state in which God shall be pleased that I shall die and according to the discretion of my executors. I will that 10,000 masses be said for my soul as soon as possible after my decease viz. 3,000 of requiem, 5,000 "*de rorate cali desuper,*" 3,000 of the Holy Ghost and 1,000 of the Trinity. I will that the Prior of my said Church of Winchester, and the convent of the same have £200. and my better cup and patten, and my vestment embroidered, which I bought of Hugh Dyke, on condition that none should use the vestment but the Bishop of Winton, or whoever may officiate in presence of the King, Queen, and King's eldest son. I remit to the Abbey and convent of St. Augustine, beyond Canterbury, £356. 13s. 4d. which they owe me, on condition that they cause my name to be inserted in three masses daily. I will that £400. be distributed among the prisoners, whether for crimes or for debts, in both compters of London, in Newgate, Ludgate, Fleet, Marshalsea,

* The arms are painted on the pillar with a border gold, though designed in the sculpture for compone.

King's Bench, and in confinement within my manor of Southwark, for their liberation, by the hands of some conscientious men selected and appointed by my executors. Item, I will that 2,000 marks be distributed among my poor tenants in Counties Hants, Wilts, Surry, Somerset, Berks and Bucks, and I desire that this distribution be made either in money or other things which may be considered more useful to them, in the manner expressed in the preceding article, viz. by the hands of some men of good conscience, according to the nomination and discretion of my executors; which persons so appointed shall receive for their trouble what to my executors may appear reasonable. Item, I bequeath to my Lord Henry, a tablet with relics, which is called the tablet of Bourbon, and a cup of gold, with a ewer, which belonged to the illustrious prince his father, and offered by him on Easter eve, and out of which cup he usually drank, and for the last time drunk, humbly praying him to, and my executors in whatever can tend to the good of my soul; as God knows I have always been faithful and zealous in him in all which related to his prosperity, wishing to effect whatever could tend to his welfare in soul and body. Item, I bequeath to Johanna* wife of Edw. Stradlyng, Knt. 2 dozen dishes, 4 charges, 12 salt cellars, &c. and £100. in gold. Item, I bequeath to Hans Nulles £40. I will that the Clerks of my Chapel in my service at the time of my decease, and attending my body to the place of burial, be rewarded with 100 marks between them, according to the discretion of my executors. I will that my debts be paid before any other thing. I will that £2,000. be distributed according to the discretion of my executors, among my domestic servants, according to their degrees; but I desire, nevertheless, that Hans Nulles be contented with what I have bequeathed him, and that he be not included in the distribution among my other servants. I will that the residue of my goods not disposed of be applied to works of charity and pious uses, according to the discretions and consciences of my executors, such as relieving poor

* Said to have been his natural daughter by Alice, daughter of Richard, Earl of Arundel, and sister of Thomas Fitz-Alan, alias Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury: she married Sir Edward Stradlyng of Glamorganshire, Knt.

religious houses, marrying poor maidens, succouring the poor and needy, and in other similar works of piety, such as they may most deem will tend to the health of my soul. And of this my will, I constitute and appoint the Rev. Father in Christ, the Cardinal and Archbishop of York, [John Kemp], my nephew the Marquess of Dorset, [Edmund Beaufort, K.G. who was created Duke of Somerset, 26 Henry VI. and was slain at St. Alban's 22 May, 1455;] brother Richard Vyall, Prior of the Church of Witham, of the Carthusian order; Master Stephen Wilton, Archdeacon of Winchester, my Chancellor; Richard Waller, Esq. master of my household; William Whaplode, steward of the lands of my bishopric; William Mareys, my treasurer of Wolvesey; William Toley; and William Port my executors. And for the trouble which I shall occasion my said executors, I bequeath to the said Rev. Father £200. and a cup of gold to the value of £40.; to my said nephew, the Marquess, £200. and a cup of gold worth £40.; and to each of my executors aforesaid £100. Dated in my palace of Wolvesey, Jan. 20, 1446.

First Codicil.—I, Henry, Cardinal of England, Bishop of Winchester, after my will signed and sealed, dated, 20th. Jan. 1446, wishing to make a certain distribution of my goods, which did not occur to my mind when I made the said will, now add this codicil—First, I bequeath to the Prior and Convent of Christ-Church, Canterbury, £1,000., of which sum I will that Vc. marks be applied “ad solucionem faciend’ pro manerio & dominio de Bekesbourne,” near Canterbury, and the remainder of the said sum of £1,000. to the fabric of the said Church. Also, I will that the said Prior and Convent give security to my executors, named in my said will, that they will cause three masses to be daily celebrated for ever, by three Monks of the said Church, for my soul, in my Church of Winchester, as is expressed in my said will; and also, that they solemnly observe my obit every year. I bequeath to the work and fabric of the Church of Lincoln £200.; and I desire that the Dean and Canons of the said Church, observe the day of my obit every year for ever, &c. Item, I bequeath to my Lord the King my dish or plate of gold for spices, and my cup of gold enamelled with images. Item, some other jewels and vessels of silver and gold which were pledged by the

King and Parliament for certain sums lent, &c.* Also, I bequeath to my old servant, Richard Petteworth, £100. that he may pray for my soul. Dated at my palace of Wolvesey, 7th. April, 1447.

Second Codicil.—I, Henry, Cardinal of England and Bishop of Winton, make this codicil to my former will and codicil. Whereas I have in the said codicil disposed of certain jewels and vases pledged to me by the parliament, &c. Item, I bequeath to my lady the Queen, “lectum bloduim de panno aureo de Damasco,” which hung in her chamber in my manor of Waltham, in which my said lady the Queen lay when she was at the said manor. I bequeath and remit to Lord Tiptoft the £333. 6s. 8d. which the said Lord by his writing is bound to me. In the same manner, I bequeath and remit to Wm. Stafford all which he oweth me, which is the sum of £100. provided that the said William, by his deed sufficiently executed, acquits as well my executors as Master Thomas Forest, master or keeper of the hospital of the Holy Cross near Winchester, and his colleagues, of the sum of £40. which I am bound to him by reason of an annuity of £20. granted to him with power to distrain for the same in the manor of Heynsbrigge, now appropriated to the said hospital. Item, I bequeath to John, Bastard of Somerset,†

* The following note explanatory of this passage is taken from *Royal Wills*, p. 334.—“The Bishop lent the King at one time “pour l’exploit de v’re present voyage vers les parties de France & Noimandie, a v’re tres grand besoigne & necessite & pour l’aise de v’re povre communalte de Engleterre” £14,000. and £8,306. 18s. 8d. and was then due “a sa auncien creance a vous fait, come piert par vos honorables letters patentz a luy ent faitz, et a vous ditz communes ministres,” say the Commons in their petition 9 Henry V. 1414, desiring to have it confirmed, and the letters patent enrolled in Parliament. For the £14,000. the King made over in the 5th. year of his reign, the duties and customs of a certain import at Southampton; and when the Bishop had reimbursed him-self to the amount of £8,306. 18s. 8d. he lent the King another £14,000., for which the said customs were again mortgaged to him, and the cocket of the said port and its dependencies; which grant was confirmed in the above Parliament.—*Rot. Parl.* IV. p. 132, 135. But a good deal of the loan remained at the time of the Bishop’s death, as appears by this codicil. The King redeemed in 1432 the sword of Spain and other jewels, which had been pledged to the Cardinal for £493. 6s. 8d.”—*Rymer*. vol. X. p. 502.

† There is much difficulty in ascertaining who was the person so described: the Editor of *Royal Wills* supposes him to have been John, elder brother of the testator, but this conjecture is decidedly erroneous, for the said John died many years before, and for whose soul the Cardinal in his will orders prayers to be said. This “John, bastard of Somerset,” was most probably a natural son of the said John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, or of John Beaufort, his eldest son, who was created Duke of Somerset, 21st. Henry VI. and who died in the following year. This noble family now reverses the old name and title; the name being *Somerset*, and the title *Beaufort*.—EDIT.

£4,000. with a certain quantity of vessels of silver, according to the discretion of my executors. Item, I bequeath in a like manner to William Swynford, my nephew,* £400. with a certain quantity of silver vessels. Item, I bequeath to Thos. Burneby, page to my lady the Queen, £20. and a cup of silver gilt. Item, I bequeath to Edw. Stradlyng, Knt.† a certain portion of silver vessels, according to the discretion of my executors. Item, I bequeath to John Yend, senior, 12 dishes of silver. Dated in my palace of Wolvesey,‡ the 9th. of April, 1447. Proved the 2nd. of September, 1447.—The above will is from *Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta*, 1826, vol. 1. p. 249.

* This bequest satisfactorily proves that Sir Thomas Swynford, the son of Sir Hugh Swynford, by Katherine, daughter and co-heir of Sir Payne de Roet, (which Katherine was first the concubine and afterwards the wife of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and by him mother of Cardinal Beaufort) had issue the above-mentioned William Swynford; for as the Cardinal and Sir Thomas Swynford were brothers of the half blood, he would of course call the son of the said Sir Thomas his nephew. This circumstance is thus particularly mentioned, from so little being known of the issue of Katherine, Duchess of Lancaster, by her first husband: for Godwin, in his laboured and valuable life of Chaucer, states his inability to give any account of her son, the said Sir Thomas Swynford. William Swynford here mentioned was the first cousin once removed of Thomas Chaucer, the eldest son of the Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, and second cousin to Alice, his daughter and heiress.

† Husband of his natural daughter. ‡ Wolvesey-House or Castle.

XX. WILLIAM WAYNFLETE.

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1447.—DIED A. D. 1486.

In the following re-print I have omitted all *historical* matter introduced in the original, which appeared irrelevant, and a good deal of what was exclusively *collegiate* history, as swelling unnecessarily a work which purports to be only the *Biography* of the Winton Prelates.

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM WAYNFLETE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,

Lord High Chancellor of England in the Reign of Henry VI., and Founder of Magdalen College, Oxford: collected from Records, Registers, Manuscripts, and other Authentic Evidences, by RICHARD CHAUNDLER, D.D. formerly Fellow of that College.

London: Printed for White and Cochrane, Horace's Head, Fleet-Street, by Richard Taylor and Co., Shoe-Lane.
MDCCLXI.

CHAPTER I.

Of William Patten, alias Barbour, to the time of his assuming the name of Waynflete.

WILLIAM WAYNFLETE, was son of Richard Patten, alias Barbour, of Waynflete, a market-town on the sea-coast of Lincolnshire. He was descended of a worshipful family, ancient, and in good condition; less celebrated says Budden, than respectable. Writers of the best authority agree that his father was a gentleman; and Fuller in the same sentence styles him an esquire and a knight. He married a lady also descended from an ancient family, and whose father, William Brereton, possessed an ample estate in Cheshire. This country, in consequence of its Norman territories, the patrimony of William the Conqueror, and of Anjou with its appendages, the inheritance of King Henry II., sustained in that age almost perpetual warfare in France. Brereton was enrolled among the candidates for military fame there, obtained by his valour the honour of knighthood,

was appointed governor of Caen in Normandy, routed under the auspices of Lord Scales a numerous army of the French near Mount St. Michael, and returned home with glory and increase of fortune. Richard Patten and Margery Brereton had issue two sons, William and John.* The year when either was born is not known.

It is agreed by writers in general, that William Patten after receiving the rudiments of instruction in Lincolnshire, was removed to Wykeham's school at Winchester. The register of admissions on the foundation has been carefully examined, and his name is not in it; but he might still be educated there, as Wykeham both introduced to his school, and to commons in the hall, several extraneous boys; and in his statutes permits sons of gentlemen (*gentilium*), a limited number, to enjoy the same privilege: but of these no mention occurs, except of the descendants of Uvedale his great patron, whose names appear in the account-books of the bursars of his time. Budden tells us (p. 56.) he had been diligent in his endeavours to ascertain the College in Oxford to which William had belonged, but without success; that Holinshed, who has had his followers, departed from the common belief in ascribing him to Merton, where, as he relates, he was fellow, while Nele and Harpsfield contend for his having been a Wykehamist. He declares he would not willingly recede from this opinion, which had the consenting voice of the multitude on its side, and argues in favour of it. A. Wood, asserts that the Album of Merton College does not allow his having been of it, unless he was one of the chaplains or postmasters. As to New College, he could not be fellow, not having been a scholar on the foundation at Winchester. In his statutes Wykeham does not admit of independent members; neither were there accommodations for them before the buildings next the garden were erected. Moreover, Lowth has affirmed, that he never was of that College to which he is so generally given. We shall leave the reader to collect the presumptive arguments which may be urged from this narrative to fix William at New College. But besides these, an evidence deserving particular attention is on record, John Longland, fellow

[* Dean of Chichester in 1425.—EDIT.]

of Magdalen, bursar there in 1515, and Bishop of Lincoln in 1521, (only 25 years after the death of the founder, whom, it is therefore probable, he remembered,) informed Leland, that William was of New College; and his testimony, corroborated, as it will be, by other circumstances, must have appeared decisive, had it been contradicted in a manner less positive, or by a writer of inferior authority to the biographer of Wykeham. Budden has represented William, while an academic, endowed with intense application to the studies of humanity and eloquence.

His literary attainments, which may be supposed not inconsiderable for the age he lived in, did not qualify him for an ecclesiastic more than his disposition to piety. I have endeavoured to trace his progress in the orders of the Romish Church, not wholly without success; and in particular am enabled to fix the time of his assuming the name of Waynflete in lieu of Barbour, under which, if I mistake not, he is found in the episcopal register of the see of Lincoln. The ordinations were held in the parish church of Spalding, by Bishop Fleming; and 1420, April 21st. Easter Sunday, among the unbeneficed acolytes occurs William Barbour. 1420, January 21st. William Barbour became a Sub-deacon by the stile of William Waynflete, of Spalding. 1420, March 18th, William Waynflete, of Spalding, was ordained Deacon: and 1426, January 21st. Presbyter, on the title of the house of Spalding. "It was a fashion in those days from a learned spirituall man to take awaie the father's sirname, (were it never so worshipfull or ancient) and give him for it the name of the towne he was borne in." Holinshed, after producing several instances, observes, that this in like manner happened to William Waynflete, "a matter right proveable." The episcopal registers furnish many instances of the name of Waynflete taken by, or imposed on, ecclesiastics, and it is often difficult to ascertain the identity of the persons. Both Waynflete and Patten were also common surnames. I have noted 17 modes of spelling the name adopted by William. In the episcopal register at Winchester, it is commonly Waynflete; but there also occurs Wayneflete, and Waynflett. The first was constantly used, if I mistake not, by the Bishop.

CHAPTER II.

Of William Waynflete to the time of his advancement to the See of Winchester by King Henry VI.

The Warden of Winton, Robert Thurber, with the Fellows of the College, appointed Waynflete to fill the station of Master of the School at Winchester, on its being vacated by Thomas Alwin, and he began to teach in 1429, the year after the decease of Leilont, whose new grammar he probably introduced there, and afterwards at Eton. In 1430, a William Waynflete, as appears from the episcopal register of Lincoln, was presented by the convent of Bardney to the vicarage of Skendleby, in that county, void by resignation; and among the Monks there, about the same time, was one named John Waynflete, who became Abbot in 1435. This person Willis "presumes was a near relation of the founder of Magdalen College," and that the living was obtained by his interest. "This I mention," he continues, "because it may perhaps intimate the rise of this great man, and what was probably his *first* preferment." From the coincidence of names it is likely that this William and John Waynflete were townsmen; but the identity of this William and our Bishop is at least problematical; and the author seems not apprized that the founder of Magdalen College already occupied a post not consistent with the duties of a remote vicarage, and on which, as on its basis, the fabric of his future fortune was about to be raised. The Bishop of Winchester was now Henry Beaufort, uncle and some time preceptor of King Henry VI. who had been translated from Lincoln to this see on the vacancy made in 1404 by Wykeham. From him Waynflete received the only ecclesiastical preferment he ever enjoyed, or that has been hitherto discovered with certainty, excepting Skendleby, (if he was indeed vicar there,) and his bishopric. It happens that only one volume of Bishop Beaufort's Register,* comprising the first 8 years of his presidency over this diocese, is extant at Winchester; so that we are unable to fix the time when the mastership and chantry of St. Mary Magdalen hospital, near Winton, were conferred

* It commences in 1405. At the end is written, in a contemporary hand, "Prima pars. li^a cum Dno Rege."

on Waynflete ; but it appears, from other evidence,* that he was in possession in 1438. He continued, it seems, to hold it until his own advancement to that see ; for he collated to it soon after (Feb. 12, 1447), and gave the new Warden, when he had taken an oath to observe the statutes, canonical institution at his palace of Southwark.† It has been surmised, and not without probability, that Waynflete was led to adopt Mary Magdalen as his patron saint in consequence of this preferment.

The College at Eton, as that near Winchester, was established chiefly on account of the school. In the charter of foundation, [of the College] which passed the great seal in 1441, Waynflete is named to be one of the 6 fellows under provost Sever. He removed in 1442, with 5 of the fellows and 35 scholars : and assumed at Eton the station which he had already filled with so much honour to himself and advantage to the public at Winchester. When Waynflete had been master about 3 years, he was promoted by the King to be provost of Eton. The day fixed for his admission, and for the introduction of the statutes, was the festival of St. Thomas, Dec. 21, 1443. The commissaries, who were Bishop Bekyngton and William de la Pole, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, with two notaries public, met in the choir of the collegiate church ; and the prelate declared their business to be, to receive the oath of the provost, to observe the statutes, and to see him administer a like oath to the other members of the College. Waynflete then appeared ; and, after the reading of a dispensation, which the insufficiency of the buildings, and certain articles not yet fully arranged, had rendered necessary in some particulars, looked into and touched the holy Gospels, and, kneeling deliberately and reverently, took the oath. He was then placed in the chief seat on the right hand of the choir, and there tendered the oath prescribed to the persons concerned, each in his turn, in the presence of the commissaries. The arms‡ of the family of Patten

* Hist. and Antiq. of Winton, vol. II. pp. 177-8.

† Registr. Waynflete, f. 3.

‡ Budden does not set forth properly the arms of provost Waynflete, when he says he *quartered* the Eton lilies, they being added in a *chief*. Hugget. Dr. Wilson. Le Neve has lozengy for fusily, p. 493.

alias Barbour were a field fusily ermine and sable. Waynflete, as provost, inserted on a chief of the second, three lilies slipped argent; being the arms of the College. This addition was made as a token of gratitude to the King, because from Eton he derived honour and dignity;* not to acknowledge his education there, as Guillim† most absurdly supposes. His example was followed by provost Lupton in 1525. He retained this bearing after his removal to the See of Winchester, caused it to be engraved on the public seal of his hall, and transmitted it to his College. Much stress has been laid on it, as a variation from the Patten arms, by those who have contended that his name was originally Waynflete. His arms are noticed as remaining at Eton in 1763, cut in stone in two places; in the ante-chapel over the north door, in the north-west corner, with the lilies on a chief; and over the font, without the lilies; the latter, I suppose, placed in the roof before he was provost. If they were painted, both have been falsified about 20 years since; azure and or, having been substituted in the room of sable and ermine; and to those over the font a chief is added, unless Hugget was mistaken, with lilies argent, but unlike the other, and differing from their common representation. The glass in the chapel windows stained lozengy argent, or rather ermine, and sable, mentioned by him, is no longer visible there.

It is related of Henry VI. that he was circumspect in ecclesiastical matters, and particularly cautious neither to bestow preferment on undeserving persons, nor in a manner unworthy of, his own dignity. It was said that he called Waynflete, and addressing him familiarly, as was his custom, by the title of Master William, asked whether, if he should obtain a certain benefice by his favour, he should be able to retain it. On his answering in the affirmative, and that he would with diligence whenever his majesty ordered; Henry replied, he then willed and commanded him to be Bishop of Winchester.

It was perhaps necessary to use uncommon expedition to secure this promotion to Waynflete, and to preclude embarrassment from papal interposition or the application of potent and factious noblemen.

* Budden, p. 54. Le Neve, p. 493.

† Guillim, 408.

Henry, without waiting the customary forms, on the day his uncle died, sent leave to the Church of Winchester to proceed to an election, and strongly recommended his "right trustie and wel beloved clarke and counsellour, Master William Waynflete, provost of Eton," to be his successor. He committed to him, by letters patent of the same date, the custody of the temporalities; and in virtue of them, Waynflete on the 14th. was presented to the Church of Witney.

At Winchester, April 12, 1447, the day after the decease of the Cardinal [Beaufort,] and perhaps before the arrival of the letter from the King, the Monks of the Convent of St. Swythun, assembled in their chapter-house, and deputed the Sub-Prior with one of the brethren to notify the vacancy by an instrument under their common seal, and to desire the royal permission to elect a Bishop. The King answered them on the 13th, and renewed his solicitations that they would choose Waynflete without delay. His letter was received on the 14th by William Aulton the Prior, Master Stephen Wilton Doctor of decrees and Archdeacon of Winchester, and the whole brotherhood; when they determined not to postpone their compliance even to the time named by the King, but were unanimous in fixing on the 15th, which was Saturday, for the election. The *congé d'élire* or licence under the privy seal is dated the same day at Canterbury. After the mass *de Spiritu Sancto* had been solemnly performed at the high altar in the Church of St. Swythun, and a bell tolled according to custom, the Prior, the Sub-Prior, the Archdeacon of Winchester, and that of Surry by his proxy, with 37 brethren, all professed Monks and in holy orders, except 3, who were young, met in the chapter-house. The word of God was then pronounced, and they implored devoutly the divine grace by singing the hymn "*Veni, Creator Spiritus.*" A protestation against the presence or voting of any unqualified person was read by the Prior, and the constitution general "*Quia propter*" by Dr. Wilton. Immediately when this was done, they all without any debate, on a sudden, with one accord, the Holy Ghost, as they firmly believed, inspiring them, directed their suffrages to Waynflete, and elected him, as it were with one voice and one spirit, for their Bishop and Pastor; and instantly singing *Te Deum*, and causing the bells to ring merrily,

they went in procession to the high altar of the Church, were Dr. Wilton, by their order, published the transaction in the vulgar tongue to a numerous congregation of the clergy and people. The Sub-Prior and another monk were deputed to wait on Waynflete at Eton College with the news of his election. From sincere reluctance, or a decent compliance with the fashion of the times, he protested often and with tears, and could not be prevailed on to undertake the important office to which he was called, until they found him, about sunset, in the Church of St. Mary; when he consented, saying, he would no longer resist the divine will. The King was formally apprised of all these proceedings by an instrument under the common seal of the convent dated the 17th., and the sub-prior attended as before, with an humble request that he would vouchsafe to confirm their election. The chapter sent likewise to Rome a narrative of the steps they had taken after the delivery of the body of the deceased Cardinal, as was fitting, to ecclesiastical sepulture; and the prior declares, in his own name and that of the whole convent, that, their unanimous suffrages having fallen on Waynflete, he elects and provides him to be Bishop and Pastor of their Church. They request his holiness to confirm their choice, and impart to their new Bishop his free gift of consecration. On the 16th. June Waynflete made profession of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. He was consecrated at Eton on July 13th. The College at Winchester presented him on the occasion with a horse, which cost £6. 13s. 4d.; and gave money (13s. 4d.) to the boys at Eton. The warden, with other members attended the solemnity; and on the 18th. Waynflete received the spiritualties; he held his first general ordination on Sunday the 23rd. of December following at Eton, by special licence from the Bishop of Lincoln. The Bishop, soon after he was confirmed in the possession of his See, received a most honourable testimony of the confidence reposed in him by his royal* patron. King Henry, possibly foreseeing the troubles about to overwhelm the nation, was solicitous to insure the completion

* Henry VI. nominated him one of the 14 trustees of his will to succeed the first nominees in case of death. *Sepulchral Mon.*

of his two Colleges. He now made a testamentary provision for it; and, "in consideration of the great discretion, the high truth, and the fervent zeal for his welfare, which he had proved" in the Bishop of Winchester, constituted him by his will, dated at Eton March 12, 1447, his surveyor, executor, and director; as also sole arbiter of any variance which might happen with his feoffees. The desire to accomplish this measure, was perhaps the particular motive of his impatience to secure the advancement of Waynflete to the mitre. A popular preacher of reformation (Reginald Pecock) about this time enlarged on the riches, luxury, and pride of the superior clergy; and by his eloquence [quere *declamation*] rendered the grandeur annexed to episcopacy in particular, a subject of public clamour and indignation. The spiritual lords were then served on the knee, and had pompous retinues; some, it is related, appearing abroad with as many as fourscore attendants, their horses all bedecked with silver trappings. So splendid was the mitre when conferred on Waynflete; whose approved moderation, with the worthy uses to which he destined his revenue, was well adapted to conciliate the temper of his adversaries. He persevered in his wonted, unaffected humility; and, we are told, was accustomed to repeat often that verse of the *Magnificat*, Luke i. 49, "Qui potens est fecit pro me magna, et sanctum nomen ejus;" which also he added to his arms as his motto.

CHAPTER III.

Transactions at Oxford and Winchester, with the Founding of Magdalen Hall by Bishop Waynflete.

In 1448, the year after his advancement to the mitre, he obtained the royal grant, dated May 6, empowering him to found a hall, to be called after the blessed St. Mary Magdalen, for the study of divinity and philosophy, at Oxford; to consist of a president and 50 poor scholars, graduates; the number to be augmented or diminished in proportion to their revenues; and to confer on them a right to use a common seal. This was accompanied with a licence for £100. a-year in mortmain.

The foundation of Magdalen hall preceded the installation of the Bishop in his Cathedral of Winchester.

This ceremony was deferred to the feast of St. Wolstan, August 30, 1448, above a year after his consecration, when it was honoured with the royal presence. It is related of King Henry, that he was unable to suppress the emotions of his regard in bidding him receive in-thronization in his See, that he might be in it even as the prelates his predecessors; and wishing that he might be long-lived upon earth, and increase and profit in the way of righteousness. Waynflete, we are told, made the Archbishop a present of the professional cope, or that used at the solemnity, which was commonly of great value; as also of £100. in money. He redeemed with generosity his vestments, and the pieces of tapestry which were claimed as perquisites. He distributed largely to the various attendants; and, in the entertainment provided for the company, displayed a liberality and magnificence suited to the occasion, and worthy of his See.

We find the Bishop again at Winchester in the beginning of May, 1449, when he gave the benediction in the Church of the Monastery of St. Mary Wynton, between the masses, to Mrs. Agnes Buriton, who had been elected and confirmed of that society; and, the same day, solemnized in his pontificals the profession of several Nuns of that Convent. The invasion of Normandy by the French King, after a truce, which had given leisure to the turbulent warriors from the continent to exercise intrigue and mutual animosities at home, occasioned the holding of a Parliament at Winchester, 16th. June, 1449. The Bishop, to whom the royal favour imparted political consequence, was present at the council previous to its meeting, 11th. June; and appointed proxies to attend the convocation of the clergy at London, "being personally detained at Wolvesey-palace on various and arduous business, in the other assembly, for the good and advantage of the King and the whole realm."* The King at this time resided above a month at Winchester. The college-chapel was often honoured with his presence, and filled with the nobles and prelates of his suite, at vespers, matins, and mass. The services were then commonly performed by Waynflete, and, it is related, with great devotion. The King

* Registr. Waynflete. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 556.

also attended mass at the Cathedral on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, two of its patron-saints, on which day the college was sumptuously entertained by Bishop Bekyngton. On his return to London in July, the Bishop issued a mandate for his visitation of the college as Ordinary, in Sept. ; perhaps not because he was aware of any thing amiss in the society, but from respect for the founder, and in compliance with his desire, which he observes had been, that it might not long continue destitute of this solace. He was probably again at Winchester with the King toward the end of Nov. 1449.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Bishop Waynflete to the time of his being made Lord High Chancellor of England.

A pretended heir of the house of York, an Irishman, whose name was Cade, headed about this time an insurrection in Kent; and after defeating the King's general, who was slain, encamped on Blackheath, declaring he was come to assist the Parliament at Westminster in reforming the administration, and removing Somerset and other persons from the royal presence. The citizens of London admitted him within the walls in the day-time; but the insolence of his followers and their outrages becoming intolerable, they shut the gates on his marching into the fields in the evening, as usual, and resolved to attack him in the night. Lord Scales, governor of the Tower, sent them a detachment of the garrison; and Cade, after a bloody conflict on the bridge, was driven beyond the Stoop in Southwark. The Bishop of Winchester, who was shut up in Halywell castle, being summoned to attend a council in the Tower, where Archbishop Stafford, lord high chancellor, had taken refuge, was of opinion, they might win over by hopes of pardon, those whom they could not easily subdue by force of arms; and that to avoid fighting would be the most effectual way to defeat the traitor. The two prelates, with other lords, on the following day crossed the water, and held in St. Margaret's Church a conference with Cade and his principal officers. A general pardon under the great seal proved, as the Bishop had foreseen, so welcome, that the dispersion began the same night.

The King, who had repaired for safety to Kenilworth, was respectfully received by the Archbishop and Waynflete at Canterbury, where a council ordered a proclamation to be issued (15th. of July, 1450,) for apprehending Cade. The real heir of York was suspected of abetting this rebellion, to try the bias of the people. The justice of his claim to the crown became, on his return from Ireland, a topic of popular discussion; and the fierce contest between the two houses, distinguished by red and white roses, was evidently about to commence.

The favour of King Henry, as it conferred on Waynflete an active part in the previous measures of administration, so it was likely to entail on him a large portion in the consequences of civil discord. That he had early experience of the animosity of the Yorkists, or was jealous of their designs, and uneasy in his situation, may be collected from an instrument dated* May 7th. 1451, which sets forth, that in a certain lofty room, commonly called *Le peyuted chambre*, in his manor house of Southwark,† and in the presence of a notary public, and of the Bishops of Bangor and Achonry (the latter the suffragan of Bishop Bekyngton),‡ who were desired to be witnesses, he appeared, holding in his hands a writing, which he read before them, and in which he alleged that his Bishopric was obtained canonically; that he had peaceable possession of it; that his reputation was without blemish; that he laboured under no disqualification, and was ever ready to obey the law; but that probable causes and conjectures made him fear some grievous attempt to the prejudice of himself and see; and to prevent any person from giving him disturbance in the premises, in any manner, on any pretext, he appealed to the apostolic see, and to the Pope, and claimed the protection of the court of Canterbury; putting himself, his bishopric, and all his adherents, under their defence, and protesting in the

* Registr. Waynflete, t. i. p. 2. f. 11.

† The episcopal palace of Winchester was in Southwark, on the bank of the Thames, near the west end of St. Mary Overie's Church. Southwark park, otherwise Winchester park, comprises about 60 acres of ground, and is covered (1783) with several thousand houses, many extensive factories, and a variety of other buildings; the ground or quit rents annually £450.

‡ Registr. Bekyngton.

usual form. The next day he appointed 19 proctors to manage, jointly or separately, any business respecting himself or his See, at Rome or elsewhere. In the awful interval between the preparations for an open rupture and its commencement, religion was interposed, by the piety of the prelates, to soften the minds of the two parties, and direct their councils to public concord. Waynflete issued his mandate July 2, (1451), at the requisition of the Archbishop, for supplications to be made in his Diocese, with litanies on certain days, for the peace and tranquillity of the Church, the King, and realm of England. In Sept. we find Waynflete at St. Alban's, from whence he issued a commission for the visitation of his Diocese, not being able to attend in person, as he had purposed, on account of various arduous and unexpected business concerning the King and the realm. The Parliament meeting in Nov., an address of the Commons, for the removal of Somerset and other counsellors, was enforced by a letter of remonstrance from the Duke of York, who approached London with an army raised in Wales; and, finding the gates shut, encamped on Burnt-heath near Dartford in Kent. The King, with a superior force, pitched his tents on Blackheath. The two armies were arrayed for battle, when Henry, who was ever adverse to the shedding of blood, sent Waynflete, with the Bishop of Ely, Lord Rivers, and the keeper of the privy seal, to inquire the occasion of this commotion; and, if the demands of the Duke were not unreasonable, to propose a reconciliation. York surrendered, and swore solemnly to bear true allegiance to Henry, on their consenting that Somerset should be taken into custody and tried. Waynflete, whose sage advice and temperate conduct are said to have contributed in no small degree to the restoration of the public tranquillity, stood by, with other lords of the privy council, while he, and the principal noblemen his abettors, did homage to the King.

The next year an expedition into France again miscarried, though conducted by the most valorous Earl of Shrewsbury. In vain had Waynflete ordered the clergy of Southwark to be assembled (March 16, 1452) at 8 in the morning, and go in solemn procession through the public street, by the doors of St. Margaret and St. Olave, as far as the Monastery of Bermondsey, with litanies and

apt suffrages, supplicating for the defence and increase of the Christian faith, for the prosperous estate of the King and his dominions, and especially for a happy issue to this undertaking, and for all who should combat the enemies of their country, under the illustrious earl. He was killed in battle, and the revolted province was recovered by the French King. The pregnancy of the queen was now regarded as matter of joy to the Lancastrian party, rather than to the nation. The prince of whom she was delivered at Westminster, Oct. 13, 1453, was baptized the day following by Waynflete, and named Edward, having been born on the feast of St. Edward, King and Confessor. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Somerset, and the Duchess of Bokingham were then sponsors; and Waynflete was sponsor when he was confirmed by the Archbishop.* He was also one of the tutors appointed for him in 1457. He was then Lord High Chancellor, and is named next after the Archbishop of York in the writ,† which sets forth, that the King knew the industry of each of the persons as approved in arduous affairs, his discretion, and tried fidelity.

King Henry had already endeavoured to secure the completion of the buildings, and the endowment of the two Colleges he had founded at Eton and Cambridge, when, alarmed perhaps at his recent illness and his present situation, he resolved, with similar wisdom and foresight, to provide for their future good government. The statutes accepted by the visitors in July 1446, had been found, on carrying them into execution, to be incomplete, and to need reformation. He therefore deemed it expedient to delegate persons in whom he could confide, a privilege hitherto reserved; and by letters patent, dated July 12, 1455, setting forth, that the many and great concerns of his kingdom rendered him unable to attend continually on the remedying of the defects, as they were noted, empowered the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Lincoln to correct, alter, and improve their statutes, with the advice of the provosts, as they should think proper, during his lifetime. So highly did the King esteem the merit and services of Waynflete, as to

* MSS. C. C. C. C. No. 417. Budden, p. 70. Sandford. Stow.

† Rymer, t. x. p. 385.

ordain that both his Colleges should yearly, within the 12 days preceding the feast of the Nativity, celebrate solemn exequies for his soul after his decease, with commendations and a morrow mass: a distinction not conferred on any person besides, except Henry V., Queen Katherine his wife, and his own Queen Margaret, for whom obits are decreed; with one quarterly for the founder.

About this time (Jan. 1455) died Ralph Lord Cromwell, one of the executors of the famous Duke of Bedford, the regent; whom he succeeded as master of the mews, and falconer to the King. He had married Margaret, daughter of Lord Dayncourt; who dying without issue in Sept. 1454, he then enfeoffed Bishop Waynflete in his manors of Candlesby and Boston, and in some in other counties; one of which, that of East Bridgeford, Notts., was disputed by Francis, Lord Lovell, husband of the co-heiress; the remainder being left between the two sisters; and it was agreed to refer their title to arbitrators, whose award should be final. He was buried with his lady in the chancel at Tateshale, Lincoln, where he had a castle, and where he founded and endowed a College, (17 Henry VI.) for a master or warden, 7 chaplains, 6 secular clerks, and 6 choristers; with an alms-house by the churchyard for 13 poor persons; and their monument is still in being, but, the windows having been demolished, is exposed to the weather. He likewise erected the Church of Ranby in the same county. His buildings were adorned with figures of purses, in reference to his office of Lord High Treasurer of England. His executors were the Bishop, the learned Sir John Fortescue, chief justice of the King's Bench, and Portington a justice of the Common Pleas. At his Church at Tateshale an antiquary remarked in 1629, arms *Lozengy, S. & Erm. on a chief S. 3 lilies Arg.*, the bearing of Waynflete after he was provost of Eton, on each side in the windows over the north and south doors, and also cut in stone over each portico. If the former are now missing, the reason probably is, that a great quantity of painted glass has been taken away, to adorn a Chapel at Burleigh Hall near Stamford. The Church is exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The Queen with her Lancastrians was reinstated in power, after various struggles, in 1456. The court was

at Coventry; and in the priory there, the Lord Chancellor Bouchier, in the presence of the Duke of York, who, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, had been invited to attend, and of many Lords spiritual and temporal, produced to the King in his chamber the three royal seals: a large one of gold; another; and one smaller, of silver, in three leather bags under his own seal; and caused them to be opened. The King received the seals from his hands, and delivered them to the Bishop of Winchester, whom he appointed his successor. Waynflete, after taking the usual oath and setting the large silver seal to a pardon prepared for the Archbishop, ordered the seals to be replaced, and the bags to be sealed with his own signet by a clerk of chancery. It is mentioned that his salary was £200. a year. The prudence of the Bishop was now to be "made eminent in warlike wielding the weight of his office" of Lord High Chancellor. His advancement to it seems to have been a conciliatory measure, and enforced by, or agreeable to, both parties.

CHAPTER V.

Of Bishop Waynflete while Chancellor, with the Founding of Magdalen College, Oxford.

IN the preceding century had lived the renowned Wickliff, the first asserter of religious liberty, and author of the heresy, as it was then deemed, called Lollardism. This had been nurtured in the University of Oxford, its birth-place, where Bishop Flemmyng founded Lincoln College, to oppose its increase and progress. Reginald Pecock, whom he ordained at the same time with Waynflete,* was a convert to the tenets of the reformer, which he propagated with success; and had become exceedingly famous by a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1447, the year of Waynflete's advancement to the mitre, which occasioned a most violent controversy. The populace, inflamed by his invectives against the higher clergy, committed many enormities; and the commotion thus ex-

* Pecock was ordained acolyte and sub-deacon when Waynflete was made sub-deacon. They became deacons together; Pecock, on the title of Oriol College, to which he belonged. He was ordained presbyter the 20th. of January, 1421. Registr. Flemmyng.

cited, had hitherto continued to accompany the civil broils under King Henry. But Pecock, on the loss of his patron the Duke of Suffolk, had declined in public favour. He had been already ordered to quit London; and, soon after Waynflete entered on his high station of Chancellor, it was resolved to proceed to a review of his writings, and to decide on their orthodoxy.* He was cited Oct. 22, 1457, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to produce his works in the chapel of Lambeth, to be there examined by certain doctors, whose report was to be made to him and his assessors. These were the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor, and the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester. Pecock was sentenced to sit in his pontificals, as Bishop of Chichester, at the feet of the Archbishop, and to see his books delivered to the flames in St. Paul's Church-yard; besides undergoing other disgrace. He died of chagrin, at an Abbey to which he was permitted to retire on a pension. It would be unfair to appreciate, according to our present ideas, the conduct of the associates in humbling and punishing this learned person. If Waynflete concurred with them, as apparently he did, it must be owned as not unlikely, that his temper, naturally mild, might be warped on such an occasion, by zeal to preserve the church from innovation or danger. Perhaps too his influence was used, to procure from the University of Oxford, which was suspected of favouring the delinquent, a decree of convocation for burning his books; which was done at Carfax in the presence of the chancellor, Dr. Chaundler, warden of New College, and a letter of apology sent to the Bishop for their delay. The Bishop, however, engaged by other important duties or concerns, had been uniformly attentive to the poor scholars, whose patronage he had so generously undertaken. The Hall which he founded at Oxford, as soon as he was raised to the mitre, had met with an early benefactress, Joan Danvers, relict of Wm. Danvers, Esq. To this lady the manor of Wike, alias

[* This would have been to prejudge the matter, Chaundler probably meant 'as to' instead of 'on.' The object, I apprehend of this review was to decide whether the writings were orthodox or heterodox: and not to decide on their *orthodoxy*, for this would have been to *assume* the object of the enquiry. EDIT.]

Eswyke, with its appurtenances at Ashbury in Berks, had descended. She granted it July 17, 1453, to Waynflete and others. It was conveyed by Waynflete to his College in 1476. In 1456, the King granted a licence for the yielding up of the Priory of Luffield, with its appurtenances, to the president of the hall. The president and scholars had purchased, but not in perpetuity, 4 tenements belonging to University College; 2 standing on the east side of their hall, the other two between Horse-mull-lane and the college. They had likewise hired the Saracen's Head of the trustees of a chapel of the Virgin in St. Peter's Church, at the yearly rent of £2. These buildings Waynflete was about to demolish to enlarge the site, when the recovery of the King and the re-instatement of the Lancastrians in power, with the high degree of royal favour he enjoyed, enabled him to extend his designs in behalf of the needy student and of learning in general.

Waynflete, weighing the disadvantages of a confined spot within the city-walls, where land could not be acquired but with great difficulty, and unwilling to leave his foundation subject to the inconveniences of a limited tenure, had conceived a desire of obtaining the Hospital of St. John Baptist; meaning, as it afforded a most eligible situation, to convert his hall into a college. On his explaining his intentions, and the obstacles in his way, the King, it is related, after a gracious hearing, persuaded him to give the preference to Cambridge, where he had erected his own college, as wishing to amplify that University. Waynflete reminded him that he had promised his permission to convert this hospital to the uses of religion and learning; when, it is said, he replied that his piety was acceptable to him, and he would contribute as far as was in his power to the forwarding of his plan. The necessary steps having been previously taken, the master and brethren directed their attorney, July 5, 1456, to deliver seisin of the hospital and its appurtenances to the president and scholars of Magdalen Hall. A licence was issued Sept. 27, to yield up the hospital in perpetuity to the society of Magdalen Hall; and Oct. 27, to transfer the advowson to Waynflete, to whom the King, by letters patent of the same date, gives it with the patronage for ever. They were also empowered to deliver up the site, with all their possessions, to the president and scholars

of the Hall. The royal grant, dated July 18, 1456, permitted Waynflete to found a College on certain land without East-gate, Oxford, bounded on the east by the river Cherwill; on the south by the way leading from East-gate to East-bridge; on the west by that leading from East-gate to the fosse called Canditch; and on the north by certain grounds belonging to the parish of Halywell: and also to endow it with £100. a year in mortmain. The charter of foundation passed the seal in 1457, with licences; one for the building of the College, another for its being governed by statutes to be provided by Waynflete. The permission of the Pope was notified by a bull. The Bishop appointed Simon Godmanston and others, in Sept. to receive possession of the site of the hospital from the president of his hall. He named Will. Tybarde, B.D. (principal of Haberdashers' Hall in the University of Oxford,) to be president of his College. Hornley ceded to him the hospital and hall, and retired to Dartford in Kent, where he died and was buried in 1477. The Bishop made over the site of the hospital to Tybarde; Vyse the master consenting to its union with the College, and accepting a yearly pension of £40. To each of the chaplains, on their quitting, a pension of £10. was assigned. The hospitaliers were provided, as before, with lodging and diet; and one of them, John Selam, is mentioned as resigning in 1485. Thus the new institution was engrafted on the old, and the poor were no sufferers. Pilgrims were still entitled to refreshment, and charity-boys fed with the relics of [*rectius* from] the tables. The foundation and union being confirmed by the Pope, Waynflete, June 12, 1458, converted the Hospital into a College. The new president was authorized, with 6 fellows, 3 masters of arts, and 3 bachelors, to admit other fellows; and the society of Magdalen Hall delivered it up within three days to the College, into which the scholars were incorporated by election.

While the Yorkists renewed their efforts to ruin the Lancastrian power, and the two parties continued to exercise mutual animosity, the peaceful King found consolation in his Chancellor. From kindness, or policy perhaps, to withdraw his fruitless opposition, or unwilling assent, to measures which neither of them approved, he sometimes, it is related, would bid the other lords attend the council, but detain him to be the companion

of his private devotions; to offer up with him, in his closet, prayers to God for the common weal.*

Nov. 6, 1459, the illustrious hero Sir John Fastolf, who had been long infirm, died of an asthma and fever, aged fourscore, at Castre in Norfolk.† His last will, dated the day preceding his death, is in the archives of Magdalen College.‡ The Bishop is named first of his executors.

Mistakes have been made respecting the time when Waynflete became and ceased to be Chancellor.§ Budden relates,¶ it was the common belief that he was appointed as soon as he was a Bishop; and some have continued him near 9 years in office. We have seen that he held the seals only from Oct. 11th. 1456, (35 Henry VI.) the 10th year of his consecration, to July 7th. 1460, about 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ years.∥ His conduct in resigning at so critical a juncture exposed him to suspicion, calumny, and censure. Disloyalty or languor in the cause of Henry was imputed to him, or he was represented as balancing between the two parties, and waiting the issue. He was comforted, however, by the entire approbation of his royal patron, who in a letter to Pope Pius II., written in Nov. following, while he was in custody of the Yorkists, bore ample testimony to his innocence, his meritorious

* “*Sæpius ob eximiam sanctimoniam in penetrabile regium adhibitus, cæteroque senatu super arduis regni negotiis consilium inituro—Quin abite, (inquit princeps,) ego interim et cancellarius meus pro salute reipublicæ vota Deo nuncupabimus.* Budden, p. 86.

† See Biog. Brit. Fastolf. Rymer Acta, printed and MSS. Letters of Mr. Anstis in St. James's Chronicle, Oct. 14th, 1720, and Gent. Mag. Jan. 1781, p. 27. *b.*

‡ The pyxis, or box, inscribed *Norfolk et Suffolk in genre*, contains several papers worthy to be consulted.

§ Budden confutes Polydore Vergil, who says he was a long while in the office: “*Is etenim homo propter justitiam prudentiamque diu Angliæ cancellarius fuit.*” Verg. Hist. l. xxiii. p. 493, fol. Basil. 1570. Budden, p. 79. Godwin, p. 232, (and Ayliffe,) makes him Chancellor from 1449 to 1458. Wharton, *Angl. S. vol. i. p. 318*, remarks this mistake of Godwin. Spelmau in *v. Cancell.* sets him down as Chancellor according to some 28 Henry VI., but with a *quære*; and afterwards 35 Hen. VI.; and Nevill 38 Hen. VI., which is right. Collier says he was *several* years Chancellor. Gale, *Hist. and Antiq. of the Cathedral at Winchester*, cites the Close Rolls, 35 Henry VI. and gives the year 1457. Dugdale makes him Chancellor from Oct. 11, 1457, to 25th. July, 1460. *Orig. Jurid.* Wharton, as also Richardson on Godwin, continue him Chancellor to 25th. July, 1460.

¶ Budden, p. 75. ∥ He was succeeded as Chancellor by Nevill, Bishop of Exeter, youngest brother of the Earl of Warwick.

services, and unblemished reputation : at once furnishing a striking instance of his own justice and generosity, and of his regard for Waynflete, who could not fail, on his part, to be deeply penetrated with a lively sense of the kindness, and the affliction, of so condescending, so benevolent a master.

CHAPTER VI.

Of Bishop Waynflete under King Edward IV. during the Confinement of King Henry.

BISHOP Longland* related, that Waynflete “ was in great dedignation with King Edward, and fled for fere of him into secrete corners, but at last was restorid to his goodes and the Kinges favour.” We are likewise told† that he suffered much for his loyalty to King Henry ; that, by his persuasion, the citizens of Winchester refused to proclaim Edward or acknowledge him for their sovereign ; and that he and they were sentenced to severe chastisement ; also, that Edward was *ever averse* to him.‡ But Budden§ dissents from Leland and Cooper respecting this conduct of Edward, and affirms that his clemency consoled the affliction of Waynflete, who seems rather to have changed, than to have lost, his royal patron. That a prelate who had enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Henry in so eminent a degree as Waynflete, and had been so closely connected with the Lancastrian chieftains, should be immediately countenanced and favoured by Edward, seems more than could be reasonably expected. That he should not be persecuted, may appear a tribute due to his personal merit and high reputation, as well as consonant with the generosity and justice for which the youthful conqueror has been celebrated. A dispute had subsisted between the Bishop and some of his tenants in Hants, especially of the manor of East-meon, concerning certain services, customs, and duties claimed by him. The King being in his progress in that country, in Aug. 1461, was beset by a multitude of them, beseeching him to remedy their grievances. Not having leisure then to

* Leland. Itin. iv. p. 1. 50.

† Hist. and Antiq. of Winchester, vol. ii. p. 93. Gale, p. 102.

‡ Godwin.

§ P. 81.

examine into the matter, &c. he referred the business to lawyers, who were ordered to make their report to himself and the peers. The three sergeants and his attorney gave a copious detail of particulars before the Lords spiritual and temporal, in the Parliament chamber, Dec. 14. The Lord Chancellor asking their advice, it was determined, that, considering the clear evidence produced to establish the claims of the Bishop, he ought not to meet with any trouble or contradiction from the tenants, who had failed of showing sufficient cause for the exemptions which they solicited. The enemies of Waynflete were eager, it should seem, as soon as the revolution was effected, to stir up complaints against him, and to procure him disgrace or mortification. But we can discover no symptom of an hostile disposition in Edward toward Waynflete in this transaction. His behaviour is wise and temperate, and, with the Peers of that very Parliament which attainted Henry, he forbears to gratify any private distaste to his friend by public partiality and injustice in a decision on his property. In the following year he ratified and confirmed to him and his successors the charters and privileges of his See.

CHAPTER VII.

Of Bishop Waynflete during the Remainder of the Reign of King Edward IV.

THE extirpation of the Lancastrian party had been nearly effected by battles, murders, attainders, exile, and the scaffold, when Edward was destined in his turn to be for a time with Henry, the sport of inconstant fortune.

The heavens at this æra of public confusion and discord seem to have been subject to disorder, as well as the minds of men, and to have shed a malign influence on the land. Waynflete, regarding physical calamity as a punishment of sins calling for repentance, ordered in 1464 (Feb. 8,) processions and litanies in his Diocese, to obtain a wholesome temperature of the air, with a kindly season for the cattle and fruits of the earth, and to avert the reigning mortality and pestilence: also in 1467 (Oct. 9,) to procure the cessation of a fatal distemper which raged in the borough of Southwark and its vicinity, among innocents and children who had scarcely attained to the use

of reason; on account, it was feared, of the iniquities of their fathers: also in 1470, when the country was afflicted in an uncommon degree by various kinds of disturbances, and by bad air and tempests. Edward was then in arms against the Scots, and one suffrage was for the prosperity and success of his expedition. The Bishop until he was [had been] made Chancellor, had held frequent general ordinations, excepting in a few instances, in person, at various places in his Diocese; in the Chapels of his manors of Merwell, of Southwark, of Waltham, of Esher, of his palace at Wolvesey, in the Collegiate Church of St. Elizabeth by Winton, and in his Cathedral. But he was then prevented from continuing them in the same manner, by multiplicity of business, and a constant attendance on the court. It appears from his Register that he held four ordinations in 1457, the year after he was made Lord Chancellor; one at the conventual Church of Mottesfont in April, and one at Rumsey in Sept. 1458; and in the Chapel of his manor of South Waltham in Sept. 1480. During the above interval, and afterwards, his suffragan, William, Bishop of Sidon, a Monk of the order of St. Austin, (who was appointed to the same office by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1468,) performed that duty for him almost uninterruptedly, for the last time May 20, 1486. The whole Diocese had experienced the diligence of their Bishop in spiritual matters, and especially the religious houses, which abounded. His paternal care was exerted to reform their abuses, and to restore them, if possible, to their primitive purity. When the civil tempest was abated, he resumed his wonted attention to these affairs. In particular, he had begun an inquisition into the state, the morals, life, and conversation of the abbot and regulars of the Monastery of St. Peter de Hyde near Winchester; which he continued by commissions in 1469, a variety of arduous business not permitting his personal presence; and concluded in 1471 by giving the society a set of injunctions for their guidance, and by the banishment of the abbot with a pension of £50. a year. Waynflete was among the Lords spiritual and temporal assembled with other persons of quality in July 1471, when Edward exacted from them an oath of fealty*

* Rymer, t. xi. p. 714.

to his infant son, born during his short exile, whom he soon after created Prince of Wales as heir-apparent. In 1472 Pope Sixtus IV. notified to King Edward the sending of the red hat designed for the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bourchier) by his predecessor Paul II., who had declared him a Cardinal. It was delivered May 31, at Lambeth, in the presence of Bishop Stillington, Lord Chancellor, three other prelates, the suffragan of the Archbishop, the prior of Christ-Church, London, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, and of many barons, knights, and nobles, citizens of London, and venerable persons, no solemnity or ceremony being omitted. The mass *De Sancto Spiritu* was celebrated by the Bishop of Winchester, who also placed the hat *tinged with the blood of Christ* on the head of the new Cardinal!! The Bishop, who was always assiduous in the discharge of his religious functions, commonly attended the solemnities of the order of the Garter. In particular, he was present in 1476 (Feb. 27,) when King Edward held a grand festival at Windsor in the most royal manner. The sovereign with the knights, "being all mounted on horsebacke in their habits of blew, rode to the chapter; from thence they went to the quire on foote," and when evening was over, up again to the castle. Waynflete, as prelate of the order, performed the service of the day, St. George the Martyr, in the Chapel.

The Bishop continued his attendance on the court. He was present with many Lords of the council at Staunford in 1473, when the great seal was delivered (27th July) to the Bishop of Durham, and was frequently with the King at other times and places. We have reason to believe that he was well received and in favour, as Edward confirmed by charter the grants made to his College by King Henry, and added licences of mortmain, with other tokens of good will, which met with a grateful return on the part of the founder. But this distinction was enjoyed without his losing the regard of the Lancastrian party; and the respect they showed him, proves that they did not consider it as gained by temporizing and by servility. If he suffered not as some other prelates, if he was neither imprisoned, exiled, nor attainted for his attachment to King Henry, candour will pronounce that he was withheld by the natural mildness of his disposition from taking so bold and active a part; and that

his subsequent security was the result of his age, and of a character, in which the virtues of the truly Christian Bishop were unmixed and unsullied by the ferocity of the warrior and the turbulence of the politician.

CHAPTER VIII.

Proceedings at Oxford, with the Building and Settling of Magdalen College, to the end of the Reign of Edw. IV.

THOUGH public confusion was unfriendly to the designs of Waynflete at Oxford, yet even in this period his college had met with benefactors. Thomas Ingledew, one of his chaplains of the diocese of York, had given with his own hands to the president and perpetual fellows, in October 1461, the sum of 763 marks (£508. 13s. 4d.) with which they purchased land and rents to the yearly amount of £24. sterling, for the augmentation of two fellowships, to be filled for ever by clerks born in the dioceses of York and Durham rather than elsewhere; who, within six months after his decease, were to celebrate mass for his soul and for that of John Bowyke, clerk; for the souls of his parents, of Elionare Aske and others to whom he was obliged; and the society engaged to pray for his soul and that of Bowyke, as benefactors and aiders of the college. He gave also certain jewels and books, and directed a small distribution of money (one of 7d. and one of 5d.) to the poor, on some particular festivals, to be made at the college gate. About the same time John Forman, one of the bachelor fellows named in the charter of Magdalen Hall, and perpetual vicar of Ruston by Wakefield in Yorkshire, delivered to the president and fellows 100 marks (£66. 13s. 4d.) for the use of the college, to be employed on fit, lawful, and honest occasions; on condition that they should always have a fellow a native of that county; to be elected by him while living; to be of his family, that is, descended from John his father; or, no such candidate appearing, to be born in or near the parishes of Rothwell and Ruston, one his birth-place, the other his benefice, to be a priest; to say mass for his soul, and to go several times yearly to sow the word about that neighbourhood. The same person gave, the year before Waynflete died, (Aug. 13, 1485,) a sum of money for a chest, to be called *Mutuum Forman*, and

£20. for the buying of a parcel of land in Golder. The founder had continued his attention to the endowment of his college. William de Braiosa had given in 1075 the churches of St. Peter at Sele, St. Nicholas at Bramber and at Shoreham, with some others in Sussex, to the Abbey of St. Florence at Salmur in France. A Convent of Benedictine Monks from that Monastery was soon after fixed at Sele. This alien priory was made denizen in 1396; when the charter describes it as founded by the ancestors of Thomas Lord Mareschal and Nottingham. The grant of it to Waynflete was ratified by John Duke of Norfolk, and also by his son, in October, 1451; who relinquished to him the patronage and advowson. In the process for the annexion and appropriation, before the delegates of the Bishop of Chichester, in 1469, and of the Pope in 1471, John Waynflete was examined as Dean and as Arch-deacon, to prove the seals of his chapter and of the Bishops of Chichester and Winchester; and it is remarkable, that Dr. William Gyfford deposed that the founder had admitted several persons to be presidents of his college, and that he had been of the number. President Tybarde and the society made Gyfford, with others, their attorney in July, 1474, to take possession. As the buildings of the Hospital of St. John were dispersed and irregular, and far too small for the reception of the new society, Waynflete had resolved to alter and enlarge them, to render their form more commodious, and to make the additions requisite for the comfort and convenience of a collegiate body. His progress had been suspended or retarded by his private troubles and the calamities of the nation. The return of public tranquillity afforded him leisure for a review of his plans: and the valuable See which he possessed, with his personal fortune, enabled him to carry them into execution. The foundation-stone of the college was sanctified May 5, 1474, by the venerable father, Robert Toly, Bishop of St. David's, in his pontificals, and respectfully deposited in its place, the middle of the high altar, by President Tybard. The quarry of Hedington, which had been discovered in the reign of Henry III. was now in higher repute than that of Hinxe, and from it the stone for the edifice was taken. We find Waynflete contracting with William Orchyerd, the principal mason, in 1475, 1478, and the following year, for finishing the tower over the gate-way with a pyramid 16

feet high above the level of the gutter; for crowning the walls of the chapel and hall with niched battlements; for a coping to these and the library; for completing the chambers, cloisters, and other imperfect portions of the fabric; and for fashioning the great window of the chapel, with the windows of the chambers, after the model of All Souls. King Edward was now building his chapel at Windsor. Some friends of the University of Oxford made an offer to finish the divinity-school, which had been founded by the munificence of Duke Humphrey, but from want of money was not completed. In March, 1475, the Chancellor (Dr. Chaundler) and convocation represented to the King in an humble address, that they could not proceed on this important business, which had been suspended near 60 years, because all the stonemasons were engaged for his magnificent works; that, if it was deferred, they were apprehensive of losing by death those liberal patrons who had undertaken to defray the expense; that, seeing his ardour in erecting a fabric to the glory of God, they did not dare to request him for any of his men; but, as he had granted some to the Bishop of Winchester, asked only the royal permission to use such as they could prevail on him to spare. The King, as also Waynflete, whom they solicited by letter, complied with the desire of the University. Some writers have mentioned Waynflete as Chancellor of Oxford, and Budden agrees with them as to the fact, but is unable to ascertain the time when, *the public records being dissipated through the neglect of certain persons*. Others have made him fill the office about the year of his advancement to the prelacy; but that it was not occupied by him then, has been proved by A. Wood; and it seems to have escaped observation, that letters are addressed to him by the chancellor. The post at this period was commonly possessed by some academic resident in the university. Dr. Chaundler continued Chancellor from 1457 to 1461, when he was succeeded by Bishop Nevill. He was Chancellor again in 1472, and remained until 1479, when he resigned on account of his age.

The scholars which had remained in Magdalen Hall removed with the president to the College, before the Chapel was finished; and the society made use of the oratory of the hospital for their place of worship. The Hall on their quitting it resumed its old name of *Bostar*

Hall; was for a while inhabited by academics; then let to a tailor; and in 1482 granted by the College, with the garden, on lease to a vintner and another tenant for 81 years, at the annual rent of 26s. 8*d.* The society had before celebrated divine service in the parish Church of St. Peter's in the East. On their translation to the hospital, the vicar and patron of Merton College laid claim to tithes, to the privilege of administering the sacramental and funeral rites, and of receiving dues and oblations within its precincts, as being in that parish; and, after some demur, it was agreed to settle (April 10, 1480) a yearly pension of 26s. 8*d.* on the vicar for ever, in lieu of all demands. It was the desire of Waynflete, that his College, founded at a great expense, might be exempted with the inclosure from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, and in future be subject to that of the Bishop of Winchester. The Bishop complied with his request (6th July 1480,) after carefully treating with the dean and chapter; considering his devout intention in it as useful to Mother Church, and expedient for the quiet study of the president and scholars. A bull of approbation was obtained from the Pope, which also confirmed the proceedings under his predecessor. Waynflete soon after constituted his successors in his See the visitors of his College and interpreters of his statutes; and the Pope by a decree rendered the office of president compatible with any other ecclesiastical benefices with and without cure, and with any dignities; their emoluments to be enjoyed without obligation to residence. The society of Magdalen College had been governed 21 years without statutes in an honourable and laudable manner by president Tybarde. The scattered members being collected into one body, the founder resolved to furnish it with a code of laws, the groundwork taken, as for King Henry's Colleges, from the institutes of Wykeham. Master Richard Mayew, S. T. P. then lately fellow of New College, whom Waynflete had appointed to be his first sworn president, arrived at Magdalen College Aug. 23, 1480. The venerable Tybarde received him most politely, with all love, honour, and respect, and the same day resigned his office. The next day Dr. Mayew delivered, in the great hall of the College, a short oration exhorting to unity and peace, grounded on Gal. vi. 2: "Alter alterius onera portate;"

and took the oath prescribed by the founder, in the presence of all the masters and bachelors of the College then in the University. After this ceremony, he produced letters mandatory for the receiving and humbly obeying him as president; and also certain statutes concerning the state of the College, and the good government of the scholars. At the same time, Mr. Richard Bernys, who had been previously admitted perpetual fellow by the founder, was received as vice president; and Mr. Will. Colett as bursar; being the first to whom the oath of their offices was administered.

The baneful effects of civil discord had been severely felt by the liberal sciences in general. Grammar-learning in particular had languished to such a degree, that the University of Oxford, apprehensive of its total extinction, and of the consequent invasion of barbarism, had solicited the Bishop of Lincoln, their Diocesan, to interpose in its behalf, and to afford it encouragement. Waynflete had already appeared as a patron of this study. He knew it was idle to provide for the nurture of the plant, and to expect the produce, if the seed was not sown. From the Easter preceding the arrival of his new president, he had employed a master and usher to teach *gratis*, at his expense, in a certain low hall within the College, on the south side of the chapel; part of the old building or hospital; and, it should seem, under the Chapel of St. John, to which was an ascent by stairs. It was his design to erect an edifice near the College-gate, with certain chambers and lodgings for a master and usher over it, and with a kitchen adjoining for its use; which was begun Aug. 1480, in the first month and year of president Mayew; Mr. Bernys being appointed prefect or overseer. The grammar-school was translated to it when finished; and the low hall, then unoccupied, was converted into an alms-house. Sept. 20, 1481, the Bishop repaired to Oxford, to supervise the state of his society and the new buildings; taking with him the deeds or writings of several manors and estates belonging to it. He was respectfully received into his College with a procession by the president and scholars, not only as founder, but as their ordinary and visitor. The president, after his entry, addressed to him a thesis or proposition, and short congratulatory oration on his arrival, to the praise, honour, and glory, of Almighty God, and on the

magnificence of his name and works. On the 22nd, Waynflete set out for Woodstock, where King Edward, of his own accord and of his special favour, promised him to visit his new College in the evening, and to pass the night there. After sunset he entered the parish of St. Giles with a multitude of men, innumerable torches burning before him. The Chancellor, Mr. *Lionel Wydevyle, brother to the Queen, and successor of Dr. Chaundler, with the masters regent and non-regent, received him honourably without the University, and escorted him to Magdalen College. He was there received in like manner, and introduced by Waynflete, the president and scholars in procession. With him came the Bishops of Chichester, Ely, and Rochester, the Earl of Lincoln, Lord High Treasurer; Lord Stanley, Lord Dacre of Sussex, Sir Thomas Barowyg, Knt. and many other nobles; who all met with an honourable reception from the founder, and passed the night in the College. This year (1481) the union of a Hospital or Chantry at Romney in Kent with the College was completed. The Hospital had been founded for lepers by Adam de Cherring, in the time of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, or between the years 1184 and 1191, in honour of St. Stephen and St. Thomas Becket. In 1363, it being decayed and forsaken, John Frauncys, then patron, re-established there a master and one priest. Waynflete possessed half of the right to present to the Chapel, with all lands, tenements, meadows, and appurtenances of the moiety, as long before as 1459; and also of the whole right of John Fraes, Thomas Hoo, and Alexander Altham in the Hospital. He probably became the sole proprietor by purchase. It is related by Leland, that he had been informed on testimony deserving credit, that "a good part of the buildings of Eton College accrued by means and at the expense of Waynflete; for he was a very great favourer of the work begun by King Henry, but left very onperfect and rauly." We have evidence to corroborate the assertion. He appears an annual contributor to the fabric as early as the year 1449. He agreed with Orgard, or Orchyerd,

[* Afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.—See Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of that See, Pt. 1. 260. p.]

for the digging of a sufficient quantity of stone at Hedington, to be delivered within a limited time, for the use of Eton and of his own College. He also contracted for lead for Eton in 1482. The same year (25th July) Mr. Berne, his vice-president, paid by his order for the carriage of stone for the Chapel there from the revenue of Magdalen. It was probable that the stone-work of both Colleges was nearly finished, as the quarry at Hedington was let to a mason in 1482. Dr. Mayew returned from the founder July 18, 1482, with certain ordinances and statutes; particularly the statute concerning the election of scholars to a year of probation and admission to be actual fellows; on which the scholars, to whom he confided them, deliberated during the 19th. On the next day he admitted 20 actual and perpetual fellows. Then also the first deans were elected, with the unanimous consent of all the seniors of the College; Mr. William Rydall, dean of divinity; Mr. Thomas Kerver and Mr. William Fell, deans of the faculty of arts. The president, vice-president, and three deans next proceeded, as the founder and the statutes had directed, to the election of *middle commoners*, vulgarly called demies, which lasted three days. On the 26th. the president and all the fellows proceeded to elect scholars to a year of probation. An oath, as the statute enjoined, was required from all who were chosen. The restriction of fellowships and demyships to particular counties and dioceses took place, it is apprehended, at this time. The only qualifications before required for a demyship were, to be versed in grammar, in logic, and in plain chant. The number of fellows and demys was not yet fixed. Sixteen masters and 5 bachelors of arts were elected probationers. At the admission of demies, July 28, 18 who had attained to their 16th year were sworn; and all these had been of the College before, in commons, without the oaths and statutes. Their counties are specified. The first sworn was Nicholas Tycheborn of Hants. Seven were admitted but not sworn, being under age; and 4 nominated but not admitted. The same year (1482) was remarkable for a disturbance, created at the election of proctors for the University by the regent masters of Magdalen College. Waynflete, whose interposition was required, directed that the smaller should be directed by the larger party. Those who

refused to submit to the majority and their decision, were, after due deliberation, dismissed from the society in consequence of his letter; and the Register adds, that this conduct of the president and masters was highly agreeable to the founder. The same letter, with the statute which directs how dissensions should be pacified, was again taken into consideration by the president, officers, and 6 seniors assembled in the hall, in 1488; when they made a decree, that in future no fellow or scholar should labour, or be in any way concerned, in obtaining the proctorship for himself or another without the consent of the president, or, in his absence, of the vice-president, and a majority of the masters: under the penalty of immediate expulsion, in case of perseverance after an admonition to desist. In the following year, King Edward distressed by the situation of his affairs foreign and domestic, fell into a deep melancholy. He died April 9th, 1482, and was buried the 19th. His body was conveyed from Westminster to Eton, where it was received by the procession of Windsor. It was censed at the castle-gate by the Archbishop of York, and by the Bishop of Winchester, who was also present, with divers great persons, when his effects were sequestered by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his executors not administering to his will. The body was discovered in March 1789, in repairing the choir of St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

CHAPTER IX.

*Proceedings at Oxford in the time of King Richard III.;
with the Building of the Chapel and School-house at
Waynflete, Lincolnshire.*

It was affirmed and believed of King Richard III., by the multitude, that he had stabbed Prince Edward after the battle of Tewksbury, had assassinated King Henry in his bed, and had compassed the destruction of the Duke of Clarence, his own brother. He had besides recently usurped the throne, not without bloodshed; and had shut up the young King Edward V. and the Prince, his nephews, in the Tower. He was, however, as yet guiltless of their murder, when he resolved to visit Magdalen College on his way to Gloucester. The Bishop repaired to Oxford July 22, to provide for the

entertainment of King Richard III., and to supervise the state of his College and its buildings. The Chancellor, Wydevyle, now Bishop of Salisbury,* with the masters regent and non-regent, respectfully met the King without the University on his approach from Windsor, July 24. He was afterwards honourably received and conducted in procession into Magdalen College by the founder, his president, and scholars; and there passed the night, as also that of the day following. The founder tarried at his College after the departure of the King, and delivered to the society his statutes in a body, still subject to his revisal, additions, and alterations. The original book was deposited by his order in a chest, in the upper room of a tower which he had constructed as a place of security. Copies were provided for the president and for the officers, who were to receive them yearly on their admission, with certain keys, from him. One, probably that reserved by Waynflete for his own use, was transmitted to his successors in the See of Winchester until the vacancy made by Bishop Horne; when, it being lost through negligence, president Bond in 1596 provided a new transcript to replace it; which has been superseded by another of more recent date, being attested by the officers of the College Aug. 20, 1720. Of the control exercised by the founder over the statutes an instance occurs in the same year. He had ordained that any fellow, obtaining peaceably an ecclesiastical benefice more than 12 marks in value, should be obliged either to relinquish it or to quit the College at the end of a year from the time. A kind regard to the merits of master William Fell, and to the entreaties of his friends, induced him to permit his retaining a benefice to which he had been promoted, together with the College, for one year more after resignation, a new presentation, and real peaceable possession; declaring, however, that, according to the statute and his intention, he could have, and had, no right to hold it with the College, even after a resignation and new presentation made within the year: and this exposition of the statute he directs to be observed in

* He was made Bishop while at Cumnor in 1482. A Wood, p. 413. [See his Life in Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury.]

future. The public seal was occasionally set to instruments by his mandate.

The Bishop possessed certain lands and tenements at Waynflete, which William Aulekar and Richard Bennington had devised to him by will, May 19, 1475, (15 Edw. IV.) He was desirous, by planting grammar learning in the place of his nativity, to extend it in the northern provinces of the kingdom; and resolved to erect there a school and chapel, as he had done near his College. He employed master John Gigur, warden of Merton College, Oxford, and of the College at Tateshale, Lincolnshire, to procure a site and to contract with workmen for the building; and the indenture for the carpentry is dated April 25, 1484, (1 Ric. III.) He conveyed to the same person the property before mentioned, to be made over by him to the president and scholars of Magdalen for the endowment. This amounted to £10. a year in land, as we are told by Leland; the sum assigned to the head-master for his salary, by Wykeham at Winchester, &c. In 1484 the advowson of the parsonage of Slimbridge, Gloucestershire, and of Findon, Sussex, was vested in Waynflete by the Earl of Notyugham, on condition that he and Johanna his wife should, while living, have daily participation of all the prayers and suffrages to be used in the Chapel of the College; that intercession should be made for ever for their souls, for that of Thomas, late Lord Berkeley, and those of James and Isabella his parents; also, that on the decease of the Earl, or his wife, the president and scholars should, at a convenient time after the knowledge of it, keep solemnly on the morrow an *Obit De placebo* and *Dirige* and mass *De requiem*, per notam. Learning had long been chiefly in the possession of ecclesiastics, and the lay lawyers, it should seem, still laboured under the imputation of ignorance; for the margin of the College Register informs us that this agreement was not drawn by the lawyers of the founder, but of the Earl; and adds, "Igitur noli mirari de Latinitate." Waynflete, as Bishop of Winchester, was patron of the priory of Seleburn, Hants, founded by Peter de Rupibus in 1233 for canons regular of the order of St. Austin.* Wykeham

* [See p. 161 of this work for the Life of Bishop Rock.—EDIT.]

in 1387 had endeavoured to make these monks conform to their institution; but they neglected his ordinances, relapsed into their former bad conduct, were again reduced in number, and had suffered such manifest ruin and notorious dilapidation on their premises, that in 1462 Waynflete sequestered the revenues to repair the priory and its appurtenances. He continued to labour, after the example of Wykeham, to restore and uphold the convent: but the society dwindled away; no prior or other canon regular, incorporated, was resident there; the neglect of the rules of the order and of religion had occasioned great scandal; and in a multitude of instances the rents and profits were applied to the uses of laymen. The Bishop, full of pastoral solicitude, and of pious compassion for the founder Peter de Rupibus, had been diligent, as he tells us, in his own person and by his officers to remedy the evil. He had punished the mal-administration of some priors by removing them, and had appointed governors in whose care and circumspection he could confide. His exertions had produced so little effect, that, considering the badness of the times, as he informs us, and from what was passed, fearing and anticipating the future, he was led utterly to despair of the possibility of establishing there again, either the order of St. Austin or any other, so as to answer the intention of Peter de Rupibus. Such being the situation of the convent and its visitor, it was resolved, on a petition of the president and scholars of Magdalen representing the insufficiency of their revenues for their maintenance, to annex the foundation to the College. The Bishop, with the concurrence of the chapter of Winton, directed commissaries in Sept. 1484 to confirm the appropriation to them, so that, on the cession or vacancy of the priorship, they might enter on the premises, by their attorney. The process, probably from some flaw, was repeated in 1485, when the society of Magdalen consisted of a president, 80 scholars, 16 choristers, and 13 servitors. It remained to obtain the sanction of the Pope; and the agent at Rome met with difficulty, from a plea, that the ordinary not having power to unite a regular with a secular benefice, the College had not been entitled to receive the income of the priory, but must refund it into the apostolic chamber. The same demand was made for the Chapel of Wanborough. The business was pro-

tracted till June 1486, a few weeks before the death of Waynflete, when the bulle was issued. The society afterwards maintained there a chantry-priest, to say masses for the souls of all the benefactors of the Priory and College, and of all the faithful defunct. He was allowed two chambers adjoining to the chapel, with conveniences for his residence, and a clerk to assist at the altar and in the superintendency of their possessions. A transaction which met with no opposition at home, and was generally approved of at the time, has been mentioned by a writer or two of this age in a manner that conveys an oblique censure on the Bishop. We are told that he got the priory settled on his College, though the founder *had carefully forbidden such alienation*: but we are not told, what is equally true, that the institution of Peter de Rupibus, after languishing for a long period, had finally expired; and that the revenues of his priory, if they had not been appropriated to a college, must have been diverted to some other, probably to a more unworthy purpose. Add too, that his principal end in the endowment, which was to have the benefit of masses and prayers for his soul, and which had been frustrated at Seleburn, was better answered and secured by the transfer to Magdalen College, where they continued to be celebrated until the Reformation, and where Peter de Rupibus is still commemorated. We may further remark here, that it has been asked, [by A. Wood.] “who has ever blamed Chicheley, *Waynflete*, and other excellent men and munificent founders, for erecting and endowing their colleges on the ruins, and with the spoils of the alien monasteries which had been confiscated?” *Waynflete*, it is apprehended, is introduced without reason, not having been, as far as I have discovered, of that number.

CHAPTER X.

Of Magdalen College, Oxford.

THE scandalous lives of the monastic clergy, were a topic largely insisted on by Wickliffe and his followers. The visitations of his diocese by Waynflete as ordinary, had furnished him with evidence of their bad conduct, and its influence on his mind is explained by his own pen. (Lib. Statut. in fine.) He relates, that he had carefully inspected the traditions of the ancient fathers, and the

various approved rules of the saints ; and that he had been grieved, on a survey of their numerous professors, to find the institutions were no longer observed, as formerly, according to the intention of the founders ; that, disturbed on this account, he had seen clearly, it were better for him to dispense his temporal goods with his own hands to the poor, than to appropriate and confirm them in perpetuity to the uses of the imprudent, bringing danger on the souls of many by their violating his ordinances : but after long wavering, and most devoutly invoking the divine assistance, he resolved to establish, by royal and apostolic authority, one perpetual College, to be called St. Mary Magdalen College, in the University of Oxford, for poor and needy scholars, clerks ; who should be required to study, and make proficiency in divers sciences and faculties ; to the praise and glory and honour of Christ, his virgin-mother, the blessed St. Mary Magdalen, St. John Baptist, the apostles Peter and Paul, St. Swithun the Confessor, and the other saints, patrons of the Cathedral of Winchester, and of all saints ; for the maintenance and exaltation of the Christian faith, &c. Waynflete expended a considerable sum on the embattled wall now inclosing the grove, the alterations of the hospital, and the fabric of his college ; which has undergone some changes in a long series of years, not to mention the additional buildings ; but still exists a curious monument of the age in which it was erected. The portal or grand entrance of the quadrangle is decorated with the statues of the two founders of the hospital and college ; and of their patron-saints : Waynflete kneeling in prayer ; King Henry III. ; Mary Magdalen ; and St. John Baptist. These all again occur, in small but elegant figures, over the great or western door of the chapel ; Waynflete kneeling as before, and as he is represented on the seals of the hall and college ; with Bishop Wykeham on his right hand, (which is remarkable,) and Mary Magdalen in the middle. On each side of the chapel-door, near the cloister, is an angel carved in relievo, holding a scroll, with characters painted and gilded ; one with the motto of the founder,

fecit mihi magna qui potens est !

the other with a passage from Gen. xxviii. 17.

Hic est domus Dei et porta celi ;

which was formerly exhibited by an angel in like manner near the entrance of the chapel at New College. In the centre of the arch of the stone-roof by this door is a small figure of an aged Bishop in his pontificals, with a cross raised in his left hand, the fingers of his right disposed according to the usage of the Romish church in giving the benediction. He is between two angels with wings, such as may be seen supporting the arms of Waynflete in the cloister, by the library, and in various other places. Portraits or busts of Kings and Bishops, now disregarded and without a name, adorn the inside of the chapel and hall. Grotesque or emblematical figures are disposed round the quadrangle. The spouts, roofs, windows, and doors, have their carved work. Towards the street is a monk in a cowl. Among the armorial bearings are the royal, the rose with a radiated sun or star, the plume of ostrich feathers, the portcullis, and those of the See of Winchester and of the founder. The initials of his name (W.W.) occur in cypher; and his favourite lilies are frequently introduced. The magnificence as well as the piety of Waynflete was displayed in the chapel. The windows, after the fashion which had prevailed from the time of Henry IV., were adorned with portraits and painting on the glass. It was rich in missals, manuals, martyrologies, antiphonaries, and books of devotion, some finely ornamented; in crosses gilded or set with precious stones, some inclosing a portion of *the real wood*; [*risum teneatis?*] in chalices, of which one was given by president Mayew, and another by T. Kerver; and in all sorts of sacred utensils, many valuable for the materials and of curious workmanship; in copes and sacerdotal vestments, some of damask, velvet, and gold tissue, of various colours, decorated with pearls, and embroidered, some with the arms of Waynflete, some with lilies and other flowers, with birds, animals, [beasts] and devices; with images representing angels and holy persons, the crucifixion, and scriptural stories; besides canopies, curtains, standards, streamers, linen, and a multiplicity of articles used by the Romish Church in great abundance for the high altar, and the altars in the nave of the chapel, in all six; and for the chapel of the president. Two inventories of these sacred effects are extant; and mention is made of oblations before the image of St. Mary Magdalen, which probably graced the high altar.

The society was finally fixed to consist of a president; 40 scholars, clerks, including the 3 stipulated for by Ingledew and Forman; 30 scholars, commonly called Demies, *because they were originally admitted to half-commons*; 4 presbyters, chaplains; 8 clerks, and 16 choristers; besides servants and other dependants. The schoolmaster and usher were to be allowed each a yearly stipend of 100s., besides chambers and weekly commons. A person was to be hired to teach the choristers. A clerk of accounts was to be provided and agreed with by the president and bursars. Bailiffs were to be appointed who lived on the manors, and had frequent opportunities of seeing the lands and tenements. The two porters were to be likewise barbers, *and to shave diligently the president and the other members of the college*; and in the old account-books charges occur for the necessary implements. To perpetuate the number of 40, Waynflete directed the vacancies to be filled annually with bachelors or masters of arts, competently skilled in plain chant, having the first clerical tonsure, fit and disposed for the priesthood; to which every master, if not S.C.L. or M., was to proceed within the year after the completion of his regency, unless some legal impediment subsisted. The masters promoted to the priesthood were speedily to be instructed in the devout celebration of mass. They were forbidden, while collegiates, to perform it elsewhere by way of annual service, or to accept of any stipend; but with permission, to serve the cure of Horspath near Oxford, and to receive for officiating at it in the chapel. The succession of 40 he annexed to certain dioceses and counties, from which the candidates were to be chosen to a year of probation before they could be admitted real fellows, From the diocese of Winton, 5; county of Lincoln, 7; ditto Oxford, 4; ditto Berks, 3; diocese of Norwich, 4; ditto Chichester, 2; county of Gloucester, 2; ditto Warwick, 2; from London and from the counties of Bucks, Kent, Nottingham, Essex, Somerset, Northampton, Wilts, each 1; from the county of York 1, and from the diocese of York and Durham, 2. The 30 scholars or demies, were to be chosen not under 12 years of age, with a preference first to the parishes and places, and next to the counties, in which the college should have possessions acquired in his lifetime.

CHAPTER XI.

To the Death of Waynflete.

THE life of Waynflete, and the miseries arising from civil discord, were now hastening to a conclusion. He had been employed in establishing and watching over his favourite institution at Oxford above 37 years. He had settled his society under a governor whose conduct he approved; and had given it statutes which he knew to be calculated for the advancement of its welfare and reputation, and for the increase of religion and learning, to the praise and glory of God. He was now far stricken in years, and unwilling or unable to attend to public business. As was the custom of the Bishops of Winchester, and of other great persons, he had hitherto frequently changed the places of his residence; removing with his numerous retainers, to his various castles or mansions, as suited with the season, their stores of provision, his convenience, or inclination, until Dec. 1485; when he repaired from Southwark to South-Waltham, where he did not survive to the fulfilling the treaty of marriage between the two houses, which diffused joy and consolation over the whole realm. An epistle addressed to him in this year, is prefixed to a book entitled "*Triumphus Amoris D. N. Jesu Christi.*" now among the unprinted MSS. in the library at Lambeth. The author was Lawrence William de Savona, one of the friars minors in London, and D.D., who compiled a new rhetoric at Cambridge in 1478, which was printed at St. Alban's in 1480. It contains an eulogy on Waynflete and on his college. The writer expatiates particularly on his bounty, of which he tells us the poor had daily and large experience at divers places, at his splendid mansions and at churches; and affirms, that his prudence and wisdom, generosity, clemency, and compassion, were every where and generally extolled by the people. Mention is made of the venerable grey hair of the Bishop.

Waynflete prepared for his departure out of this life, with the dignity and calm composure of integrity and a good conscience. Among his worldly concerns, his college still occupied a principal portion of his care; and Dr. Mayew was often with him, as he had been before he finally left London. In various matters, which

for some reason or other were postponed, he declared his mind and pleasure to him, to be fulfilled by the society after his decease. The war between the houses of York and Lancaster had produced 12 pitched battles, in which 80 persons of royal lineage, and 90,000 men had perished. Many had been the noble sufferers by attainder, confiscation, exile, and the scaffold; many the tragical incidents and vicissitudes of fortune, witnessed during a long life by Waynflete. Even the recent and grateful triumph of King Henry, was attended with sorrow for the bloodshed, for the slain, for the captured, or the fugitive acquaintance and friend. We cannot wonder if, worn with affliction and age, he wished for a speedy release from the burthen. April 27, 1486, he received, says Budden, something as it were of a divine impression or admonition, not unlike that of the Prophet Hezekiah, 2 Kings, v. 1. "Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live." His will is dated on that day at South-Waltham. *Will.*—In the preamble he declares, that he was panting for the life to come, and perceived the day of his expectation in this valley of tears arrived as it were at its eve, and the time of his dissolution near at hand. He bequeaths his soul to Almighty God, the Virgin, Mary Magdalen, and the patron-saints of his Cathedral; and directs that his body should be buried in the tomb which he had provided for it, in a Chapel of the Blessed Mary Magdalen, in his Church of Winchester. He then leaves for the celebration of his exequies, on the day of his sepulture, and on the trental of his obit, as follows, the money to be distributed by equal portions, viz. To the Prior of the Convent of Winchester, besides a cup and cover gilded, 40s.; to each of the Monks, if a priest, 13s. 4d.: if not, 3s. 4d. To the Abbot of Hyde, 13s. 4d.; to each of the Monks, if a priest, 6s. 8d.: if not, 3s. 4d. To the Abbess of the Monastery of St. Mary Wynton, 13s. 4d.; to each Nun, if professed, 2s.: if not, 1s. 4d. To the Warden of the College at Winchester, 6s. 8d.; to each Priest, 2s.; to each clerk, 1s. 4d.; to each boy, 4d.; and for two pittances* for the fellows and boys, 20s. To

* Pittances: allowances on particular occasions over and above the common provisions.

the Master of the Hospital of St. Cross, 6s. 8d.; to each Priest, 2s.; to each Clerk of the Chapel, 1s. 4d. To the religious of the order of St. Austin at Wynton, of minors, of predicants, and to the Carmelites, to each 26s. 8d. To each Priest, with or without cure, belonging to the city and soke, 2s.; and to each Clerk of a parish, 1s. The place where these should celebrate his exequies to be appointed by his executors. To the President of his College, 6s. 8d.; to each Fellow, Scholar, and Chaplain, 2s.; to each Clerk of the Chapel, 1s. 4d.; to each Chorister, 1s. The same to New College, Oxford. He bequeaths to Joan Welby, widow of Richard Welby, a handsome silver cup and cover, gilded. To be distributed among the poor on the day of his burial, and on the trental of his obit, at least £160. 13s. 4d. His executors to cause 5,000 masses, in honour of the five wounds of Christ, and the five joys of the Virgin Mary, to be celebrated on the day of his burial, the trental of his obit, and other days, for his soul, and the souls of his parents and friends. A distribution of money to be made among his domestics according to the codicil. All his manors, lands, and tenements, not belonging to his Church, but obtained otherwise, to be given by his feoffees, and applied entirely to the perpetual use of his College; the manor of Sparsholt only excepted. He beseeches his executors, and requires them in the bowels of Christ, to consider favourably the necessity of his College, and to relieve it from his effects according to their ability. He appoints John Catesby, justice of the King's Bench, Master William Gyfford,* Rector of Cheryton, Mychael Cleve, doctor of decrees, Master John Nele, Master Stephen Tyler, Rector of Alverstoke, William Holden, Rector of Drokynfford, and Richard Burton of Taunton, his executors. To the first he bequeaths, in recompence of his trouble, £26. 13s. 4d.; to the others, each £13. 6s. 8d. He directs the residue of his goods to be disposed of by his executors, with the consent of the majority, among the poor; in pious and devout uses; and, especially, in aid of the necessities of his College; in masses and in alms-deeds for the salvation

* W. Gyfford and W. Holden to take possession by letter of attorney for the College of all donations, &c. of friends, benefactors, and of the founder. 1 Henry VII.

of his soul, and of the souls of his parents and friends. The codicil comprises his Chaplains, Officers, and servants of every denomination, in all 125 persons; and the amount of his bequeaths to them is considerable. This year, (1486,) which was the last of his life, affords an instance of his attention to merit, and of his dispensing with his statutes to reward it. He had noticed, when at his College, the good and virtuous disposition of a chaplain who had been long there, and was of a county and diocese from which scholars could not be chosen. In obedience to a letter from him, Hewster was admitted at the ensuing election to a year of probation, and on the same day to be perpetual fellow.

The Bishop appears to have possessed a robust constitution, and to have long enjoyed almost uninterrupted health. He now fell suddenly into a grievous disease, which, in the figurative language of Dr. Budden, creeping and stealing through his limbs and marrow, got into the citadel of his heart, and so entirely overcame him as to bring on a speedy dissolution. He died on Friday the 11th. of August, 1486, at 4 p. m. His disorder, of which the account is obscure, seems to have begun in the extremities. Its inroad was gradual, and it seized on his vitals by insensible degrees, as we are told; for he was able, as is proved by his Register, to give institution to a living on the same day. The body was removed to Winchester with great funeral pomp, and, after the usual solemnity, deposited in the tomb within the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen in the cathedral, according to the directions in his will. It has been observed that three successive Prelates held this Bishopric 119 years, the time between the consecration of Wykeham and the death of Waynflete. The last had it 38 years, (1 year less than Wykeham, and 3 than Beaufort,) according to Budden, who computes from his installation, which was on August 30, 1448; or 39 years, if we follow Godwin. He was elected, we have seen, on April 15, 1447, and consecrated July 13 following. The See continued vacant until Jan. 29, 1487, when Courtney, Bishop of Exeter, was translated to it by a bulle of Pope Innocent.

Character.—Humane and benevolent in an uncommon degree, he appears to have had no enemies but from party, and to have disarmed even these of their malice. His devotion was fervent without hypocrisy; his bounty

unlimited, except by his income. As a Bishop, he was as a kind father revered by his children; as a founder, he was magnificent and munificent. He was ever intent on alleviating distress and misery. He dispensed largely by his almoner to the poor. He enfranchised several of his vassals from the legal bondage to which they were consigned by the feudal system. He abounded in works of charity and mercy. Amiable and affable in his whole deportment, he was as generally beloved as respected. The prudence, fidelity, and innocence, which preserved him when tossed about on the variable waves of inconstant fortune, during the long and mighty tempest of the civil war, was justly a subject of wonder to his biographer, Dr. Budden. It is remarkable, that he conciliated the favour of successive sovereigns of opposite principles and characters; and that, as this author tells us, the Kings his benefactors were, by his address in conferring obligations on them in his turn, converted from being his creditors into his debtors.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Chapel and Tomb erected by Waynflete at Winchester, with a further Account of his Family. [Also a description of the Tomb in All Saints Church, near Waynflete, Lincolnshire, of Richard Patten and his two Sons, John and our Bishop.—ED.]

THE fashion of placing images on tombs standing in small chapels or sepulchres in churches, is said to have been invented or introduced into England by an Abbot of Eveshám, called Thomas of Marlebergh, who died in 1236. Wykeham and Beaufort, with various royal, noble, and eminent persons, had, by preparing their own tombs, rendered the usage familiar; and Waynflete, if we may conjecture from the statue [at Winton Cathedral] which represents him of a middle age, began his soon after he became a Bishop. The sepulchre of Bishop WYKEHAM in the Cathedral of Winchester, is inclosed in a Chapel of the Virgin Mary; that of Bishop BEAUFORT in a Chapel of the Salutation, as may be inferred from his will; and that of Bishop WAYNFLETE in one dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. The open sides of all these Chapels afforded a view of the priest officiating at the altar within, while the people were kneeling on the step

on the outside, or on the area round about them. The two last are opposite each other, on the east side of the traverse wall behind the choir. The architecture of the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen is of a species which has been denominated *the florid Gothic*. The specimens extant in the Cathedral at Winchester, exhibit its gradual progress from comparative simplicity to its consummation. The Chapel of Wykeham is plainer than those of his two successors. These resemble each other; but that of Waynflete is much lighter and richer in the variegation of its roof, and the profusion of the spire-work; and for the execution of its masonry, we are told, has not been exceeded, if equalled, any where in England. The beauty, genius, and invention discovered in these and many like monuments, should have rescued the names of the artists from oblivion. The tomb of Waynflete within the chapel is of grey marble. On a blue slab lies the figure of the Bishop, his head supported by a couple of pillows, his eyes raised to heaven, his hands closed as in prayer, with a heart between them, probably in allusion to the *sursum corda* of the liturgies, or to what gave rise to the form, namely, Lament. iii. 41. "*Levemus corda nostra cum manibus in celos.*" It exhibits him in much humbler attire than Wykeham, who perhaps is arrayed in the pontificals of his consecration-day. At the feet, an angel clothed in white, with wings, holds on his breast a shield of his arms; as also, in the centre of the middle compartment of the roof; and often at his college, where, by the library, are two angels as supporters. The same bearing was used, it seems, by the Bishops of Winchester, as it occurs before and after Waynflete, on the tombs of Beaufort and Fox. Formerly a fillet of brass, with an inscription, it may be conjectured his favourite verse of the *Magnificat*, was fixed along the edge of the slab: but this has been purloined, it is likely, for the sake of the metal; and some vestiges of it only were visible when about a century had elapsed. The effigy may be considered as affording an exact and authentic representation of the person of Waynflete; as alike descriptive of his appearance in his pontificals, and of the piety which was so principal an ingredient in his character. — I have endeavoured, but hitherto unsuccessfully, to obtain more particular information respecting Sir Wm. Brereton, the maternal grandfather of William and

John Waynflete. Lord Scales was sent to forage with 3,000 men, while the Earl of Warwick besieged Pont-orson in 1425, and on his return was encountered by double the number of the enemy: whom he defeated with great slaughter, and then triumphantly re-entered the English camp, with provisions and a long train of captives. It was, I apprehend, in this once famous action, Brereton served under that renowned commander. He was then advanced beyond middle life, as John Waynflete at that time was dean of Chichester. In June 1474 (14 June, 14 Edw. IV.) Sir William Brereton made over to the Bishop and dean, jointly with Robert Brereton, Rector of Brereton in Cheshire, and to their heirs and assigns for ever, all his possessions in Lincolnshire. He must then have attained to extreme old age.

In the act of resumption, which passed in the 3rd. year of King Edward, provision was made, that it should not extend nor be prejudicial to Mr. John Waynflete, dean, and the chapter of Chichester. He died in 1481. Richard Patten, alias Barbour, survived perhaps Sir Wm. Brereton, and, it is probable, died before his son John Waynflete. He was buried in the Church of All Saints, which now stands above a mile distant from Waynflete, to the north-west, in the rich meadows surrounding the town on the land-side. His monument is still extant there, at the east end of the south aisle, close by the wall that divides it from the middle aisle. The arms of the Bishop are mentioned by Stukeley as remaining in his time in the windows of the same Church; yet they are not noticed by the diligent antiquary who preceded him in 1629; who observed his family arms, *Lozengy sable and ermine*, in a window of the church of Croyland; and the same arms with the lilies in chief, as at Tateshale, in the south window near the door of the chancel at Bennington; where also was his portrait with the legend, *Effigies Willi. Wainflet Epi. Winton.*

* Richard Patten is recumbent in effigy on the slab of a fair altar-tomb of alabaster, within a strong moveable enclosure of wooden palisades designed to defend it from injury. He is represented as a tall, well-made person,

* [Here Chaundler begins his description of the tomb of Richard Patten and his 2 sons, John, and our Bishop.—EDIT.]

not aged, of a comely pleasing countenance, without a beard, his eyes open and turned upwards, his hands closed as in prayer. He is bare-headed; his hair regularly divided in wavy locks from the centre of the crown, and cut round, reaching only to the ears. He has a large figured ring, which seems to have had a stone or seal set in it, on the forefinger of the right hand; and a narrow plain ring on the little finger of the left. He wears a gown or robe with wide puffed sleeves and with plaits, reaching from the breast to the feet; a broad hem or border at the bottom, and underneath, a vest or waistcoat, of which the sleeves are tied at the wrists with double strings. The two standing collars of these garments are round, and closed at the neck. The inner garment appears at the opening of the sleeves. A belt is fastened about the waist with a buckle; the strap falling to the knee. It is studded with roses of stones, and the whole breadth near the end, decorated with a wrought ornament terminating in a single stone. From the belt hangs by the middle a rosary; the ends, at which are two tassels, falling parallel; the beads roughly cut, and near an inch diameter: also, by a double string, a purse with two small cords, to open and shut it, ending in tassels reaching almost to the bottom, which has a tassel at each corner. A whittle or knife was likewise suspended to it; the string yet remaining with a portion of the handle, and the entire sheath under his right side. His feet rest on scattered lilies or other flowers, and his shoes have pointed toes. His head lies on a pillow placed on a cushion, with two large tassels at the corners; and is supported on his left side by John, and on his right by William Waynflete. John Waynflete is represented as sitting with his feet drawn up, his right hand beneath the pillow, his left holding a large open book lying on his left knee, under which his right foot is placed. He has the clerical tonsure, and his hair is cut short and even. His features are strong and masculine, his aspect venerable, his air solemn, and his eyes lifted up as in prayer. His dress is a hood; that, it is likely, of a bachelor of canon law, reaching to his loins, deeply indented or scalloped at the extremity; with a cowl behind, like the cloak of a Capuchin friar. Under it is a full flowing garment with open sleeves, probably a surplice, as he appears to be attending on the last

moments of his father in the character of a priest. Wm. Waynflete, [the Bishop] is in a similar posture, his left foot placed under the bending of the right knee, his left hand supporting the pillow. He is represented as a Bishop, and that hand has a glove on it from which hang some small beads. The mitre on his head is set with precious stones, and richly adorned with broad figured lace; some traces of the painting and gilding still visible. The middle part of the staff of the crosier, with his right arm and the hand, which held it, and, it is probable, had likewise a glove on, is gone; but the lower end remains under the shoulder of the large statue; and the upper, reposing on his own shoulder and touching the mitre, has above it some imperfect traces of the pastoral crook. His robes are loose, flowing to his feet, and spreading on the marble behind. His countenance is amiable and benevolent, but serious and expressive of sorrow. His face resembles that of his father, but is younger; and is neither so broad nor so aged as that of his brother. The sides of the tomb are ornamented with compartments carved in fret-work, alternately of unequal width. In two at the head are angels, slender figures, with curling hair and pentagonal caps, their wings expanded, and robes flowing to their feet; holding each on his breast an armorial shield, encircled with the garter, once painted and gilded, tied in a knot below. Traces remain of letters, probably of the usual motto. The shield on the dexter side has the bearing of William Waynflete, *Lozengy three lilies in chief*. The other is now plain; time, it is likely, having obliterated the arms of the See of Winchester, for which, perhaps, it was intended. The wooden fence approaches the head of the tomb, so as not to admit of a passage within it, probably because the inscription was placed in that part, and not on a fillet round the rim; one side being close to the wall. At that end the cornice is of freestone, and loose; and, on removing it, light enters through the transparent alabaster. The middle is filled up with solid masonry. A remnant of the inscription was copied in 1629:

..... novissima memorare....credo videre bona
Dñi in terra viventium

and celebrates the pious confidence of the deceased, if

I mistake not, by recording his last words: "I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." Ps. xxvii. 15. In the Bishop ended, if I mistake not, the descendants of Richard Patten. Guillim, after mentioning the family of that name bearing "*Fusily ermine and sable, a canton or,*" as of good note and antiquity, has given to William and John, a brother named "Richard, that lived and died at Baslowe, Derbyshire;" and being a layman, had issue Humphrey, who seated himself in Lancashire, where his descendants then lived at Warrington; from whom, continues he, Thomas Patten of Thornley, in the said county, gentleman, is descended. But the *canton or* would have been retained by William when he added the lilies, and would have appeared in the arms without them at Eton, and in the window at Croyland, if it had belonged to his family. Holinshed is silent as to the offspring of this Richard; though Godwin tells us he left children at Baslowe, whose posterity, as he heard, were still found in those parts. He and his descendants are met with perhaps in other authors; but it was Guillim, I apprehend, who first introduced him and them to the public. Patten, was a surname not uncommon. Families distinguished by it, may have subsisted at the same time in Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Lincolnshire, and may yet subsist, each as distinct and separate from the other as the counties. But supposing Thomas Patten of Thornley to be derived from Richard of Baslowe, we have reason to believe his pedigree wrongly deduced from the father of William and John Waynflete. Why are these two only represented on his tomb? Why did Sir William Brereton, in the assignment of his estates, omit this third brother? But further, if this Richard survived William and John, or left children, would not he or they have been heir to the Bishop? Yet another claimant is on record, Juliana Churchstile, who, wanting to alienate a farm, which she asserted to belong to her as his relation, and proving her affinity as required by law, declares herself "widow and late wife of Richard Churchstile, deceased, kinswoman and heir of Master William de Waynflete, late Bishop of Winchester; to wit, sole daughter and heir of Robert Patten, brother and heir of Richard Patten, otherwise called *Barbour*, of Waynflete, father of the Bishop." The authority of Guillim appears to have

been a pedigree given in by Thomas Patten of Thornley, and signed by Norroy, king at arms, at the visitation at Ormskirk, Lancashire, April 8, 1665. Thomas Patten, or the herald employed by him, seems first to have connected Richard Patten of Baslowe, Derbyshire, if such a person ever existed, with Richard Patten of Waynflete, Lincoln, and then to have removed his son Humphrey into Lancashire, to provide the family established in this county with an ancestor of eminence. Waynflete, we may remember, has declared that he had demurred whether to found a College, or distribute his goods to the poor in his lifetime. The enriching of his family is not an alternative. No preference is given to, nor provision made for, kinsmen at his College, as by Wykeham; neither is there mention of any relation in his will. Perhaps Juliana Churchstile was the only one remaining, was in affluence, and without children.

CHAPTER XIII.

Contains Proceedings at Magdalen College after the Death of Waynflete, with an Account of some Benefactors and Members of the Society, particularly Wulcy; and Chapter XIV. is termed the conclusion. Both which are omitted as quite irrelevant to the plan of this work.

[Here terminates the re-print of Chaundler's *Life of Waynflete.*]

ADDENDA.

Bishop Tanner thus notices his foundation of Magdalen College: "Oxfordshire, XXIII. article Magdalen College, 16. William Patten, alias Wainflet, Bishop of Winton, A.D. 1448, founded without the east gate a Hall for students, and contiguous to it, in or near the place where the old Hospital of St. John stood, he built A. D. 1458, a fine College for a president, 40 fellows, 30 scholars called demies, 4 chaplains, 8 clerks, 16 choristers, &c. to the honour of St. Mary Magdalen, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Swithun. By the valuation of 26 Henry VIII. it seems to have been better endowed than any other College in the University, being rated highest, viz. at £1076. 5s. 2d. per ann."

Vide Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Ox. lib. ii. p. 187, &c.
Fuller's Ch. Hist. book iv. p. 188.

List of the Presidents in Le Neve's Fasti. p. 493-4.

In Itin. Will. de Worcestre, p. 166, dimensiones Eccles.

Year Books, 11 Henry VII. Mich. rot. 30, de Capella
S. Kath. de Wanburgh (Wilt.) In Atkins's Glouc. p.
165 of the manor of Queinton.

In Bloomfield's Norfolk, vol. iii. p. 542 of lands in
Boton Salle and Causton; vol. iv. p. 369 of the manor
of Gatton in Branderton, and the advowson of the rectory;
p. 861 of lands in Hickling; p. 1329 of the manor of
Tickwell; p. 1464 of a manor in Boyton.

In Bridges's Northants, vol. i. p. 166 of the impropriate
rectory and advowson of the Vic. of Evenle.

In Thoroton's Notts, p. 151-2 of the alternate pre-
sentation to the rectory of east Bridgeford, belonging to
this College.

In Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 281-2, of the advowson
of Willoughby rectory.

Catalogum librorum MSS. p. 239, Coll. S. Mar.
Magd. in Oxon. in Catalogo MSS. Angliæ et Hiberniæ
Oxon. 1697, fol. tom. 1. p. ii. p. 71, &c.

Cartas originales, registra, rotulos, et alia munimenta
in Scaccario Collegii.

Statuta Collegii MSS. in Bibl. Harleiana, 1235, 6232.
Regist. of the Records of Magd. Coll. *ibid*, MS. 4240, n. 1.

Collectanea ex evidentiis Coll. p. Anth. Wood, MS.
in bibl. musei Ashmol. Oxon. Wood, vol. xxviii, p. 148,
vol. li. p. 151-161. For the right of the College to pre-
sent a principal to Magd. Hall, *ibid*, Wood, vol. ci f. 47.

In Bibl. C. C. C. MS. 127, Papers relating to the
controversy between Dr. Oglethorp, President, and the
College.

De exemptione hujus Collegii a juris dictione Ep.
Linco. per cartum Thomæ Ep. Linco. 6, Jul. A.D. 1480.
Vide librum memorand, Thomæ Rotheram Ep. Linco. f. 15.

Pat. 26 Henry VI. p. 2. m. 33. licentiam pro funda-
tione, et perquirendi terras ad annum valorem cl.; Pat.
35 Henry VI. p. 1. m. 1. pro hospitale S. Joan, extra
portam Orient. Oxon. *Ibid*, m. 16, licent. perquirendi
situm prioratus de Luffield.

Pat. 7 Edw. IV. p. 3. m. 12, confirm, pro hosp. S.
Joannis, Oxon.; Pat. 15 Edw. IV. p. 3. m. 15, pro
maner. de Dodington juxta Wakerle: Rec. in Scacc.;

16 Edw. IV. Trin. rot. 19.; Pat. 17 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 1. pro maner. de Candelesby. Ibid, p. 2. m. 31. pro maner. de Multon Hall in Frampton, et de Salfletby, et pro advoc. eccl. de Somercot et Basingham Escaet. Norf. 18 Edw. IV. n. 53. pro maner. et terris in Titchwell, Brancaster, Holme, Branderton, Beyton, Salle, Causton, Acle, Birlingham, Hickling, Ermingland, (Norfo.), Caldecot in Fritton, Spitting in Gorleston, et Akethorp in Lowestoft (Suff.) Pat. 18 Edw. IV. p. 2. m. 3. pro maner. de Titchwell, Brandeston, &c. Escaet. Linco. 19 Edw. IV. n. 78.

Pat. 1 Richard III. p. 2. m. pro iii. virgat terræ in Westcote (Warw.)

The learned Archbishop Nicolson thus notices *Waynflete*:—

“William of Wainfleet was bred in Wykham’s Colleges, and did his founder the honour to write very fairly after his copy. His Magdalen may vye with the other’s two, St. Maries being (modestly) one of the richest seminaries of learning in the whole world; and, his magnificent charity has been celebrated by the eloquent pen of Dr. Budden, (the writer of Archbishop Morton’s life;) who was a while reader of philosophy in that College. His book bears the title of (4to. Oxon. 1682, and Lond. 1681, inter Collect, D. Bates) *Gulielmi Patein, cui Waynfleti Agnomen fuit, Wintoniensis Ecclesiæ Præsulis, et Coll. Beatæ Mariæ Magd. apud Oxon. Fundatoris, Vita Obitusque*. A treatise much applauded by Godwin; who, nevertheless, seems not to have perused it: for he calls the author *William Budden*, though his name was certainly *John*.”*—*Historical Library, Part II. ch. vi. p. 140.*

“Willelmus Waynflet, Canonicus Wellensis ab anno 1433, et Collegii Regalis Etonensis Præpositus a Nicolao Papa ad Winton, sedem provisus, 1447, 10 Maii professionem obedientiæ Apō. Cant. fecit in ædibus Lambethanis 1447, 16 Junii, consecratus die 30 Julii, seq. Cancellarius Angliæ constitutus est 1457, Oct. 11, et in eo munere Georgium Nevil Epūs Exon. successiorem habuit 1460, 25 Julii. Erravit Godwinus qui illum ab

[* With deference, I do not think this any proof of the Bishop’s not having perused the work.—EDIT.]

anno 1449 ad 1458, cancelariatum tenuisse scribit. In illo siquidem temporis intervallo Cancellarii ordine fuerunt Johannes Stafford, Apūs Kemp Apūs Eber 1450. Ricardus Comes Sarum 1454, et Thomas Bourchier Apūs Cant, cui successit Willelmus noster anno 1457. Obiit iste 1486, 11 Aug.”—*Anglia Sacra*. vol. 1. p. 318.

Will. Waynflete by his letters patent dated at Esher on the 5th of the ides of Feb., in the 5th year of his translation A.D. 1452, granted and demised to the burgesses of Farnham the whole burgh of Farnham, with the vill adjacent and their appurtenances, except only the privilege of Hue and Cry for murder; the persons and chattels of felons, the escheats of their lands and tenements, together with the services of Will. le Parker, and two others, who held of the Bishop in Capite. He confirmed to them the liberties and free customs which they had anciently and to that time enjoyed, particularly, I. A fair on All Saints' Day (Nov. 2) yearly. II. The right of electing and removing their bailiffs without any hindrance on the Bishop's part. III. The assize of ale and bread, with power of punishing defaulters by fine, but not otherwise. IV. All manner of tolls. V. Exemption from suit and service at the Bishop's court, except only what belonged to the lord of the hundred at law day, at the Castle of Farnham. VI. Power to issue attachments, summonses, and distresses within the burgh and vill not belonging to the bailiff of the Bishop's liberty. For these privileges they were to pay to the Bishop and his successors by the hands of his bailiff at Farnham, 12 pounds of silver annually, by 2 equal portions, in lieu of £9. which had hitherto been usually paid. By this charter it appears, that there had been more anciently certain burgesses of the town who enjoyed various privileges, which were now partly confirmed and partly augmented, in consideration of their paying annually to the Bishop £12. instead of £9., as they used to do.”—Manning and Bray. *Hist. Surry*, vol. iii. p. 131.

Bishop Waynflete was executor to the will of Ralph, Lord Cromwell, (*Test. Vet.* i. p. 276) proved Feb. 19, 1455. He is also named in the will of King Henry VI., T. V. i. p. 23.

Portraits. The engravings of the Bishop are thus noticed by Granger: “WILLIAM WAYNFLEET, Bishop

of Winchester, *Houbraken, sc.* 1742.—*From a picture at Madg. Coll. Oxford, Illust. Head. large h. sh.* GULIELMUS PATTEN *alias* WAYNFLEET; *totius Angliæ Cancel. epus.* *Winton Coll. B. Mariæ Madg. Oxon. et Aula adjunctæ Fundr.* A.D. 1459. *J. Faber f. large 4to. mezz.* William Wykeham who had been 12 years school-master of Winchester, was afterwards successively school-master and provost of Eton; and in April 1447, he succeeded Cardinal Beaufort in the Bishopric of Winchester. He was made Lord Chancellor of England, in the room of Archbishop Bourchier.—*Ob.* 11, August, 1486. His magnificent tomb and that of the Cardinal are still in good preservation, in the Cathedral to which they belonged.”—*Biogr. Hist. Engl.* vol. i. p. 52.

XXI. PETER COURTENAY, L.L.D.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1486-7. DIED A.D. 1492.

This Prelate was born at Powderham, Devonshire, (*Fuller's Worthies*, vol. I. p. 279, edit. 1811,) being a younger son of Sir Philip Courtenay of that place, Knt. by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Walter Lord Hungerford, by Joan his wife, widow of Sir James Chudleigh, Knt. and daughter of Alexander Champernown, of Bere Ferrers, son of Sir John Courtenay, of Powderham-Castle, Knt. and he, by Anne his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Wake, Knt, was the son of Sir Philip Courtenay, fourth son of Hugh, the second of this name, Earl of Devon and Margaret his wife, who settled Powderham upon him and his posterity, in the days of King Edward III. where they have continued ever since. See Sir W. Pole's *Desc. of Devon. in Powderh.* *Godwin de Præsul int. Epos. Exon.* and Prince's *Worthies of Devon.* p. 258, edit. 1810.

Our Prelate having spent some time in laying a good foundation of learning in the University of Oxford, for his further improvement in knowledge and science, went to travel. He took the degree of D. C. L. at Padua. (*Godw. De Præs. Wint.*) How long he staid there is uncertain. On his return to England he went once more to Oxford, where he was incorporated, says Prince

(*Worth. of Devon. ut sup. edit.* 1810) and after him Godwin, D.C.L. from Padua, though I find no record of it in the *Athenæ* or *Fasti*. He successively became Archdeacon and Dean of Exeter, says Isaacke; who adds, that a controversy happening between the mayor and citizens of Exeter and the company of tailors, after great charges it came to be determined by King Edward IV. whose final order therein was sent to Dr. P. Courtenay, 'then *Dean* of that Church,' to be delivered to both parties.

About two years after this, viz. A.D. 1477 or 1478, he was promoted to the See of Exeter, and consecrated in St. Stephen's Chapel, at Westminster, by Archbishop Bourchier, in Nov. of the same year. On his coming to Exeter, he found the north tower of his Cathedral unfinished, "for however," says Prince, p. 259, "there be two towers distinguished by their site, wherein is a cage of ten very sweet and tuneable bells, and the north, in which is the great Peter bell; yet, at the time of this honourable Prelate's instalment, the north tower was not far advanced; whereupon he forthwith undertook and sat about the work, and in the short time he remained Bishop, at his own charges and expenses, he brought the same to perfection: and it is now a very noble and stately piece of building. Which, having thus finished, that it might not remain an empty and useless steeple, Bishop Courtenay was pleased further at his own cost, to furnish with one bell, of an immense magnitude, weighing, as we are told, 12,500lbs." (*Isaacke, p. 2.*) So that from its weight and size it cannot be rung without the help of many men, which, that it may be better done, it has a double wheel and two ropes fastened to them, by means of which the ringing it is effected. (*See Godwin.*) It still retains the founder's name, being to this day called. 'Peter's bell.' (*See an account of Exon Cath. accompanying Carter's excellent plates.*) To this famous bell, Bishop Courtenay added a clock, and to the clock a dial of very curious invention, especially at that age.

Having presided at Exeter with honour to himself and advantage to the church for about 9 years, he was, on the death of Waynflete, translated to Winton, through the favour of King Henry VII. to whose cause and interest he had shewn himself very faithful against King Richard III. The bull of Pope Innocent was dated January

27, 1486, as Richardson. p. 234, quotes *Registr. Morton*, but 1487 as Wharton has it. He had been elected in February, by the monks who were not aware of the papal provision. *Ang. Sac.* I. p. 318. His temporalities were restored April 2, 1287.

At Winton he sat about five years, and died September 22, 1492, as Wharton states, and as Godwin on the authority of Isaacke also records, and is said to have been buried in Winton Cathedral. Neither Godwin, nor Fuller, Issacke, or Prince, are able to ascertain the place of his interment. The last named, with great probability, conjectures that he was buried at Powderham, in the church of which place is a "monument on which may be seen something of the effigies of a Prelate in pontificalibus, which has been accounted to be the Bishop's."

"It does not appear," says Bishop Milner, "that he was otherwise liberal to the Cathedral of Winton, except in concurring with the Prior and Monks in carrying on the interior decorations, which seem never to have been suspended from the death of Wykeham until a later period than the one in question." The same writer adds, that "the exact situation of Bishop Courtenay's grave is almost the only one belonging to any of our Prelates since the conquest which is left to conjecture, and can not absolutely be ascertained." But quære.—It appears from the following passage in Wood, that he had been, in addition to the preferments above-named, Archdeacon of Wilts. "He [Bainbridge] was made [about 1490] Archdeacon of Wilts (in the place of one Hugh Pavy, who had succeeded in that dignity Peter Courtenay, upon his promotion to the See of Exeter in the beginning of Feb. 1478.") *Ath. Ox.* II. 703, *edit. Bliss.* Peter Courtenay had been appointed Archdeacon of Wilts, Oct. 7, 1464, as appears from *Antiq. of Salisb. & Bath*, p. 299. He was, while Archdeacon of Wilts, appointed Prebendary of Cherminster and Bere, in Sarum Cathedral, (*Ib.* p. 318) in which he was succeeded by Lionel Woodville, (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury*) on his promotion to the See of Exeter. Richardson, on the authority of MS. notes of T. Tanner, calls him master of St. Anthony's Hospital, London.

* See Bishop Woodville's Life in Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury, part 1. p. 260.

XXII. THOMAS LANGTON,* L.L.D.

· SUCCEEDED A.D. 1493.—DIED A.D. 1500.

THIS Prelate, says Wood, (*Ath. Ox. edit. Bliss 2. col. 688*) “was born at Appleby in Westmoreland, where being educated in religion and grammar learning among the Carmelites, was sent to Queen’s College, Oxford: but a pest breaking out in the University soon after, he went to Cambridge, and became a member of Clare Hall, (one saith of Pembroke,) [Godwin, who is right, *vid. inf.* ;] took the degrees in the canon law, in which, afterwards, he was incorporated at Oxford, and had considerable dignities in the Church bestowed on him; among which, was the Prebend of S. Decuman in the Church of Wells, 1478. In 1483, he being about that time Provost of Queen’s College, Oxon, [Wood is in error here, *vid. infra.*] and Master of St. Julian’s Hospital, Southampton, was consecrated Bishop of St. David’s; whence being translated to the See of Sarum on the death of Lionel Woodville,† had restitution of the temporalities May 4, 1484. In a writing in Queen’s College treasury, dated Aug. 19, 1489, (4 Hen. VII.) he occurs by the titles of L.L.D., Bishop of Sarum, and Provost of Queen’s. Whence we may conclude that he kept the Provostship *in commendam* with Sarum, as probably he had done with St. David’s. In 1493, he was translated to the See of Winton, and had restitution of the temporalities thereof 27th June; where, being settled, he put in practice his good deeds, which he had done at Sarum, viz. by shewing himself a Mæcenas of learning, for which I find he had so great respect, that he took care to have youths trained up at his own charge in grammar and music, (the last of which he infinitely delighted in,) in a school which he set apart in the precincts of his house. It was usual with him to make his scholars repeat at night, before him, such dictates as they in the day-time had learned from their master: and, such as could give a laudable account, he either encouraged with good words or small rewards, saying to those about him that, ‘the way to encrease virtue was to

* His Life occurs in Cassan’s Lives of the Sarum Prelates, Pt. I. p. 263.

† See Cassan’s Lives of the Bishops of Sarum, Pt. I. p. 260.

praise it,' &c. In his episcopal office he behaved himself so well, that he was in great authority with 3 Kings, especially for his learning and experience in civil affairs; and had not death snatched him untimely away, would have succeeded Moreton in the See of Canterbury. He died in the beginning of 1501; and was buried in the Cathedral at Winton, near the tomb and shrine of St. Swithun. By his will he gave to the Priests of Clare Hall, Cambridge, considerable sums of money and £40. to the chest of that house. To every fellow of Queen's College, Oxon, 6s. 8d., and 40 marks to the eleemosynary chest thereof, besides a suit of vestments for a priest, deacon, and sub-dean, and 4 capes. He gave maintenance also to a chaplain, that should celebrate service for him and his parents, and all faithful deceased for the space of 100 years, in Appleby Church: which chaplain was to receive for his labour 8 marks yearly. To the Friars (the Carmelites) in Appleby 20 marks, to pray for him; besides several sums to the Friars of Oxon and Cambridge; and to Rowland Machel and Eliz, his wife, (sister to the said Bishop,) he gave several lands in Westmoreland, besides 200 marks. He built also the little room (which is now a large bay-window in the provost's dining room in Queen's College), with curious vaulting under it: which vault is now no other than a portico to the College-Chapel. Over the said bay-window is carved in stone a musical note called a *Long* on a *tun*, which is the rebus for his sir-name; and out of the bung-hole of the *tun* springs a *vine* tree, which, without doubt, was put for *Vinton* or Vinchester, he being then Bishop of that place."

"He left behind him a nephew named Robt. Langton, born also in Appleby, and educated in Queen's College, of where he was L.L.D. He died at London in June, 1524, and buried before the image of St. Michael, in the body of the church belonging to the charter-house, (now Sutton's hospital) near London. By his will (in offic. prærog. Cant. in *Reg. Bodfield* qu. 21.) he bequeathed to Queen's College £200. to purchase lands and make a school in Appleby, and what his benefaction was besides, as also that of Bishop Langton, you may see in *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon.* lib. 2. p. 123, sq."

In the notes to *Bliss's edition of Wood* we have the following: "Thomas Langton was of Pembroke Hall,

of which see enough in Wren's MS. *de Custod et Sociis Pembrok.* Anno 1454, Thomas Langton, Carliolen. dioc. per. li. di. ordinatus Acolitus per Will. Dunkalden, ep'm, vice Will'i ep'i Elien. *Regr. Elien.* Thomas Langton procurator Senior Acad Cant. Anno 1462, *Lib. Proc.* BAKER."

"Langton was admitted to the rectory of Allhallows, Bread-street, London, July 1, 1480, and to that of Allhallows, Lombard-street, May 14, 1482. *Newcourt Rep.* I. 245. He had also the prebend of North Kelsey, in Lincoln Cathedral, which he resigned 1483, on his promotion to the See of St. David's. *Willis. Cath. Linc.* p. 229." BLISS.

In Wood's *Hist. Antiq. Ox.* edit. Gutch, p. 147, appears the following note, which is directly at variance with Wood's assertion above: "Tho. Langton Epūs Sar' confirmatus erat Præpositus Coll. Reg. [Ox.] p. Archm̄ Ebor. 6 Dec. 1487, p. resig. Hen. Bost." *ex auth. Regr. Rotheram.* Now Wood has stated (*vid. sup.*) "In 1483, he being about that time provost of Queen's, was consecrated Bishop of St. David's;" whereas, it appears, he even had the Bishopric of Sarum before he became provost of Queen's. Richardson in a note to Godwin, p. 234, has the following remark, but quotes no authority:—"Post translationem ad Episcopatum Sarum, fit Præpositus Collegii Reginensis, Oxon. A. 1489." In the list of the provosts of Queen's Coll. I also find the date of his succession placed at 1489, his predecessor being Henry Bost. The Athenæ therefore must, I conclude, be wrong.

Godwin, under the Bishops of ST. DAVID'S, thus records him: "74. Thomas Langton consecratus 1483. Sarisburiam primum translatus est anno 1485, ac Wintoniam postea." To this his editor adds, *Provisus a Papa Jul. 4, 1483, Registr. Burch. T. et J. C. D. licentiam habet consecrat. Aug. 23, 1483, Registr. Eccl. Cant.*" Under the Bishops of SARUM, thus: "30. Thomas Langton, L.L.D, in Menevensem Ep̄m consecratus 1483, huc fertur translatus 1485, et huic Wintoniam 1493." His editor adds, "Huc translatus Papali autoritate 9 Feb. 1484. Professionem fecit apud Knott 25 April, 1485. *Registr. Morton.*" Under WINTON thus: "56. Quando annum jam integrum sedes vacasset, transfertur huc ab Ecclesia Sarisburiensi T. L. qui anno 1483, in

Ep'm Menev' consecratus, post biennium Sarisb' migraverat Wintoniæ sedit annos 7; et Cantuariensis designatus Arpūs, aute translationem perfectam, peste correptus interiit, anno 1500. Capellam construxit ab australi parte Ecc. suæ Wint.; in cujus medio conditus jacet sub marmoreo tumulo elegantissimo. Socius hic olim fuit Aulæ Pemb. Cantab., ac in ejus rei memoriam craterem argenteum deauratum ponderis 67 unc. Aulæ dedit prædictæ, hic verbis insculptum. *Thomas Langton Wint. Epus, Aulæ Pembrochianæ olim socius, dedit hanc tassiam coopertam eidem Aulæ 1497. Qui alienarit anathema sit.*" His editor adds, p. 234, "In MS. *D. Hutton* sic scriptum legimus; 22 Jan. Postulatio in Capitulo Cant. pro *T. Langton* Epō in Cant. Arpō. qui ob. 27 die ejusdem mensis, *Regist. Ecc. Cant.*

Wharton, in the *Ang. Sac.* I. 319, adds. "Thomas Epūs Sarum, Winton. translatus jurisdictionem spiritualem sedis Winton. ab Apō Cant. sibi commissam accessit 1493, 24 Junii. Obiit anno 1500, paulo ante 10 Oct. quo die spiritualia episcopatus Winton. a monachis Ecclesiæ. Cant. Sede Archiepiscopali vacante, in manus suas accepta sunt. Paucis ante obitum diebus ad Archiepiscopatum Cant. Johannis Morton morte nupera vacantem electus est teste Chronico Londinensi; quod quidem obitum ejus mense Januario contigisse refert, errore manifesto.

Leland makes an observation which I have not met with elsewhere:—"One Bishop Langton made of late tyme a new peace of work and lodging of stone at the west end of the Haul," (*i. e.*) of Sherborne Castle.—*Itin.* 2. 88. The same writer in the *Collectanea* 1. p. 116, adds, "Tho. Langton, Epūs Wint. fundavit capellam B. Mariæ in australi latere templi in cujus medio jacet sepultus."

"He lies buried," says Bishop Milner, "in Winton Cathedral, in the chantry he built at the east end, still called after him, under an altar tomb which was originally exceedingly elegant, but which is now stripped of every brass or other ornament for which money could be obtained." *Hist. Wint.* 2. p. 63. The last quoted writer has made a mistake in giving 1499 as the date of Bishop Langton's translation to Winchester. See his *Hist. Wint.* 1. 317. He should have said 1493.

XXIII. RICHARD FOX.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1500, WOOD; 1502, GODWIN.—DIED
A.D. 1528.

THE indefatigable Oxford antiquary has rescued from oblivion the following particulars, which may be found in his *Ath. Oxon.*

“He was born at Ropesley near Grantham, Lincolnshire; educated in grammar learning at Boston, in academical, for a time, in Magdalen College, Oxford, whence being transplanted to Cambridge, he became at length Master of Pembroke Hall there, Prebendary of Bishopston in the Church of Sarum, [after 1473, resigned 1485. —*Hist. and Antiq. Sarum and Bath*, p. 315.] and in Feb. 1485, of South Grantham in the same Church, on the resignation of Dr. Christopher Bainbridge.* Having been a constant adherent to Henry, Earl of Richmond, against King Richard III., he was by him, when King of England by the name of Henry VII., made in the beginning of his reign one of his privy council, [being then L.L.D.] and nominated Bishop of Exeter in Feb. 1486. On the 24th of the same month, he had the custody of the privy seal conferred on him, and being elected to the said See, the King restored (*Pat. 7 Henry VII.* p. 2, m. 5.) to him the temporalities April 2, 1487. July 5th following, he had by the King’s command (*ib.*) 20s. per diem allowed to him, to commence from 24th Feb. before mentioned; which was allowed to him, I suppose, as keeper of the said seal, and being elected afterwards to the See of Bath and Wells, had restitution of its temporalities made (*Pat. 7 Henry VII.* m. 14.) to him by the King, May 4, 1492. In 1494 he was translated to Durham, and afterwards was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and being settled at Durham, he forthwith, out of a great hall in the castle there, took as much away as made a fair buttery and a pantry, even to the pulpits or galleries on each side of the hall, wherein the trumpeters or wind music [ians]

* 1485, Feb. 7, ep’us contulit Ric’o Fox L.L.D. preb. de Grantham australis, vacant. per resign. Xtopheri Bainbridge, et preb de Cherdestoke eidem Christophero. *Reg. Langton*, ep’i Sarum.—KENNET.

used to stand to play, while the meat was ushered in ; and on the wall which parted the said buttery from the hall, was a great pelican set up, to shew that it was done by him, because he gave the pelican to his arms. At length upon the death of Dr. Thomas Langton, he was elected Bishop of Winchester ; the temporalities of which being restored to him (*Pat. 16 Henry VII. p. 2, m. 13.*) by the King Oct. 17, 1500, [he] was soon after installed with great solemnity. After he was settled there, he performed many acts of piety and charity, among which, was the foundation and establishment of Corpus Christi College ; and dying in 1528, he was buried in the Cathedral Church at Winchester, on the south-side of the high altar.”—Wood’s *Ath. Ox.* vol. 2 col. 730, edit. Bliss.

The learned editor adds the following notes : [“ Ric. Fox, L.B. admiss. ad Vic. de Stepney 30 Oct. 1485, per mortem Ric’i Luke. *Reg. Kennet.*—Ric. Fox, L. B. secretar. Hen. reg. VII. Coll. ad preb. de Brounswode 26 Oct. 1485, per mort. Joh. Davison, quam resign. ante 11 April, 1487.—Dominus Ricardus Fox presbiter pres. per mag. Joh. Lylly prebendarium de N. Kelsey, ad vicariam de N. Kelsey, per resign. d’ni Joh. Sigrave, 23 Sept. 1504,* *Reg. Smith*, ep’i Linc.—Vide plura de Ric. Fox custode Aulæ Pembrochianæ apud Cantabrig. in Ricardi Parkeri Σκελετῶν Cantab. MS. Collect. D. 300, p. 6.—Litera Fraternalitatis per priorem et capit. Cant. concessa Ric’o Fox ep’o, 1503, 29 Aug. *Reg. Cant.* M. S. KENNET.—The best heads of Fox are a folio by Vertue, 1723 ; a mezzotinto, in 4to. by Faber.”]

Anthony Wood, in his *Hist. & Antiq. Coll.* by Gutch, p. 382, tells us he was born† in an obscure village in Lincolnshire, called Ropesley, four miles distant from Grantham, in an ancient house known to some by the name of Pullock’s Manor. He was son of Thomas Fox and Helena his wife, both well esteemed for their honest life and conversation. Others also there were of his name and alliance in and about the same place, who were either

[* This Richard Fox could not have been the Bishop, for in 1504, he had been four years Bishop of Winchester, when it is not to be supposed he accepted a living.—EDIT.]

† Ut in quibusdam notis de Vita Rich. Fox, hujus Coll. Fundatoris, per Thom. Greenway ejusdem Coll. presidentem. an. 1566.

his brethren or uncles, afterwards citizens of London, some of whose children were preferred to this college, as in particular Thomas Fox (his nephew as it seems) of whom he took especial care, in letters* written to Mr. John Claymond, the first president, to have him settled among the original scholars, as he did also for John Fox, another Londoner, then Archdeacon of Surry. The said place where the founder was born, being well known to the ancient fellows of this house, according to the tradition they had received of it, were wont when they went their progress to keep courts at their respective manors, to visit and do their devotions to it, as the very place where their father and great patron had received his first breath. To the said manor-house did anciently belong† land, worth, beyond all reprises, £26. yearly, which, whether it belonged as an inheritance to the Foxes, could not be learned by them. It came afterward into the hands, as it seems, of Richard Kelham, father of Ralph Kelham, living in the reign of King James. From him it came into the hands of Rich. Hickson, who built a new house upon it, and the old house where the founder was born, he sold to one Thos. Raskall of the same town. In the latter end of [the reign of] Queen Elizabeth, lived in part of the said old house, a widow well stricken in years, who with the most ancient of the town were wont to tell the said fellows, ‘that their founder was born at that place,’ and one among the rest told them, as he had received it from his father, that Richard Fox went away very meanly from his parents into France when he was young, and after some time spent there, returned to his parents in very good sort, and when they would have had him stay with them, he refused, saying, he must over sea again, and if one thing hit outright, all Ropesley should not serve him for his kitchen.” His parents perceiving him to be of a towardly wit, intended, according to their abilities, to bestow *that* upon him, which should prove a comfort to them in their old age, and to himself in the future a livelihood, wherefore they sent him to be trained up in grammar at Boston, till such time that he might prove capable of the University. Thence they sent him to Magdalen College, in

* In Thesaur. hujus, Coll.

† Inter Collectanea B. Twyni in Bibl. hujus. Coll.

Oxford,* where, for the time he continued, he profited so much in literature, that he went beyond most of his contemporaries. From thence, because of a plague that broke out in Oxford, he went to Cambridge, where, as several authors report, he became master or head of Pembroke Hall, 1507; but long there neither did he abide, for observing that *long† continuance in an University was a sign either of lack of friends or of learning*, and that it was sacrilege for a man to tarry longer there than he had a desire to profit, took a resolution to travel and see the fashions of other nurseries of learning; and this the rather he did, because at that time King Richard III. usurped the government, and that the state thereupon was in an unsettled condition. To Paris therefore‡ he journeys, where, to complete that divinity which he had already obtained, he studied the canon law, without which divinity was esteemed in those days imperfect. From thence he thought to have travelled to other parts; but happily meeting somewhere with John Morton, Bishop of Ely, some time an Oxford man, who had fled the kingdom because of the said usurpation, his intentions were at that time stopped: and whether his learning and policy were so much perceived by this Bishop as to make use of him as an instrument to establish Henry Earl of Richmond in the throne, (to whom Bishop Morton faithfully adhered) or whether the Earl himself, who was then at Paris, had acquaintance with him, or before had known him to be a man of wisdom, I am in doubt. Howbeit, an author that§ lived a few years after tells us, that as soon as the Earl had knowledge of him, he received him as a man of great wit and no less learning, into his familiarity, and in brief time advanced him to high dignities, as it shall anon be shewed.

But howsoever the matter was, I shall not now dispute it; sure I am that at what time the Earl of Vannec in Little Bretagne, contriving to furnish himself for his setting forth to obtain the crown of England, determined to crave aid of the French King; and, so coming to

* In notis T. Greenway ut supra.

† Will. Harrison in Descript. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 3.

‡ Chron. Edv. Hall. edit. Lond. 1550, in Ric. III.

§ D. Tho. More in Vit. Ric. III.

Paris to prosecute his design, left the whole* management thereof to the said Richard Fox, then L.L.D., who according to the trust reposed upon him followed the matter with so great diligence, that in a short time, all things were accomplished to the Earl's pleasure. So that soon after the said Henry obtained the crown upon the victory gotten in Bosworth field, [he] was not unmindful of Dr. Fox, for he not only made him one of his council, and keeper of his privy seal, but also,† employed him with Sir Richard Edgcombe, knight, (1487) as ambassador to King James III. of Scotland. In which employment shewing himself to be a person of great prudence, for that he obtained a truce between the two kingdoms for the space of 7 years,‡ made the King have so great respect for him, that the Bishopric of Exeter falling void before his return from Scotland, as I conceive, immediately conferred it on him, anno 1486-7.

Being now settled in that See, he behaved himself in all respects befitting a true Prelate as well in office as life, and conversation. The effects of whose deeds there, being partly mentioned by another§ pen, I shall now pass by them and proceed. In the year 1491-2, when Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, deceased, the King gave that Bishopric to him; and he was translated thereto by the authority of the bulle¶ of Pope Innocent VIII., dated 6th id. Feb. the same year. In all which time none was in more favour with the King than he, and none whose counsel was more relied on than his: especially in those matters relating to the privilege and interest, that King Henry VII. challenged in the kingdom of Scotland. And that he might advantage himself in the knowledge of them, he left no history or chronicle of this nation unconsulted; and particularly one of John Rowse, the Warwick antiquary: of which, and

* Godwin in Comment. de præsul. Angl. in Winton.

† Hall ut sup. in H. VII.

‡ This was only a prolongation of the truce to Sept. 1, 1489. In 1497, however, the Bishop signed another truce for 7 years. Rymer. Fœd. Vol. 12. p. 330-673.

§ Per John Vowell, alias Hooker, in Cat. suo. Episcop. Exon.

¶ Reg. Morton, Fol. 23.

the lending it out to Dr. Fox, he maketh mention in his book* *de Regibus Angl.* with an excuse concerning the omission of some particulars therein—"hic multa alia inseruissem (saith he,) si quendam librum inueneris plenarie hanc materiam tractantem, quem mutuo pro tempore traddi Reo' in X^o. Patri et Dom^o. Dom. R. Fox, in decretis D. Epō Excestriæ, Custodi privati tunc Sigilli sub metuendissimo Principe Henry VII. rege Angliæ, &c."

But to return.—After he had continued in the See of Bath and Wells for the space of 3 years or thereabouts, he was preferred by the same hand to that of Durham in 1494; and, as he still ascended from a poorer to a richer, or from a worse to a better Bishopric, so he made the places themselves in relation to their edifices: for he† made several alterations in the hall or public refectory of the castle of Durham, that is to say, that whereas there were but two seats of regality, one in the upper and another in the lower part of the said hall, he left the upper only, and in the place of the lower he made a store-house or pantry for provisions; and over the said work made two seats or pews for the musicians in the time of services or refecton. He built there also an account or checquer chamber, a large kitchen, and all houses of office over it; as also, all the new work on the west side of the hall and kitchen. Furthermore, he began to build a hall, kitchen, and other edifices in the high tower to the said castle, but before they were perfected, he was translated to Winton, by reason of the controversy that sprang between him and the Earl of Cumberland, concerning the right of Hertlepool.—"The said Castelle of Durham stondith (as Leland‡ saith,) stately on the north-east side of the minster, and Were rennith under it. The kepe stondith aloft, and is stately builded of VIII. square fascion, and 4 highes (or stories) of logginges. Bishop Fox did much reparation of this dungeon; and he made beside in the castelle a new kychen with the offices, and many praty chaumbers, &c."

What were his actions while he sat in this See, either

* MS. in Bib. Cotton. p. 234.

† Hist. Eccl. Dunel. MS. in Bib. Bodl. Cap. 202.

‡ Fol. i. Itin. MS. in Bib. Bodl. fol. 82.

in relation to his government or transactions between the clergy and gentry of his Diocese, I know not: for Durham hath been so ungrateful in that respect, that she hath not endeavoured to preserve any monument or writing (except that before mentioned) in her registers, or public records, or acts done by this worthy Prelate.

While he was Bishop of the said place, the Scots, it elsewhere* appears, had like to have broken the truce, and revived the wars between the two nations; for they coming to Norham Castle, the Bishop's habitation, intended, if possible, to surprise it; to which end, they came several times in private to view it, but the soldiers therein suspecting some evil meaning, sallied out and made them fly. The Scottish King being advertised of this matter, was highly displeased, and in all haste signified to the English King, how his soldiers who had no intentions for a reprisal, were treated, and therefore he had violated the truce. The King, to excuse the matter, relied upon Bishop Fox, owner of the castle, to perform what seemed good in such a matter. He thereupon, by letters written to him, interwoven with expressions tending to a reconcilment, did at length appease his displeasure, and brought all things to such a pass, that the Scottish King wrote courteously to the Bishop again, signifying, that besides the matter then in hand, he had certain secrets to impart unto him, and desired forthwith that he would come unto him. The Bishop, therefore, with his retinue journeyed into Scotland, where he was kindly received by the King in the Abbey of Mailross; and after much talk concerning the truce that was violated, the King at length told him, that all things would never go right until a firmer bond of peace was made; and for the accomplishment thereof, he thought of no better remedy than that he should match himself to the lady Margaret, the King of England's eldest daughter, which he would the sooner do if he knew of the Bishop's mind therein.* After this communication was ended, the Bishop returned into England, and going forthwith to the court, declared to the King all the discourse that

* Hall ut. sup. et in Holinsh. in H. VII.

† This matter was first put into his head by one Peter Hialas, a Spanish ambassador, then in England.

had passed between them. The King, therefore, seeming to like well of it, conceded at length to the match. Afterward, to the great joy of both nations, they were married; and upon their issue, King James VI. of Scotland and I. in England, took his lineal descent, and by virtue thereof obtained the English crown after the death of Queen Elizabeth: confirming thereby both kingdoms with an everlasting peace.

Having had a happy success in this match, he was advised in the making up that between Prince Arthur and the lady Catherine, 4th daughter of Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, anno 1502. Which being concluded, her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage was ordered and contrived by our Bishop; 'who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, (as one* saith), but also a good surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit the active part belonging to the service of court or state of a great King.' Further, also, I am to tell you, (which is a matter of observance), that the last act of state that concluded the temporal felicity of our King Henry VII. was the glorious match between his daughter Mary, and Charles, Prince of Castile, afterwards the great Emperor. Which treaty was perfected by Bishop Fox, and other commissioners at Calais, the year before the death of the King. And this with other things, I thought fit to let you know, because thence you might understand what great trust the King reposed on the said Bishop; what love he had for him; and how ready the Bishop always was to serve his lord and master to the utmost.

It was now the 16th year of the reign of King Henry VII., (1500) at which time Thomas Langton, Bishop of Winton, deceased, in whose room the King immediately put Richard Fox;* where being settled, spent the remainder of his time in great prosperity and plenty;

* Bacon in Life of King Henry VII.

† Bishop Milner thus satisfactorily accounts for the Bishop's translation from Durham to Winchester, which is not a usual move:—"The King, finding that the Bishop's frequent absence at so great a distance as Durham from the Court, whilst he attended the affairs of his Diocese, was prejudicial to his service, and wishing to have his advice on all affairs of consequence, he in the same year that Langton died removed him to the See of Winton."—*Hist. Wint.*

bestowing much money in buildings, reparations, and charitable uses: witness, besides his College at Oxford, his new chapel in the Cathedral of Winchester, (wherein he was afterwards buried), appointing* that daily mass should be celebrated for his soul. Then his erection of a free school at Taunton castle, and convenient lodgings near it for the school master to dwell in. The like, he performed at Grantham: - although his intentions were at one time to have* built the same at Ropesley, in a little grove joining to the house where he was born, but that place being but a village, and therefore unfrequented, he altered his mind, and built it at Grantham aforesaid: which was then, as now, a place of commerce and trading.

As for this charity in giving exhibitions to several poor scholars, it was while he was Bishop of this See, very great. † Among them were those under the tuition of Richard Stubbles and Leonard Hutchinson of Balliol College; the first afterwards master of the said College, and the other of that University, and both favoured by the same Bishop, Then, to Anthony Wilkins of New, and several of Magdalen College, besides others in the University; committing the charge of them to Mr. J. Claymond of Magdalen College; who for the great love and amity which the Bishop had for him, saluted him in his letters directed to him, 'Brother,' and 'dear brother.' He extended his charity in a large manner to the Abbot and Monks of Glastonbury; for when John, the Abbot, in a letter to him complained much of the miserable and poor estate that he and his convent were in, (as indeed they were), he voluntarily § lent, or rather as it should seem, gave them £100.: which was paid to them by Mr. Claymond. Futhermore, also, it must not be forgotten that in the 3rd Henry VII., when R. Fox sat Bishop of Exeter, he gave very largely towards the re-edification of St. Mary's Church in Oxford, then ready with age to fall to the ground; for the chancellor and scholars then undertaking that matter, sent divers epistles for that purpose to all those Bishops and great men that were their 'old friends,' (as they then || styled them), and such

* Hist. Ecc. Dunel. ut sup. cap. 202.

† COLLECT. B. Twyni MS.

‡ Ibid.

§ COLLECT. R. Twyni MS. || In lib. Epistol. Univ. Ox. F. Ep. 240.

that had been students of this University; among which, I find an* epistle to the said reverend Prelate for his benefaction, who, if he had been a stranger to them, and not bred up in that University, would never have had the confidence to be petitioners to him for a boon.

What further is worthy of observation is, that after he had sat some years in the See of Winton, and before several books were dedicated to him as a worthy patron of learning; among which, is, that† entitled ‘*De casu animæ*,’ written by Aubrey Mantuan, a student of the University of Paris, whose epistle dedicatory being dated at Paris, on the kalends of Jan. 1509: hath several matters therein in commendation of this venerable Prelate: all which for brevity sake, I now pass by. One Richard Collingwood, also, who wrote an arithmetical treatise, did dedicate it to him; the original whereof being in MS. was given to this library on Mr. Twyne’s desire, by Mr. Thos. Allen of Gloucester Hall.

In one only mischance he was unfortunate, and that ‘was that he lived divers years blind before he died;‡ so that finding thereby his end to approach, he considered how he might bestow his riches, as well for the public good as continuance of his memory. At length, after all things had been well considered and cast up, he proceeded to perform his bounty at Oxford, to the end that some place there might be erected, wherein for the future might be educated persons in academical learning; and having before had a promise of certain tenements whereon this work might be erected, and particularly from the warden and scholars of Merton College, (to whom he paid several§ sums of money by the hands of the said Mr. Claymond), he began to build, employing in that work one William Vertue, *Free-Mason*, and Humphrey Cook, carpenter, masters of his works.

In a short time after, being in considerable forwardness, an indenture¶ dated the last day of June, 5 Hen. VIII., A.D. 1513, drawn between R. Fox, Bishop of Winton,

* *Ib.* Ep. 363.

† MS. in Bib. Thom. Ep. Linc.

‡ He was blind about 10 years before his decease; however he attended the Parliament, 1523.—(Fulman.) He died in 1528; and was buried in his New Chapel before mentioned.—(Ath. Ox. V. 1. 665.)

§ Ut in Thesaur. hujus Coll. in pyc. A. 4. 2. ¶ Ut in Thes. &c. A. 4. 2.

on the one part, and Thomas Silkstede, Prior and the Convent of the Cathedral Church of St. Swythun, in Winton, on the other: whereby it was covenanted that in consideration of certain gifts of the said Bishop made to the said Prior and Convent, viz. several parcels and pieces of silk, cloths of gold, parcels of plate, altar cloths, copes, vestments, and books for the choir, crosses, images, chalices, candlesticks for the altar, ornaments, jewels, stuffs, &c. that they permit and grant to the said Bishop, that the said Prior and Convent or their successors shall obtain and purchase for them and their successors certain places and parcels of ground in Oxford, of Merton Coll. Nunnery of Godstow, Priory of St. Frideswyde, &c. wherein also, it is further said, that the Bishop had began to build on the said parcels a College for a warden, and a certain number of monks, and secular scholars; that also, he intended to give and appropriate tenements, rents, and pensions, to the yearly value of £160. to the said Prior and Convent, for the use of the said College; of which £28. yearly revenues were then purchased by virtue of the King's licence contained in his letters patent; that the said Prior and Convent were to maintain 4 monks from the said revenues, to be called the Bishop's scholars; every one of them professed within the said Monastery of St. Swythun; and every of them also, being of convenient age to learn and study in the sciences and faculties ensuing, viz. at 18 years of age at the least, to study and profit successively in sophistry, logic, philosophy, and divinity. That one of the said four should be warden of the said college; that four Monks more also be nominated there by the said Prior and Convent, one to be called the Prior's Scholar, and the other three the Convent's Scholars, and all four to come from the said Monastery of St. Swythun. That also they were to give certain maintenance to officers or servants of the said college, as a manciple, two cooks, pantler, lavender or laundress, barber, or servant that should serve the monks at the table in times of refection; and stipends to the readers of logic, sophistry, and philosophy; to a bible clerk that should read in the hall at times of refection, and a clerk that should serve in the chapel.

Thus far the contents of the said indenture, by which we are given to understand that Bishop Fox did intend to make this college a nursery for the Monks of the Priory

or Cathedral of St. Swythun, in Winchester, as Canterbury and Durham College were for the like use, namely, one for the novices of the Priory of Canterbury, and the other for those of Durham. And so it was, and for that purpose he had, on the 12th. of March, 4 Henry VIII. obtained* licence of the King to give to the Prior and Monks of Winton revenues to the yearly value of £100. beyond all reprises, conditionally, that they maintain the number of Monks before expressed. But before his college was a quarter finished, his mind was altered, and upon conference had with Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, concerning his proposals of being a benefactor, conditionally, that he would make the said college a place for secular students, (as other colleges of Oxford were,) caused the said licence of settling £100. per annum on the said Priory of St. Swythun, to be brought into chancery and cancelled. Afterward he proceeded in his buildings which he had began: the which, had the foundation intended at first been equal to his second thoughts, it had been larger, but being begun, it could not well be altered, which, in all probability, was the reason why he enlarged it afterwards by building the cloister-chambers.

This being done, therefore, partly upon the proposals of Oldham, but chiefly by his persuasions, who often answered the† founder when they discoursed of making this work a College for Monks, “ what, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks, whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see? No, no, it is more meet a great deal that we should have care to provide for the increase of learning, and for such as by their learning shall do good to the Church and Commonwealth.” The design was utterly rejected; though he was much solicited to the contrary. And being now fully convinced, he proceeded to obtain the site of this college, which he before had bargained for, and had paid some of the money for the purchase. The first part which he, as it seems procured, was a tenement‡ with a garden called Corner Hall; and another with a

* Pat. 8 Hen. VIII. part 2.

† Holinshed in Chron. Suo. sub an. 1518. Vide in Descript. Ang. per W. Harrison, lib. 2. cap. 3.

‡ Thesaur. huj. Coll. in pyx. A. 4. 3.

garden called Nevyll's Inn. Also about the same time a garden which belonged to the bachelor fellows of Merton College, called Bachelor's Garden, which before was included within the limits of the said college, containing now the most part of the gardens or walks belonging to the masters and bachelors of this college, granted Feb. 10, 7 Hen. VIII. dom. 1515; for which ground Merton College was always to receive £4. 6s. 8d. per ann. from Witney church, Oxfordshire; of which church the founder as Bishop of Winton, was patron.

After this was done, the Bishop obtained* licence of King Henry VIII. dated Nov. 26, an. reg. 8 dom. 1516: whereby it was granted to him that he might found a perpetual college for the learning of the sciences of divinity, philosophy, and good arts, for one president and thirty scholars, graduate and not graduate, or more or less according to the faculties of the place, on a certain ground between the house or college of Merton on the east side, a lane near Canterbury college and a garden of the priory of St. Frideswyde on the west, a street or lane of the house or college of Oriel on the north, and the town-hall on the south, and withal that he might endow the said college with £350. yearly.

The same year, January 15, he purchased† another tenement of the nunnery of Godstow, called Nun Hall, for which the college was to pay to the said nunnery 4s. per ann. as a quit rent; and Feb. 12 following, he made a purchase of ‡ Urban Hall and Bekes Inn of the Priory of St. Frideswyde, for which also the founder covenanted and granted that £1. 6s. 8d. per ann. should be paid to the said priory out of the rectory of Wroughton, Wilts.

So that now all the site being clearly obtained, issued forth the foundation§ charter of the college, dated at Wolvesey castle, Winton, Cal. Mar. 1516; whereby the pious founder doth to the praise and honour of God Almighty, the most holy body of Christ, and the Blessed Virgin Mary, as also of the apostles Peter, Paul, and Andrew, and of St. Cutlibert, St. Swythun, and St. Birin, patrons of the churches of Exeter, Bath and Wells,

* *Ib.* in eadem THES. in quadam cista ubi sigillum Collegii reponitur.

† *Ib.* in ead. THES. A. 4.

‡ *Ib.* § *Ib.* et in ead. Cist. ut sup.

Durham, and Winchester, (of which places he was successively Bishop) found and appoint this college (always to be called *CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE*) for one president and thirty scholars, or more or less according to the ordinations and statutes to be made and composed. In the said charter the founder appoints Mr. John Claymond, B. D. (one that had been intimately acquainted with him for 30 years) the president, Thomas Fox, his kinsman, scholar of arts, of the diocese of London, John Garth, M. A. of the diocese of Durham, Rich. Clarkson, M. A. of C^o. York, Robert Tregvilian, B. A. of the diocese of Exeter, Thomas Welshe, sophister of the diocese of Winton, and Robert Hoole, sophister of C^o. Lincoln, to be scholars and fellows of the said college, by him elected.

As for the rest that were scholars and fellows (among whom Ludovicus Vives,* Nicholas Cratcher, a Bavarian, Edward Wotton,† Richard Pates, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, and Reginald Pole, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, were of the number) were taken in by the founder at the entreaty of noble persons, even till July 2, 1524, being in all, besides those mentioned in the foundation charter 46.

The next year following, viz. 1517, the founder gave his scholars statutes, which, on 20th. June the same year, were read, and then approved of by him in the church or chapel of the hospital of St. Cross, near Winton, in the presence of clerical and laical people.

In them he appoints in this his new foundation, that there should always be 1 president, 20 fellows, 2 chaplains, 2 clerks, and 2 choristers. The fellows are, according to the countries of their nativity to be thus distinguished: four of the diocese of Winchester, viz. three of the county of Southampton, and one of the county of Surry‡; the diocese of Durham 1; Bath and Wells 2;

* [Ludovicus Vives lodged in this College; and, by tradition, was afterwards Humanity Reader to the same; but not mentioned in the register, nor did he stay long at Oxford. (Mr. William Fulman's *ANIMADVERSIONS* and *NOTES* on the Hist. and Antiq. of Oxon. Edit. Lat. 1674, among our Author's MSS. in the Ashm. Mus. D. 9.)]

† Edw. Wotton was first fellow of Magdalen, and put into this College, *sociis compar*, by the founder, with leave to travel into Italy for 3 years, Jan. 2, 1720-1.

‡ The Oxford Univ. Calendar under C. C. C. says 20 Hants and 2 Surry.

Exeter 2; of the county of Lincoln 2; Gloucester 2; Wilts 1; Kent 2; Lancashire, where Hugh Oldham was born, 1; Bedford 1; and Oxon and Berks 1.

As for the scholars they were according to the said Dioceses and counties, in like manner, to be distinguished; only that, whereas, there were to be 2 fellows of Kent, he appointed but 1 scholar of that place, and 2 of Lancashire: but these were somewhat altered before the founder's death.

He instituted also, three lectures to be performed by three of the said fellows, every week in the college hall, according as the statutes required. To which lectures the students of the University, as also, strangers were wont to repair. One was for humanity, which Lud. Vives before mentioned, read; the second for Greek; and the third for divinity. As for the two last, by whom, at first, they were performed, I find not, unless by John Clement, or Edward Wotton, or Robert Morwent, the vice-president. Howsoever it was, sure I am, that they were much frequented by the academics, as were the lectures about the same time of Cardinal Wolsey.

In such an admirable condition was this College finished, endowed with plentiful revenues, settled with good government, and replenished with able men, that the fame thereof extended far and near. Erasmus, in an epistle of his, as I remember, written to John Claymond, the first president speaks very honourably of it thus:—"Egregiam illam prudentiam suam, quâ semper publicæ famæ præconio commendatus fuit Ric. Epûs Winton. nullo certiore argumento nobis declaravit quam quod Collegium magnificum suis impendiis extractum, tribus præcipuis linguis, ac melioribus literis vetustisque authoribus proprie consecravit," &c.

Bishop Fox's grammar-school at Grantham is copiously treated of by Turnor.—He observes:—"A spacious handsome stone building, 75 ft. by 30, and a commodious house, and offices for the master were erected on the north side of the church-yard, by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester. The foundation was augmented in 1553, by Edward VI. There is a tolerable portrait of the founder in the school-house. Sir Isaac Newton was of this school. For a copious account of this institution, see Turnor's *Collections for the Hist. of the Town and Soke of Grantham*, 4to. 1806, p. 39, illustrated by a plate representing the school.

Godwin thus notices this Prelate under his four Sees respectively. *Edit. Richardson*, p. 414.—EXETER. “XXVI. Successit Ricardus Foxus [1487, Henry VII. 2] qui postquam hic loci sex annos sedisset, ad Ecclesiam Bathonensem et Wellensem translatus est, ac inde postea Wintoniam.”—His editor adds in the notes that his temporalities were restored April 2, 1487. *Rymer*. XII. p. 322. The Pope’s bulle for his translation to Wells was dated Feb. 8, 1491. *Registr. Morton*. Therefore he could not have sat at Exeter as Godwin says, 6, but 4 years.

BATH AND WELLS. P. 384. “XL. Sufficitur Ricardus FOXUS, Epūs Oxon. qui huc translatus est mense Feb. 1491, [Hen. VII. 7.] et post triennium Dunelmum.”

DURHAM. (p. 753.) “XXXI. Ricardus Foxius in Episcopum Exoniensem, consecratus, 1486, [Here is a year’s discrepancy, vide supra] ad sedem Bathonensem translatus 1491, [Bishop Godwin is therefore wrong, by his own shewing, in saying as above, ‘sex annos;’] inde Dunelmum migravit 1494, ac Wintoniæ tandem consedit 1502. In castro interim Dunelmensi multa immutavit. Cum in aula ibidem duo antiquitus throni regales fuissent collocati (sic appellatos invenio) in superiori, (viz. parte) unus atque ab inferiori itidem alius: inferiorem sustulit, et ibidem edifice quædam excitavit. Novam porro aulam exorsus construere, et coquinam in magna turri ejusdem castri, Wintoniam translatus est, antequam opus ad umbilicum potuerit perducere. Vivarium denique amplissimum prope Dunelmum ad feras includendas muro satis excelso circumdedit. Sed de hoc inter Wintonienses habebis plura.” His editor adds in the note, from *Rymer’s Fœdera* XII. 566, that his temporalities were restored Dec. 8; and also a note from Wharton’s *Anglia Sacra*, p. 779, respecting the border differences, and the Bishop’s intervention in the procurement of the marriage between the Princess Margaret and King James of Scotland. Vide supra.

WINCHESTER. From the English edition of 1615, p. 245. “57 Richard Foxe, (1502, Henry VII. 18) at what time Henry, Earl of Richmond, abiding at Venice, was requested by letters from many of the English nobility to deliver his country from the tyranny of that wicked parricide Richard III., and to take on him the kingdom; he, willing to furnish himself as well as he might for the setting forth of so great an enterprize,

determined to crave aid of the French King. Coming therefore to Paris, he only recommended his suit to the King, and having manifold business elsewhere, he left the farther prosecution of this matter unto Richard Fox, (L.L.D., proceeded in Oxford, but incorporate in Cambridge, where he became Master of Pembroke Hall), that chanced to live a student in Paris at that time. Whether the Earl knew him before, or else discerned at the first sight as it were, his excellent wisdom, certain it is, he deemed him a fit man for the managing of this great affair. Neither was he any thing at all deceived in him: for the matter was followed with so great diligence and industry, as in a very short time all things were dispatched according to the Earl's desire, who soon after obtaining the kingdom, mindful of the good service done him by Dr. Fox, preferred him immediately unto the keeping of the privy seal, made him secretary, and one of his counsel; and laid upon him what spiritual living might possibly be procured him. In the meantime, he employed him continually either in matters of counsel at home, or in ambassages of great importance abroad. The 2nd year of King Henry's reign, he was sent into Scotland for the establishing of a peace with the King there; whence he was scarcely returned when the Bishopric of Exeter falling void, it was bestowed upon him. He held it not past 6 years, [not so long]; but he was removed to Bath and Wells, and thence within 3 years after to Durham. There he staid 5 years; and the year 1502 was once more translated, viz. to WINTON, where he spent the rest of his life in great prosperity. For such was his favour with the King, as no man could ever do so much with him: no man there was upon whose counsel he so much relied. Amongst other honours done unto him, it was not the least, that he made him godfather* unto his 2nd son, afterwards King Henry VIII. In one only mischance he was unfortunate. He lived many years blind before he died. Whereby guessing his end not be

* [In the account of this Prelate, *Vetust. Monum.* vol. II. this fact is denied; and it is asserted that Fox was only the baptizing Prelate. The authority however there referred to, cannot be compared with that of the contemporary historian Harpsfield. *Hist. Ang. Sac.* XV. c. 20. Besides, Greenwich being out of the Diocese of Winton, it would not have been strictly regular our Prelate's performing the solemn rite which there took place.—EDIT.]

far off, he determined to make unto himself friends of the unrighteous mammon, bestowing well his goods while he lived. And first, he purposed to have built a Monastery, until, that conferring with Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Oxon, a very wise man, he was advised by him rather to bestow his money upon the foundation of some College in one of the Universities, which should be more profitable unto the commonwealth, and more available to the preservation of his memory. As for Monasteries, quoth he, they have more already than they are like long to keep. So by the counsel of this wise Prelate, whose purse also was a great help to the finishing thereof, the College of Corpus Christi in Oxford, was built A.D. 1516, and endowed by the said founder with possessions to the yearly value of £401. 8s. 11d. Afterward, in the year 1522, he bestowed the cost of building a fair free-school by the castle in Taunton, (where the Bishop of Winton has a goodly lordship), and convenient housing near it for the school-master to dwell in; the like he performed at Grantham also: in which place it is probable he might have been born; lastly it is to be remembered that he covered the choir of Winton, the presbytery and aisles adjoining with a goodly vault, and new glazed all the windows of that part of the church. It is said also that he built the partition between the presbytery and the said aisle, causing the bones of such Princes and Prelates as had been buried here and there, dispersed about the church, to be removed and placed in seemly monuments upon the top of the new partition. Many other notable things no doubt he did, which have not come unto my knowledge. He was brought up in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, (unto which house he gave certain hangings); and died a very old man A.D. 1528, [Sept. 14, Richardson] when he had worthily governed the Church of Winton 27 years. He lieth intombed upon the south side of the high altar, in a monument rather sumptuous than stately, of the same building with the partition."

Richardson in his notes to the Latin edition of 1743, [*int. Epos. Wint.*] p. 235, adds that the Bishop was Master of Pembroke Hall a little before 8th of the ides of Aug. 1507, while Bishop of Winton. He resigned the headship in May 1519. He was Chancellor of Cambridge for 2 years, viz. in 1500 and 1501. He had the

Winton temporalities restored Oct. 17, 1500. Pat. 16 Henry VII. p. 2, m. 13. The Bishop, adds Richardson, was remarkable for 3 things. I. He recommended to King Henry his marrying his brother's widow. II. He contended with other Bishops concerning the prerogative of Canterbury, against Archbishop Warham, and to the prejudice of the See. III. When about to take his farewell of the court, he recommended Wolsey, his chaplain, afterwards Bishop, Archbishop, and Cardinal; and Wm. Paulet, steward of the estates belonging to the See of Winton, afterwards lord high treasurer, and first Marquess of Winchester, &c. [The present Marquess is 8th in descent from this William, the first peer brought into notice by Bishop Fox.—EDIT.]

Wharton (*Ang. Sac.* 1. 319,) observes, “ De Ricardo Foxo a sede Dunelmensi ad Wintoniensem post Langtoni obitum translato rebusque ab illo Wintoniæ gestis nil habeo quod adjiciam Godvini dictis, nisi quod anno 1528, 14th Sept. obierit.

He is thus noticed by Fuller, *Worthies*, vol. II. p. 11. *edit.* 1811:—“ Richard Fox was born at Grantham, [Ropesley near] Lincolnshire, as the fellows of his foundation in Oxford have informed me. Such who make it their only argument to prove his birth at Grantham, because he therein erected a fair free school, may, on the same reason conclude him born at Taunton, in Somerset, where he also founded a goodly grammar-school. But what shall I say? ‘Ubique nascitur qui orbi nascitur’; *he* may be said to be born every where, who, with Fox, was born for the public and general good. He was very instrumental in bringing King Henry VII. to the crown, who afterwards well rewarded him for the same. That politic prince, (though he could go alone as well as any King in Europe yet) for the more state, in matters of moment, leaned principally on the shoulders of two prime Prelates, having Archbishop Morton for his right, and this Fox for his left supporter, whom at last he made Bishop of Winton. He was bred first in Cambridge [incorrect] where he was president of Pembroke-Hall, (and gave hangings thereunto with a *Fox* woven therein) and afterwards in Oxford. [Fuller is wrong in this; it was exactly vice versa. He was first of Oxford, afterwards of Cambridge,] where [at Oxford] he founded the fair college of C. C. (allowing per annum to it

£401. 8s. 11d.) which hath since been the nursery of so many eminent scholars. He expended much money in beautifying his Cathedral in Winton, and methodically disposed the bodies of the Saxon Kings and Bishops (dispersedly buried in this church) in decent tombs erected by him on the walls on each side the choir; which some soldiers (to shew their spleen at once against crowns and mitres) valiantly fighting against the dust of the dead, have since barbarously demolished. Twenty-seven years he sat Bishop of this See, 'till he was stark blind with age. All thought him to die too soon: one only excepted, who conceived him to live too long, viz. Thomas Wolsey, who gaped for his Bishopric, and endeavoured to render him [obnoxious] to the displeasure of King Henry VIII., whose malice this Bishop, though blind, discovered, and in some measure defeated. He died A.D. 1528; and lies buried in his own Cathedral."

Tanner in his *Notitia* records, under Oxfordshire XXIII. 9: "Corpus Christi College. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winton, in the year 1513 began a College, which he at first designed for student black monks, as a seminary to the Cathedral Priory of Winton, but was dissuaded from settling it so by Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exon, who became a great benefactor to the buildings of this house, which was finished in the year 1516, and dedicated to the honour of the most holy body of Christ, of St. Peter, and St. Paul, St. Andrew, St. Cuthbert, and St. Swithun, the patron saints of his four Bishoprics, Exeter, Wells, Durham, and Winchester."

Here we may subjoin from Leland's *Winchester Ecc. Cath*: Richardus Foxe, Epūs Wint. fecit testitudines chori, templi et presbyterii, invitavit omnes fenestras ejusdem partis templi, fecit partitionem inter presbyterium et insulas adjacentes, in cacumine cujus posuit ossa principum & præsulum ibi sepulorum in novis sarcophagis."—*Coll.* 1. 116.

Sir Robert Atkyns in his *Hist. Gloucestershire*, under Guiting Temple, observes, that the manor was purchased by Dr. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winton, and by him given to Corpus Christi College, Oxon: the president and fellows of which are the present lords of the manor, and keep a court-leet, p. 449. The author takes the opportunity of extolling the character of the Bishop, and gives an outline of his career.

The following observations by Bishop Milner, as they refer to some circumstances not noticed by the foregoing authorities, must not be omitted:—"At length, either mortified at finding himself supplanted by Wolsey, whom he had introduced to the King's service, or else being desirous of consecrating the latter end of his life to the concerns of religion, certain it is, that he retired to his Cathedral city, [Harfsfield] and applied himself exclusively to this object. He was unbounded in his charities to the poor, whom he assisted with food, clothes, and money: at the same time exercising hospitality and promoting the trade of the city, by a large establishment which he kept up at Wolvesey of 220 servants, being all men. He was also indefatigable in preaching the word of God to his people, and in exciting his clergy to the performance of the same duty. The public works which he is known to have left behind him, suffice to prove the greatness both of his genius and his beneficence. The most celebrated of these is C. C. C. Oxford, which he built and founded, endowing it, not with ecclesiastical property, as had frequently been done in similar instances, but with estates which he purchased for this express purpose. Having finished this seminary, he industriously drew to it some of the most celebrated scholars of the age: such as Ludovicus Vivez, the divine; Nicholas Crucher, the mathematician; Clement Edwards and Nicholas Utten, professors of Greek; likewise, Thomas Lupset, Richard Pace, and Reginald Pole, who was afterwards Cardinal: [Harfsfield] men of the greatest distinction for learning and talents. He extended his charity and munificence to many other foundations, particularly within his own Diocese; amongst others, the enchanting ruins of Netley Abbey, still attest that he was a benefactor to that monastery. But the monuments which tend chiefly to embalm his memory in the city of Winton, are those great and beautiful works, both within its Cathedral and on the outside of it, which have hardly been equalled in their kind, and never surpassed.*

"During the last 10 years of his life it pleased the

* Harpsfield and Godwin mention only Fox's decorations within the Church; yet, that he was the author of the outside work here ascribed to him, is evidently proved by his image and devices in various parts of it.

Almighty to deprive him of sight. Far however, from sinking under this trial or relaxing in his zealous efforts, the only use he made of this deprivation was to apply himself more assiduously to prayer and meditation, which at length became almost uninterrupted, both day and night. [Harfsfield.] In 1528 he finished his pious course; and was buried in that exquisite chantry which he had prepared amongst his other works for that purpose, immediately behind the high altar, on the south side.*

Portraits.—The portraits of the Bishop are thus noticed by Grainger: “Richardus Fox, episcopus Winton. Henrico septimo et octavo a secretioribus, et privati sigilli custos, Coll. Corp. Christi Oxon. Fundator, A^o. Dⁿⁱ. 1516. Johannes Corvus Flandrus faciebat; Vertue sc. 1723. In Fiddes’s *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*.”

He is represented blind, which calamity befel him at the latter end of his life. The original picture is at C. C. C. Oxon.

RICHARDUS FOX; *Æt.* 70; *G. Glover, sc.* RICHARDUS FOX; *Æt.* 70; *Sturt. sc.* RICHARDUS FOX; *a small oval.*—Another for *Dr. Knight’s “Life of Erasmus.”* RICHARDUS FOX, &c. *J. Faber f. large 4to. mezz. one of the set of founders.*

This Prelate who was successively Bishop of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester, was employed by Henry VII. in his most important negotiations at home and abroad; and was in his last illness appointed one of his executors. He was also at the head of affairs in the beginning of this reign, Henry VIII.; but about the year 1515 retired from court, disgusted at the insolence of Wolsey, whom he had helped to raise. *Ob.* 14, Sept. 1528.”—*Biog. Hist. Eng.* vol. i, p. 95.

Synopsis of Preferments:

Prebendary of Bishopston, Sarum Cathedral after 1473; resigned 1485.

Prebendary of South Grantham, in Sarum Cathed. }

Vicar of Stepney. }

Secretary to King Henry VII. }

Prebendary of Brounswode. }

Privy Councillor to Henry VII. }

1485.

* The last quoted author who enlarges with so much unction on the merits of Bishop Fox, testifies that he was present at his funeral, being then a student in Winton College.

Bishop of Exeter 1486-7.

Keeper of the Privy Seal 1486.

Ambassador to King James III. King of Scotland 1487.

Bishop of Bath and Wells 1491-2.

Bishop of Durham 1494.

Chancellor of the University of Cambridge 1500-1.

Bishop of Winton. 1500, (Wood) who is right. (Sic Patent Rolls.) Godwin says 1502.

Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1507 res. 1519.

The following extract from the History of Durham, by Mr. Surtees, though comprising several circumstances already detailed, well deserves a place in this sketch:—
 “Richard Fox was translated to Durham from Bath and Wells Dec. 7, 1494, and received the temporalities next day. He was born at Ropesley, in the county of Lincoln, and was the son of Thos. Fox, a person of mean circumstances. He was educated as a scholar on the foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford: but the plague breaking out there, he retired to Cambridge, and became a member of Pembroke Hall. He afterward studied in divinity and the canon law at Paris, where he received the degree of L.L.D. It does not appear whether his leaving England was at first prompted by any political reason; but in France he became acquainted with Morton, Bishop of Ely, a deep and subtle politician, who was one of the main springs in the revolution that effected the fall of Richard III., and raised the Earl of Richmond to the crown.—Morton saw how serviceable Fox’s talents might prove to any party in which he could be brought to engage; he introduced him to the secret counsels of Richmond, and he was soon after entrusted with the delicate charge of negotiating with Charles VIII. of France, for a supply of troops and money for the projected invasion of England. He conducted the business with admirable secrecy and success. Immediately after the battle of Bosworth, Fox’s services were rewarded by his being raised to the rank of a privy counsellor.” Leland thus notices these transactions:—
 ‘*Quem rex summo favore complexus est, quia illius solummoda gratia Carolus VIII. Gallorum rex illum adhuc comitem Richmondiaë idq; exultantem ad reguum contra Richardum tyrannum repetendum auxiliariis copiis relevabat. Hinc sub eodem rege fuit custos privati sigilli, Secretarius, et a sanctoribus conciliis legatus in*

Scotiam.' "He was soon after collated to the prebend of Bishopston, in the Cathedral of Sarum; and in the following year to that of South Grantham, in the same Church. In 1487 he was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, and made keeper of the privy seal. In 1491 he was translated to Bath and Wells, and from thence to Durham in 1494. Whilst Bishop of Bath and Wells he was one of the sponsors for Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. From the See of Rome he had the title of apostolical legate in the realm of Scotland; and in 1500 the University of Cambridge elected him their chancellor. He was also secretary of state; master of the hospital of St. Cross near Winchester; and in 1505 accepted the mastership of Pembroke College in Cambridge. From the time of Bishop Fox's promotion to Durham, the whole management of the north and of the Scottish border was committed to his charge. Under all the changes of both governments, peace betwixt the two nations had been preserved by repeated treaties; (*Rymer. Fædera*, XII. 554-5) and in 1494, the Bishop of Durham met the Scotch commissioners at Coldstream, to treat of a renewal of the truce and of a mutual reparation for the damages inflicted by the borderers, whose incursions no public treaties could restrain. (*Fædera. ib.* p. 568.) The attempt to negotiate proved fruitless; and in 1495, Henry was alarmed by the favourable reception of Warbeck at the Scotch court. The northern powers from Trent to Tweed were called out under the Earl of Surry, lieutenant for the infant Duke of York, and the Bishop of Durham received a commission of array, not only for his own province but for Northumberland, Tyndale, Redesdale, and the east marches. The names of the Earl of Surry and of some of the northern nobles were added to grace the commission, but the King's private confidence was entirely reposed in the Bishop, who had secret instructions empowering him to act alone. (*Fædera.*)

At the same time Henry, who never took up arms without an attempt to negotiate, and whose favourite project was to preclude assistance to Warbeck, and secure the future peace of the north by a matrimonial alliance with the Scotch monarch, commissioned the Bishop of Durham to treat of peace, and to propose to King James the acceptance of the Princess Margaret of

England in marriage. The project was at that time unsuccessful: King James crossed the borders and plundered part of Northumberland, but retired on the approach of Surry's army. In the following summer King James laid seige to Norham in person, whilst divisions of his troops scattered themselves over the adjacent country. The Bishop who had foreseen the storm had repaired the works, and stationed a brave garrison in the place well armed and provided; and as soon as he heard of the attack, hastened to the borders, and eluding the vigilance of the besiegers entered the fortress at the head of a small but determined band of followers. His precaution did not end here; his power and influence had prevailed on the borderers to place all their strong holds in a state of defence; their cattle and effects were drawn within the walls, and the marauding invaders were disappointed of their spoil. Norham Castle, meanwhile, resisted several hot assaults, and after a gallant defence of 16 days, the shattered fortress, after most of its out-works were beaten down, was relieved by the Earl of Surry, who pursued the retreating Scots across the Tweed. (*Holinshed.*) Bishop Fox's peculiar attention to the border service is evinced by the unerring testimony of records still extant. He fulminated a sentence of excommunication against the robbers of Tynedale and Redesdale, and in particular against the vagrant priests who accompanied these lawless hordes from place to place, amidst the wilds of Northumberland, partaking in their plunder, and mingling reliques of barbarism with the rites and sacraments of the christian Church. In 1498 appears an absolution dated at Norham Sept. 25, granted by name to several of these free-booters who had accepted the Bishop's mercy. The latter instrument bears date at Norham Castle, and the reclaiming of these borderers may be fairly attributed to the Bishop's personal presence and influence.*

In 1497 a truce for seven years was concluded with Scotland under the mediation of Peter D'Ayala, the Spanish envoy at the court of England. (*Fædera* XII, 677.)

* The whole record printed from Bishop Fox's register may be seen in the introduction to the *Minstrelsy of the Scotch Border*. Appendix No. 7 of *Surtees's Durham*.—And see a practical illustration in the *Life of Gilpin*. Part ii, p. 66,

The Bishop of Durham, Walsham, Master of the Rolls, and John Cartington, sergeant at law, were the English commissioners; and the Bishop's name stands also at the head of the English list of conservators, who were appointed with full powers to redress injuries and punish offenders on the marches. The truce was afterwards prolonged for the joint lives of the two sovereigns, and ratified in Stirling Castle July 20, 1499. But the instrument was scarcely executed when an accidental quarrel between some young Scotchmen whom curiosity had drawn to visit Norham, and the soldiers of the garrison, threatened a renewal of hostilities. (*Holinshed.*) Several lives were lost; and the Scotch King indignant at the delays which he experienced from the English wardens, sent his herald to Henry to demand instant satisfaction for the insult or to denounce war. The Bishop, with admirable policy, took upon himself the whole charge of tendering reparation for the outrage which had occurred within the walls of his own fortress. His mild and conciliatory offers softened the fiery spirit of James, who requested a personal interview. They met at the Abbey of Melrose, and not only were all existing differences terminated, but the Bishop succeeded in awakening James to a sense of his true interest; he consented to a permanent alliance between the two kingdoms, and requested the Bishop's favourable intercession in obtaining for him the Princess Margaret of England. (*Fædera XII. 729.*) The peace was finally concluded in 1502; and in June, the young bride gallantly attended, commenced her progress to the north. She was received on the borders of the Bishopric by the high sheriff, and was entertained for three days at Durham, where a splendid feast was given in the hall of the Castle July 23, the anniversary of Fox's installation.*

The Bishop had already been translated to Winton on the festival of St. Faith Oct. 6, 1501.

* The Princess rested at Northallerton in the Bishop's manor house, and it seems that there Bishop Fox met her. At Nesham she was received on crossing the Tees, by Sir Ralph Bowes, Sir William Hilton, &c. See "the Fiancels of the Princess Margaret, by Younge, Somerset Herald." *Leland. Collect.* iii, 258-297.—Bishop Fox was not less distinguished for conducting a pageant than a negotiation: for a little before, "Bishop Fox, who was not only a grave counsellor for warre or peace, but also a good surveyor of workes, and a good master of ceremonies," was employed to superintend the reception of the Princess Catherine of Spain.—*Bacon.* See *Leland Collect.* v.

It seems difficult to account for the King's removal of so faithful a servant from the important post which he had occupied with so much fidelity; but the peace of the north seemed in consequence of the late alliance, more secure than at any former period, and the Bishop might desire in advancing years, a residence in a country of milder manners, and in a southern climate. *Chambre* adds, that his longer residence at Durham was rendered irksome by a violent dispute which had arisen between the See of Durham and the Earl of Cumberland, for the possession of Hartlepool.

The Bishop was one of the Executors of Henry VII. A new race of favorites arose under his son, a Sovereign of a very different character; yet, in 1510, the Bishop, with the Earl of Surry and Bishop Ruthall of Durham, concluded a short-lived peace with Lewis XII. of France; and in 1513, he attended the King in his expedition to France, and was present at the taking of Terouenne. His last public employment was the negociation of a treaty with the Emperor Maximilian. The rising fortunes of Wolsey, whom Fox had himself introduced to the royal favor, bore no competitor; and in 1515, the Bishop resigned the privy seal and retired to his diocese. His attention was fixed in his latter years on the foundation of some religious or academic institution; and being deeply offended with the conduct of the members of his own College (*Pembroke Hall*), of which he resigned the headship in 1518, he became the munificent founder of the College of Corpus Christi in Oxford, where scholarships are appropriated to natives of the diocese of Durham. He was also the Founder of the Free Grammar Schools of Taunton and Grantham.

Bishop Fox was afflicted with blindness for many years before his death; but under the pressure of age and infirmity, his spirit remained unbroken; and he replied to Wolsey, who wished him to resign his bishopric of Winton for a pension, "that though he could no longer distinguish white from black, yet could he discriminate right from wrong, truth from falsehood, and could well discern the malice of an ungrateful man, he warned the proud favorite to beware, lest ambition should render him blind to his approaching ruin; bade him attend closer to the King's business, and leave Winchester to the care of her Bishop."

The good Prelate died in 1528, and was interred in his own chapel in Winton Cathedral, where his tomb still exhibits an exquisite specimen of the richest style of Gothic sepulchral architecture. *Chambre*, p. 779, thus describes it: "Capellam apud Winton magnificis sumptibus constructam erexit, et ibidem honoratissimè sepultus jacet; cujus imago cum artificio in lapide efformata ibidem conspicitur." The effigy is a *skeleton*. See *Gough's Sepulchral Monuments* and *Milner's Winton*.

Bishop Fox's public works within the diocese of Durham were not numerous. He made some alterations in the great hall of the castle of Durham, to which he added a music gallery, and removing a seat of state from the lower end, converted the space into offices. He built also a kitchen and steward's room to the west of the hall. He had conceived the design of restoring the great tower of Durham Castle, but left the work unfinished on his translation to Winton. He is said to have enclosed the deer park at Auckland. Bishop Fox appears to have been extremely jealous of any diminution of the Palatine rights; and in his 5th. year he issued a writ of *Quo Warranto* directed to the sheriff of Durham, summoning all persons claiming court-leet, court-baron, or other liberty or franchise within the regalities of the Bishop of Durham, to produce and justify their titles. It is probable the writ was never carried into execution, for no return appears on the rolls.

I shall close my memoir of this Prelate with the following extract from Harpsfield, his contemporary. Sac XV. c. 20. p. 643.

"Natus ees Richardus in Comitatu Lincolnæ apud Grantoniam. Cum in literis egregie profecisset, sacerdotio jam initiatus Lutetiam Parisiorum, ad majorem doctrinæ accessionem profectus est. Ibi dum versatur, Henricus Comes Richemundiæ illuc venit, suppetias petitum a Carolo Rege adversus Regem Richardum, qui Richardum ob ingenium et probitatem, sibi inter intimos adjunxit, et ab eo tempore magis ac magis indies coluit et observavit: deturbatoque deinde Richardo, ad intimum, consilium Richardum ascivit; et secretarii ut appellant, munus illi mandavit. Exoniensi primum Episcopatu honestatus est. Legavit eum Henricus alias in Scotiam, alias in Galliam, in Scotiam quidem, ut inducias cum Jacobo Rege pacisceretur, quas et pactus est. In Galliam

vero, ut fœdus cum Carolo iniretur, quod et initum est. Bathoniensi atque Wellensi deinde, atque postea Dunelmensi Episcopatu auctus est. Dum Dunelmi versatur, et rixa quadam inter Anglos et Scotos orta, quidam ex Scotis cœsi sunt. Et cum periculum esset, ne induciœ antea initæ, ea occasione rescinderentur, missus est Richardus in Scotiam ad rem omnem pacificandam. Quo tempore Jacobus cupide se nuptias Margaritæ majoris natu Henrici filiæ appetere ostendit, nec ita multo post, desideratis nuptiis potitus est. Sed cum Rex Richardi desiderium, et tam longe dissitam absentiam æquo animo non ferret, curavit, ut mortuo, sicut dictum est, Thoma Langtono, Wintoniam accerseretur, ut frequentiore ejus opera et consilio uteretur. Quem deinde secretiori suo consilio præfecit et in ejus potissimum fide et prudentia acquiescebat, adeo ut cum octennio postea in fata concederet, nullius magis fidei adolescentem filium Henricum atque successorem, quam Ricardi commendavit cujus erat patrinus, at appellamus, et sponsor pro eo, cum sacro baptismate expiaretur; eique etiam permultis postea annis a consiliis fuit, donec obrepens senectus, hujus modi cum solitudinibus renunciare et sibi suæque parochiæ atque diocesi accuratius intendere admoneret.

Wintoniam itaque venit et longa absentia suæ damna, accurata quadam, exquisitaque omnis Episcopalis numeris diligentia, famelias animas sacris, per se et suos, concionibus et tenuiores homines alimentis, ceterisque rebus vitæ necessariis destitutos, cibis, vestitu, pecuniis, fovens resarcivit. Cumque decennio ante obitum ad patientiam illius exercendam, ut olim Tobia, oculorum ei usum Deus ademisset, eo copiosius et intensius animæ illius, quod exterius oculis deerat, lumen benigne adauxit. Quare omni jam quasi impedimento abrupto, totus die noctuque orationibus, et sacris meditationibus affigitur; de pauperibus prolixius etiam solito meretur. Multa etiam, eaque præclara atque illustria pietatis suæ, etiam post obitum reliquit monumenta. In Comitatu Somerseti apud oppidum Tantoniam grammatices Scholam construxit, et ludimagistro de idoneo annuatim stipendio prospexit. Nec difficile beneficium in eo oppido, ubi natus est, posuit. Chorun principis suæ ecclesiæ magnis impensis ornavit, in qua et sacellum, ut ibi humaretur, construxit. Cavitque ut duo sacerdotes eo loci suam et omnium in Christi fide obeuntium, animas perpetuis

precibus Deo commendarent, singulis decem annuas libras attribuens. Numerosam et amplissimam quotidie familiam ducentorum videlicet et viginti hominum aluit. Neque quisquam ex illis erat, cui minus viginti aureis præter unius anni commeatum, post obitum in testamento legavit. Ceteris vero, pro singulorum meritis et conditione, prolixius consuluit. Pecuniam autem quam singulis assignavit, in totidem crumenis, ascriptis singulorum, quibus illa attribuebatur nominibus reposuit. Sed cætera illius beneficia, quamvis magnifica et ampla, insigne illud, quos Oxonii posuit, collegium longe superavit. In quo tres ille publicas prælectiones, unam sacræ Theologiæ, secundam Latinæ, tertiam vero Græcæ linguæ instituit. Et ne deessent, qui in hoc quasi opimo quodam, et fœcundo bonarum artium agro optima semina sererent, celebrem illum Ludovicum Vivem Hispanum huc advocavit, qui Theologiam magna cum laude, magnoque totius Academiæ fructu professus est, ob res vero mathematicas, insignem illum Nicolaum Crucherum; primâ vero linguæ Græcæ semina jacta sunt per Clementem, Davidem, Eduardes, et Nicholaum Utton medicos. Cujus ibi luculenter ejiit professorem, cum ego primum ad acadeniam adventabam, Nicolaus Schreprevus. In hanc societatem, præter alios, allecti sunt Thomas Lupsetus egregie eruditus, Ricardus Paceus, Wigorniensis deinde Epûs, et lumen non nostræ modo Britannia, sed et totius nostri sæculi Reginaldus Polus Cardinalis, et Cant. Arpûs. Præsidem vero societati suæ dedit Joannem Claimundum, in quo singularis pietas cum pari doctrina certabat; et huic proximum locum Roberto Morwento qui et præfecturam post obitum Joannis ut prius Epûs præscripserat, suscepit. Illud vero ex magna prudentia Epî profectum est, quod nullas Ecclesiasticas possessiones, sed profanas solum; illudque etiam ex pari in sacro-sanctam eucharistiam pietate et reverentia manavit, quod Collegio suo Corporis Christi nomen attribuit. Commutavit tandem pius vir iste mortalem hanc et caducam cum cœlesti et immortalis vita, ad annum nostræ redemptionis CIO. IO. XXVIII. Quo ego tempore, me admodum puerum exequiis et funeri ejus interfuisse memini, ad prima literarum elementa illic haurienda, a parentibus Wintoniam Londino missum."

Some notices of Bishop Fox may be found in Chaundler's Waynflete. The index thus refers to him:—"Fox

Richard, joins the party of the Earl of Richmond, p. 213—made a Bishop and Lord Privy Seal, 214—was a benefactor to Magdalen College. *Ib.* Obtains for that college a license of mortmain, 261.—Intimacy between him and president Claymond, 262.”

XXIV. THOMAS WOLSEY.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1528.—DIED A.D. 1530.

“Speak thou, whose thoughts at humble peace repine,
“Shall Wolsey's *wealth* with Wolsey's *end* be thine?”

Johnson.

The following life was written by the Cardinal's Gentleman Usher, Cavendish, but whether he were George Cavendish of Glemsford, or Sir Wm. Cavendish* does not yet appear to be decided. The christian name in the superscription to some of the MS. copies is George. Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Wanley, and Douce, in his illustrations of Shakspeare, attribute the work to George, while Bishop Kennet in his memoirs of the family of Cavendish, Collins in his Peerage, Birch (No. 4233, Ayscough's Catalogue, British Museum) and Campbell, ascribe it to Sir William; to this ascription, however, Dugdale and Margaret Duchess of Newcastle do not assent. The reader who is curious on this point may consult a little work published a few years since by Mr. Jos. Hunter, of Bath, entitled “*Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?*” in which this point is gravely discussed.

The work itself was known only by MSS. and by extracts inserted in Stow's annals, from the reign of Queen Mary, in which it was composed, till the year 1641, when it was first printed in 4to. under the title of *The negotiations of Thomas Wolsey, containing his life and death, &c.*

The chief object of the publication was to draw a parallel between the Cardinal and Archbishop Laud, in order to reconcile the public to the murder of that orthodox prelate. That this unworthy object might be the better

* Sir William was father of the first Earl of Devonshire, whose great grandson was the first Duke of Devonshire, so created in 1694. Sir William the supposed author of the life of Wolsey, was founder of the ducal family of Cavendish, and from him the present Duke is ninth in direct lineal descent.

accomplished, the MS. was mutilated and interpolated without shame or scruple: and the work passed for genuine above a century: no pains having been taken to compare the printed edition with the original.

The present may be considered a faithful reprint, with the exception of some little matter chiefly consisting of historical digressions and frivolously minute details, wholly unconnected with the subject of the memoirs. I have availed myself of some of Dr. Wordsworth's notes. No apology, I presume, is necessary for having divested Cavendish's narrative of much of its quaintness and tautology: nor for having modernized his spelling and corrected his numerous grammatical errors, which is done without the parade of a note.

I have endeavoured to supply, in a synopsis at the end of this reprint, the deficiencies of Cavendish, as to dates, and have recorded some preferments and leading circumstances of Wolsey's life omitted by his Biographer. The Cardinal's life has been written also by Fiddes, Grove, Galt, &c.

A very good sketch may be read in Chalmers's *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 32.

“Truth it is that this Cardinal Wolsey was an honest poor man's son, of Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, and there born; and being but a child, was very apt to be learned; wherefore by the means of his parents, or of his good friends, and masters, he was conveyed to the University of Oxford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he told me by his own mouth, that he was made Bachelor of Arts, when not fifteen years of age, in so much that for the rareness of his age, he was called most commonly through the University, the Boy Bachelor.

Thus prospering and increasing in learning he was made fellow of Magdalen College, and afterwards elected and appointed Master of Magdalen School, at which time the Marquis of Dorset had three of his sons there, committing as well to him their education, as their instruction and learning.

* He was born in 1471. See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p.2. edit. 2. A.D. 1726.

It pleased the Marquis against a Christmas season, to send as well for the school-master as for the children, home to his house, for their recreation. While there, their father perceived them to be right well employed in learning, for their time: which contented him so well, that he, having a benefice* in his gift, being then void, gave the same to the school-master, in reward of his diligence, at his departing after Christmas to the University. And having the presentation thereof, he repaired to the ordinary for his institution and induction; and being furnished there with all his ordinary instruments at the Ordinary's hands, for his preferment, he made speed to the said benefice to take possession. And being there for that intent, one Sir Amias Pawlet, Knt. dwelling in the country thereabout, took occasion of displeasure against him, upon what ground I know not: but he was so bold to set the school-master by the feet during his pleasure; which after was neither forgotten nor forgiven. For when the school-master became chancellor of England, he was not forgetful of his old displeasure cruelly ministered upon him by Mr. Pawlet, but sent for him, and after many sharp words enjoined him to attend until he was dismissed, and not to depart out of London without licence obtained: so that he continued there within the Middle Temple the space of five or six years. He lay then in the gate-house next the street, which he re-edified very sumptuously, garnishing it all over the outside with the Cardinal's arms, with his hat and cognizance, badges, and other devices, in so glorious a sort, that he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

As all living things must of necessity pay the debt of nature, it chanced my said Lord Marquis to depart out of this present life. After whose death this school-master, then considering with himself that he was but a simple beneficed man, and had lost his fellowship in the college, and perceiving himself also to be destitute of his singular good lord, and also of his fellowship, which was much to his relief, thought not to be long unprovided with some other help, or mastership, to defend him from all such storms, as he lightly was vexed with.

In this his travail thereabout, he fell into acquaintance

* Limmington, near Ilchester, Somerset. Wolsey was instituted October 10, 1500. Fiddes, p. 5.

with one Sir John Nanphant, a very grave and ancient knight, who had a great room [post] in Calais, under King Henry VII. This knight, he served, and behaved himself so discreetly and wisely, that he obtained the especial favour of his said master, insomuch, that for his wit and gravity, he committed all the charge of his office unto his chaplain. As I understand the office was the treasurership of Calais. The knight was in consideration of his great age, discharged of his chargeable room, and returned again into England, intending to live more at quiet. And through his instant labour and good favour his chaplain was promoted to be the King's chaplain. And when he had once cast anchor in the port of promotion, how he wrought, I shall declare.

He having then a just occasion to be in the sight of the King daily, by reason he attended upon him, and said mass before his grace in his closet, that done, he spent not the rest of the day in idleness, but would attend upon those whom he thought to bear most rule in the council, and to be most in favour with the King: who at that time were Dr. Fox, Bishop of Winton, secretary, and lord privy seal; and also Sir Thomas Lovell, knight, a very sage counsellor, a witty man, who was master of the wards, and constable of the Tower.

These ancient and grave counsellors, in process of time, perceiving this chaplain to have a very fine wit, thought him a fit person to be preferred.

It chanced at a certain season that the King had an urgent occasion to send an ambassador to the Emperor Maximilian, who lay at that time in the Low Country of Flanders, not far from Calais. The Bishop of Winton and Sir Thomas Lovell, whom the King most esteemed as chief of his council, (the King, one day counselling and debating with them upon this ambassage) saw they had now a convenient occasion to prefer the King's chaplain, whose excellent wit, eloquence, and learning, they highly commended to the King. The King, giving ear unto them, and being a prince of an excellent judgment and modesty, commanded them to bring his chaplain, whom they so much commended, before his grace's presence. And to prove the wit of his chaplain, he fell into communication with him in great matters, and perceiving his wit to be very fine, thought him sufficient to be put in trust with this ambassage; commanding him

thereupon to prepare himself for his journey, and for his despatch to repair to his grace and his counsel, of whom he should receive his commission and instructions. By means whereof, he had then a due occasion to repair from time to time into the King's presence, who perceived him more and more to be a very wise man, and of a good intendment. And having his despatch, he took leave of the King at Richmond about noon, and so came to London about 4 o'clock, where the barge of Gravesend was ready to launch forth, both with a prosperous tide and wind. Without any farther abode [delay] he entered the barge, and so passed forth. His happy speed was such that he arrived at Gravesend within little more than 3 hours, where he tarried no longer than his post horses were provided, and travelled so speedily with them that he came to Dover the next morning, where the passengers were under sail to proceed to Calais. He sailed forth with them, so that long before noon he arrived at Calais; and having post horses in readiness, departed thence without tarrying, and made such speed that he was that night with the Emperor, who having understanding of the coming of the King of England's ambassador, would in no wise delay the time, but sent for him incontinent, (for his affection to King Henry VII. was such, that he was glad when he had any occasion to shew him pleasure). The ambassador disclosed the whole sum of his ambassage unto the Emperor, of whom he required expedition, which was granted him by the Emperor; so that the next day, he was clearly despatched with all the King's requests fully accomplished and granted. He made no further delay, but took post horses that night, and rode incontinent toward Calais again, conducted thither with such persons as the Emperor had appointed. And at the opening of the gates at Calais, he came thither, where the passengers were as ready to return into England as they were before at his journey forward, insomuch that he arrived at Dover by 10 or 11 o'clock before noon; and having post horses in readiness, came to the court at Richmond that same night. Where, he taking some rest until the morning, repaired to the King at his first coming out of his bed-chamber, to his closet to mass, whom, (when he saw), he checked him for that he was not on his journey. "Sir," quoth he, "if it may please your highness, I have already been

with the Emperor, and despatched your affairs, I trust, with your grace's content." And with that he presented the King his letters of credence from the Emperor. The King wondering at his speed and return with such furniture of all his proceedings, dissembled all his wonder and imagination in the matter, and demanded of him whether he encountered not his pursuivant, whom he sent unto him (supposing him to be scarcely out of London,) with letters concerning a very necessary matter, neglected in their consultation, which the King much desired to have despatched among the other matters of ambassage. "Yes forsooth," quoth he, "I met with him yesterday by the way; and having no understanding by your grace's letters of your pleasure, notwithstanding I have been so bold upon mine own discretion, (perceiving that matter to be very necessary in that behalf), to despatch the same. And for as much as I have exceeded your grace's commission, I most humbly require your grace's remission and pardon." The King, rejoicing inwardly not a little, said again, "we do not only pardon you thereof, but also give you our own princely thanks both for your proceedings therein, and also for your good and speedy exploit:" commanding him for that time to take his rest, and to repair again to him after dinner, for the farther relation of his ambassage. The King then went to mass; and afterwards, at convenient time, he went to dinner.

The King gave him for his diligent service the Deanery of Lincoln,* which was at that time one of the worthiest promotions under the degree of a Bishopric. And thus, from thenceforth, he grew more and more into estimation and authority, and after was promoted by the King to be his almoner.

When death (that favoureth none estate, King ne keiser) had taken the wise and sage King Henry VII. out of this present life, who for his wisdom was called the second Solomon, it was wonderful to see what practises and compasses were then used about young King Henry VIII., and the great provision made for the funeral of the one, and the costly devices for the coronation of the other, with the new Queen (Catherine,) mother afterwards of the Queen's Highness.

* He was collated Feb. 2, A.D. 1508. Le Neve's *Fasti*. p. 146.

After the finishing of all these solemnizations, our prince and sovereign lord King Henry VIII. entering into the flower of youth, took upon him the regal sceptre and the imperial diadem of this fertile and fruitful realm, which at that time flourished in all abundance and riches, called then the golden world, such grace reigned then within this realm. Now the almoner (of whom I have taken upon me to write,) having a head full of subtle wit, perceiving a plain path to walk in towards his journey to promotion, conducted himself so politicly, that he found the means to be made one of the King's counsel, and to grow in favour and good estimation with the King, to whom the latter gave a house at Bridewell in Fleet-street, sometime Sir Richard Empson's, where he kept house for his family, and so daily attended upon the King, and was in his especial favour, having great suit made unto him, as counsellors in favour most commonly have. His sentences and witty persuasions amongst the counsellors in the council chamber were always so pithy, that they, as occasion moved them, continually assigned him for his filed tongue and excellent eloquence, to be the expositor to the King in all their proceedings. In whom, the King, conceived such a loving fancy, and in especial, for that he was most earnest and ready in all the council to advance the King's only will and pleasure, having no respect to the cause; the King, therefore, perceiving him to be a meet instrument for the accomplishment of his devised pleasures, called him nearer to him, and esteemed him so highly, that the estimation and favour of him put all other ancient counsellors out the high favour that they before were in: insomuch that the King committed all his will unto his disposition and order. Who wrought so all his matters, that his endeavour was always only to satisfy the King's pleasure, knowing right well, that it was the very vein and right course to bring him to high promotion. The King was young and lusty, and disposed all to pleasure, and to follow his appetite and desire, nothing minding to travail in the affairs of the realm; which the almoner perceiving very well, took upon him therefore to discharge the King of the burthen of so weighty and troublesome business, putting the King in comfort that he should not need to spare any time of his pleasure for any business that should happen in the council, as long as he being there and having his grace's

authority, and by his commandment doubted not to see all things well and sufficiently perfected: making his grace privy first, to all such matters before he would proceed to the accomplishment of the same, whose mind and pleasure he would have, and follow to the uttermost of his power: wherewith the King was wonderfully pleased. And whereas the other ancient counsellors would, according to the office of good counsellors, sometimes persuade the King to have recourse to the council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, which pleased not the King at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do any thing contrary to his pleasure; that knew the almoner very well, having a secret intelligence of the King's natural inclination, and so fast as the other counsellors counselled the King to leave his pleasure, and to attend to his affairs, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary; which delighted him very much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner. Thus the almoner ruled all them that before ruled him: such was his policy and wit; and so he brought things to pass, that who was now in high favour but Mr. Almoner? who had all the suit but Mr. Almoner? and who ruled all under the King but Mr. Almoner? Thus he persevered still in favour, until at last, in came presents, gifts, and rewards, so plentifully, that I dare say he lacked nothing that might either please his fancy or enrich his coffers; fortune smiled so favourably upon him. But to what end she brought him, you shall hear hereafter.

This almoner (climbing thus hastily upon fortune's wheels, and so far mounting that no man was of that estimation with the King as he was, for his wisdom and other witty qualities,) had such a special gift of natural eloquence, and such a filed tongue to pronounce the same, that he was able to persuade and allure all men to his purpose. Proceeding thus in fortune's blissfulness, it chanced that the wars between the realms of England and France were open, but upon what ground or occasion I know not. The King was fully resolved in person to invade his foreign enemies with a puissant army.

It was thought necessary that his enterprise should be speedily furnished in all things convenient for it, for the expedition whereof, the King thought no man's wit and policy so meet as his almoner's, to whom therefore he

committed his whole affiance and trust therein. And he being nothing scrupulous in any thing that the King would command him to do, although it seemed to others very difficult, took upon him the whole charge of the business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good pass in a decent order, as all manner of victuals, provisions, and other necessaries, convenient for so noble a voyage and army.

The King passed the sea between Dover and Calais, at which latter place he prosperously arrived, and marched forward in good order of battle till he came to the strong town of Turin, to which he laid seige, and assaulted it so strongly that within a short space it yielded to him. When the King had obtained this fort, and taken possession thereof, and set all things there in due order, for its defence and preservation to his highness's use, he departed thence, and marched toward the city of Tournay, and there laid siege in like manner; to the which he gave so fierce and sharp assaults, that they were constrained to render the town to his victorious majesty. At which time the King gave to the Almoner the BISHOPRIC OF TOURNAY for his pains. And when the King had established (after possession taken there) all things agreeable to his princely will and pleasure, and furnished the same with noble captains and men of war for the safeguard of the town, he returned into England, taking with him divers noble personages of France, being prisoners, as the Duke Longueville and Viscount Clermont, with others, who were taken there in a skirmish. After his return immediately, the SEE OF LINCOLN fell void by the death of Dr. Smith, late Bishop there, which benefice his grace gave to the Almoner,* late Bishop elect of Tournay, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, and made all the speed he could for his consecration; the solemnization whereof ended, he found means to get possession of all his predecessor's goods, whereof I have divers times seen some part that furnished his house. It was not long after that Dr. Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, died at Rome, being there the King's ambassador, unto which See [YORK] the King immediately presented his late new Bishop of Lin-

* He was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln March 26, A.D. 1514. *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 141.

coln, so that he had three Bishoprics in his hands* in one year given him. Then prepared he again as fast for his translation from the See of Lincoln unto the See of York, as he did before for his installation. After which solemnization done, and being then an Archbishop and *Primas Angliæ*, he thought himself sufficient to compare with Canterbury, (Warham was at this time Archbishop of Canterbury; see the article 'Warham' in Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* vol. 31.) and thereupon erected his cross in the court; and every other place, as well within the precinct and jurisdiction of Canterbury, as in any other place. And forasmuch as Canterbury claims a superiority over York, as of all other Bishoprics within England, and for that cause claims of York as a recognition of an ancient obedience, to abate the advancing of his cross, in presence of the cross of Canterbury; notwithstanding, York nothing minding to desist from bearing thereof, caused his cross to be advanced† and borne before him, as well in the presence of Canterbury as elsewhere. Wherefore Canterbury being moved there-

* Dr. Robert Barnes preached a Sermon Dec. 24, 1525, at St. Edward's Church, Cambridge, from which Sermon certain Articles were drawn out upon which he was soon after called to make answer before the Cardinal. Barnes has left behind him a description of this examination. The sixth of the Articles was as follows;—"I wyll never beleve that one man may be, by the lawe of God, a Byshop of two or three cities, yea of an whole countrey, for it is contrarye to St. Paule, which seigth, *I have left thee behynde to set in every Citty a Byshop.*"

"I was brought afore my Lorde Cardinall into his Gallery," (continues Dr. Barnes) "and there hee reade all myne articles, tyll hee came to this, and there he stopped, and sayd, that this touched him, and therefore hee asked me, if I thought it wrong, that one byshop shoulde have so many cittyes underneath hym; unto whom I answered, that I could no farther go, than to St. Paule's texte, whych sat in every citty a byshop. Then asked he mee, if I thought it now unright (seeing the ordinance of the Church) that one byshop should have so many cities. I answered that I knew none ordinance of the Church, as concerning this thing, but St. Paule's saying onelye. Nevertheless I did see a contrarye custom and practise in the world, but I know not the originall thereof. Then sayde hee, that in the Apostles tyme, there were dyvers cities, some seven myle, some six mile long, and over them was there set but one byshop, and of their suburbs also: so likewise now, a byshop hath but one citty to his cathedrall church, and the country about is as suburbs unto it. Me thought this was farre fetched, but I durst not denye it,"—Barnes's *Works*: p. 210, A. D. 1573.

† This was not the first time in which this point of precedency had been contested. Edward III. in the sixth year of his reign, at a time when a similar debate was in agitation, having summoned a Parliament at York, the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the other Prelates of his Province, declined giving their attendance, that the Metropolitan of all England might not be obliged to submit his Cross to that of York, in the Province of the latter. Fox, p. 387. 388.—[WORDSWORTH.]

with, gave unto York a certain check for his presumption, by reason whereof there engendered some grudge between them. York perceiving the obedience that Canterbury claimed of him, intended to provide some such means that he would be rather superior in dignity to Canterbury, than to be either obedient or equal to him. Whereupon he obtained first to be made Priest-Cardinal and *Legatus de latere*, and the Pope sent him a Cardinal's hat with certain bulles for his authority in that behalf.

Yet the Pope sent him the hat of dignity as a jewel of his honour and authority, conveyed in a varlet's budget, who seemed to all men to be but a person of small estimation. Whereof York being advertised of the baseness of this messenger, and of the people's opinion, thought it not meet for the honour of so high a message, that this jewel should be conveyed by so simple a person; wherefore he caused him to be stopped by the way, immediately after his arrival in England, where he was newly furnished with all manner of apparel, and all kinds of costly silks, which seemed decent for such an high ambassador. And that done, he was received on Blackheath by a great assembly of prelates and gentlemen, and thence conducted through London with great triumph. Then was speedy preparation made in Westminster Abbey for the confirmation and acceptance of this dignity, which was executed by all the Bishops and Abbots about or nigh London, in their rich mitres, and copes, and other ornaments, which was done in so solemn a wise, as I have not seen the like, unless it had been at the coronation of a King.

Obtaining this dignity, he thought himself meet to encounter with Canterbury, in high jurisdiction before expressed; and that also, he was as meet to bear authority among the temporal powers, as among the spiritual. Wherefore remembering as well the taunts before sustained from Canterbury, which he intended to redress, as having a respect to the advancement of worldly honour, and promotion; he found means with the King to be made Lord Chancellor of England; and Canterbury, [Warham] who was then Chancellor, dismissed, who had continued in that honourable room since long before the death of King Henry VII.

Now he being in possession of the Chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of an Archbishop, and

Cardinal *de latere*, thought himself fully furnished with such authorities, and dignities, that he was able to surmount Canterbury in all jurisdictions and ecclesiastical powers, having power to convocate the Archbishop, and all other Bishops, and spiritual persons, wherever he would assign; and he took upon him the correction of matters in all their jurisdictions, and visited all the spiritual houses, having also in every Diocese through this realm all manner of spiritual ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparitors, and all other necessary officers to furnish his courts; and presented by prevention, whom he pleased to all benefices throughout the realm. And to the advancing further of his legantine jurisdiction and honours, he had masters of his faculties, masters *ceremoniarum*, and such other like persons, to the glorifying of his dignity. Then had he two great crosses of silver, whereof one was of his Archbishopric, and the other of his Legateship, borne before him whithersoever he went, or rode, by two of the tallest priests that he could get within the realm. And to the increase of his gains, he had also the Bishopric of Durham, [1523] and the Abbey of St. Alban's [1521] in *commendam*; and afterwards, when Fox, Bishop of Winchester died, [1528] he surrendered Durham into the King's hands, and took to him WINCHESTER, [1528].* Then had he in his hands the Bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, for as much as the incumbents of them were strangers, and made their abode continually beyond the seas, in their own countries, or else in Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realm to the King. And for their reward, at their departure, the wise King Henry VII. thought it better to give them that which he himself could not keep, than to disburse. And they being but strangers, thought it then more meet for their assurance, to suffer the Cardinal to have their benefices for a convenient sum of money paid them yearly, than to be troubled with the charges of them, or to be yearly burdened with the conveyance of their revenues to them: so that all the spiritual promotions, and presentations

* Temporalities committed to him Oct. 20. 1528, Rymer *Fœdera*, vol. 14. 268. and the care of the Bishopric, by Papal provision. The bulle is dated 6 Id. Feb. 1528. Rymer, *ib.* p. 267. Installed at Winton by proxy "non ante undesimum April, 1529." Wharton.—[EDIT.]

to these Bishoprics were wholly and fully in his disposal, to prefer whom he listed.

He had a great number daily attending upon him, both of noblemen and worthy gentlemen of great estimation and possessions, with no small number of the tallest yeomen that he could get in all the realm, insomuch that well was that nobleman and gentleman that could prefer a tall yeoman into his service.

At meals he kept in his great chamber a continual board for the chamberlains and gentlemen officers, having with them a mess for the young lords.*

The Cardinal was sent twice on an embassy to the Emperor Charles V. and also to King Philip. Forasmuch as the old Emperor Maximilian was dead, and for divers urgent causes touching the King's majesty, it was thought that in so weighty an affair, and to so noble a prince, the Cardinal was most meet to be sent on this ambassage. Wherefore he being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, was furnished in all degrees and purposes most like a great prince, which was much to the high honour of the King's majesty and of his realm. For first he proceeded forth furnished like a Cardinal of high

* Among whom, as we shall see below, was the eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland. This was according to a practise much more ancient than the time of Wolsey; agreeably to which young men of the most exalted rank resided in the families of distinguished ecclesiastics, under the denomination of pages, but more probably, for the purposes of education, than of service. In this way Sir Thomas More was brought up under Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; of whom he has given a very interesting character in his *Utopia*. From Fiddes's Appendix to the *Life of Wolsey*, p. 19, it appears, that the custom was at least as old as the time of Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry III. and that it continued for some time during the 17th century. In a paper, written by the Earl of Arundel, in the year 1620, and intitled; *Instructions for you my son William, how to behave yourself at Norwich*, the Earl charges him, "you shall in all things reverence, honour, and obey my Lord Bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents; esteeming whatsoever he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundel, your mother, or myself should say it; and in all things esteem yourself as my Lord's page: a breeding, which youths of my house, far superior to you, were accustomed unto; as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bred as pages with Bishops." See also Paul's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, p. 97. It is not out of place to mention, what we are told by Sir George Wheler in his *Protestant Monastery*, p. 158. A. D. 1698. "I have heard say, in the times no longer ago than King Charles I. that many Noblemen's and Gentlemen's houses in the country, were like academies, where the Gentlemen and Women of lesser fortunes came for education with those of the family; among which number was the famous Sir Beville Granville and his lady, Father and Mother of our present Lord of Bath"—[WORDSWORTH.]

estimation, having all things accordingly. His gentlemen, being very many in number, were clothed in livery coats of crimson velvet of the best, with chains of gold about their necks; and his yeomen and all his mean officers were in coats of fine scarlet, guarded with black velvet an hand broad. Thus furnished he was twice in this manner sent to the Emperor into Flanders, the latter being then in Bruges,† where he entertained the Cardinal and all his train for the time of his ambassage there. That done, he returned to England with great triumph, being no less in estimation with the King than he was before, but rather much better.

Now will I declare unto you the Cardinal's order in going to Westminster-Hall daily in the term season. First, 'e're he came out of his privy-chamber, he heard most commonly every day two masses in his closet; and as I heard one of his chaplain's say, (who was a man of credibility and of excellent learning) the Cardinal, what business or weighty matters soever he had in the day, never went to bed with any part of his divine service unsaid, not so much as one collect, wherein I doubt not but that he deceived the opinion of divers persons. Then going again to his privy-chamber, he would demand of some of his said chamber, if his servants were in readiness, and had furnished his chamber of presence and waiting chamber. He being thereof then advertised, came out of his privy-chamber about eight o'clock, apparelled all in red, that is to say, his upper garment was either of fine scarlet or taffety, but most commonly of fine crimson satin, grained; his pillion of fine scarlet, with a neck set in the inner side with black velvet, and a tippet of sables about his neck; holding in his hand an orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out and filled up again with part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent airs; which he most commonly held to his nose when he came among any press, or else that he was pestered with any suitors. And before him was borne first the broad seal of England, and his Cardinal's hat by a lord or some gentleman of

† At Bruges, "he was received with great solemnity, as belongeth unto so mighty a pillar of Christ's Church, and was saluted at the entering into the town by a merry fellow, who said, *Salve rex regis tui, atque regni sui.*" Hail both King of thy King, and also of his realm.—Tindal's *Works*, p. 370, A.D. 1572.

worship, right solemnly. And as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, (where there were daily attending upon him, as well noblemen of this realm, and other worthy gentlemen, as gentlemen of his own family,) his two great crosses were there attending to be borne before him. Then cried the gentlemen ushers, going before him, bare headed, "On before, my lords and masters, on before; and make way for mylord Cardinal." Then went he down through the hall with a sergeant of arms before him bearing a great mace of silver; and when he came to the hall door, there his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same, and gilt stirrups. Then was there attending upon him, when he was mounted, his two cross bearers, and his pillar bearers,* in like case, upon great horses trapped all in fine scarlet. Then marched he forward with a train of noblemen and gentlemen, having his footmen, four in number about him, bearing each of them a gilt poll-axe in their hands: and thus passed he forth until he came to Westminster Hall door. And there he alighted, and went after this manner up the chancery, or into the star chamber; howbeit most commonly he

* The pillar, as well as the cross, was emblematical, and designed to imply that the dignitary before whom it was carried was a *pillar* of the church. Dr. Barnes, who had good reason why these pillars should be uppermost in his thoughts, glances at this emblem, in the case of the Cardinal, in the following words: "and yet it must be true, because a *pillar of the church* hath spoken it. Barnes's *Works*, p. 210. A.D. 1572. See also Tindal's *Works*, p. 370.

Skelton, Poet-laureate of that time, indulged in some gross scurrility and abuse against the Cardinal, and upon its publication fled to the sanctuary of Westminster for protection. In his poetry, if we may misapply the word to such trash, he thus alludes to the crosses and pillars:—

With worldly pompe incredible
 Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
 And they bear two *crosses* right longe,
 Gapyuge in every man's face.
 After them folowe two layemen, secular,
 And eache of theym holdying a *pillar*
 In their hondes, steade of a mace.
 Then foloweth my lorde on his mule
 Trapped with gold.
 Theu hath he servants five or six score,
 Some behynd and some before.

Almost every action of Wolsey has been interpreted as an instance of pomp, ambition, or insolence; notwithstanding probably, upon a strict examination, most of them will be found to be strictly preceeded. Austis's *Letter to Dr. Fiddes*, in Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 89. Appendix.

would go into the chancery, and stay a while at a bar made for him beneath the chancery, on the right hand, and there converse sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons. That done, he would repair into the chancery, sitting there till 11 o'clock, hearing suits and determining other matters. And from thence, he would divers times go into the star chamber, as occasion would serve. There he spared neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to its merits and deserts.

He used also every Sunday to resort to the court, then being for the most part of all the year at Greenwich, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his own stairs, furnished with yeomen standing upon the bayles, and his gentlemen being within a boat; and landed again at the Three Cranes in the Vintrey. And thence he rode upon his mule with his crosses, his pillars, his hat, and the broad seal carried before him on horseback through Thames-street, until he came to Billingsgate; and there took his barge again, and so rowed to Greenwich, where he was nobly received of the lords and chief officers of the King's house, bearing their white staves as the treasurer and comptroller, with many others: and so they conveyed him to the King's chamber; his crosses, for the time of his tarrying, standing there in a corner, on the one side of the King's cloth of estate. Then he being there, the court was fully furnished with noblemen and gentlemen, which was, before his coming, but slenderly furnished. And after dinner among the lords, having some consultation with the King, or with his council, he would depart home with like triumph:*

* We have already seen that the Cardinal's pomp did not escape animadversion. But it was exposed to other censures than those which flowed merely from the pen of scurrility. Sir Thomas More, when Speaker of the House of Commons, noticing a complaint which had been made by the Cardinal, that nothing could be said or done in that House, but it was presently spread abroad, and became the talk of every tavern or alehouse, "Masters (says he) forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal lately laid to our charge the lightness of our tongues for things uttered out of this House, it will not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp, with his maces, his pillars, poll-axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; to the intent, that if he find the like fault with us hereafter we may be the bolder, from ourselves to lay the blame on those that his grace bringeth hither with him." Roper's *Life of Sir T. More*, p. 38. edit. 1729. [MORE would have done himself greater credit by abstaining from this silly taunt.—EDIT.]

The pulpit also, sometimes [most reprehensibly] raised its voice against him. Dr. Barnes, who was burnt in Smithfield in 1541, preached at Cambridge a sermon, for which he was cited before

and this order he used continually, as opportunity did serve.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glory, he reigned a long season, ruling all things within this realm appertaining unto the King, by his wisdom; and also in all other weighty matters in foreign regions, with which the King of this realm had any occasion to intermeddle. All ambassadors of foreign potentates were always despatched by his wisdom, having continual access to him. His house was always resorted to like a King's house, by noblemen and gentlemen, coming and going in and out, feasting and banquetting.

And when it pleased the King's Majesty for his recreation to repair to the Cardinal's house, as he did divers times in the year, there wanted no preparation or goodly furniture, with viands of the finest sort that could be gotten for money or friendship. Such pleasures were then devised for the King's comfort, as might be invented or imagined. Banquets were set forth, masks, and mummeries, in so gorgeous a sort, and costly a manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, nor damsels, meet or apt to dance with the

the Cardinal. This was a part of their dialogue, as it is related in Fox; "What? Master Doctor (said the Cardinal) had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my poll-axes, my pillows, my golden cushions, my cross did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say *bloudie* gloves (quoth you) that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." And Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1088. Barnes himself drew up an account of this interview, in which he opens to us some part of the philosophy upon which the Cardinal defended the fitness of that pomp and state which he maintained. "Then said hee, how thinke you, were it better for me, being in the honour and dignitie that I am, to coyne my pyllers, and poll-axes, and to give the money to five or six beggars, then for to mayntaine the common-wealth by them, as I doe? Do you not reckon (quoth hee) the common-wealth better than five or six beggars? To this I did answer, that I reckoned it more to the honour of God, and to the salvation of his soule, and also to the comfort of his poore brethren, that they were coyned, and given in almes." Barnes's *Works*, p. 215. A.D. 1572, compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 956.—[WORDSWORTH.]

Remarks such as those made by Dr. Barnes, under however liberal and imposing a garb they meet our view, deserve the severest animadversion, as partaking of that *anti-hierarchical and dissenting spirit* which, unhappily for the union of Christians, has ever been busily at work in impugning Episcopacy, whether Catholic or Protestant.—[EDIT.]

maskers, or to garnish the place for that time, with other goodly disports. Then was there all kinds of music and harmony set forth, with excellent fine voices both of men and children, &c.

Thus passed the Cardinal his time forth from day to day, and year to year, in such great wealth and joy, having always on his side the King's especial favour; until fortune, of whose favour no man is longer assured than she is disposed, began to wax something wrath with his prosperous estate. And for the better mean to bring him low, she procured him Venus, the insatiate goddess, to be her instrument; who brought the King in love with a gentlewoman, who, (after she perceived and felt the King's goodwill towards her, how glad he was to please her, and grant all her requests), wrought the Cardinal much displeasure: as hereafter shall be more at large declared. This gentlewoman was the daughter of Sir Thos. Bulleine, knight, being at that time but a bachelor knight, and who afterwards, for the love of his daughter, was promoted to high dignities. He bare at divers several times all the great posts of the King's household, as comptroller, and treasurer, and the like. Then was he made Viscount Rochford; and at last, Earl of Wiltshire, and K.G.; and, for his greater increase of honour and gain, lord keeper of the privy seal, and one of the chief of the King's council. Thus continued he until his son and daughter began to fall into the King's high indignation and displeasure. The King during his favour fancied so much his daughter, that almost all things began to grow out of frame. This gentlewoman was commonly called Mrs. Anne Bulleine. She being but very young,* was sent into the realm of France, and there made one of the French Queen's women, continuing there until the French Queen died. And then was she sent for home again; and being with her father, he made such means that she was admitted one of the Queen Katherine's women; among whom, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, she did excel all other, in so

* "Not above seven years of age, anno 1514." M.S. Twysd. The above is taken from a small fragment of this Life, which has been very recently printed from a MS. in the hand writing of Sir Roger Twysden, Bart.; in the margin of which fragment a few notes occur, from the pen of the same eminent Antiquarian." [Antiquary.]—WORDSWORTH.

much, that the King began to grow enamoured with her, which was not known to any person, not even to herself.

Now at that time the Lord Percy, son and heir of the Earl of Northumberland, was attending upon my lord Cardinal, and was his servant; and when it chanced the said lord Cardinal at any time to repair to the court, the Lord Percy would resort then for his pastime into Queen Katherine's chamber, and there would he fall in dalliance among the maids, being at the last more conversant with Mr. Anne Bulleine than with any other, so that there grew such a secret love between them, that at length they were insured together, [bethrothed or engaged] intending to marry. With which, when it came to the King's knowledge, he was mightily offended. Wherefore he could no longer hide his secret affection, but revealed his whole displeasure and secret to the Cardinal, and willed him to infringe the assurance made then between the said Lord Percy and Mrs. Anne Bulleine: insomuch as the Cardinal after his return home from the court to his house in Westminster, being in his gallery, not forgetting the King's commandment, called then Lord Percy unto his presence, and before us his servants then attending upon him, said to him, "I marvel not a little at thy folly that thou wouldest thus entangle and ensure thyself with a foolish girl yonder in the court, Anne Bulleine. Dost thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this world? For after thy father's death thou art most likely to inherit one of the noblest earldoms of this region: therefore it had been most meet and convenient for thee to have sued for the consent of thy father in that case, and to have also made the King's highness privy thereof, requiring his princely favour, submitting thy proceeding in all such matters unto his highness, who would not only thankfully have accepted thy submission, but would, I am assured, have provided so far for thy purpose therein, that he would have advanced thee much more nobly, and have matched thee according to thine estate and honour, whereby thou mightest have grown so by thy wise behaviour in the King's high estimation that it should have been for thy advancement. But now see what ye have done through your wilfulness. You have not only offended your father, but also your loving sovereign

lord, and matched yourself with one such as neither the King, nor your father will be agreeable to. And hereof I put thee out of doubt that I will send for thy father, and at his coming he shall either break this unadvised bargain or else disinherit thee for ever, &c.

After long consultation and debating respecting Lord Percy's late assurance, it was devised that it should be dissolved, and that Lord Percy should marry one of the Earl of Shrewsbury's daughters. And so he did: by means whereof the former contract was dissolved; whereat Mrs. Anne Bulleine was greatly offended, promising if it ever lay in her power she would work much displeasure to the Cardinal, as after she did indeed. And yet was he not in blame altogether, for he did nothing but by the King's command. And even as my Lord Percy was commanded to avoid her company, so she was discharged of the court, and sent home to her father for a season; whereat she smoked: [was indignant] for all this while she knew nothing of the King's intended purpose.

After these my Lord Percy's troublesome matters were brought into a good stay, and all things done that before were devised, Mrs. Anne Bulleine was revoked unto the court, where she flourished after in great estimation and favour; having always a privy grudge against my lord Cardinal for breaking off the contract made between Lord Percy and her, supposing that it had been his devised will and none other, nor yet knowing the King's secret mind thoroughly, who had a great affection unto her more than she knew. But after she knew it then she began to look very haughtily, lacking no manner of jewels or rich apparel that might be gotten for money. It was therefore judged by and by, through the court, by every man, that she being in such favour might work masteries with the King, and obtain any suite of him for a friend.

All this while she being in this estimation in all places, it is no doubt but good Queen Katherine having this gentlewoman daily attending upon her, both heard by report and saw with her eyes how it framed against her good ladyship, although she shewed neither to Mrs. Anne Bulleine, nor to the King, any kind or spark of displeasure, but accepted all things in good part, and with wisdom, and great patience dissembled the same,

having Mrs. Anne in more estimation for the King's sake than she was with her before, declaring herself to be a very perfect Grisell.*

The King waxed so far enamoured with this gentlewoman that he knew not how much he might advance her. This perceiving the great lords of the council, who bearing a secret grudge against the Cardinal for that they could not rule for him as they would, because he bare all the stroke with the King, and ruled as well the great lords as all other mean subjects, they took an occasion to invent a mean to bring him out of the King's estimation, and themselves into more authority. After long and secret consultation how to bring this malice towards the Cardinal to effect, they knew well that it was very difficult for them to do it directly of themselves. Wherefore they perceiving the great affection and love that the King bare to Anne Bulleine, supposing that she would be a fit instrument to bring their long desired intents to pass, consulted often with her in this matter. And she having both a very good wit, and also an inward grudge and displeasure to my lord Cardinal, was always agreeable to their requests. Wherefore there was no more to do but to imagine any occasion to work their malice by some presented circumstance. Then were there daily invented among them divers imaginations and subtle devices how the matter should be brought about. The enterprise thereof was so dangerous that, though they would fain have attempted the matter with the King, yet they durst not; for they knew the great zeal that he bore to the Cardinal, and also they feared the wonderful wit of the latter. For this they knew very well, that if the matter that they should propose against him were not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the King's favour was such towards him, and his wit such withal, that he would with policy vanquish all their purpose and travail, and then lie in wait to work their utter destruction. They were compelled, all things considered, to forbear the enterprise until they might espy a more convenient time and occasion.

And yet the Cardinal espying the great zeal that the King had conceived in this gentlewoman, ordered himself to please as well the King as her, dissembling the

* [*Perfect Grisell.*] See Chaucer's *Clerk of Oxenford's Tale*.

matter that lay hid in his breast, and prepared great banquets and high feasts to entertain the King and her at his own house.

Then began a grudge to break out between the French King and the Duke of Bourbon, insomuch as the Duke being a vassal to the house of France, was compelled for the safeguard of his life to flee, and forsake the country, expecting the King's malice and indignation. The Cardinal, having intelligence of the case, compassed in his head that if the King [of England] could obtain the Duke of Bourbon to be his general in the wars against the French King, (with whom the King of England had an occasion of war), and considering further that the Duke of Bourbon was fled to the Emperor, to invite him to like purpose; wherefore he having this imagination in his head thought it good to move the King in the matter. And after the King was once advertised hereof, and conceived the Cardinal's invention, he dreamed more and more of it, until at last it came to a consultation amongst the council, so that it was concluded that an embassy should be sent to the Emperor about this matter; with whom it was concluded that the King and the Emperor should join in those wars against the French King, and that the Duke of Bourbon should be our sovereign lord's champion and general in the field, who had a great number of good soldiers, over and besides the Emperor's army, which was not small; and that the King should pay unto the Duke monthly wages, both for himself and his retinue. Insomuch that Sir John Russel, (afterwards Earl of Bedford), lay continually beyond the seas, in a secret place, both to receive money of the King, and to pay the same monthly to the Duke. So that the Duke began the wars with the French King in his own territory and dukedom, which the King had confided in his own hands; it being not perfectly known to the Duke's enemies, that he had any aid of our sovereign lord. And thus he wrought the French King much displeasure and trouble, insomuch that the French King was constrained to prepare a puissant army, and in his own person to resist the Duke's power. And with force the King drave him to take Pavia, a strong town in Italy, with his host, for their security; whereas the King encamped him wonderously strong intending to enclose the Duke within this town, that he should not issue forth.

Now let us leave the King in his camp before Pavia, and return to the lord Cardinal, who seemed to be more *French* than *Imperial*. But how it came to pass, I cannot declare unto you. The French King lying in his camp, sent secretly into England a privy person, a very witty man, to treat of a peace between him and our sovereign lord. This person was named John Jokin, who was kept as secretly as might be, no man having intelligence of his repair; for he was no Frenchman born, but an Italian, a man of no great estimation in France, or known to be much in his master's favour, but to be a merchant-man, and for his subtle wit elected to such embassy as the French King had given him. This Jokin was secretly conveyed to Richmond, and there remained 'till the Cardinal resorted thither to him, where, after Easter term, he kept his feast of Whitsuntide. In which season my lord Cardinal caused divers times this Jokin to dine with him, who seemed to be both witty, and of good behaviour. Thus continued this Jokin in England long after, until at last, he brought to pass the matter he had in commission. After this, there was sent out immediately an order to Sir John Russell, that he should retain that month's wages still in his hands, (until the King's pleasure was known to him), which should have been paid to the Duke of Bourbon, being then with his retinue encamped within the town of Pavia; for want whereof at this day, the Duke and his men were sore dismayed when they saw there was not money brought as it was wont to be. And being in so dangerous a case, and where victuals began to be scant, and very dear, they imagined many ways what should be the best. Some said this, and some that; so that they mistrusted nothing less than the very cause thereof. Insomuch as at the last, what for want of victuals and other necessaries, which they could not get within the town, the soldiers and captains began to grudge and mutter; and at the last, for lack of victuals, were like all to perish. The soldiers being in this extremity came before the captain the Duke of Bourbon:—[Here follows their speech, and the reply of the Duke, who intimated his intention of sallying out by night and attacking the enemy's camp. This was successfully accomplished: the French King was taken prisoner; and in searching the coffers of the latter in his tent,] the Duke found the league, under the great

seal of England, newly made between the King of England and the French King: which once perceived by him, he began to smell the impediment of his money, which should have come to him from the King. Having upon the due search of the matter further intelligence, that all the matter was devised by the Cardinal of England, the Duke conceived such an indignation here-upon against the Cardinal, that he went incontinent into Rome, and there intended to sack the town, and to have taken the Pope: where, at the first assault of the walls, the Duke was the first man that was there slain. Yet, notwithstanding, his captains continued their assault, and at the last the town was taken, and the Pope fled to the castle of Angell, where he continued long in calamity.

I have written this history more at large, because it was thought the Cardinal was the chiefest occasion of all this mischief. Upon the taking of the French King, many consultations and divers opinions were then devised among the council. Some held opinion that if the King [of England] would invade France, he might easily conquer it, insomuch as the King of France with the most part of the nobility were in captivity. Some said again that the King our master ought to have had the French King prisoner, for as much as he was taken by the King's champion and general captain, the Duke of Bourbon, and not by the Emperor. So that the same moved the King to take an occasion of war against the Emperor, because he kept the French King out of his possession, with divers other imaginations and devices, even as their fancies served them, which were too long here to be rehearsed.

Thus were they in long consultation, wherein every man in the court had talked as his fancy served him; until at the last it was devised, by means of divers ambassadors sent from France unto the King [of England] to take order with the Emperor for the French King's deliverance, as his high wisdom could think best, wherein my lord Cardinal bare a great stroke, so that after long deliberation and advice in this matter, it was thought good by my lord Cardinal, that the Emperor should deliver the French King out of his ward upon sufficient pledges. Then was it, upon his advice, thought meet that the King's two sons, that is to say, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, should be delivered in hostage for the

King their father, which was in conclusion brought to pass.

The Cardinal, lamenting the French King's calamity, and the Pope's great adversity, who yet remained in the castle Angell, travailed all that he could* with the King and his council, to take some order for the quietness of them both. At last, as divers of the great estates and lords of the counsel, with my lady Anne lay in wait to espy a convenient time and occasion to take the Cardinal in a brake, they thought it now a necessary time to cause him to take upon him the King's commission to travail beyond the seas in this matter, and by his high wit to compass a perfect peace among these great princes and potentates; and encouraging him thereunto, alleged, that it was more meet for his high wit, discretion, and authority, to bring so weighty a matter to pass, than any other man within this realm. Their intent was none other than to get him from the King out of the realm; then might they sufficiently adventure, by the help of their chief mistress, to deprave him unto the King's highness, and so in his absence to bring him into displeasure with the King, or at the least to be of less estimation. This matter was so handled, that the Cardinal was commanded to prepare himself for this journey, which he took upon him; but whether it were with his good will or not, I am not able to tell you. This I know, that he made but a short abode, after the resolution thereof, and caused all things to be prepared onward toward his journey. And every one of his servants was appointed to attend upon him in the same.

When all things were concluded, and for this noble ambassage provided, then was there no more to do but to advance in the name of God. My lord had with him such of the lords and bishops and other worthy persons as were not of the counsel or conspiracy.

Then marched he forward from his own house at West-

* These intrigues, in which the Cardinal bore so large a part did not redound to the glory of his country. Our merry neighbours *even then* had begun to make *our diplomatic inferiority* the subject of their ridicule. William Tindall, in his *Practice of Popish Prelates*, referring to these events, tells us, "the Frenchmen of late days made a play or a disguising at Paris, in which the Emperor danced with the Pope and the French King, and wearied them, the King of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he sat there only to *pay the minstrels their wages*."

minster through all London, over London Bridge, having before him a great number of gentlemen, three in a rank with velvet coats, and the most part of them with great chains of gold about their necks. And all his yeomen followed him, with noblemen's and gentlemen's servants, all in orange-tawny coats, with the Cardinal's hat, and a T. and C. for THOMAS CARDINAL, embroidered upon all the coats, as well of his own servants, as of all the rest of his gentlemen's; and his sumpter mules, which were 20 or more in number. And when all his carriages and carts and other of his train had passed before, he rode like a Cardinal very sumptuously with the rest of his train, on his own mule, with his spare mule and spare horse, trapped in crimson velvet, upon velvet, and gilt stirrups, following him. And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, his two great pillars of silver, the King's broad seal of England, and his Cardinal's hat, and a gentleman carrying his cloak-bag, which was made of fine scarlet, altogether embroidered very richly with gold, having in it a cloak. Thus passed he forth through London; and every day on his journey he was thus furnished, having his harbingers in every place, which prepared lodging for him and his train.

[The Cardinal on his return to England from France] caused to be assembled in the star-chamber all the noblemen, judges, and justices of the peace of every shire throughout England that were in Westminster-Hall at that present, and there made to them a long oration, declaring to them the cause of the ambassage into France, and his proceeding there; amongst which he said, "he had concluded such an amity and friendship as never was heard of in this realm before, as well between the King our sovereign lord and the French King, with a perpetual peace, which shall be confirmed in writing eternally, sealed with the broad seals of both the realms graven in fine gold; affirming further, that the King shall receive yearly his tribute by that name out of the Duchy of Normandy, with all the costs which he hath sustained in the wars. And also, whereas there was restraint made in France of the French Queen's dowry, whom the Duke of Suffolk had married, for divers years during the wars, it was fully concluded that she should not only receive the same again, according to her just right, but also the arrears which were unpaid during the restraint. All which things

shall be perfected shortly at the resort of the ambassadors out of France. In which shall be such a great number of noblemen and gentlemen to conclude the same, as hath not been seen heretofore repair thither out of one realm. This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity between the gentlemen of each realm, and intercourse of merchandise, that it shall seem to all men, as if both territories were but one monarchy. Gentlemen may travel from one country to another for their recreation and pastime; then merchants, being in either country arrived, shall be assured to travel about their affairs in peace and tranquillity: so that this realm shall joy and prosper for ever. Therefore it shall be well done of all true Englishmen to rejoice, and to set forth the same, at the resort of this great ambassage, both in gesture and entertainment, that it may be an occasion unto them, both to accept the same in good part, and also to use you with the semblable, and make of the same a noble report in their countries. Now, my masters, I beseech you, and require you on the King's behalf, that you shew yourselves herein as loving and obedient subjects, wherein the King will much rejoice at your towardness." And here he ended his oration, and brake up the court, and so every man departed his several way.

This great long looked for ambassage was now come over with a great retinue, which were in number 80 persons or above of the most noblest and worthiest gentlemen in all France, who were right honourably received from place to place after their arrival, and so conveyed through London Oct, 20, 1527, to the Bishop's palace there in Paul's churchyard, where they were lodged, or thereabouts, for the time of their abode. To whom divers noblemen resorted, and gave them divers goodly presents; and in especial the mayor and city of London, as wine, sugar, wax, capons, wild fowl, beasts, muttoms, and other necessary things in great abundance, for the expenses of their house. Then resorted they on the Sunday unto the court being at Greenwich, and were there received by the King's majesty, by whom they were highly entertained. They had a commission to establish the King's highness in the order of France; for whom they brought, for that intent, a collar of fine gold, with the Michael hanging thereat, and robes to the said order appurtenant, which were very comely, of blue velvet,

and richly embroidered: wherein I saw the King pass into his closet, and after in the same apparel at mass beneath in his chapel. And to gratify the French King for his great honour with the semblable, he sent incontinent a nobleman of the order here in England with Garter the Herald into France unto the French King, to establish him in the Order of the Garter, with a semblable collar, with a garter and robes according to the same; the ambassadors remaining here until their return.

All things being then concluded concerning the perpetual peace, it was determined that there should be solemn mass sung in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's by the Cardinal, the King being present at the same in his traverse. To the performance of their determination and to the preparation thereof, there was made a gallery from the west door of St. Paul's Church, through the body of the same, up to the choir door, railed on every side, upon which rails stood sweet burning perfumes. Then the King and my lord Cardinal, with their whole train of noblemen and gentlemen, went upon the said gallery into the choir, and so to the high altar unto the traverse, my lord Cardinal preparing himself to sing the mass, associated with 24 Bishops and Abbots, who attended and served him, in such ceremonies as to him were then due, by reason of his legatine prerogative.

And after the last **agnus*, the King rose out of his traverse and kneeled upon a carpet and cushions before the high altar; and the like did the Grand Master of France: the chief ambassador that represented the French King, between whom my lord Cardinal divided the blessed sacrament, as a perfect oath, and bond of security of the said covenant of perpetual peace. That done, the King resorted again to his traverse, and the Grand Master to his. This mass being ended, which was solemnly sung both with the choir of the same church, and with the

* The book of ceremonies (compiled under the influence of the Bishops Gardiner and Tonstall) about the year 1540, describing the different parts of the Canon of the Mass, observes: "Then saith the Priest *thrice*, *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*, &c. advertising us of *three* effects of Christ's passion; whereof the *first* is, deliverance from the misery of sin; the *second* is, from pain of everlasting damnation: whereof he saith twice *Miserere nobis*, that is to say, Have mercy on us; and the *third* is, giving everlasting peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God," Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 289.

King's chapel, my lord Cardinal read the instrument of peace openly before the King and all other both French and English, and there in the sight of all the people the King put his hand to the seal of gold, and subscribed the same with his own hand, and delivered the same to the Grand Master as his deed, who did the like; and that done they departed.

And the King rode home with my lord Cardinal to Westminster, and there dined with the Frenchmen, passing all the day after in consultation about weighty matters as to the conclusion of the articles of perpetual peace. The King then departed by water to Greenwich.

The long hid and secret love that was between the King and Mrs. Bulleine broke out now, and the matter was disclosed by him to the Cardinal, whose persuasion on his knees long before to the King to the contrary would not serve; the King was so affectioned that inclination bare place, and discretion was banished for the time. My lord being provoked to declare his opinion in the advancement of his desired purpose, thought it not meet to wade too far alone, or to give his hasty judgment or advice in so weighty a matter, but desired of the King licence to ask counsel of men of learning, both in the divine and civil laws. That obtained, he, by his legantine authority, sent his commission out for all the Bishops of this realm, that were learned in either of the said laws, or held in high estimation for their prudent counsel and judgment in princely affairs of long experience.

Then assembled these noble Prelates at Westminster before my lord Cardinal, as well ancient, famous, and notable clerks of both Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as also of divers Cathedral Colleges of this realm, reckoned learned in the determination of doubtful matters. Then was the King's case so debated from day to day, that it was to the learned a goodly hearing, but in the conclusion as it seemed to me, and others, the ancient fathers of both the laws, that they departed with a judgment contrary to the general expectation. I heard then the opinion of some of the most famous persons among that sort, that the King's case was too obscure for any learned man to discuss, (the points therein were so doubtful) so as to have any true understanding of it. And therefore they departed without any resolution or judgment. Then in this assembly of Bishops it was thought

most expedient, that the King should first send out his commissioners into all the Universities of Christendom, as well here in England, as into foreign regions, to have among them his grace's case argued substantially, and to bring with them thence the very definition of their opinions in the same, under the seals of every University. That for this time was their determination, and so allowed, that divers commissioners were immediately appointed to this matter, who were divided, some to Oxford, some to Cambridge, some to Lovaine, some to Paris, some to Orleans, some to Bononye, and some to Padua, and so forth. Although these commissioners had the travail, yet were the costs and charges the King's: which were no less than great and notable sums of money. For as I heard reported (and as it seemed in deed) besides the charges of the embassy, the famous and most notable persons, and in especial such as had any rule, or had the custody of their University seals, were choked by the commissioners with such notable sums of money, that they were the more glad to agree to their requests, and to grant to all that they desired; by means whereof all the commissioners returned home with their purpose finished according to their commission, under the particular seal of every several University, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principal persons: insomuch as the commissioners were not only ever after in great estimation, but also most liberally advanced and rewarded far beyond their deserts. Notwithstanding they prospered, and the matter went still forward, having now (as they thought) a sure staff to stand by.

These proceedings declared to my lord Cardinal, he sent again for the Bishops, to whom he declared the effect and travail of these commissioners, and for affirmance thereof, shewed them the instruments of every University* under the several seals. Then this matter brought to pass, they went once again to consultation, how it should be ordered for the purpose. It was then thought good and concluded, that the King should send unto the Pope, declaring the opinions of those Universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common seals; to the

* See Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. III. p. 401. Appendix. Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, p. 7. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 420. Poli *Epistolæ*, vol. I. p. 238. A.D. 1744.

which it was thought that the consent of these Prelates of this realm should be necessary to be sent also thither, altogether comprised in an instrument, sealed with all their seals annexed to the instrument, which was not long in doing; nor was long after, but the ambassadors were assigned to travail in this matter, and to take upon them this journey accordingly, having furthermore certain instructions, among which, one was this: that if the Pope would not hereupon agree to give judgment definitive in the King's case, then to require another commission from his holiness to be granted *under leade* to establish a court to be kept in England for that purpose, only directed to my lord Cardinal and Legate of England, and to the Cardinal Campaigne [Campegio] (who was then, although he were a stranger, Bishop of Bath,* the which the King gave him at a certain time, being an ambassador from the Pope,) to determine and justly to judge according to their conscience and discretions. To the which after long suit made, and the good will of the said Cardinal by fair promises obtained to travel into England, the Pope granted their suit. This done, they returned to the King, relating to him, that now his grace's pleasure and purpose should be brought substantially to pass, being never more likely, considering the state of both the judges.

Long was the expectation on all sides for the coming of this legate from Rome, with his commission. After very long desire this legate arrived in England, and being sore vexed with the disease of the gout, was constrained by force thereof to make a long journey 'or'ever he came to London; who would have been most solemnly received at Blackheath, and so with triumph conveyed to London, but his desire was such, that he would not so be entertained with pomp and vain glory; and therefore suddenly came to his house without Temple-Bar, called then Bath-place, where he was lodged, which was furnished with all manner of stuff and implements of my lord's provision.

So then after some deliberation in the ordering of the King's matters, and his commission and the articles of his ambassage seen, read, and digested, it was determined

* I very much doubt Campegio, as he is usually called, or Campaigne as Cavendish calls him, having ever been Bishop of Bath. He was Bishop of Salisbury. See a memoir of him in Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of that See, part I. p. 283.—EDIT.

that the King and the Queen, his just wife, should be lodged at Bridewell. And then in the Black-Friars, a certain place was there appointed most convenient for the King and Queen's repair to the court, there to be kept for the disputation and determination of the case, whereat these two legates sat judges; before whom the King and Queen were summoned to appear, which was a strange sight, and the newest device that ever was read or heard of before, in any region, story, or chronicle, a King and a Queen to be constrained by process compellatory to appear in any court as common persons, to abide the judgments and decrees of their own subjects.

There was a court erected in Black-Friars in London, whereat sat these two Cardinals for judges. Now I will set you out the manner and order of the said court. First, there was a court planted with tables and benches, in manner of a consistory, one seat raised higher (for the judges to sit in) than the other were. Then as it were in the midst of the said judges, aloft above them three degrees high, was a cloth of state hanged, with a chair royal under the same, wherein sat the King; and beside him, some distance from him, sat the Queen; and under the judges feet sat the scribes, and other necessary officers, for the execution of the process, and other things appertaining to such a court. The chief scribe was Dr. Stevens, [Stephen Gardiner] after Bishop of Winchester;* and the apparitor, who was called Doctor of the court, was one Cooke, most commonly called Cooke of Winchester. Then before the King and judges, within the court, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Warham, and all the other Bishops. Then stood at both ends within, the counsellors learned in the spiritual laws, as well the King's as the

* See his Life in a subsequent part of this work. Bishop Gardiner was next in succession in the See of Winchester to Wolsey. EDIT.—He was at this time in great estimation with Wolsey. In letters and other documents of this period he is often called Dr. Stevens. Granger in vol. iii. of Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 335, Appendix, intimates that this was a colloquial vulgarism; "as Stephen Gardener was vulgarly Mr. Stevyns, in Wolsey's Letter." The Bishop himself, in his declaration of his Articles against George Joye, A.D. 1546, fol. 3, 6, of the 4to. edition, thus speaks of it: "a book, wherein he wrote, how Dr. Stevens (by which name I was then called) had deceyved hym." And Cavendish, as will be seen in a subsequent page of this reprint, adverts to this appellation in very similar terms. "To this ambassage was appointed Dr. Stephen Gardener, then called by the name of Dr. Stephens, and Secretary to the King."

Queen's. The doctors of law for the King were Dr. Sampson, after Bishop of Chichester, and Bell, after Bishop of Worcester, with divers others: and procurators in the same law, on that side, was Dr. Peter, after chief Secretary, and Dr. Tregonwell, with divers others.

Now on the other side there was a counsel for the Queen standing there; that is to say, Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Standishe, Bishop of St. Asaph, two notable divines, and in especial the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man; for whose death many noble clerks and good men lamented, who lost his head for this cause, 'e're it was ended on Tower-Hill. There was also another ancient Doctor called Ridley, a very small person of stature, but a great and an excellent clerk in divinity. Thus was the court ordered and furnished.

The judges commanded the crier to proclaim silence, whilst their commission was read both to the court and to the people assembled. That done, then the scribes commanded the crier to call the King by the name of "King Henry of England, come into the court," and with that the King answered and said, "Here." Then called he the Queen, "Katherine Queen of England, come into the court," who made no answer thereto, but rose incontinent out of her chair wherein she sat, and because she could not come to the King directly, for the distance severed between them, she took pains to go about the court, and came to the King, kneeling down at his feet in the sight of all the court and people, and said in effect these words, &c. [Here follows her speech, but as it belongs to history rather than biography, it is here omitted.]

This strange case went forward from court to court, until it came to the judgment, so that every man expected it would be given the next court day. At which day the King came thither, and sat down in a chair within a door in the end of the gallery which opened directly against the judgment seat, to hear the judgment given; at which time all their proceedings were openly read in latin. That done, the King's counsel at the bar called for judgment. With that quoth Cardinal Campaigne, "I will not give judgment till I have made relation to the Pope of all our proceedings, whose counsel and commandment in this case I will observe. The matter is too high for us to give any hasty judgment, considering the highness of

the persons, and the doubtful occasions alleged, and also whose commissioners we be, under whose authority we sit, &c. Wherefore, I will adjourn this court, for this time, according to the order of the court of Rome, whence our jurisdiction is derived, &c.

This matter continued thus a long season, and my lord Cardinal was in displeasure with the King, for that the matter in his suit took no better success to his purpose: notwithstanding, my lord excused himself by his commission, which gave him no authority to proceed to judgment without knowledge of the Pope, who reserved the same to himself.

At last they were advertised by their post, that the Pope would take deliberation in the matter, until his courts opened, which should not be before Bartholomew-tide next. The King considering the same too long before it should be determined, thought it good to send an ambassador to the Pope, to persuade with him to shew such honourable favour to his majesty, that the matter might sooner be ended than it was like to be, or else at the next court to rule the matter over, according to his request.

To this embassy was appointed Dr. Stephen Gardiner, then called Dr. Stephens, secretary to the King, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. This Dr. Stephens went thither, and there tarried till the latter end of summer, as ye shall hear hereafter.

Then the King commanded the Queen to be removed out of the court, and sent to another place; and his highness rode in progress with Mrs. Anne Bulleine in his company all that season.

It was so that the Cardinal Campaigne made suit to be discharged, that he might return to Rome. Then it chanced that Mr. Secretary was returned home thence; whereupon it was concluded that Cardinal Campaigne should come to the King at Grafton, Norts., and be conducted by my lord Cardinal. And so they took their journey from the moor thitherward, and were lodged the first night at a town in Bedfordshire, called Leighton-Bussard, in the parsonage there, being Dr. Chamber's benefice, the King's physician. And thence they rode the next day, which was Sunday, to Grafton; before whose coming, there rose divers opinions in the court, that the King would not speak with my lord Cardinal; whereupon were laid many great wagers.

These two Prelates being come to the gates of the court, alighted from their horses, supposing they should have been received by the head officers of the household; howbeit it fell out nothing so. Nevertheless, for as much as Cardinal Campaigne was but a stranger, the said officers met him, with their white staves in their hands, in the base court, and so conveyed him to his lodging prepared for him only. And after my lord had brought him to his lodging, he departed thinking to have gone likewise directly to his chamber, as he was wont to do. Then it was told him, that he had no chamber nor lodging appointed him in the court. Being astonished with this news, Sir Henry Norris, then groom of the stole to the King, came unto him, desiring his grace to take his chamber for the time, until another might be provided for him. "For Sir, I assure you," quoth he, "here is very little room in this house for the King, therefore I beseech your grace to accept mine for the season." And therewith my lord, thanking him for his gentleness, went straight to Mr. Norris's chamber, where he shifted his riding apparel; and in the mean while, being thus in his chamber, divers of the noblemen and gentlemen, being his loving friends, came to welcome him to the court, by whom my lord was advertised of all things touching the King's favour or displeasure towards him; which did him no small pleasure; for being astonished of the cause of the King's displeasure, he was the more ready to make his excuse against the same.

Then was my lord advertised that he should prepare himself to go into the chamber of presence, there to attend the King's coming, who was disposed there to talk with him. The other Cardinal came into my lord's chamber, and both together went into the said chamber of presence, where the lords of the council stood all in row in order along the chamber. My lord Cardinal putting off his cap, spake to every of them most gently, and so did they no less to him: at which time the chamber was furnished with noblemen and gentlemen, and others, that expected the meeting, countenance, and entertainment of the King towards my lord Cardinal.

Then immediately after the King came into the chamber of presence; and standing under the cloth of state, my lord Cardinal took Cardinal Campaigne by the hand, and knecled down before the King, but what he

said unto him I know not: nevertheless the King, as amiably as ever he did before, stooped down, and with both his hands took him up, and after took him aside by the hand, and led him to the window, where he talked with him.

Then, to behold the countenance of the noblemen and others that had made their wagers, it would have made you smile; and especially of those that laid their money, that the King would not speak with him. Thus were they deceived. The King was in earnest and long communication with him, in so much that I might hear the King say, "How can that be; is not this your own hand?" and pulled a letter or writing out of his bosom, and shewed the same to my lord: and as I perceived my lord answered the same, that the King had no more to say, but said to him, "My lord go to dinner, and call my lords here to keep you company; and after dinner I will come to you again; and then we will commune further with you;" and so departed, and dined himself that day, with Mrs. Anne Bulleine in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the chamber of presence a table for my lord, and other lords of the counsel, where they dined together, sitting at dinner and communing of divers matters. "The King should do well," quoth my lord Cardinal, "to send his Bishops and Chaplains home to their cures and benefices." "Yea, Mary," quoth my Lord of Norfolk, "and so it were meet for you to do also." "I should be well content therewith," quoth my Lord, "if it were the King's pleasure to licence me with his grace's favour, to go to my benefice at Winchester." "Nay," quoth my Lord of Norfolk, "to your benefice at York, whereat is your greatest honour and charge." "Even as it shall please the King," quoth my lord Cardinal, and so fell into other matters. For the lords were loath he should be so near the King as to continue at Winchester. Immediately after dinner they fell to counsel until the waiters had dined.

And as I heard it reported by them that waited on the King at dinner, Mrs. Anne Bulleine was much offended, as far as she durst, that the King so gently entertained the Cardinal, saying, as she sat with the King at dinner, in communication of my lord, "Sir," quoth she, "is it not a marvellous thing to see what debt and danger he hath brought you in with all your subjects?" "How so

sweetheart?" quoth the King. "Forsooth," quoth she, "there is not a man within all your realm worth £5.:" (meaning a loan which the King had of his subjects.) "Well," quoth the King, "as for that, there was in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." "Nay, Sir," quoth she, "besides that what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander? There is never a nobleman but if he had done half so much as *he* hath done, he were well worthy to lose his head. Yea, if my lord of Norfolk, my lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other nobleman within your realm, had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their heads 'ere this."

"Then I perceive," quoth the King, "you are not the Cardinal's friend?" "Why, Sir," saith she, "I have no cause nor any that loveth you; no more has your grace if you consider well his doings."

By that time the waiters took up the table, and so ended their communication. Now ye may perceive how the old malice began to kindle, and to be set on fire, which was as much provoked by his ancient enemies.

After Cardinal Campaigne was departed, Michaelmas term drew on, against which time my lord Cardinal resorted unto his house at Westminster,* and when the term began he went into the hall in such like sort and gesture as he accustomed most commonly to do, and sat in the chancery, being than chancellor. *After which day he never sat more!* The next day he tarried at home, expecting the coming of the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, who came not that day; but the next day they came thither unto him, and declared the King's pleasure, which was that he should surrender and deliver up the great seal into their hands, and depart unto Esber; which was, an house situate nigh Hampton court, belonging to the Bishopric of Winchester. The Cardinal demanded of them their commission that gave them such authority so to do; they answered him that they were sufficient commissioners, and had authority to do no less by the King's mouth. Notwithstanding he would in no wise agree to their saying in that behalf without further

* [This house was called York-place, and had been for some centuries the residence of the Archbishops of York. It thenceforth became a royal residence under the name of Whitehall.—EDIT.]

knowledge of their authority, saying, that as for the great seal it was delivered him by the King's person to enjoy the ministration thereof, with the post of chancellor, for the term of his life, whereof for his surety he had the King's letters patent to shew. Which matter was greatly debated between him and the Dukes, with many great and heinous words, all which he took in patience, inso-much that the Dukes were fain to depart again without their purpose at that time, and rode to Windsor to the King from whence they came. And what report they made I am uncertain; howbeit the next day they returned from Windsor from the King, bringing with them the King's letters.

Then my lord delivered unto them the great seal, and was content to obey the King's command, and to depart, simply taking with him nothing but only certain provision for his house; saying, that the King intended to come thither within two or three days.

And after long talk between him and the Dukes they departed with the great seal of England unto Windsor, and brought the same unto the King. Then went my lord Cardinal, and called his officers before him, and took account of them for all such stuff and things whereof they had charge.

Then he prepared to depart by water. And before his going, Sir William Gascoigne his treasurer, came unto him, to whom he gave among other the charge of the delivery of his goods to the King; Sir William said to the Cardinal, then being his lord and master, "Sir, I am sorry for your grace, for ye shall go straightway to the Tower, as I heard say." "Is this the good counsel and comfort," quoth my lord Cardinal unto him, "that you can give your master in adversity? It has always been your natural inclination to be very light of credit, and much more light of reporting lies. I would you should know, Sir William, and all these reporters that it is untrue, for I never deserved to come there; although it hath pleased the King to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time. I would all the world knew that I have nothing, but it is *his* of right, for by him, and of him I have received all that I have; therefore it is of convenience and reason that I render unto his majesty the same again with all my heart. Therefore go your ways, and attend well to your charge." And there withal

he made him ready to ride; and then with his train of gentlemen and yeomen, which was no small number, he took his barge at his privy stairs, and so went by water to Putney. At the taking whereof there were on the Thames, boats filled with people of London, expecting the Cardinal's departing by water, supposing that he should have gone to the Tower, whereat they joyed very much.

When he was with all his train arrived at Putney, being upon the land, he took his mule, and every man to their horses. And riding not past a pair of butt lengths he espied a gentlemen come riding in post down the hill in the town of Putney, and demanding of his gentlemen about him who *he* was that came riding down so fast, "Forsooth Sir," quoth they, "it is Mr. Norris as it seemeth to us." And by and by he came to my lord saluting him, and said, "Sir, the King's majesty commendeth him unto you, and commanded me to shew you that you be as much in his favour as ever you were, and so shall be. Therefore he would that you should be of good cheer, and take no thought for ye shall not lack. And although he hath done thus unkindly towards you, it is more for the satisfying of *some* than for any indignation: and yet you know well he is able to recompence you again, and to restore you to twice so much; and thus he bade me that I should shew you, and willed me to bid you to take all this matter in patience. And, Sir, for my part I trust to see you in better estate than ever you were." But when he had heard Mr. Norris report the good and comfortable words of the King, he quickly lighted off his mule, all alone, as tho' he had been the youngest amongst us, and immediately kneeled down in the dirt upon both his knees, holding up his hands for joy of the King's most comfortable message. Mr. Norris alighted also espying him so soon on his knees, and kneeled by him, and took him in his arms, and asked how he did, calling upon him to credit his message. "Mr. Norris," quoth he, "when I consider the joyful news you have brought to me I could do no less than greatly rejoice. Your words pierced my heart, that the sudden joy surmounted my memory, having no regard or respect to the place, but I thought it my duty in the same place where I received this comfort, to land and praise God upon my knees, and most humbly to render to my sov'reign lord my thanks for the same."

And as he was thus talking upon his knees to Mr. Norris, he would have pulled off a velvet night cap which he wore under his black hat, and scarlet cap, but he could not undo the knot under his chin; wherefore with violence he rent the laces of his cap, and pulled his said cap from his head, and kneeled bare headed. And this done he rose up and mounted his mule, and so rode forth up the high way in the town talking with Mr. Norris. And when he came unto Putney Heath, where Mr. Norris should depart from him, Mr. Norris gave him a ring of gold with a stone, and said unto him that the King sent him the same for a token of good will, "which ring," quoth he, "the King saith you know very well." It was the privy token between the King and him when the King would have any especial thing sped at his hands.* Then said he to Mr. Norris, "If I were lord of a realm the one half were too small a reward to give you for your pains, and good news. But, good Mr. Norris, consider with me that I have nothing left me but my clothes upon my back. Therefore I shall desire you to take this small reward at my hands;" which was a little chain of gold made like a bottle chain, with a cross of gold, wherein was a piece of the *Holy Cross*, which he continually wore about his neck next his body; and said futhermore, "Master Norris, I assure you when I was in prosperity, although it seem but small in value, yet I would not gladly have departed with the same for £1,000. Therefore I shall require you to take it in good worth, and to wear it about your neck continually for my sake, and to remember me to the King when ye shall see opportunity, unto whose highness I shall most instantly require you to have me most humbly commended; for whose charitable disposition to me I can but pray for the preservation of his royal estate.

* [The design of this cruel mockery is not to be easily conjectured. It is probable that it was suggested by some of the envious courtiers to Ann Boleyn, and by her infused into the King's mind as a trick to lull the Cardinal with hopes of restoration to the royal favor, and thus to prevent his preparing his defence in the prosecution instituted against him. Had the Cardinal not been thus inspired with fallacious hopes, he could have readily defended himself by the production of the King's letters patent *authorizing* him to accept the Pope's bull.—The pretext alleged for pulling down the Cardinal was, his having violated the statute 16 Richard II., by which he exposed himself to the penalties of a *premunire* by procuring a bull appointing him Legate.—EDIT.]

I am his obedient subject, his poor chaplain, and beadman, and so will be during my life; accounting myself nothing, nor to have any thing but only of him and by him; whom I have justly and truly served to the best of my gross wit." And with that he took Master Norris by the hand bare headed, and so departed. And when he was gone but a small distance he returned again, and caused Mr. Norris to be called to him. When Mr. Norris was returned he said unto him, "I am sorry that I have no token to send unto the King. But if you will at my request present the King with this poor fool, I trust he will accept him, for he is for a noblemans pleasure, forsooth, worth £1,000."

So Mr. Norris took the fool; with whom my lord was fain to send six of his tallest yeomen to help him to convey the fool to the court; for the poor fool took on like a tyrant rather than he would have departed from my lord. Notwithstanding they conveyed him away, and so brought him to the court, where the King received him very gladly. After departure of Master Norris with his token to the King my lord rode straight to Esher, *where my lord and his family continued the space of three or four weeks without either beds, sheets, table clothes, or dishes to eat their meat in, or wherewith to buy any.* Howbeit there was good provision of all kinds of victuals, and of drink, as beer and wine, whereof there was plenty. My lord was compelled of necessity to borrow of Mr. Arundel and of the Bishop of Carlisle plate and dishes, both to drink in, and to eat his meat in. Thus my lord with his family continued in this strange state until after All-hallow's tide.

Upon All-hallow's day after my lord had supped, and all men were gone to bed, about midnight, one of the porters came to my chamber door, and knocked there to wake me. And being once awake, and perceiving who was there, I asked him what he would have at that time of the night? "Sir," quoth he, "there be a great number of horsemen at the gate that would come in, saying that it is Sir John Russel, and so it appears by his voice; and what is your pleasure that I should do?" "Mary," quoth I, "go down again, and make a great fire in your lodge until I come to dry them;" for it rained all that night most vehemently. Then I arose, and made me ready, and put on my night gown, and came to the

gates, and asked who was there. With that Mr. Russel spake to me, whom I knew right well, and caused the gates to be set open, and let them all come in, who were wet to the very skin. I caused Mr. Russel to go into the porter's lodge to the fire to dry him; and he shewed me that he was come from the King unto my lord in message, with whom he required me to speak. "Sir," quoth I, "I trust your news be good." "Yea, and so I promise you on my fidelity; and to tell him that I have brought him such news as will please him right well." "Well then I will go," quoth I, "and wake him, and cause him to rise." I went incontinent to my lord's chamber door, and knocked there, so that my lord spake to me, and asked me what I would have. I told him of the coming of Sir John Russel; and then he called up to him one of his grooms to let me in; and when I was come to him, I told him again of the journey that Sir John Russel had taken that troublesome night. "I pray God all be for the best," quoth he. "Yes, Sir," quoth I, "he shewed me, and so bade me tell you that he had brought such news as you would greatly rejoice at." "Well then," quoth he, "God be praised; and welcome be his grace! Go ye and fetch him to me, and by that time I will be ready to talk with him."

Then I returned into the lodge, and brought Mr. Russel thence unto my lord, who had cast about him his night gown. And when Mr. Russel was come before him, he most humbly revered him upon his knees; whom my lord stooped unto and took him up, and bade him welcome. "Sir," quoth he, "the King commendeth him unto you," and delivered him a great ring of gold with a turquois for a token; "and willed me to bid you be of good cheer, for he loveth you as well as ever he did, and is sorry for your trouble, and his mind runneth much upon you. Insomuch that before his grace sat down to supper he called me unto him, and desired me to take the pains secretly to visit you, and to comfort you to the best of my power. And, Sir, I have had the sorest journey for so little a way that ever I had to my remembrance."

My lord thanked him for his pains and good news, and demanded of him if he had supped; and he said "Nay." "Well then," quoth my lord, "cause the cooks to provide some meat for him, and cause a chamber to be

provided for him, that he may take his rest awhile upon a bed." All which command I fulfilled, and in the mean time my lord, and Master Russel were in secret communication; and in the end, Master Russel went to his chamber, taking his leave of my lord, and said he would tarry but a while for he would be at the court of Greenwich again before day; and would not for any thing that it were known that he had been with my lord that night. And so being in his chamber having a small repast, he rested him a while upon a bed, while his servants supped and dried themselves, and that done, incontinent he rode away again with speed to the court. And after this within a while my lord was restored to plate vessels, and household stuff, of every thing necessary some part, so that he was better furnished than before.

The case stood so that the Parliament should begin *crastino animarum*, or thereabouts; and [he, Thomas Cromwell] being within London, devised with himself to be one of the burgesses of the Parliament, and chanced to meet with one Sir Thomas Rush, Knt., a special friend of his, whose son was appointed to be a burges, of whom he obtained his room, and so put his feet into the Parliament house; so that within two or three days after his departure from my lord he came again to Esher, with a pleasant countenance, and said to me that he had once adventured to put in his feet, where he would be better regarded, or ever the Parliament were finished. Then talked with my lord, and after his talk he rode again to London, because he would not be absent from the Parliament. There was nothing done against him in the Parliament house, but he sent to my lord to know what answer he might make in his behalf; insomuch that there was nothing alleged against my lord but that he was ready to make answer thereto; insomuch that at the length his honest estimation and earnest behaviour in his master's cause grew so in every man's opinion, that he was reputed the most faithful servant to his master of all other, wherein he was greatly of all men commended.

Then was there brought in a bill of articles into the Parliament house to have my lord condemned of treason; against which bill Mr. Cromwell inveighed so discreetly, with such witty persuasions, and deep reasons, that the same could take no effect. Then were his enemies con-

strained to indict him in a *premunire*, and all was to entitle the King to his goods and possessions, which he had obtained and purchased for the maintenance of his Colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, which he was then building in the most sumptuous wise. Wherein when my lord was demanded by the judges sent to him to know his mind, and to take his answer therein, he answered them in this wise, "My lords, judges," quoth he, "*the King knoweth whether I have offended his majesty or not in using my prerogative legantine, for which I am indicted. I have the King's licence in my coffers under his hand and broad seal for the exercising and using thereof, in the largest wise; which now are in the hands of my enemies. Therefore because I will not stand in question with the King* in his own cause, I will here presently confess before you the indictment, and put me wholly into the mercy and grace of the King, trusting that he hath a conscience and a discretion to consider the truth, and my humble submission and obedience: wherein I might right well stand to the trial thereof by justice. But thus much ye may say to his highness, that I am wholly under his obedience, and will; and do submit myself to all things that shall be his princely pleasure, whose will and command I never disobeyed, but was always contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefly to have obeyed; the which now me repents. Notwithstanding I most heartily require you to have me unto his royal majesty commended, for whom I do and will during my life pray to God to send him much prosperity, honour, and victory over his enemies.*" And therewith they took their leave and departed.

Shortly after the King sent the Duke of Norfolk unto him in message: but what it was I am not certain; therefore I omit to speak thereof. But my lord being advertised, that my lord of Norfolk was coming, and even at hand, he caused all his gentlemen to wait upon him down through the hall into the base court, to receive the Duke at the gates, and commanded all his yeomen to

* [One cannot but admire the unshaken loyalty of the Cardinal. For my own part, traduced as Wolsey has been, I see much in his character to admire. Amidst all his sufferings and indignities not a word escaped him to the prejudice of his sovereign.—EDIT.]

stand in order still in the hall. And he himself with all his gentlemen went to the gates, where he received my lord of Norfolk bareheaded, who embraced each other; and so led him by the arm through the hall into his chamber. And when the Duke had passed through to the upper end of the hall, regarding the number of tall yeomen that stood on each side thereof, he turned again to the yeomen, and said, "Sirs, your diligent and faithful service unto your master in this his calamity, hath purchased you of all men, noble and ignoble, much honesty; insomuch that the King commanded me to say to you in his name, that for your true and loving service that ye have done to your master, his highness will see you all at any time furnished with services, according to your merits." With that my lord put off his cap, and said to my lord of Norfolk, "Sir, these men be all approved men, wherefore it were pity they should want any service; and being sorry that I am not able to do for them as my heart wisheth, I will therefore require you, my good lord, to be good lord unto them, and extend your charity among them, where and when ye shall see occasion at any time hereafter; and, that ye will prefer their diligence and faithful service unto the King." "Doubt you not my lord," quoth my lord of Norfolk, "but I will do for them the best in my power, and as I shall see cause, I will be an earnest suitor for them to the King; and some of you I will retain myself in service for right honest men. And as ye have begun, so continue, until ye hear more of the King's pleasure. God's blessing and mine be with you!" And so went up into the great chamber to dinner; whom my lord Cardinal thanked, and said to him, "Yet, my lord, of all other noblemen I have most cause to thank you for your noble and gentle part, which you have shewed me behind my back, as my servant, Thomas Cromwell, well hath reported unto me. But even as ye be a noble-man in deed, so have you shewed yourself no less to all men in calamity, and especially to me, whom ye have brought down from my high estate, but now again being in this my miserable estate, you have extended your favour most honourably with great charity. Ye do right well deserve to bear in your arms the noble and gentle lion, whose natural property is, when he hath vanquished a cruel beast, and seeth him yielded, lying prostrate before him under

his feet, then will he be merciful unto him, and do him no more hurt, nor suffer any ravenous beast to devour him: all whose natural inclination ye have; where I may say these verses in your commendation,—

*Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis regnabis in orbe.*”

With these words the water was brought them to wash; to which my lord called my lord of Norfolk to wash with him, but he refused so to do of courtesy; and said, “that it became him no more to presume to wash with him now than it did before.” “Yes,” quoth my lord, “for my legacy [office of Legate from the Pope] is gone, wherein stood all my high honour.” “A straw,” quoth my lord of Norfolk, “for your legacy. I never esteemed your honour the higher for that. But I esteemed your honour for that ye were Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal, whose estate and honour surmounteth any Duke within this realm; and even so will I honour you, and acknowledge the same in doing you reverence and honour accordingly. Therefore content you, I will not presume to wash with you; and therefore I pray you hold me excused.” Then was my lord compelled to wash alone; and when he had done, then my lord of Norfolk washed by himself. That done, my lord Cardinal would have had him sit down on the chair in the inner side of the table, but he refused the same with much humbleness. Then was there another chair set for my lord of Norfolk over against my lord Cardinal, on the outside of the table, which he caused to be based something beneath, and would not sit directly against my lord; having all their communication of the diligent service of the gentlemen who waited upon him there at dinner, and how much the King and all the other lords did esteem and commend them in so doing; and how little they are regarded in the court that are come to the King’s service, and have forsaken their master in this time of necessity; whereof some he blamed by name. And thus their dinner and conversation ended, they rose and went into my lord’s privy chamber, where they continued in consultation.

And being there, it chanced Mr. Shelly, the judge, came thither, who was sent from the King. Who, after due salutation, declared unto him the King’s pleasure was to have my lord’s house called York place, near

Westminster, belonging to the Archbishopric of York, and to possess the same according to the laws of his realm. "His highness has sent for all the judges, and all the learned counsel, to know their opinions for the assurance thereof; whose opinions be fully resolved, that your grace must make a recognizance, and before a judge acknowledge and confess the right thereof to belong to the King and his successors; and so his highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore it hath pleased the King to appoint and send me hither to take of you the same recognizance, having in your grace such affiance as that ye will not refuse so to do. Therefore I shall desire your grace to know your pleasure therein." "Master Shelly," quoth my lord, "I know that the King of his own nature is of a royal stomach, not willing more than justice shall lead him unto by the law. And, therefore, I counsel you and all other judges and learned men of his counsel to put no more into his head than law, that may stand with conscience; for when ye tell him this is the law, it were well done ye should tell him also that although *this* be the law, yet *this* is conscience; for law without conscience is not meet to be given to a King by his counsel, to be ministered by him, nor by any of his ministers; for every counsellor to a King ought to have a respect to conscience before the rigour of the law, for *laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet*. The King ought for his royal dignity and prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the law, where conscience hath the more force; and therefore in his princely place he hath constituted a chancellor to order for him the same. And therefore the court of chancery hath been commonly called the court of conscience; because it hath jurisdiction to command the law in every case to desist from the execution of the rigour of the same, whereas conscience hath most effect. Therefore I say unto you in this case, although you and other of your profession perceive by the orders of the law, that the King may lawfully do the thing which ye require of me; how say you Mr. Shelley, may I do it with conscience to give that away which is none of mine, from me and my successors? If this be the law and conscience, I pray you shew me your opinion." "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "there is no great conscience. But having regard to the King's high power, and to a better purpose, it may the better

stand with conscience ; who is sufficient to recompense the Church of York with double the value." "That I know well, but there is no such condition," quoth my lord, "but only a bare and simple departure with another's right. For if every Bishop should so do, then might they give away the patrimony of their Churches, and so in process leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignity ; which should be but little to the King's honour. Well, I will not stand long with you in this matter, let me see your commission." To whom Mr. Shelly shewed the same, and that seen, "Mr. Shelly," quoth he, "he shall shew the King's highness that I am his most faithful subject, obediencer, and beadman, whose royal command and request I will in no wise disobey, but fulfil his pleasure in all such things, wherein ye fathers of the law say I may lawfully do. Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me. Howbeit, shew his highness from me that I most humbly desire his majesty to call to his most gracious remembrance, that there is both a heaven and a hell." And herewithal the clerk took and wrote the recognizance ; and after some secret talk, they departed. Then rose my lord of Norfolk from his repose, and after some communication with my lord, he likewise departed.

Thus continued my lord at Esher, and received daily messages from the court, some good and some as evil, but more evil than good.

At Christmas he fell very sick, most likely to die. Whereof the King being advertised, was very sorry, and sent Dr. Butts, his physician to him, to see in what state he was. Dr. Butts came to him, finding him lying very sick in his bed, and perceiving the danger, returned to the King. Of whom the King demanded, saying, "Have you seen yonder man?" "Yea, Sir," quoth he. "How do you like him," quoth the King. "Sir," quoth he, "if you will have him dead, I warrant him he will be dead within these four days if he receive no comfort from you shortly, and Mrs. Anne." "Mary," quoth the King, "God forbid that he should die. I pray you, Master Butts, go again unto him, and do your care unto him ; for I would not lose him for £20,000." "Then must your grace," quoth Master Butts, "send him first some comfortable message as shortly as ye can." "Even so I will," quoth the King, "by you. And therefore

make speed to him again, and ye shall deliver him this ring from me for a token;" (in the which ring was the King's image engraved within a ruby, as like the King as could be devised.) "This ring he knoweth right well: for he gave me the same; and tell him that I am not offended with him in my heart, and that shall he know shortly. Therefore bid him pluck up his heart, and be of good comfort. And I charge you come not from him until ye have brought him out of the danger of death." Then spake the King to Mrs. Anne Bulleine, saying, "Good sweet heart, I pray you as ye love me, send the Cardinal a token at my desire, with comfortable words; and in so doing ye shall deserve our thanks." She not being disposed to offend the King would not disobey his loving request, whatsoever in her heart she intended towards the Cardinal; but took incontinient her tablet of gold that hung at her girdle, and delivered it to Master Butts, with very gentle and comfortable words. And so Master Butts departed with speed to Esher; after whom the King sent Dr. Cromer the Sect, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Wotton, to consult with Master Butts for my lord's recovery.

After Master Butts had been with my lord, and delivered the King's and Mrs. Anne's tokens unto him, with the most comfortable words that he could devise on the King's and Mrs. Anne's behalf, he rejoiced not a little, and advanced himself on his bed, and received the tokens most joyfully; thanking Master Butts for his pains and good comfort. Master Butts told him furthermore, that the King's pleasure was that he should minister unto him for his health: and to join with him for the better and most assured ways, he has sent hither Drs. Clement, Cromer, and Wotton. "Therefore, my lord, quoth he, "it were well done they were called in to visit you, and to consult with them, and to have their opinions of your disease, trusting to Almighty God that we shall, through his grace and help, ease you of your pains, and rid you of your infirmities." To this motion my lord was contented to hear their judgments; for he trusted more to Dr. Cromer than to all the rest, because he was the very mean to bring him from Paris into England, and gave him partly his exhibition in Paris. Then when they were come into his chamber, and had talked with him, he took upon him to debate his disease learnedly, so that

they might perceive that he was seen in that art. After they had taken order for their ministrations, it was not long ere they brought him out of danger; and within four days they set him on his feet, and got him a stomach to meat. All this done, and he in a right good way of amendment, they took their leave, to whom my lord offered to each of them his reward; which they refused, saying, that the King had given them a special command, that they should take of him nothing for their pains and ministrations, for at their return he himself would sufficiently reward them of his own costs; and with great thanks they departed, and left my lord in good state of recovery.

After this time my lord amended daily; and continued at Esher until Candlemas; before and against which feast, the King caused to be sent unto my lord three or four cart loads of stuff: and most thereof, except beds and kitchen stuff, was loaded in great standards, wherein was both plate and rich hangings, and chapel stuff. Then my lord being thus furnished, was therewith contented: although they whom the King assigned did not deliver him so good, nor so rich stuff, as the King's pleasure was, yet was he well contented, and rendered most humble thanks to the King, and thanked them that appointed the same for him, saying to us his servants when those appointed persons were gone, at the opening of the said standards, that he thought it might have been better appointed. "But, Sirs," quoth my lord, "he that hath nothing is glad of somewhat: and though it be not in comparison so much, nor yet in value so good as we had before of all the great abundance that then we had, yet we give the King our most humble thanks, trusting after this to attain to more. Therefore let us rejoice, and be glad that God and the King hath so graciously favoured us to restore us to something to maintain our estate like a noble person."

Then commanded he Master Cromwell to make earnest suit to the King, that he might remove thence to some other house, for he was weary of the house of Esher, for which continual usage the house waxed unsavoury; supposing that if he might remove he should much sooner recover his health. And also the counsel had put in the King's head, that the new gallery which my lord had lately builded before his fall, should be very necessary

for the King to take it down and set it at Westminster ; which standeth at this day there from the old gallery next the King's lodging unto the first gate-house. The taking away whereof was a great course that his enemies daily invented of new to torment him, which discouraged him any longer to continue there.

Now Master Cromwell thought it but folly and vain to move any of the King's counsel who were my lord's enemies, to help his suit to the King for my lord's removing, for they would rather have removed him further from the King, than to have holpen him to come nearer unto him ; wherefore he made suit to the King's person only ; whose suit the King graciously heard, and thought it very convenient to be granted ; and therewith, through the motion of Master Cromwell, the King was contented he should remove to Richmond ; which place my lord had a little before repaired to his great cost : for the King had made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton-court. All this was done without knowledge of the King's counsel ; for if they might have had understanding thereof before, then would they have persuaded the King to the contrary : but when they knew of the King's grant and licence, although they dissembled their minds in the King's presence, yet were they afraid of him, lest his high resort to the King might move the King at some braide [season] to have resorted unto him, and to have called him home again, considering the great loving affection that the King daily shewed unto him ; wherefore they doubted his rising up again, if they found not the means shortly to remove him further from the King. Insomuch, that they thought it convenient for their purpose to move the King upon considerations which they invented, that it were very necessary that my lord should go down into the North unto his benefice, where he should be a good stay for the country ; to which the King condescended, thinking no less than all had been true as they had made relation. Their suggestion was forced so with wonderful imaginations of deep considerations, that the King was straitways persuaded to their conclusion. Whereupon my lord of Norfolk bade Master Cromwell, who daily resorted to my lord to say to him, that he must go home to his benefice, and there look to his charge : who at his next repair to my lord, then lying at Richmond, declared unto him how it was determined that he should go home

to his benefice. "Well, then, Thomas," quoth my lord, "we will go to Winchester." "I will," quoth Master Cromwell, "shew my lord of Norfolk what ye say." And so he did at his next meeting with him. "What should he do there?" quoth the Duke. "Nay, let him go to his rich Bishopric of York, where his honours and more charge lie; and so shew him." The lords who were not his friends, perceiving that my lord was disposed to plant himself so nigh the King, thought their to withdraw his appetite from Winchester; and, then moved the King to give my lord a pension of 4,000 marks out of Winchester, and all the rest to distribute among his nobility and servants; and so likewise to divide the revenues of St. Alban's: whereof some had 300 marks, and some £100.: and, so some more and some less; and all the revenues of the lands belonging to the Colleges of Oxford and Ipswich, the King took into his own hands; whereof Master Cromwell had the receipt and government before by my lord's assignment, wherefore it was thought very necessary that he should so have still, who executed all things thereof so exactly and wittily, that he was had in great estimation for his behaviour therein, and also for the true and faithful demeanour towards his lord and master.

My lord having licence of the King, which Master Cromwell obtained for him, to repair to Richmond, he made haste all that he could to prepare thitherward; and so he came and lodged there within the lodge of the great park, which was a very pretty house and neat, lacking no rooms that be convenient for so small a house; where was also a very fair garden. There my lord lay from the time of his coming from Esher, unto Lent, with a pretty number of servants, because the house was very small for his whole family; and the rest of his servants went to board wages.

I will tell you a pretty tale by the way of communication. As my lord was accustomed to walk towards the evening in his garden there, and to say his even-song, and other of his divine service with his chaplain, it was my chance to wait upon him there; and standing in an alley whilst he in another alley walked with his chaplain, saying his service as is aforesaid; as I stood, I espied certain images of beasts counterfeited in timber, standing in a corner under the lodge, to which I repaired to behold. Among

which I saw stand there a dun cow, whereon I most mused, because of the likely entailing* thereof. My lord being in the further side of the garden espied me how I viewed those beasts; and having finished his service, came suddenly upon me 'or' I was aware, and speaking unto me, said, "What have you espied here, that you look so attentively upon?" "Forsooth, if it please your grace," quoth I, "here I behold these images; which I suppose were ordained to be set up within some place about the King's palace: howbeit, Sir, among them all I have most considered this cow, in which (as me seemeth) the workman has most lively shewed his cunning." "Yea, Mary," quoth he, "upon this cow hangeth a certain prophecy, which is this; because, peradventure, you never heard it before, as I will shew you. There is a saying,

' When the cow rideth the bull,
Then priest, beware thy skull.'

Of which prophecy neither my lord that declared it, nor yet I that heard it, understood the effect; although the compassing thereof was at that present a-working, and about to be brought to pass. This cow the King gave by reason of the earldom of Richmond, which was his inheritance; and this prophecy was afterwards expounded in this wise. The dun cow, because it was the King's beast, betokened the King; and the bull betokened Mrs. Anne Bulleine, afterwards Queen, because that, her father gave a black bull's head in his cognizance, and that was his beast. So that when the King had married Queen Anne, which was then unknown to my lord, or to any other that he would do, then was this prophecy thought of all men to be fulfilled. For, what number of priests, religious and seculars, lost their heads for offending such laws as were made to bring this marriage to effect, is not unknown to all the world. Therefore it may well be judged that this prophecy is fulfilled upon this occasion.

When Cromwell repaired next to my lord, he shewed him the words that my lord of Norfolk had commanded

* *i. e.* from the carving being so like life;—entailing is from the Italian *intagliare*, to cut, carve, &c.

him to say. "Mary, Thomas," quoth my lord, "then it is time to be going if he take it so. Therefore I pray you to go to the King, and ye may say that I would go to my benefice at York but for lack of money; desiring his grace to help me with some. For ye may say the last money I received from his grace hath been too little to pay my old debts; and to compel me to the payment of the rest of my debts hath been too much extremity; both to take from me all my goods, and to put me to the payment of my debts also; wherein I trust his grace will have a charitable respect. Ye may also shew my lord of Norfolk, and other of the counsel, that I would depart if I had money." "Sir," quoth Master Cromwell, "I shall do my best." And after other communication, he departed again, and went to London.

When Cromwell came to the court, he shewed my lord of Norfolk that my lord would most gladly go northward but for lack of money, wherein he desired his help to the King. Then was the King moved therein, as well by Master Cromwell, as by the counsel; which matter the King referred to determine and assign to the counsel; who were in divers opinions. Some would he should have none, some would he should have enough, and some would have him to have but a small sum; and some thought it should be much against the King's dignity and honour, and also very much against the counsellors honour to see *him* want, who had been in such estimation with the King, and in great authority in this realm; yea, and it should rather be a slander to the King and his whole realm among foreign potentates, to see *him* want that *had* so much, and *now* so little. "Therefore," quoth one of them, "rather than he should lack (although he never did me a pleasure), yet would I lay all my plate to gage for him for £1,000., rather than he should depart northward so bare and simply as some would have him do. Let us do to him as we would be done unto; considering the lightness of his offence, and the great inestimable substance that he hath parted withal only for the King's pleasure, rather than he would disobey his grace's will." So after long debate in this matter, it was concluded that he should have by the way of a prest*

* *i. e.* a loan. Pret, Somme pretee. Fr. A sum lent.

1,000 marks of his pension out of Winchester: which [pension] the King had granted him, because he [the King] had resumed the Bishopric wholly into his hands; and yet out of the same he had granted divers other great pensions to many of the noblemen and other of his counsel, so that I suppose, all things accounted, the least part was his. The King commanded Cromwell to resort to him again when he had received the same sum. And according to the same command, when he had received the money he repaired again to the King; to whom the King said, "Shew my lord although our counsel have assigned no sum of money to bear his charge, yet ye shall shew him in my behalf that I have sent £1,000. of my benevolence, and tell him that he shall not lack, and bid him be of good cheer." Cromwell most humbly on my lord's behalf thanked the King for his noble heart and great liberality towards my lord, "whose comfortable words of your grace," quoth he, "shall rejoice him more than three times the value of the money." And therewith departed, and came directly unto my lord to Richmond; to whom he delivered the money, and shewed him of all the debate and progress of all the matter in counsel, and what money and whereof it was levied that they sent him; and of the money which the King sent; adding thereto the King's comfortable message, wherein my lord did not a little rejoice, but took thereof great pleasure and comfort. Then did Cromwell counsel with him for the furniture of his journey into the North. All things being furnished towards his journey, he took the same in the beginning of the Passion Week before Easter; and so rode from Richmond to a place which was the Abbots' of Westminster, called Hendon; and the next day he removed to a place where my lady Parrey lay, called the Rye; the next day he rode to Royston, where he was lodged in the Priory there; then went he the next day to Huntingdon, and there lodged within the Abbey; and the next day he rode to Peterborough, and there lodged in the Abbey, making there his abode all the next week: where he kept the solemn feast of Easter, with all his train, (save a few in number which were continually attending on him,) who were lodged in the town, and had board wages; his train was in number 160 persons, having with him 12 carts to carry his stuff

of his own, which he sent for from his College of Oxford, that were there provided, besides 60 other carts of his daily carriage of necessaries for his buildings. Upon Palm Sunday he bare his palm, and went in procession with the Monks, setting forth the divine service right honourably, with such singing men as he then had there of his own. And upon Maunday Thursday he made his Maunday there in our lady's chapel, having *59 poor men whose feet he washed, and kissed; and after he had wiped them he gave every of the said poor men 1s., 3 ells of good canvass to make them shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had 2s. Upon Easter day he rose to the resurrection;† and that day he went in procession in his cardinal's vesture, having his hat on his head, and sung the high mass there he himself, solemnly. After his mass he gave his benediction to all the hearers with clean remission; and there continued he 'till Thursday.

My lord continuing there at Peterborough after this manner, intending to remove thence shortly, commanded me to ride to Sir William Fitzwilliam's, Knt., who dwelt within three or four miles of Peterborough, to provide him there a lodging for three or four days in his journey northwards. And being with this Sir William Fitzwilliam, I did my message accordingly; whereof he was, as it appeared by his word and deed, the gladdest man alive that my lord would so lovingly take his house in his way; saying, that he should be most heartily welcome of any man, the King his sovereign except; saying

* This number denotes that he was now fifty-nine years old.

† *He rose to the resurrection.* The book of Ceremonies compiled in the reign of Henry VIII. observes: "Upon Easter day in the morning *the ceremonies of the resurrection* put us in remembrance of Christ's resurrection, which is the cause of our justification." Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, V. I. p. 294. Records. What these ceremonies were we may collect from the Rubrics upon that day, in the *Processionale secundum usum Sarum*, fol. 72. edit. 1555., which are to this effect: On Easter day before mass, and before the ringing of the bells, let the clerks assemble, and all the tapers in the Church be lighted. Then two persons shall draw nigh to the sepulchre, and after it is censed, let them take the cross out of the sepulchre, and one of them begin '*Christus resurgens.*' Then let the procession commence. After this they shall all worship (ADORENT) the cross. [*Is this idolatry or not?*]

furthermore, that my lord should not need to dislode or discharge any part of his stuff and carriage for his own use during his abode there, but should have all necessary stuff of his own, unless it were my lord's bed for his own person. This upon report made to my lord at my return rejoiced him not a little; and he commanded me to give warning unto all his officers and servants to prepare them to remove from Peterborough upon Thursday next, which was in Easter week. Then made every man himself, and all things in such readiness as was convenient, paying in the town for all such things as they had taken; for which cause my lord caused proclamation to be made in the town, that if any person or persons were grieved by any of his servants they should resort to his officers, and there they should be answered, and have due remedy; so that, all things ready furnished, my lord took his journey from the Abbey of Peterborough on the Thursday in Easter week to Mr. Fitzwilliam's, where he was joyously received, and had worthy and honourable entertainment at the sole cost of the said Mr. Fitzwilliam all the time of my lord's being there with him.

Thus my lord continued there from Thursday in Easter week at Mr. Fitzwilliam's cost, until the Monday next following; at which time he removed thence to Stamford, where he lay all night at the sign of the Bull. And the next day he removed thence to Grantham, and was lodged in a gentleman's place, whose name was Hall. And the next day he rode to Newark, and lodged in the castle all that night, and the next day also; which is within 4 miles of Southwell, whither my lord intended to ride, and there to continue.

I cannot but declare to you a notable communication had at Mr. Fitzwilliam's house between my lord and me, which was this: my lord walking in the garden there saying his evening song with his chaplain, and I being attending upon him, after he had finished his prayers he commanded his chaplain, who bore up his gown train, to deliver the same, and to go aside; and after the chaplain was gone, he spake to me in this wise, calling me by my name, "Ye have been lately at London," quoth he. "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth I, "not since I was there to buy your liveries for your servants." "And what news was there then?" quoth he, "heard you no communication of me? I pray you tell me." Then perceiving that

I had a good occasion to speak my mind unto him, I said, "Sir, if it please your grace, it was my chance to be at dinner in a certain place, where I also supped, and many honest worshipful gentlemen, who were for the most part of mine old acquaintance, and therefore durst the bolder participate with me in conversation of your grace, knowing that I was still your servant; and they asking of me how ye did, and how you accepted your adversity and trouble, I answered that you did well, and accepted all things in good part; and as it seemed to me they were your indifferent friends, of whom they said none evil, but lamented your decay and fall very sore; doubting much the sequel not to be good for the commonwealth. Also, they marvelled much that you being of such excellent wit, and of such high discretion, would so simply confess yourself guilty unto the King as you did. For, as they understood by report of some of the King's counsel, your case being well considered, you have great wrong: to which I could make no direct answer." "Is this," quoth he, "the opinion of wise men?" "Yea, forsooth, my lord," quoth I, "and commonly of all men else." "Well, then," quoth he, "for all their wisdom they perceived not so much as I. For I considered that mine enemies had brought the matter so to pass against me, that they conveyed and made it the King's matter and case, and caused the King to take the matter into his own hands; and after he had once the possession of all my goods, rather than he would have delivered me my goods again, without doubt he would not have missed (by the setting forth and procurement of my evil-willers) to have imagined my undoing and destruction therein, or the danger of my life. I had rather confess the matter as I did, and to live at large like a poor vicar, than to live in prison with all the goods and honours I then had. And therefore it was for me the better way to yield me unto the King's mercy and clemency, than to stand stiff against him in trial of the wrong which I sustained; wherein the King would have been both to have been noted, and in my submission the King, I doubt not, had a conscience, wherein he would rather pity me than malign me. And also there was the night crow that cried ever in his ears against me; and if she might have perceived any obstinacy in me, she would not have failed to have set it forth with such vehemence, that

I should rather have obtained the King's indignation than his lawful favour : and his favour once lost (which I then knew that I had done) would never have been by me recovered. Therefore I thought it better to keep still in his favour with loss of goods and dignity, than to win his indignation with all my wit, truth, and policy. And this was the cause (which all men know not) that I yielded myself so soon guilty to the *premunire*; wherein the King hath since conceived a conscience; for he knoweth and always did more the effect thereof than any other person living, and whether I offended him therein or not to whose conscience I commit the truth of my cause." And thus we left the substance of our communication in this matter; although we had much more talk: yet this is sufficient to make you understand as well both the cause of his confession in the *premunire*, as also the occasion of the loss of his goods.

Now let us return where we left my lord, being now at the Castle of Newark, intending to ride to Southwell. He took his journey thither against supper, where for lack of reparation of the Bishop's palace which belongs to the See of York, he was compelled to lie in a Prebendary's house over against the Bishop's palace, and there kept house until Whitsuntide; against which time he removed into the palace, being then newly repaired, and there continued all the most part of that summer, not without great resort of the most worshipful of the country. And divers noblemen having occasion to repair into the same country there, thought it good to visit my lord as they travelled through the country, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had right good cheer; whose noble and gentle behaviour caused him to have much love in the country of all kind of people. He kept there a noble house, where was both plenty of meat and drink for all comers; and also much alms given at the gate to the poor of the town and country. He used much charity and clemency among his tenants, and other of the King's subjects. Although the hearing thereof was not pleasant in the ears of such as bare him no good will, yet the country and common people will say as they find cause; for now he was very familiar among all persons who then accustomedly kept him company, and glad at any time when he might do them any good. He made many agreements and concords

between gentlemen and gentlemen, and between some gentlemen and their wives, and other mean persons, the which had been long before asunder in great trouble; making for every of them as occasion did serve, great assemblies and feasts, not sparing his purse where he might make peace and amity; which gat him much love and friendship in the country.

After this manner my lord lay at Southwell until about the latter end of grass time; at which time he intended to remove to Scroby, which is another house and lordship of the Bishopric of York. And against the day of his removing he caused his officers to prepare all things, as well provision to be made for him there, as also for his carriage thither, and other matters concerning the same. His removing was not so secret but that it was abroad known in the country; which was not so much sorrow to all his neighbours there about Southwell, but it was as joyful to all the country about Scroby.

At Scroby he continued till after Michaelmas exercising many deeds of charity. And most commonly every Sunday (if the weather served) he would travel to some poor parish Church there-about, and there would say his divine service, and either say or hear mass, and caused one of his chaplains to preach the word of God to the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house in the town, where should be distributed to the people a great alms of meat and drink, or of money to supply the want of meat if the number of poor did so exceed in necessity. And thus with other good deeds practising and exercising himself during his abode there, as making of love days and agreements between party and party being at variance, he daily frequented himself thereabouts.

Then about the feast of St. Michael next after he took his journey to Cawood Castle, within 7 miles of York; and passing thither he lay two nights and a day at St. Oswald's Abbey, where he in proper person the next day confirmed children in the Church, from the hours of 8 till 12 at noon. And making a short dinner, resorted thither again soon after 1 o'clock, and for weariness at the last was constrained to call for a chair; and there confirmed more children from the said hour to 6 o'clock towards night 'or' ever he could finish, the number of the children was such. That done, he went to his supper,

and rested him there all that night. And the next morning he applied himself to depart towards Cawood; and 'or' ever he went he confirmed almost 100 children more; and then rode his way from thence. And in his journey at a plain green a little beyond Ferrybridge, within a quarter of a mile, there was assembled at a great cross made of stone many more children, accounted by estimation to be about the number of 500; where he was fain to alight, and thence never removed until he had fully confirmed them every one; and then took his mule and rode to Cawood; where he lay long after with much honour and love of the country, both of the worshipful and of the simple, doing good deeds of charity, and held there an honourable and plentiful household for all comers; and also built and repaired the castle, which was greatly in decay, having a great multitude of artificers and labourers, about the number of 300 persons daily in wages.

It is not to be doubted but that the worshipful persons, as Doctors, and Prebendaries of the close of York, would resort unto my lord according to their duties, as unto the chief head, father and patron of their spiritual dignity, at his first coming into the country so nigh their Church, which was but bare 6 miles. Wherefore ye shall understand that Dr. Hickden, then Doctor [Dean] of the Church of York, a worshipful man and a divine, with the treasurer, and divers other officers of the same College repaired to my lord, and most joyfully welcomed him into those parts; saying, that it was to them no small comfort to see their head among them who hath been so long absent from them, being all the while like fatherless and comfortless children; but they trusted shortly to see him among them in his own Church. To whom he answered that it was the special cause of his coming not only to be among them for a time, but also to continue his life among them as a father and as a natural brother. "Sir, then," quoth they, "ye must understand the ordinances and rules of our church, whereof although ye be head and governor, yet ye be not therewith so well acquainted as we be. Therefore, if it please your grace, we shall open unto you some part of the ancient laws and customs of our Church. Sir, where ye do intend to repair unto us, the old law and custom hath evermore

been such, that our head prelate and pastor as ye now be, could, nor ever might, come above our choir door, nor have any stall in the choir, until ye by due order were there stalled. Nor if you should happen to die before your installation, ye shall not be buried above in the choir, but in the nether part of the body of the Church. Therefore we shall heartily desire in the name of all our brethren, that ye would vouchsafe to do herein as our honourable fathers your predecessors have done; and that ye will break no laudable custom of our Church, to the which we be obliged by oath at our first admittance to observe that, and divers others, which in our chapter remain in record." "Those records," quoth my lord, "would I fain see; and this seen and digested, I shall then shew you further of my mind." And thus in this matter they ceased communication, and passed the time with other matters; so that a day was assigned to bring in their records to my lord. At which day they resorted unto him with their register and book of records, wherein were written their constitutions and rules, which all the ministers of their Church were bound to observe on their behalf, and to see them kept inviolable. And when my lord had seen and read those records, and debated the same substantially with them that brought these books, he determined to be installed there at York Minster the next Monday after All-hallow's day. Against which time due preparation was made for the same, but not in so sumptuous a wise as were his predecessors before him; nor yet in such sort as the fame and common report was afterwards made of him to his great slander, and to the reporters' no small dishonesty, to report such lies as I am persuaded they did, to which I was made privy. I was sent by my lord to York to foresee things there that should be ordered and provided for the solemnity, which should have been as mean as could be, considering the former decent honours of the worthy Minister of York.

It came to pass that upon All-hallow's day, one of the head officers of the Church which should have the most doing in all this installation, was with my lord at dinner at his house at Cawood, and sitting at dinner they fell into communication of this matter, and of the order thereof, saying, that my lord should go on foot from a Chapel (which standeth without the gates of the city, called St. James's Chapel) unto the Minster upon cloth,

which should be distributed to the poor after his passage. My lord hearing this, made answer to the same in this wise. "Although that our predecessors did go upon cloth, so we intend to go on foot thence without any such glory, in the vaumpes of our hosen. For I take God to my judge I do not intend to go thither for any triumph or glory, but only to perform the rules of the Church to which I am bound. And therefore I will desire you all and will command other of my servants to go as humbly thither, without any sumptuous or gorgeous apparel, otherwise than in decent manner. For I do purpose to come unto York upon Sunday next against night, and to lodge in the Dean's house, and upon Monday to be installed; and there to make but one dinner for you all of the close, and for other worshipful gentlemen that shall chance to come thither to the same; and to sup with some of the residentiaries, and the next day to dine with the mayor, and then to repair home hither again; and so to finish the same, whereby I may at all times resort to York."

The day being once known unto all the country, which could not be hid, the worshipful gentlemen and others, as Abbots and Priors, having notice of the day of my lord's installation, sent in such provision of victual that it is almost incredible; wherefore I omit to declare unto you the certainty thereof. But there wanted no store of great and fat beasts and muttuns, wild fowl, and venison, both red and fallow, and other dainty things such as would have plentifully furnished his feast; all which things were unknown to my lord: forasmuch as he being disappointed of his purpose by reason that he was arrested of high-treason, as ye shall hereafter hear; so that most part of this summer provision that I spake of before, was sent unto York the same day of his arrest, and the next day following; for his arrest was kept as close and secret from the country as might be, because they doubted the common people, which had him in great estimation and love for his great charity and liberality which he used daily among them, with familiar gesture and behaviour, which be the very means to attain the love of the people of the north parts.

My lord's enemies being then in the court about the King in good estimation and honourable dignity, having now my lord in more fear and doubt than they had before

his fall, considering the perfect zeal and secret favour that the King bare always towards him, thought at length the King might call him home again; and then if he so did, they supposed that he would rather imagine vengeance than remit and forget the cruelty which they wrought against him. Wherefore they compassed in their heads either by some means to dispatch him by accusation of sinister treason, or to bring him in the King's high indignation by some other means. This was daily their study and consultation, having for their espials as many vigilant eyes attendant upon him as the poet feigned Argus to have; so that he could neither work or do any thing but that his enemies had knowledge thereof shortly after. Now at the last they espied a time wherein they caught an occasion to bring their purpose to pass, thinking thereby to have of him a great advantage, for the matter being once disclosed unto the King in such vehemency as they purposed, they thought the King would be against him. And that done and by them executed, the King, upon other complaints moved with great displeasure, thought it good that he should come up and stand to his trial: which they liked nothing at all; notwithstanding hereupon he was sent for after this sort. First, they devised that Sir Walter Walsh, Knt., one of the King's privy chamber, should be sent down with a commission into the north unto the Earl of Northumberland, (who was sometime brought up in house with my lord Cardinal,) and they twain being jointly in commission to arrest my lord of high treason. This conclusion fully resolved, they caused Mr. Walsh to prepare him to his journey with this commission, and certain instructions annexed to the same; who made him ready to ride, and took his horse at the court gate about noon of All-hallow's day, toward my lord of Northumberland. Now I am come to the place where I will declare that which I promised in the latter end of the last chapter, of a certain sign or token of this my lord's trouble; which thing was this.

My lord sitting at dinner upon All-hallow's day, having at his board-end* divers of his worshipful Chaplains

* "In the houses of our ancient nobility they dined at long tables. The lord and his principal guests sat at the upper end of the first table, in the great chamber, which was therefore called the lord's board-end.

sitting at dinner to keep him company, for lack of strangers, ye shall understand that accustomedly my lord's great cross stood in a corner at the table's end, leaning against the tappet or hanging. And when the board's end was taken up, and a convenient time for the Chaplains to arise, they forced themselves to rise from the table; and even as they rose, one Dr. Augustine, a Venetian, and physician to my lord, rising from the table with the other, having upon him a great gown of boisterous velvet, overthrew my lord's great cross which stood in the way of the board's end: and trailing down along the tappet it fell upon Dr. Bonner's head, who stood by the tappet; and the point brake his head a little, that the blood ran down. The company there standing according to their duty ready to give thanks to my lord for their dinner, were greatly astonished with the chance. My lord sitting in his chair, and perceiving the same, demanded of those next him what the matter meant of their sudden amaze. I shewed him of the fall of his cross upon Dr. Bonner's head. "Hath it," quoth he, "drawn any blood." "Yea, forsooth, my lord," quoth I. With that he cast his head aside, looking soberly upon me a certain space, and said unto me (shaking his head), "*malum omen*;"* and therewith said grace, and rose up from the table, and went into his bed-chamber; but what he did there I know not.

Now mark the signification how my lord expounded this matter unto me at Pomfret, after his fall. First, ye shall understand that the *cross*, which he bare as Archbishop of York, signified *himself*; and Augustine the physician, who overthrew the cross was, *he that accused my lord*; whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrow him. It fell upon Dr. Bonner's head, who was master of my lord's faculties and spiritual jurisdictions,

The officers of his household, and inferior guests, at long tables below in the hall. In the middle of each table stood a great salt-cellar; and as particular care was taken to place the guests according to their rank, it became a mark of distinction whether a person sat above or below the salt." Notes on the Northumberland Household, book, p. 419.— [WORDSWORTH.]

* The enemies of Archbishop Laud, particularly in the time of his troubles, were fond of comparing him with Cardinal Wolsey: and there is reason to think, that his life was first printed in the year 1641, for the purpose of prejudicing that great Prelate in the minds of the people, by insinuating a parallel between him and the Cardinal. However this

and was then damnified by the overthrow of the cross : yea, and moreover, *drawing of the blood* of him *betokened death*; which shortly after did ensue. About which time of this mischance, the same very day and season, Mr. Walsh took his horse at the court gate as nigh as it could be judged.

Now the appointed time drew near of his installation ; and sitting at dinner upon the Friday next before the Monday on the which he intended to be installed at York, the Earl of Northumberland and Mr. Walsh, with a great company of gentlemen of the Earl's house, and of the country, whom he gathered together in the King's name to accompany them, not knowing to what intent, came into the hall at Cawood, the officers being at dinner, and my lord not fully dined being then in his fruits, not knowing of the Earl's being in the hall. At last one came up and shewed my lord that the Earl of Northumberland was in the hall ; whereat my lord marvelled, and would not believe him at the first, but commanded a gentleman Usher to look and bring him the truth whether it were he or no. Who going down the stairs where was a loop with a lattice, where through he looked into the

may have been, the expression in the text recalls to memory an anecdote respecting Laud, which the reader will not be displeased to find in this place.

The year 1639, we all know, was big with events calamitous to Laud, and to the *church*, and *non irchy*. In the Lambeth Library is preserved a small pane of glass, in which is written with a diamond pencil the following words :

Memorand : Ecclesiæ de
Mitcham, Cheam et Stone, cum aliis
fulgure combustæ sunt
Januar : 14, 163³₉
Omen advertat Deus.

On a piece of paper of the same size with the glass, and kept in the same case with it, is written by the hand of Archbishop Wake (as my friend Mr. Todd, MS. librarian to his grace, the present Archbishop, informs me) as follows : "This glasse was taken out of the west window of the gallery at Croydon before I new built it : and is, as I take it, the writing of Archbishop Laud's own hand."—[WORDSWORTH.]

hall, he saw my Lord of Northumberland: and went no farther, but returned, and shewed my lord it was very he. "Then," quoth my Lord, "I am sorry that we have dined; for I fear that our officers be not provided of any store of good fish, to make him some honourable cheer, according to his estate, notwithstanding he shall have such as we have, with a right good will." "Let the table stand," quoth he, "and we will go down and meet him, and bring him up; and then shall he see how far forth we be at our dinner." With that he put the table from him and rose up; and going down the stairs he encountered the Earl, whom he met upon the midst of the stairs coming up, with all his men at his tail. And as soon as my Lord espied the Earl, he put off his cap, and said, "My Lord, ye are most heartily welcome;" (and so they embraced each other.) My lord Cardinal said, "Although I have often desired and wished in my heart to see you in my house, yet if ye had loved me well, ye would have sent me word before of your coming; to the intent I might have received you according to your honour. Notwithstanding ye shall have such cheer as I can make you with a right good will; trusting that ye will accept the same of me as of your very loving friend, hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be more able to entertain you with better fare." And this said, my Lord took the Earl by the hand, and had him up into the chamber; whom followed all the number of the Earl's servants. And when my Lord came into the chamber, he led the Earl to the fire, and said, "Sir, my Lord, ye shall go into my bed-chamber, where ye shall have a good fire, until your chamber be made ready for you; and let my Lord's meal be brought up: and 'or'ever I go, I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands." And when he had taken them all by the hands, he returned to the Earl, saying, "I perceive well, my Lord, that ye have not altogether forgot my old precepts and counsel, which I gave you when you were with me in your youth, to cherish my Lord your father's old servants, which I see here present with you, Surely, my Lord, ye do therein very well and nobly, like a wise gentleman. For these be they who will not only love you, but also live and die with you, and be true to you, and glad to see you prosper in honour, which I beseech God to send you with long

life." This said, he took the Earl by the hand, and led him into his bed-chamber.

And they being there all alone, save only I, who kept the door, according to my duty, being gentleman-usher; these two Lords standing at a window by the chimney, the Earl trembling said unto my Lord with a soft voice, (laying his hand upon his arm) "My Lord, I arrest you of high treason!" With which words my Lord was marvellously astonished, standing both still without any more words a good space. But at the last, quoth my Lord, "What authority have you to arrest me?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth the Earl, "I have a commission so to do." "Where is your commission," quoth my Lord, "that I may see it?" "Nay, Sir, that you may not," said the Earl. "Well, then," quoth my Lord, "hold you contented; then will I not obey your arrest: for there hath been between your ancestors and my predecessors great contentions and debate of an ancient grudge, which may succeed in you and grow unto the like inconvenience, as it hath done between your ancestors and my predecessors. Therefore without I see your authority from above, I will not obey you." Even as they were debating this matter between them in the chamber, so busy was Mr. Walsh in arresting of Dr. Augustine at the door in the palace, saying unto him, "Go in traitor, or I shall make thee." And with that, I opened the portal door, perceiving them both there. Mr. Walsh thrust Dr. Augustine in before him with violence. These matters on both sides astonished me very much, musing what all this should mean; until at the last, Mr. Walsh having entered my lord's chamber, began to pluck off his hood, which he had made him of the same cloth whereof his coat was; which was of Shrewsbury cotton, to the intent he would not be known. And after he had plucked off his hood, he kneeled down to my lord; to whom my lord said, "Come hither gentleman, and let me speak with you," commanding him to stand up, saying thus: "Sir, here my lord of Northumberland hath arrested me: but by whose authority or commission, he sheweth me not; but saith, he hath one. If ye be privy thereto, or be joined with him therein, I pray you shew me." "Indeed, my lord, if it please your grace," quoth Mr. Walsh, "he sheweth

you the truth." "Well, then," quoth my lord, "I pray you let me see it." "Sir, I beseech you," quoth Mr. Walsh, "hold us excused. There is annexed to our commission certain instructions which ye may not see, nor yet be privy to the same." "Why," quoth my lord, "be your instructions such that I may not see them? peradventure if I might be privy to them, I could help you the better to perform them. It is not unknown but I have been privy and of counsel in as weighty matters as these be: and I doubt not for my part, but I shall prove myself a true man, against the expectation of all my cruel enemies. I see the matter whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to do. I trow ye are one of the King's privy chamber; your name is Walsh. I am content to yield to you, but not to my lord of Northumberland, without I see his commission. And also you are a sufficient commissioner in that behalf, inasmuch as ye be one of the King's privy chamber; for the worst, there is a sufficient warrant to arrest the greatest peer in this realm by the King's only command, without any commission. Therefore I am at your will to order and dispose: put therefore your commission and authority in execution: spare not, and I will obey the King's will. I fear more the malice and cruelty of my mortal enemies, than I do the untruth of my allegiance; wherein I take God to be my judge, I never offended the King in word or deed; and therein I dare stand face to face with any man alive, having indifferency, without partiality."

Then came my lord of Northumberland unto me, standing at the portal door, and commanded me to avoid the chamber: and being loath to depart from my master I stood still, and would not remove; to whom he spake again, and said unto me, "There is no remedy, ye must depart." With that I looked upon my lord, (as who would say 'shall I go?') upon whom my lord looked very heavily, and shook at me his head. And perceiving by his countenance it booted me not to abide, I departed the chamber, and went into the next chamber, where abode many gentlemen of my fellows and others to learn of me some news; to whom I made report what I saw and heard; which was great heaviness unto them all.

Then the Earl called into the chamber divers gentlemen of his own servants; and after that he and Mr. Walsh had taken my lord's keys from him, they gave the

charge and custody of my lord unto five gentlemen. And then they went about the house to set all things in order, intending to depart thence the next day (being Saturday) with my lord; howbeit it was Sunday towards night 'or' ever they could bring all things to pass to depart. Then went they busily about to convey Dr. Augustine away to London, with as much speed as they could, sending with him divers persons to conduct him, who was bound unto his horse like a traitor. And this done, when it came to night, the commissioners assigned two grooms of my lord's to attend upon him in the chamber where he lay that night, and all the rest of my lord of Northumberland's gentlemen watched in the next chamber; and so was all the house watched, and the gates surely kept, that no man could either pass or repass in or out until the next morning. At which time my lord rose up about 8 o'clock, and made him ready to ride; where he was kept still close in his chamber, expecting his departing thence.

Then the Earl sent for me into his chamber, and being there, he commanded me to go to my lord, and give attendance on him, and charged me with an oath upon certain articles to observe about him. And going my way toward my lord, I met with Mr. Walsh in the court, who called me unto him, and led me into his chamber, and there shewed me how the King's majesty bare towards me his princely favour, for my diligent and true service that I ministered daily to my lord and master. "Wherefore," quoth he, "the King's pleasure is, that ye shall be about him as most chief in whom his highness putteth great confidence and trust; and whose pleasure is therefore, that ye shall be sworn unto him to observe certain articles, which you shall have delivered you in writing." And so he gave me an oath; and then I resorted unto my lord, where he was sitting in a chair, the tables being spread for him to go to dinner. But as soon as he perceived me come in, he fell out into such a woeful lamentation, with such ruthful tears and watery eyes, that would have caused a flinty heart to mourn with him. And as I could, I with others comforted him; but it would not be. "For," quoth he, "now I lament that I see this gentleman," (meaning me) "how faithfully, how diligently, and how painfully he hath served me, abandoning his own country, wife, and children, his house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me, and I have

nothing to reward him for his high merits. And also the sight of him causeth me to call to my remembrance the number of faithful servants that I have here with me; whom I did intend to prefer and advance to the best of my power from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing here to reward them; all is deprived me, and I am left here their miserable and wretched master." "Howbeit," quoth he to me (calling me by my name), "I am a true man, and ye shall never have shame of me for your service. If I may come to my answer, I fear no man alive; for he liveth not that shall look upon this face" (pointing to his own face), "that shall be able to accuse me of any untruth; and *that* know well mine enemies, which will be an occasion that they will not suffer me to have indifferent justice, but seek some sinister means to dispatch me." "Sir," quoth I, "ye need not therein doubt, the King being so much your good lord, as he hath always shewed himself to be in all your troubles." With that came up my lord's meat; and so we left our former communication, and I gave my lord water, and set him down to dinner; who did eat very little meat, but very many times suddenly he would burst out in tears, with the most sorrowful words that have been heard of any woeful creature. And at the last he fetched a great sigh, and said this text of Scripture:* "*O constantia Martyrum laudabilis! O charitas inextinguibilis! O patientia invincibilis, quæ licet inter pressuras persequentium visa sit despicibilis, invenietur in laudem et gloriam ac honorem in tempore tribulationis.*" And thus passed he forth his dinner in great lamentation and heaviness, who was fed more with weeping tears than with any delicate meats that were set before him. I suppose there was not a dry eye among all the gentlemen that were there attending upon him. And when the table was taken up, we expected continually our removing, until it drew to night;

* The words which follow, I apprehend, are part of some ecclesiastical hymn. It was not unusual to attribute the name of *Scripture* to all such compositions; and to whatever was read in Churches. "Also I said and affirmed" (the words are part of the recantation of a Wickliffite), "that I held *no Scripture* Catholic nor holy, but only that is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints I held them nought; and the miracles written of them I held untrue." Fox's *Acts*, p. 591. [WORDSWORTH.]

and then it was shewed my lord, that he could not go away that night, but on the morrow, by God's grace he should depart. "Even then," quoth he, "when my lord of Northumberland shall be pleased." Wherefore it was concluded, that he should tarry until the next day, being Sunday.

On which day my lord rose in the morning, and prepared him ready to ride, after he had heard mass; and by that time he had said all his divine service it was dinner time; and after dinner the Earl appointed all things how it should be ordered; and by that time it was near night. There were appointed to wait upon him divers persons, among whom, I myself, and four more of his own servants were assigned unto him. First, his chaplain, two grooms, and his barber: and as we were going down out of the great chamber, my lord demanded where his servants were gone; which the Earl and Mr. Walsh had inclosed within the chapel there, because they should not trouble his passage. Notwithstanding my lord would not go down until he had a sight of his servants; to whom it was answered that he might not see them. "Why, so?" then quoth my lord, "I will not out of this house but I will see my servants, and take my leave of them before I will go any further." And his servants being in the chapel, having understanding that my lord was going away, and that they should not see him before his departure, they began to grudge, and to make such a ruthful noise, that the commissioners were in doubt of a tumult to tarry among them; wherefore they were let out, and suffered to repair to my lord in the great chamber; where they kneeled down before him; among whom was not one dry eye, but earnestly lamented their master's fall and trouble. To whom my lord gave comfortable words, and worthy praises for their diligence, honesty, and truth, done to him heretofore; assuring them that what chance soever should happen him, he was a very true and a just man to his sovereign lord. And thus with a lamentable manner he shook every of them by the hand.

Then was he constrained to depart, the night drew so fast on. And so my lord's horse and our's were ready brought into the inner court, where we mounted, and coming to the gate to ride out, which was shut, the porter opening the same to let us pass, there was ready attending

a great number of gentlemen with their servants, such as the earl had appointed for that purpose, to attend and conduct my lord to Pomfret that night, and so forth, as ye shall hereafter hear. But to tell you of the number of the people of the country that were assembled at the gate to lament his departing, I suppose they were in number above 3,000 people; which, at the opening of the gates, after they had a sight of him, cried with a loud voice, "God save your grace, God save your grace! The foul evil take them that have thus taken you from us! We pray God that a very vengeance may light upon them!" Thus they ran after him, crying through the town of Cawood, they loved him so well. Surely they had a great loss of him, both rich and poor: for the poor had by him great relief, and the rich lacked not his counsel and help in all their troubles, which caused him to have such love among the people of the country.

Furthermore, as he rode toward Pomfret, he demanded of me whither they would lead him that night. "Mary, Sir," quoth I, "to Pomfret." "Alas!" quoth he, "shall I go to the castle, and lie there and die like a beast?" "Sir, I can tell you no more," quoth I, "what they intend to do; but, Sir, I will inquire of a secret friend of mine in this company, who is chief of all their counsels."

With that I repaired unto the said Roger Lassels, [Lascelles] and desired him as earnestly as I could, that he would vouchsafe to shew me whither my lord should go to be lodged that night; who answered me again that my lord should be lodged in the abbey of Pomfret, and in none other place; the which I reported to my lord, who was glad thereof; so that within night we came to Pomfret, and there lodged within the abbey as is aforesaid.

The next day my lord removed towards Doncaster, and came into the town by torch-light, which was his desire, because of the people. Yea notwithstanding the people were assembled, and cried out upon him, "God save your grace, God save your grace, my good lord Cardinal!" running before him with candles in their hands; who caused me to ride by his side to shadow him from the people; and yet they perceived him and lamented his misfortune, cursing his accusers. And thus they brought him to the Black-friars, within which he was lodged.

And the next day we removed and rode to Sheffield-

park, where my lord of Shrewsbury lay within the lodge, the people all the way thitherward still lamenting him, crying as they did before, And when we came into the park of Sheffield nigh to the lodge, my lord of Shrewsbury, with my lady and a train of gentlewomen, and all other his gentlemen and servants, stood without the gates, to attend my lord's coming, to receive him; at whose alighting the earl received him with much honour, and embraced my lord, saying these words, "My lord, your grace is most heartily welcome unto me, and I am glad to see you here in my poor lodge, where I have long desired to see you, and should have been much more glad if you had come after an other sort." "Aye, my gentle lord of Shrewsbury," quoth my lord, "I heartily thank you: and although I have cause to lament, yet, as a faithful heart may, I do rejoice, that my chance is to come unto the custody of so noble a person, whose approved honour and wisdom hath always been right well known to all estates. And, Sir, however my accusers have used their accusations against me, this I know, and so before your lordship, and all the world, I do protest, that my demeanour and proceedings have always been both just and loyal towards my sovereign and liege lord; of whose usage in his grace's affairs, your lordship hath had right good experience, and even according to my truth, so I beseech God to help me!" "I doubt not," quoth my lord of Shrewsbury, "of your truth. Therefore, my lord, be of good cheer, and fear not; for I am nothing sorry, but that I have not wherewith to entertain you, according to my good will and your honour; but such as I have ye shall be welcome to: for I will not receive you as a prisoner, but as my good lord, and the King's true and loving subject; and, Sir, here is my wife come to salute you." Whom my lord kissed, with his cap in his hand, bareheaded, and all the other gentlemen; and took all the Earl's servants by the hands, as well gentlemen as yeomen. This done these two lords went into the lodge arm in arm, and so conducted my lord into a fair gallery, where was in the further end thereof a goodly tower with lodgings, where my lord was lodged. There was also in the midst of the same gallery a traverse of sarcenet drawn; so that the one end thereof was preserved for my lord, and the other for the earl.

Then departed from my lord all the great number of gentlemen and other that conducted him thither. And

my lord, being thus with my lord of Shrewsbury, continued there eighteen days after ; upon whom my lord of Shrewsbury appointed divers worthy gentlemen to attend continually, to foresee that he should lack nothing that he would desire, being served in his own chamber at dinner, and supper, as honourably, and with as many dainty dishes, as he had in his own house commonly being at liberty. And once every day my lord of Shrewsbury would repair unto him, and commune with him, sitting upon a bench in a great window in the gallery.

Remaining there thus with my lord the space of a fortnight, having goodly entertainment, and often desired by the earl to kill a doe or hart in his park there, who always refused to take any pleasure either in hunting or otherwise, but applied his prayers continually with great devotion ; so that it came to pass at a certain time as he sat at dinner in his own chamber, having at his board's-end the same day, as he accustomedly had every day, a mess of gentlemen and chaplains to keep him company, towards the end of his dinner, when he came to the eating of his fruits, I perceived his colour often to change, whereby I judged him not to be in good health. With that I leaned over the table, and speaking softly unto him, said, " Sir, me seemeth your grace is not well at ease." To whom he answered with a loud voice, " Forsooth, no more I am ; for I am," quoth he, " taken suddenly with a thing about my stomach, that lieth therealong, as cold as a whetstone : which is no more than wind ; therefore I pray you take up the table, and make a short dinner, and that done resort shortly again." And after the meat was carried out of the chamber into the gallery, where all the waiters dined, and every man set, I rose up and forsook my dinner, and came into the chamber unto my lord, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease ; notwithstanding he was communing with them at the board's-end, whom he had commanded to sit still. And as soon as I entered the chamber, he desired me to go to the apothecary, and enquire of him if he had any thing that would make him break wind upward. Then went I to the earl, and shewed him what state my lord was in, and what he desired. With that my lord of Shrewsbury caused incontinent the apothecary to be called before him ; and at his coming, he demanded of him if he had any thing that would

break wind upward in a man's body; and he answered that he had such gear. "Then," quoth the earl, "fetch me some." Then departed the apothecary, and brought with him a white confection to my lord, who commanded me to give the saye thereof before him, and so I did. And I took the same and brought it to my lord, whereof also I took the saye myself, and then delivered it to my lord, who received it up all at once into his mouth. But immediately after he had received the same, surely he avoided much wind exceedingly, upward. "Lo," quoth he, "you may see it was but wind; and now am I well eased, I thank God;" and so rose from the table, and went to his prayers, as he used every day after dinner. And that done, there came upon him such a laske, [looseness] that it caused him to go to stool; and being there, my lord of Shrewsbury sent for me, and at my repair to him, he said: "For as much as I have always perceived you to be a man, in whom my lord your master hath great affiance; and also knowing you to be an honest man, &c. it is so, that my lord your master hath often desired me to write to the King, that he might come before his presence to answer to his accusations: and even so have I done; and this day have I received letters from the King's grace, by Sir William Kingston, whereby I perceive that the King hath in him a good opinion; and by my request he hath sent for him, by the same Sir William, to come unto him; who is in his chamber. Wherefore now is the time come that my lord hath often desired to try himself, I trust, much to his honour; and it shall be the best journey that ever he made in his life. Therefore now would I have you play the part of a wise man, to break this matter wittily to him, in such sort, that he may take it quietly, and in good part: for he is ever so full of sorrow and heaviness at my being with him, that I fear he will take it in evil part, and then doeth he not well; for I assure you, and so shew him, that the King is his good lord, and hath given me most worthy thanks for his entertainment, desiring me so to continue, not doubting but that he will right nobly acquit himself towards his highness. Therefore, go to him, and persuade with him that I may find him in good quiet at my coming, for I will not tarry long after you." "Sir," quoth I, "if it please your lordship, I shall endeavour to the best of my power to accomplish your

lordship's command. But, Sir, I doubt, that when I shall name Sir William Kingston to him, he will mistrust that all is not well; because Mr. Kingston is constable of the tower, and captain of the guard, having with him, as I understand, 24 of the guard to attend upon him." "Mary, it is truth," quoth the earl, "what though he be constable of the tower? he is the meetest man for his wisdom and discretion to be sent about any such message. And for the guard, it is for none other purpose but only to defend him against them that would intend him any evil, either in word or deed; and they be all, or for the most part, such of his old servants as the King took of late into his service, to the intent that they should attend upon him most justly, knowing best how to serve him." "Well, Sir," said I, "I shall do what I can;" and so departed from him towards my lord.

And as I repaired unto him, I found him sitting at the upper end of the gallery, upon a chest, with his staff and his beads in his hands. And espying me coming from the earl, demanded of me what news. "Forsooth, Sir," quoth I, "the best news that ever came to you: if your grace can take it well." "I pray God it be;" quoth he, "what is it?" "Forsooth, Sir," said I, "my lord of Shrewsbury, perceiving by your often communication with him, that ye were always desirous to come before the King's majesty, he as your most assured friend hath wrought so with his letters to the King, that he hath sent for you by Mr. Kingston and 24 of the guard, to conduct you to his highness." "Mr. Kingston," quoth he, rehearsing his name* once or twice; and with that clapped his hand on his thigh, and gave a great sigh, and therewith he rose up, and went into his chamber; and when he came out again, immediately my lord of Shrewsbury came into the gallery unto him, whom my lord met, and then sitting down there upon a bench in a great bay window, the earl asked him how he did, and he most lamentably, as he was accustomed to do, answered him, and thanked

* Wolsey, in his life-time, was informed by some fortune-tellers, *that he should have his end at Kingston*. This he interpreted of Kingston-on-Thames, which made him always avoid riding through that town, though the nearest way from his house to the court. Afterwards, understanding that he was to be committed by the King's express orders to the charge of Sir Anthony KINGSTON, *it struck to his heart*.

him for his gentle entertainment. "Sir," quoth the earl, if ye remember ye have often wished to come before the King to make your answer: and, I perceiving your often desire and earnest request, as one that beareth you good will, have written especially unto the King in that behalf; making him privy also of your lamentable sorrow, that ye inwardly have received of his displeasure; who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases. Wherefore I would advise you to pluck up your heart, and be not aghast of your enemies, who I assure you be more in doubt of you, than you would think, perceiving that the King is minded to have the hearing of your case before his own person. Now, Sir, if you can be of good cheer, I doubt not but this journey which you shall take to his highness shall be much to your advancement, and an overthrow to your enemies. The King hath sent for you by the worshipful knight, Mr. Kingston, and with him 24 of your old servants, now of the guard, to defend you against your enemies, to the intent that ye may safely come unto his majesty." "Sir," quoth my lord, "I trow that Mr. Kingston is constable of the tower." "Yea, what of that?" quoth the earl, "I assure you he is elected of the King for one of your friends, and for a discreet gentleman, most worthy to take upon him the safeguard and conduct of your person; which without fail the King much esteemeth, and secretly beareth you special favour, far otherwise than ye do take it." "Well, Sir," quoth my lord, "as God will, so be it. I am subject to fortune, and to fortune I submit myself, being a true man, ready to accept such chances as shall follow, and there's an end; Sir, I pray you, where is Mr. Kingston?" "Mary," quoth the earl, "if you will, I will send for him, who would most gladly see you." "I pray you then," quoth my lord, "send for him." At whose message he came, and as soon as my lord espied him coming at the gallery end, he made haste to encounter him. Mr. Kingston came towards him with much reverence; and at his coming he kneeled down unto him, and saluted him in the King's behalf; whom my lord bare-headed offered to take up, but he still refused. Then quoth my lord, "Mr. Kingston, I pray you stand up, and leave your kneeling unto me; for I am but a wretch replete with misery, not esteeming myself, but as a vile object utterly cast away,

without desert, as God knoweth. And therefore, good Mr. Kingston stand up, or I will kneel down by you ;” whom he would not leave until he stood up. Then spake Mr. Kingston, and said, with humble reverence, “ Sir, the King’s majesty hath him commended unto you.” “ I thank his highness,” quoth my lord ; “ I trust he is in health, and merry.” “ Yea, without doubt,” quoth Mr. Kingston ; “ and he commanded me to say unto you that you should assure yourself, that he beareth unto you as much good will and favour as ever he did ; and willethe you to be of good cheer. And where report hath been made unto him, that you should commit against his royal majesty certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh perfectly to be untrue, yet for the ministration of justice, in such cases requisite, he can do no less than send for you to your trial, mistrusting nothing your truth nor wisdom, but that ye shall be able to requite yourself of all complaints and accusations exhibited against you ; and to take your journey to him at your own pleasure, commanding me to attend upon you with ministration of due reverence, and to see your person preserved against all inconveniences that may ensue ; and to elect all such your old servants, now his, to serve you by the way, who have most experience of your diet. Therefore, Sir, I beseech you be of good cheer ; and when it shall be your own pleasure to take your journey, I shall be ready to give attendance upon you.” “ Mr. Kingston,” quoth my lord, “ I thank you for your good news ; and, Sir, hereof assure yourself, that if I were as able and lusty as I have been but of late, I would not fail to ride with you in post : but, Sir, I am diseased with a flux* that maketh

* In the printed editions the passage stands thus ; “ But, alas ! I am a diseased man, having a flux : (at which time it was apparent that *he had poisoned himself*) it hath made me very weak.” p. 196, edit. 1706. “ It is highly probable (says Fiddes in his *Life of Wolsey*, p. 499) that this expression ought to be taken in a softer sense than the words strictly import, and that Cavendish only intended by it, that he was poisoned by taking something prepared for him by other hands.” Dr. F. then proceeds to invalidate by reasoning the absurd story of the Cardinal having hastened his own death. It is more important to observe, adds Dr. Wordsworth that it admits of great question, whether the words in the parenthesis *are not altogether an interpolation*. They do not occur in any MS. which the Rev. Doctor had seen. The charge of his having poisoned himself, was most ungenerously reported by contemporary writers. This false and ridiculous idea is now exploded. It was ably refuted by Dr. Sam. Pegge, the learned antiquary. See *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxv. p. 25, and two excellent articles on the Cardinal’s impeachment, p. 229, 345.—Ed.]

me very weak. But, Mr. Kingston, all the comfortable words which ye have spoken unto me, be spoken but for a purpose to bring me into a fool's paradise: I know what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good will, and pains taken about me; and I shall with all speed make me ready to ride with you to-morrow." And thus they fell into other communication, both the earl and Mr. Kingston with my lord; who commanded me to foresee and provide that all things might be made ready to depart the morrow after. Then caused I all things to be trussed up, and made in readiness as fast as they could conveniently.

When night came that we should go to bed, my lord waxed very sick with the laske, which caused him still continually from time to time to go to stool, all that night; insomuch that from the time that it took him, until the next morning, he had fifty stools, so that he was that day very weak. His matter that he voided was wonderous black, which the physician called "coller adustine;" and when he perceived it, he said to me, that if he had not some help shortly he should die. With that I caused one Dr. Nicholas, M.D. being with my lord of Shrewsbury, to look upon the gross matter that he voided; upon sight whereof he determined he should not live four or five days; yet, notwithstanding, he would have ridden with Mr. Kingston that same day, if my lord of Shrewsbury had not been there. Therefore, in consideration of his infirmity, they caused him to tarry all that day.

After the next day he took his journey with Mr. Kingston, and then of the guard. And as soon as they espied him, considering that he was their old master, and in such estate, they lamented his misfortune with weeping eyes. Whom my lord took by the hand, and many times, as he rode by the way, he would talk, now with one, then with another, until he came to an house of my lord of Shrewsbury's, called Hardwicke-hall, where he lay all that night very ill at ease. The next day he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that night, more sick, and the next day he rode to Leicester abbey; and by the way he waxed so sick, that he was almost fallen from his mule; so that it was night before we came to the abbey of Leicester, where, at his coming in at the gate, the Abbot with all his Convent, met him with divers torch-lights; whom they right honourably received and welcomed with great

reverence. To whom my lord said, "*Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you,*" riding so still until he came to the stairs of his chamber, where he alighted from his mule, and then Master Kingston took him by the arm, and led him up the stairs; who told me afterwards, he never felt so heavy a burden in all his life. And as soon as he was in his chamber, he went incontinent to his bed, very sick. This was upon Saturday at night; and then continued he sicker and sicker.

Upon the Monday, in the morning, as I stood by his bed-side, about 8 o'clock, the windows being close shut, and having wax lights burning upon the cupboard, I beheld him, as me seemed, drawing fast towards death. He perceiving my shadow upon the wall by the bed-side, asked who was there? "Sir," quoth I, "I am here." "How do you?" quoth he to me. "Very well, Sir," quoth I, "if I might see your grace well." "What is it o'clock?" said he to me. "Sir," said I, "it is past eight in the morning." "Eight o'clock?" quoth he, "that cannot be," rehearsing divers times "eight o'clock—eight o'clock." "Nay, nay," quoth he at last, "it cannot be eight o'clock: for eight o'clock shall you lose your master, for my time draweth near that I must depart this world." With that one Dr. Palmes, a worshipful gentleman, being his chaplain and ghostly father, standing by, bade me secretly demand of him if he would be shriven, and to be in readiness towards God, whatsoever should chance. At whose desire I asked him that question. "What have ye to do to ask me any such question?" quoth he, and began to be very angry with me for my presumption; until at the last the Doctor took my part, and talked with him in Latin, and so pacified him. Howbeit my lord waxed very sick, most likely to die that night, and often swooned, and as me thought drew ou fast to his end, until it was four o'clock, a. m. at which time I spake to him, and asked him how he did. "Well," quoth he, "if I had any meat, I pray you give me some." "Sir, there is none ready," said I, "I wist," quoth he, "ye be the more to blame: for you should have always meat for me in readiness, to eat when my stomach serveth me; therefore I pray you get me some, for I intend this day to make me strong, to the intent that I may occupy myself in confession, and make me ready to God." After he had eaten of a cullace made of chicken, a spoonful or two, at the

last quoth he, "Whereof was this cullace made?" "Forsooth, Sir," quoth I, "of a chicken." "Why," quoth I, "it is fasting day," (being St. Andrew's even.) "What, though it be," quoth Dr. Palmes, "ye be excused by reason of your sickness?" "Yea," quoth he, "what though? I will eat no more."

Then was he in confession the space of an hour. And when he had ended his confession, Master Kingston came to him, and bade him good morrow; for it was about six o'clock, and asked him how he did. "Sir," quoth he, "I tarry but the pleasure of God, to render up my poor soul into his hands." "Not so, Sir," quoth Master Kingston, "with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well; if ye will be of good cheer." "Nay, in good sooth, Master Kingston, my disease is such that I cannot live; for I have had some experience in physic. Thus it is: I have a flux with a continual fever; the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight days, either must ensue excoriation of the entrails, or phrensy, or else present death; and the best of these three, is death. And as I suppose, this is the eighth day: and if ye see no alteration in me, there is no remedy, save that I may live a day or two after, but death, which is the best of these three, must follow." "Sir," said Master Kingston, "you be in such pensiveness, doubting that thing that in good faith ye need not." "Well, well, Master Kingston," quoth my lord, "I see the matter maketh you much worse than you should be against me; how it is framed I know not. But *if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs!** But this is the just-reward that I must receive for my diligent pains and study, that I have had, to do him service, not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfy his pleasure. I pray you have me most humbly commended unto his royal majesty; and beseech him in my behalf, to call to his princely remembrance all matters proceeding between him and me from the beginning of the world, and the progress of the same; and most especially in his weighty matter;" (meaning the matter between Queen Katherine and him) "and then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of royal courage, and hath a princely heart;

* See the fine passage in Shakspeare.

and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will or pleasure, he will endanger the loss of one half of his realm. For I assure you, I have often kneeled before him, the space sometimes of three hours, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, Mr. Kingston, I warn you, if it chance you hereafter to be of his privy council, as for your wisdom, ye are very meet, be well assured and advised, what ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again.

“And say, furthermore, that I request his grace, on God’s name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new sort of Lutherans, that it do not increase, through his negligence, in such sort, as he be at length compelled to put on harness upon his back to subdue them, &c. Master Kingston, farewell. I can no more say, but I wish, ere I die, all things to have good success. My time draweth on fast. I may not tarry with you. And forget not what I have said and charged you withal: for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remember my words better.” And even with those words he began to draw his speech at length, and his tongue to fail; his eyes being presently set in his head, and his sight failed him. Then began we to put him in remembrance of Christ’s passion; and caused the yeomen of the guard to stand by secretly to see him die, and to be witnesses of his words at his departure; who heard all his said communication: and, incontinent, the clock struck eight, and then gave he up the ghost, and thus departed this present life.* And calling to remembrance how he said the day before, that at 8 o’clock we should lose our master, as it is before rehearsed, one of us looking upon another, supposing that either he knew or prophesied of his departure, yet before his departure we sent for the Abbot of the house to annoyle him,† who made all the speed he could, and came to his departure, and so said certain prayers before the breath was fully out of his body.

After that he was thus departed, Mr. Kingston sent a post to the King, advertising him of the departure of the Cardinal, by one of the guard, that saw and heard him die. And then Mr. Kingston and the Abbot calling me

* He died Nov. 29, 1530. Le Neve’s *Fasti*, p. 310.

† (*I. E.*) To administer *extreme unction*.

unto them went to consultation of the order of his burial.

It was thought good that he should be buried the next day following; for Mr. Kingston would not tarry the return of the post. And it was further thought good, that the mayor of Leicester and his brethren should be sent for, to see him personally dead, to avoid false rumours that might happen to say that he was still alive. Then was the mayor and his brethren sent for; and in the mean time, the body was taken out of the bed where he lay dead; he had upon him next his body, a shirt of hair, besides his other shirt, which was very fine holland; which was not known to any of his servants being continually about him in his chamber, saving to his ghostly father: which shirts were laid in a coffin made for him of boards; having upon his corpse all such ornaments as he was possessed in when he was made Bishop and Archbishop: as mitre, cross, ring, and pall, with all other things due to his order and dignity. And lying thus all day in his coffin open and barefaced, every man that would might see him there dead, as the mayor, his brethren, and other did.

Lying thus until 4 or 5 o'clock at night, he was carried down into the Church with great solemnity by the Abbot, and conducted with much torch-light, and service sung due for such funerals. And being in the Church the corpse was set in our Lady Chapel, with divers tapers of wax, and divers poor men sitting about the same, holding torches in their hands, who watched about the corpse all night, while the canons sang '*dirige*,' and other devout orisons. And about 4 o'clock in the morning, Mr. Kingston, and we his servants, came into the Church and there tarried the executing of divers ceremonies in such cases used, about the corpse of a Bishop. Then went they to mass, at which mass the Abbot and divers other did offer. And that done, they went about to bury the corpse in the midst of the said Chapel, where was made for him a grave. And by the time that he was buried, and all ceremonies ended, it was 6 o'clock in the morning. And thus ended the life of the right triumphant Cardinal of England: on whose soul Jesus have mercy! Amen.

Who list to read and consider with a clear eye this history, may behold the mutability of vain honours, and brittle assurance of abundance; the uncertainty of dignities, the flattering of feigned friends, and the fickle favour

of worldly princes. Whereof this lord Cardinal hath felt and tasted both of the sweet and sour in each degree; as fleeting from honours, losing of riches, deposed from dignities, forsaken of friends, and the mutability of princes' favour; of all which things he had in this world the full felicity, as long as fortune smiled upon him: but when she began to frown, how soon was he deprived of all these mundane joys, and vain pleasures.

That which in twenty years with great travail and study he obtained, was in one year and less, with great care and sorrow lost and consumed! O madness! O fond desire! O foolish hope! O greedy desire of vain honors, dignities, and riches! Oh what inconstant hope and trust is it in the false feigned countenance and promise of fortune! Wherefore the prophet saith full well, *Tesaurizat, et ignorat, cui congregabit ea*. Who is certain that he shall leave his riches which he hath gathered in this world unto them whom he hath purposed? The wise man saith, *That another, whom peradventure he hated in his life, shall spend it out, and consume it!*"

[Here terminates the re-print of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*.]

A D D E N D A.

THE enemies of the Cardinal have alleged that his foundation of Christ Church, Oxford, was effected by spoliation and rapine. It is easier to bring charges than to substantiate them. The truth is, that the immense riches which he derived from the various preferments bestowed on him by the partiality of his sovereign, were the means of his founding that magnificent edifice, which has so deservedly immortalized his genius and spirit; and in the midst of luxurious pleasures and pompous revellings, he was meditating the advancement of science by a munificent use of those riches, which he seemed to accumulate only for selfish purposes.

With respect to his seizing the property and revenues of many priories and nunneries, which are alleged to have served as a fund for building and endowment, we are to remember that the Cardinal did not alienate the

revenues from religious service, but only made a change in the application of them; and again, he merely abolished unnecessary monasteries, that necessary Colleges might be erected. Nor did he do this without precedent, as the reader, versed in ecclesiastical history, will instantly perceive when he refers to the cases in point, of Archbishop Chichele and Bishop Waynflete, and the suppression of the Templars. And to this list of precedents we may safely add on the authority of Bishop Tanner, Bishops Fisher, Alcock, and Beckington.

Wolsey had too strong a mind and too much good sense to be overawed in the performance of what he deemed right, by the unpopularity of the measure: a weaker man might have been deterred from his purpose by the lampoons which in all directions assailed his laudable undertaking. Amongst these were—" *Egregium opus! Cardinalis iste instituit Collegium, et absolvit popinam*, in allusion to the kitchen having been first completed; and another ran thus:—

“ Non stabit illa domus, aliis fundata rapinis,
“ Aut ruet, aut alter raptor habebit eam:”

which lines would have come with a better grace had it not unfortunately happened for the writer, that in his zeal to abuse the Cardinal he has betrayed his ignorance of Latin by a false quantity, the penult of *stabit* being long.

Synopsis of Dates connected with Wolsey's Life, comprehending his Preferments, and some of the principal matters with which he was connected, mostly unnoticed by Cavendish.

Born March, 1471.

B.A. Magdalen College, Oxford, 1486.

Fellow of the same soon after.

M.A. and Master of Magdalen School.

Bursar of Magdalen College, 1498, about which time he built the tower.

Rector of Lymington, near Ilchester, Somerset, 1500.

Domestic Chaplain to Henry Dean, Archbishop of Canterbury. This must have been about 1501 or 2.

Bishop Dean was translated from Salisbury to Canterbury in 1501, and died 1502-3.*

Chaplain to Sir John Nanfan, Treasurer of Calais, 1503. Calais then belonged to us.

Chaplain to King Henry VII. shortly after.

Rector of Redgrave, Suffolk, by dispensation from Pope Julius II. this being his 3rd living. This dispensation bears date 1508. He had before had a dispensation from Pope Alexander in 1503, to hold two, but the name of the second I find not, unless it were Torrington.

Dean of Lincoln, Feb. 1508. The same year the King also gave him two Prebends in the same Church.

B.D. 1510. Wood's *Fasti. Ox.* 1. 29.

Almoner to King Henry VIII.

BISHOP OF TOURNAY, (Ep. Tornacensis) in Flanders, about 1513.

Privy Counsellor and Reporter of the Proceedings in the Star Chamber.

Rector of Torrington, in the diocese of Exeter; quære which Torrington? The place is called by Chalmer, Turrington.

Canon of Windsor (Chalmer.) He does not so occur in Le Neve's *Fasti*.

Registrar of the Order of the Garter.

Prebendary of Bugthorp, in the Cathedral of York, Jan. 16, 1512. Willis's *Cathedrals*, I. 127.

Dean of York, Feb. 19, 1512. Willis's *Cath.* I. 69, and Drake's *Hist. York*, p. 559. He is there called Wolsie, and styled D.D. His name is frequently written Wolcie.

Dean of Hereford, 1512, resigned the same year, Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 114.

Precentor of St. Paul's, 1513, collated July 8.

BISHOP OF LINCOLN, 1514, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.

Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, and CARDINAL OF ST. CECILIA, 1514.

Pope's Legate, 1516,

Lord High Chancellor, on the resignation of Archbishop Warham, 1516.

* A memoir of Archbishop Dean, as Bishop of Sarum, may be found in Cassan's *Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury*, part I. p. 273.

Bishop of Bath and Wells, Worcester, and Hereford, 1518, (Cavendish) *i. e.* he had the administration of those dioceses and their temporalities, but I find no authority for his having been consecrated to them. They were filled by foreigners, who were allowed non-residence, and received pensions. Cardinal Julius de Medicis was made administrator of Worcester, by the Pope's bull, July 31, 1521, and so continued a year. Silvester Gigles, his predecessor, died at Rome, 1521. It is therefore hard to reconcile Cavendish's date. Wolsey does not occur Bishop of Hereford in Le Neve's *Fasti*.

Candidate for the Papacy on the demise of Leo X.

Bishop of Durham, 1523; resignèd Bath and Wells.

Candidate for the Papacy on the demise of Adrian.

Commenced his College at Oxford, 1524 or 5.

Ditto Ipswich School, 1526 or 7.

Finished his Palace at Hampton-Court, 1528, which he had begun in 1514.

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1528, when he resignèd Durham.

Having incurred a *præmunire*, by procuring, contrary to statute, 16 Richard II. a bull from Rome, appointing him Legate, he was indicted by the Attorney-General in the Court of King's Bench, Oct. 9, 1529.

Received a free pardon Feb. 12, 1530; restored to the Archbishopric of York, and allowed 1000 marks per annum out of Winchester.

Died 1530, aged 59.

Portraits.—The portraits, &c. of Wolsey, are thus noticed by Granger:—"1. Thomas Wolsæus, Card. et Archiep. Eborac. &c. *Holbein p. Faber s. one of the founders*, 4to. mezz.—2. Thomas Wolsey, &c. *a label proceeding from his mouth, inscribed, "Ego, meus et rex;"* 4to.—3. Thomas Wolsey, &c. *Elstracke sc. 4to. There are two copies of the same, one of them with arms. The original print is, as I am informed, before his life, by Mr. Cavendish, the founder of the Devonshire family, who was his gentleman-usher. Perhaps this has been copied from a later edition of that book. I find in a large MS. catalogue of English Heads, by Vertue, in my possession, that there is a head of him by Loggan.*—4. In Holland's "*Heroologia*," 8vo.—5. *W. M. (Marshall) sc. small; in Fuller's "Holy State."*—6. *Fourdrinier sc. h. len. h. sh. in his Life*

by Fiddes, fol.—7. *Houbraken. sc. Illust. Head. In the possession of Mr. Kingsley.*—8. *Desrochers. sc. 4to.*—9. *Inscribed C. W. Vertue, sc. a small oval.*—There is no head of Wolsey which is not in profile. That which is carved in wood, in the central board of the gateway which leads to the Butchery of Ipswich, has such an appearance of antiquity, that it is supposed to have been done when he was living; by the side of it is a butcher's knife. It is said that his portraits were done in profile, because he had but one eye."—*Biog. Hist. Engl. I. p. 91.*

There is also a portrait of him at Knole, (the Duke of Dorset's). See *Biographical Sketches of Persons whose Portraits are at Knole, &c. p. 141.*—ED.

His *Character* as Lord High Chancellor has been thus drawn by Hume:—

“If this new accumulation of dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office: and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law or equity.”

Shakspeare has drawn a more just and comprehensive sketch of Wolsey's perfections and failings than is to be found in any other writer;—and with this I shall close the memoirs of this celebrated and ill-used Ecclesiastic.

This Cardinal,

Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
 Was fashion'd to much honour. From his cradle,
 He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one:
 Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading:
 Lofty and sour, to them that lov'd him not;
 But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
 And though he were unsatisfied in getting,
 (Which was a sin) yet in bestowing,
 He was most princely: ever witness for him
 Those twins of learning, that he rais'd in you,
 Ipswich, and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
 Unwilling to out-live the good he did it;
 The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,
 So excellent in art, and still so rising,
 That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
 His overthrow heap'd happiness upon him;
 For then, and not 'till then, he felt himself,
 And found the blessedness of being little:
 And, to add greater honours to his age
 Than man could give him, he died, fearing God.

XXV. STEPHEN GARDINER, L.L.D.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1531.—DIED A.D. 1555.

THIS able Lawyer, learned Divine, and shrewd Statesman, who was Bishop of Winchester, and Lord High Chancellor of England, in the 16th Century, is said by some to have been the natural Son of Bishop Widville, of Salisbury, and consequently grandson of the Earl of Rivers, whose daughter Elizabeth was consort of King Edward IV.: while others call him a younger Son of Sir Thomas Gardiner, of Lancashire. He was born at Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, (Fox, *Acts and Mon.* 3, 524) in 1483.

*Few have risen higher by mere dint of abilities, few suffered greater changes of fortune, few have been more magnified or commended, few more invidiously and outrageously treated, than this famous Prelate, in his life-time and since his decease; yet, for any tolerable account of him there is none. We find no article of him in any collection of this kind, very little amongst the compilers of historical memoirs, and, though there is more in our literary and other biographical historians, it is so intermixed with other matter, or so visibly tingured with party resentment, that it is almost impossible to know what to think, or whom to trust. In this case, the collecting his memoirs with caution, care, and candour, and reporting them fairly to posterity, is a work of equal labour and difficulty; but what then? It is necessary, useful, conducive to the bringing much truth to light, and exposing many errors which have been so often, and elegantly repeated, by those who took them to be truths, that we may reasonably hope a kind and favourable reading of what particulars are here digested concerning this great man's life, which are as copious, as exact, and as free from bias of any kind as we were able to make them. It is also to be hoped, that they will be perused with the same equal spirit, and that the reader will bring an inclination to be informed how things really happened, what were, and what were not, the actions of this famous

* The following memoir is from the old edition of the *Biographia Britannica*.—London, 1750. vol. 3, p. 2089.

man, who had many failings, and some vices ; but, withal, had fine parts, general knowledge, and abilities every way equal to the posts he gradually filled, and even to those high employments to which he at length attained. According to Bale* this Bishop of Winchester was a devil incarnate ; but then, according to Pitts,† he was a very angel of light. John Fox‡ asserts, that this prelate was of a most fierce and sanguinary disposition ; and the principal author of all the cruelties in the reign of Queen Mary. Father Persons§ on the other hand, assures us, that such as will speak truth, must acknowledge Bishop Gardiner to have been not only of a mild, but of a most compassionate nature ; and that it was chiefly owing to him, the principal Protestants in that reign escaped. At the very entrance of our labours we meet with nothing but doubts and uncertainties. Most authors of his age tell us he was born of obscure parents at Bury St. Edmund, Suffolk.¶ As to the place, indeed, there is no dispute at all ; but for the obscurity of his parentage, if we may trust to some very good authorities, it arose from hence, that he was the illegitimate son of a prelate nobly descended and royally allied, who took pains to conceal that so much discrediting circumstance to himself, by bestowing his concubine on one of his meaner servants, whose name, being born in wedlock, this infant bore.|| Fuller, who is not always an enemy to secret history, rejects this story, as invidious and ill contrived ;** but many, as like to be well informed, and not at all more credulous, admit the truth of it ; and Sir William Dugdale,†† whose knowledge in such points can hardly be disputed, sets it down as a fact. We cannot, indeed, go quite so far ; but laying all circumstances together, there appears to be the greatest probability that this was really the case. The plain fact, in respect to his birth, was this. He is said to have been the son of Dr. Lionel Wydvisle, Dean of Exeter, and Bishop of Salisbury,

* Script. Brit. p. 685. † De illustr. Angl. Script. p. 748.

‡ In his Martyrology throughout. § Warn-Word, p. 34.

¶ Bal. Script. 685, p. 748.

|| Σκελετος Cantabrigiensis, a Rich. Parkero, conscript. p. 26.

** Worthlies, Suffolk, p. 60. †† Baronage, Vol. II, p. 231.

brother to Elizabeth, Queen Consort to Edward IV., who died in 1484.* Dr. Fuller† objects to this, that Salisbury is at a great distance from Bury, where Gardiner was born, which is, in reality, no objection at all, for, since that prelate was so cautious as to oblige his mistress to marry an inferior servant of his, whose name was Gardiner, the better to conceal the transaction, he might therefore be well supposed to have been as careful in sending her far enough off to lie in. Another objection he makes, has somewhat more weight, he thinks Bishop Widville must have had this son in his youth; and if so, the age of Gardiner, at his death, would not agree with the story. But those who relate it, say that he was born while his father was Bishop of Salisbury; and he did not hold that dignity above two years, which takes away the force of this objection. In the satirical writings against him and Bonner,‡ it was objected to them, that it was not strange they were against the marriage of priests, since they were both born in adultery. Now Bonner was the bastard of one Savage, a clergyman, who was himself the bastard of Sir John Savage, Knight of the Garter. Bonner's was precisely the same case with Gardiner's, for his mother was married before he was born, to the person whose name he bore; and it is very remarkable, that both of them, until they were Bishops, declined using their surnames, the one being called Dr. Stephens, and the other Dr. Edmunds. But Gardiner seems to have been better reconciled to his name afterwards, since he assumed the arms of the Gardiners of Glemsford in Suffolk,§ with a distinction of a border; and afterwards, either through the mistake of the painter, or by his own direction, they were impaled with the arms of the See of Winchester, without any such distinction.¶ Bishop Burnet plainly proves, that this

* Godwin. de Præsul. p. 236.

† Worthies, Suffolk, p. 60.

‡ Burnet's Reformat. Vol. II, p. 320.

§ Strype's Memorials, Vol. III.

¶ Were it not for the two circumstances of his having first gone by the appellation of Dr. Stephens, (see p. 382 of this work, in Cavendish's Wolsey,) and second his accepting the border round his arms, a mark of bastardy, I should be disposed to discredit altogether, the alleged fact of Bishop Gardiner's being a natural son of Bishop Widville, and the more so, as one of Rawlinson's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, quoted by Lodge in his *Illustrations*, p. 102, makes him the younger son of Sir Thomas Gardiner, Knt. the representative of a very ancient family in the county of Lancaster.—EDIT. Some memoirs of Bishop Widville, his reputed father, may be found in Cassau's Lives of the Salisbury Bishops, pt. I, p. 260. 1B.

story was believed in our Prelate's life-time, for he tells us, that he had seen a letter written by Sir Edward Hobby, to one of the exiles abroad, for religion, immediately upon Gardiner's death, in which it was said, that he was a man of higher descent than he was commonly reputed; and in the margin of the letter it was noted, that he was nephew to a Queen of England;* but though this might be true, and though he was, by this means, second cousin by the King's mother to Henry VIII., Bishop Burnet's conjecture is not at all probable, that this might be the cause he was so suddenly advanced to the Bishopric of Winchester; for as the reader will see there was another cause, which is assigned by Gardiner himself; neither is it at all likely, that the King knew this piece of secret history, or would take any notice of it if he did. Had it been otherwise, amongst the many private papers relating to that reign (from whence it's public history is best collected) which, in process of time, have come to light, something of that kind would have appeared. As to the year of his birth, that has been hitherto as great a secret as his descent; and very likely the design of concealing the one, might occasion so profound a silence in respect to the other; however, from an original picture of his, still preserved, (painted by Hans Holbein,) we have good grounds to conclude that it ought to be fixed to 1483. We know nothing of his education, or the manner in which he passed his youth, until he was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Trinity-Hall with great diligence and success.. He was distinguished there by his quick parts, his correct pen, his elegance in writing and speaking Latin, and for his extraordinary skill in Greek, which procured him very high compliments, as to his acquisitions in literature, when he was in no condition to reward flatterers.† In process of time he applied himself entirely to the civil and canon law, for which that learned foundation was very famous. Amongst other poems of the famous antiquary, John Leland, there is one addressed to Stephen Gardiner, when he wore no higher title; and in the close of which, he fortels him, that his brow would be honoured with a mitre. In this

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 320.

† Leland's Encom, illustr. viror. p. 48-49.

poem he compliments him on his great progress in polite literature, on his fine taste, and just respect for the ancients; and the desire he had shewn of promoting the study of their valuable writings in the university.* His own writings shew how much he had studied Cicero; and the critics of those times reproached him with affectation in that respect. As to severer studies, he is allowed to have excelled in the civil and canon law; and in respect to the latter, he was so able, that Bishop Burnet tells us, King Henry, as eager as he was for promoting his divorce, would not suffer the proceedings to be begun before the two Cardinals, until the return of Dr. Gardiner from Rome, so much he relied upon his judgment and abilities. Both that Bishop, and Jeremy Collier, who seldom thought the same way of men or things, agree that he was but moderately skilled in divinity; and therefore, it is reasonable to acquiesce in their decision. But then it is to be considered, that they ground their sentiments upon his book of 'True Obedience,' which they confess he wrote to please his sovereign, and against his own sentiments. It is no great wonder, therefore, that his arguments are not very strong, and that he does not reason so closely and convincingly as he might have done; but notwithstanding this, whoever reads that book with attention and impartiality, will not be able to deny, that he has overturned the Pope's supremacy effectually; and though it is not penned, at least the greater part of it, with that heat and vehemence, visible in the writings of Protestant Divines, yet there is enough in it to shew learned men, that he had thoroughly considered the point, and was able to have said much more if he had been so inclined. All this learning he must have brought with him from the University, for from the time that he first came into business, to his being committed to the Tower, he was continually employed in matters of such high importance, that it was impossible he should have much leisure for study. That his parts and learning indeed were very extraordinary, must be confessed; but if what one of his greatest enemies said of him was true, we must have still an higher idea of them, since there is nothing harder, than for a man of a disagreeable, and even forbidding aspect, to make his way in a Court,

* Encom. illustr. viror. p. 48-49.

and insinuate himself into the good graces of all sorts of people, which it is confessed he did. But we will transcribe the passage, which is very curious, and the book from which it is taken very scarce, for the reader's satisfaction.* "Albeit, this Doctor be now but too late thoroughly known, yet it shall be requisite, that our posterity know what he was; and, by his description, see how nature hath shaped the outward parts, to declare what was within. This Doctor hath a swart colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like a horse, ever snuffing into the wind, a sparrow mouth, great paws, like the devil's talons, on his feet, like a gripe, two inches longer than the natural toes, and so tied to with sinews, that he cannot abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the stones. And nature having thus shaped the form of an old monster, it gave him a vengeable wit, which, at Cambridge, by labour and diligence, he had made a great deal worse, and brought up many in that faculty." The author who wrote this was Dr. Ponet, advanced to the Bishopric of Winchester upon the deprivation of Gardiner, in the reign of Edward VI. and at the time he wrote this book, an exile in Germany, where he died.

The reputation he attained at Cambridge, soon opened him a passage into the favour and confidence of several of the greatest men of that age. First, as some report, he was taken under the protection of that generous and potent peer Thomas Duke of Norfolk,† and afterwards received into the family of the still more potent Cardinal Wolsey, in quality of his secretary.‡ But whatever hopes he might entertain of rising at Court, he had still academical honours in view; and in 1520, he received the degree of Doctor of Civil Law,§ and was the year following made Doctor of Canon Law also; but whereas the learned Bishop Tanner, not without authority, makes him Master or Guardian of Trinity-Hall the same year,¶ there seems to be good reason to suppose he did not attain that preferment till some years after. There is no question, that,

* Treatise of Political Power.

† Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 451.

‡ Polyd. Virg, Hist. Angl. lib. xxvii. p. 84.

§ Regist. Acad. Cantab.

¶ Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p.308.

as Cardinal Wolsey's Secretary,* he had a good provision made for him; but this must have been by way of pension or salary, for preferment, so far as we find as yet, he had none.

There is nothing more entertaining, as well as more useful and satisfactory, than to be thoroughly and certainly informed, of the first steps by which those who have made a figure in the world, have risen to greatness. That of Gardiner, as of many others, was owing purely to accident, to speak according to the common sense of mankind. In the year 1525, his master Wolsey thought fit to change sides; and from being most violently attached to the Emperor Charles V., became as warm a friend to the French King, Francis I., then a prisoner in Spain. Humanity and compassion, one would think, must have been the motives to this change; and they might be so, but a very grave Italian historian, has suggested causes of another kind.† He says, that before the battle of Pavi, in which the French King was made prisoner, the Emperor used to write to Wolsey with his own hand, and subscribe 'your son and cousin Charles;' but after that victory, the letters to Wolsey, like those to other persons, were written by his secretary, until the Cardinal taught him to resume his old manner of writing. It was the penning this lesson for his imperial majesty, that brought Gardiner to the knowledge, or at least introduced him to the favour of Henry VIII.; the Cardinal had projected a treaty, which was to change the face of affairs in Europe, as indeed it did; and the King coming to his house at More-Park, in Hertfordshire, found Gardiner, then the Cardinal's secretary, busy in framing that alliance. Few Princes understood business, or could transact it better, than Henry; and therefore, it is no wonder that from such a specimen, he should make a true judgment of Dr. Gardiner's abilities. He liked his performance extremely, his conversation better, and that fertility he had in the invention of expedients, best of all.‡ He did not disguise his sentiments from Wolsey, there was no need of it, the

* The writer of this article in the *Biographia Britannica* calls Wolsey here and elsewhere, very incorrectly, Cardinal of York. Wolsey was a Cardinal and Archbishop of York, but he was not therefore *Cardinal of York*. He was Cardinal of St. Cecilia. Ed.

† Guiccard. *Hist. lib.* XIX.

‡ Lloyd's *Worthies*, p. 451.

Cardinal was truly great in this particular, that he feared no man's parts, but was proud of bringing to the royal notice, able and active men; and even under his misfortunes, as will be hereafter shewn, he had no reason to repent that the new ministers, Cromwell and Gardiner, were taken out of his house, because, in their highest prosperity, they did not forget that they had been once his domestics. This treaty, (which was the foundation of Gardiner's fortunes) or at least the substance of it, may be found in that great work of the noble historian,* who has done so much honour to the reign of Henry VIII. and placed that important period of time, in a much better point of light, than almost any other, relating to the affairs of this kingdom. It was from this time, that Dr. Gardiner was admitted into the secret of affairs, and equally employed and trusted by the King and his Minister, though we have no particular account of the matters which exercised his care, till he came to be employed in the troublesome business of the King's divorce, which was about three years afterward. All we know is, that he and his friend Dr. Fox, were the persons upon whom the Cardinal chiefly relied, for directing his fine buildings, and for laying the plan of those magnificent foundations, which, however they might excite the envy of the times in which he lived, have very justly recommended his memory to posterity.

At this juncture, the King's affairs at Rome were but in an untoward situation, the Roman Pontiff, Clement VII., having address enough to feed the King's agents with fair promises, according to the standing maxim of that court; but, in effect, making no progress at all towards the King's point, which was the obtaining a divorce from his Queen Katherine of Arragon. His majesty therefore resolved to send some person thither, in whom he could entirely confide, and of whose abilities and attachment he had a like opinion. After much consideration, he fixed upon our Doctor, now become Master of Trinity-Hall, and, as Bishop Burnet remarks, esteemed at that time the best civil lawyer in England;† to whom he joined Edward Fox, Provost of King's College in Cambridge. At the time of his departure,

* Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. † Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I. p. 52.

in February 1528, there is nothing clearer, or more certain, than that he had the most entire confidence reposed in him, both by the King and his Minister, who hoped all things from his diligence and dexterity; and who, if there be any credit due either to their verbal or written declarations, were equally sincere and in earnest in this matter.

Our historians are most of them dark and divided in their sentiments, as to the sincerity of Cardinal Wolsey, in the business of the divorce. Yet this may be observed, that those who were best informed, and took most pains to look into original papers, are very clear with respect to the Cardinal's real intention, to carry that point for the King, as the only one that could preserve his power and secure him against all his enemies. Dr. Ponet, however, who made no scruple of laying every thing to Gardiner's charge that might render him odious, tells us plainly, that, in order to his own advancement, he betrayed the Cardinal in this embassy, and pushed, with the greatest vigour, what his master wished might be spun out, in order to gain time. But let us hear what the industrious and impartial Mr. John Strype says upon this subject, from better authorities than any of our historians, except Fox, had ever seen, which will effectually clear up this affair.* "Gardiner," says he, "the Cardinal's secretary, and Fox, the King's servant, provost of King's College, Cambridge, were despatched to the Pope to effect this, in February, 1527, according to the computation of the Church of England. Of whom, Gardiner was the chief, having been admitted into the King's and Cardinal's cabinet council for this affair, and stiled in the Cardinal's credential letters to the Pope; *primary secretary of the most secret counsels*. He was grown into extraordinary request with the Cardinal, in so much, that in his said letters, he called Gardiner *the half of himself, † than whom none was dearer to him*. He writ, that he should unlock his breast to the Pope; and that in hearing *him* speak, he might think he heard the *Cardinal himself*. The particulars of this embassy, of which I have the very minutes, in divers letters sent to the King and Cardinal, I will give

* Strype's Memorials, vol. I. p. 89.

[† Wolsey no doubt had in his remembrance Horace's 'Et serves animæ diuidium incæ.'—EDIT.]

some account of, especially of such things, as the Lord Herbert, or the Right Reverend Author of the History of the Reformation, have made no mention of, or but briefly and imperfectly." He proceeds then to shew from these papers, that when the Pope intimated to Dr. Gardiner, that he understood this proceeding was not managed with Cardinal Wolsey's consent; and that he had likewise heard some strange things of the lady intended for the King's bed; the Doctor thereupon, in the name, and by the authority of the Cardinal, who had been acquainted with this before he left England, demonstrated to him the falsity of those suggestions, and what the Cardinal's real sentiments were in both points;* and that the reader may have no doubts as to the relator's capacity in stating these matters, he has printed several letters from the originals, which very fully justify all that is said of them: and shew the Cardinal was, hitherto at least, disposed to serve his master as far as he could.

In their journey towards Italy, Gardiner and Fox executed a commission at the court of Paris, where, by warm and vigorous representations of what their master had done, and might do, for King Francis, they obtained that monarch's letter to the Pope, in as strong terms as could be desired, in support of King Henry's demands. When they came to Orvieto, where the Pope then was, Dr. Gardiner used very free language with his Holiness, shewed him the danger he was in of losing the King by playing a double game, and how much injury he would do the Cardinal if he failed in his expectations. By these measures all was obtained which his instructions required, and a new commission directed to the Cardinals Wolsey and Compegius was issued.† In the course of this long embassy, the Pope, whose mind was continually perplexed, and to whom the Imperial, French, and English Ministers allowed no quiet, fell dangerously ill, the disorders of his affections operating upon the humours of his body; and this, as might be expected, gave a new turn to the intrigues of Rome. Dr. Gardiner had as large a share in these as any Minister, for he laboured the cause of Wolsey, in case the Pope's death made way for a new

* So in the ambassador's dispatches.

† Hollinshed's Chron. vol. II. p. 907.

election.* He had the French King's letters also to support this design; for by soliciting the Popedom, he thought to make Wolsey more than amends for the Archbishopric of Toledo, which was once tendered him by the Emperor; it may be with the same sincerity, or, in other words, with none at all. Yet so much was Wolsey set upon having, at least for a time, the title of Pope, that, having intelligence, the King's agents, and his own, had procured for him the suffrages of one third-part of the Cardinals, orders were sent them immediately, to cause those Cardinals to withdraw to a place of safety, in case the conclave appeared more inclined to any other, and there to declare him Pope, assuring them they should be most vigorously sustained by King Henry and his allies. No doubt the pains taken in this business must have been highly pleasing to the Cardinal, though, after all, the design came to nothing; for when Wolsey had shewn his utmost strength, and procured from the King very liberal marks of esteem for the Cardinals of his faction, Clement VII. recovered, and things once more returned to their old state.† All imaginable care was taken to have the new commission penned to the King's mind, which, not without much difficulty, was obtained; and then it was to be carried from Orvieto to Rome, to pass through the necessary forms requisite to render it authentic. This being also an affair of nicety, and the disposing Cardinal Campegio to make a tour to England with a good will, requiring some extraordinary management, Dr. Gardiner took it upon himself, after having procured whatever was requisite for his negotiation, and put every thing necessary to set this in a proper light at home into the hands of his colleague.‡ Upon this, Provost Fox was sent home with a full account of their negotiation, with which the King, the Cardinal, and Mrs. Anne Bulleine, were equally pleased, and unanimously joined in applauding the industry, intrepidity, and ingenuity, of this new minister, as is incontestably proved from the authentic minutes of this negotiation, which are, or at least very lately were, still preserved and in being.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 64.

† These passages are from Gardiner's instructions and other dispatches.

‡ From his dispatches.

We learn from the same author, and from the same authorities, that Fox was most joyfully received upon his return, which was in the beginning of the month of May, 1529; it was evening when he came to court, when he was directed to go to Mrs. Anne's, that is, Anne Bulleine's chamber, where he first made a recital to her, of such points as were fittest for that lady's ear; soon after the King came thither, and the lady being withdrawn, he delivered his majesty the letters he had brought, and run into a large and particular detail of the several steps they had taken; all of which he entirely approved and highly admired. After some time, he sent for Mrs. Anne back again, and directed some passages to be repeated in her presence; then Fox went to the Cardinal, who was no less pleased with every thing he heard, and particularly with the accounts given him of Dr. Gardiner's justifying his colleges to the Pope's satisfaction, and making his Holiness sensible, that the revenues of the monasteries granted for their endowment, were fairly applied. Altogether made such an impression on the Cardinal's mind, that speaking of Gardiner, he cried out, *O inestimable treasure, and jewel of this realm!* which exclamation he desired Fox to remark, and to insert in his letter.* As for Mrs. Anne Bulleine, she thought herself under such obligations to this able negotiator, that even before Fox's coming she wrote him the following letter,† which is not amongst the papers collected by Strype.

“ Mr. Stephens, I thank you for my letter, wherein I perceive the willing and faithful mind that you have to do me pleasure, not doubting, but as much as is possible for man's wit to imagine, you will do; I pray God to send you well to speed in all your matters, so that you would put me to the study how to reward your high service. I do trust in God, you shall not repent it: and that the end of this journey shall be more pleasant to me than your first, for that was but a rejoicing hope, which ceasing, the lack of it does put me to the more pain, and they that are partakers with me, as you do know; and therefore I do trust, that this hard beginning shall have the better ending.

* Extracted from Dr. Fox's long letter.

† Copied from the original in the Paper Office.

“Mr. Stephens, I send you here cramp rings, for you and Mr. Gregory, and Mr. Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best. And have me recommended heartily to them both, as she that, you may assure them, will be glad to do them any pleasure which shall lie in my power. And thus I make an end, praying God send you good health. Written at Greenwich, the 4th day of April.”

The first part of this letter seems to refer to the journey made by Dr. Gardiner, from the Pope's court at Orvieto to Rome, in order to quicken the departure of Cardinal Campegio. It is indeed very difficult to settle the dates of many letters written about that time, because sometimes they have only the month, without either day or year; but more frequently the day and month without the year, which can only be recovered from circumstances.

The King, indeed, had the best reason to be satisfied, since Dr. Gardiner dealt clearly with him, and shewed him plainly there was nothing to be obtained by soliciting at Rome; that the Pope might probably be induced to approve any thing the King could persuade the Legates to do, but, without question, would never be prevailed on, by hopes or fears, to do any thing himself, which, in his judgment, was the final issue of all this trouble and solicitation.* Bishop Burnet is offended with Gardiner for desiring the King not to shew this epistle to the Cardinal,† which, however, might be very consistent with his attachment and regard for his old master, since, from this caution, it appears he had no settled private correspondence with the King; for then it would have been needless, and some of the contents, as he was to sit in judgment in the cause, were exceedingly improper for him to have seen. When the King had considered this advice sufficiently, and saw how well it corresponded with events, he recalled Dr. Gardiner from Rome, in order to make use of him in the management of his cause before the legantine court. Upon his return he had the Archdeaconry of Norfolk bestowed on him by Bishop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained some favours from the Pope. He was installed March 1, 1529,‡ and this, so far as appears, was his first preferment in the Church;

* See his Letter to the King. † Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II. p. 321.

‡ Registr. Norwich.

but in the State his growth was quicker, for the King having constant need of his service, and not esteeming it proper to use it while he belonged to another, took him from his old master, Wolsey, and declared him Secretary of State.* In this situation he was considered as having a large share in the management of all affairs, and was particularly advised with by the King, when Cardinal Campegio declared that the cause was avoked to Rome, and that himself and his colleague could proceed no further.† An accident furnished the King with the means of extricating himself out of the many difficulties into which this behaviour of, the Pope's had thrown him, for which he was indebted to the shrewd advice given by Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Cranmer,‡ as he was indebted for that to Dr. Gardiner, who introduced him; and by this, and this only, contributed to his old patron's ruin. As soon as the King saw a way open for the conclusion of his business, without the assistance of the Cardinal, he delayed no longer making himself sensible of his displeasure. Whence it arose, is variously and inconsistently related by our historians; but, without recurring to deep and uncertain motives, we may be satisfied with this, that when Henry saw his Minister had either concurred with the court of Rome in duping him, or was in reality duped most ungratefully and egregiously by that court himself, he determined to trust him no longer, but to make him in some measure the victim that might satiate popular resentment, and stifle those clamours raised amongst his subjects in different parts of the kingdom.§ This tempest broke with such fury on the head of this devoted minister, that his misery became as much the subject of amazement, as his prosperity had ever been. In this distress he had recourse to his old servant the secretary, and, though some have insinuated the contrary, he met with as sincere returns of gratitude and friendship as he could desire or expect. The year ensuing opened with the most important service, at least as his master conceived it, that had been as yet rendered

* Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I, p. 71.

‡ Strype's Life of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 4.

§ Hollinshed, Stowe, Baker.

him by Dr. Gardiner, and which nevertheless does more honour to his abilities than his virtue; and this was to manage the University of Cambridge, so as to procure their declaration in the King's cause, after Dr. Cranmer's book should appear in support of it.* This, in conjunction with Dr. Fox, he accomplished, though not without much artifice and address. After this great exploit, as it was then thought, his ascent in the Church was marvelously quickened. In the spring of 1531, he was installed in the Archdeaconry of Leicester,† resigning that of Norfolk, which he held before; and, towards the close of Sept. ensuing, he also resigned that in favour of his coadjutor, Dr. Edward Fox, who became afterwards Bishop of Hereford.‡ In October he was incorporated at the University of Oxford;§ and Nov. 27, 1531, he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester:¶ contrary to what many writers assert, that he was not promoted to this See until about three years after.|| Dec. 5, following, the temporalities were restored,** which is a sufficient proof that the former is the right date. Dr. Gardiner, it seems, was not apprised of the King's intentions, who would sometimes rate him soundly, and at the instant he bestowed it put him in mind of it. *I have, said he, often squared with you, Gardiner, (a word he used for those kind of rebukes), but I love you never the worse, as the Bishopric I give will convince you.††* He sat with Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, when that prelate pronounced the sentence of divorce against Queen Katherine, or rather declared her marriage with the King null and void, May 23, 1533.‡‡ The same year he was sent over to Marseilles, that he might have an eye to the interview between the French King and the Pope, from whence his master suspected some detriment might spring; and there he intimated the appeal of Henry VIII. to a general

* Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 5-6.

† Tanner. Biblioth. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 308.

‡ Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 158. § Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 50.

¶ MS. Lowth. e Registr. Cantuar. || Godwin, Wharton, Tanner.

** Rymer. Fœdera, Tom. xiv. p. 429.

†† In his own letter to the Duke of Somerset.

‡‡ Burnet's Reformat. Vol. I. p. 131.

council, in case the Pope should pretend to proceed in his cause;* and he did the like on the behalf of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who made a particular application to him for that purpose. Upon his return to England, he was called upon, as other Bishops were, not only to acknowledge and yield obedience to the King as Supreme Head of the Church, but to defend it; which he did, and this defence, or court sermon, he published; and this is that celebrated piece of his, intituled, *Of true Obedience*. His pen was made use of upon other occasions, and never declined vindicating the King's proceedings in the business of the divorce, the subsequent marriage, or throwing off the dominion of the See of Rome, which writings of his then acquired him the highest reputation.† In the next year, 1535, he had some dispute with Archbishop Cranmer on account of his visiting his diocese; upon which occasion there appeared a good deal of heat on both sides.‡ When he went over again to France to resume his embassy, he had the ill luck to differ with another Archbishop of Canterbury, as he afterwards became, Dr. Reginald Pole, then Dean of Exeter, whom, as King Henry's bitterest enemy, he prevailed on the French King to remove out of his dominions, whence those distates grew which afterwards became public.§ While he was thus employed, Cromwell demanded his opinion about a religious league with the Princes of Germany; which, on that bottom, he dissuaded, and advised making an alliance grounded on political motives, and strengthened by subsidies, which he thought would last longer, and answer the King's ends better.¶ In 1538, he was sent ambassador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet, where he is allowed to have acquitted himself well in regard to his commission; but either fell into some suspicion, or was in danger of having something fastened on him, in respect to his secret correspondence with the Pope, which at that juncture might

* Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

† Tanner's Biblioth. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 308.

‡ Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 33.

§ Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 275.

¶ As appears from his own letter, preserved by Collier.

have been his ruin.* His being so often and so much absent from the court, as it gave him a great knowledge of foreign affairs, so it kept him from having any hand in several transactions which did no great honour, to that reign, such as the divorce and death of Queen Anne Bulleine, the prosecution of Sir Thomas More, and bringing Bishop Fisher to the block. It is however asserted, that though he was clear of these, yet he instigated other severities, and was the principal author of all the cruelties committed upon Heretics, as they were then called; which being a matter of great consequence, the reader may expect should be more clearly discussed. The only way of doing this, will be to consider a few of those sanguinary proceedings, in which he is said to have had the chief hand: for this will shew us what credit is due to the general suggestion, that persecution was the great object of his counsels. Amongst these, the first that occurs is the case of Lambert,† who was burnt for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, and which is commonly attributed to the virulent spirit of Bishop Gardiner.

The statute commonly called the Six Articles, and which it must be owned was the law on which many were put to death, is attributed to his contrivance, and said to have been passed by his influence, having been warmly opposed both by the Archbishop, and the Vicegerent Cromwell;‡ but those who allege he had no credit with the King, and was little beloved by the people, cannot expect an implicit faith to attend such an assertion. That he was principally concerned in drawing it, and that he was very earnest in promoting it in the house of lords, in conjunction with the Duke of Norfolk, and other lords spiritual and temporal, those must have but little knowlege in English history who will attempt to deny. It was not long alter this, that Robert Barnes§ fell under persecution, and, in the issue, was condemned to be burnt; who, because he shewed particular spleen against Bishop Gardiner, and was first committed to prison for want of respect to him in a sermon, he is surmised to have been the author of all his sufferings, and the person by whose

* Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 274.

† Bale, Fox, Burnet. ‡ Fuller, Burnet, Collier. § See his article in Bayle.

power that unfortunate friar was at length brought to the stake, which is mentioned as a second instance of his good will to persecution. There is no doubt that, in the course of this reign, the Bishop of Winchester must have done many things against his inclination, and several against his conscience. He was obliged to take a share in the divorce of Anne of Cleves, which was none of the most honourable; and he was likewise obliged to bear a part in that of Queen Katherine Howard, which, considering his attachment to that most noble family, could be no very pleasing employment.* But in these, and other compliances, he had many companions,† and the excuses made for them by some great pens, may serve for him; or the reader will pass sentence as he pleases, since we have no intention to disguise faults, but to disclose truths. Upon the death of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, 1540, which preferment was very acceptable to him.‡ He still preserved his Mastership of Trinity-Hall; and it was well he did preserve it, since, in the next reign, this in most people's opinion preserved the foundation. As he was elected Chancellor of the University without influence, he was very assiduous in his office, that he might conciliate the affections of its members, and did all he could to assist them with his interest at court, which, when he had done any great service, was very good. Certain it is, that whatever power or preferments his compliances obtained under his monarch were dearly purchased, since they were held in continual hazard, and embittered with violent storms of royal resentment; which though, as this Prelate himself says, he knew how to sustain without sinking, must nevertheless be exceedingly distasteful. In some conjunctures too we are satisfied they filled him with many apprehensions, and, though he might be dexterous in sometimes shifting off the King's ill humours, yet at others, how great or how alert soever his spirit might be, he was forced to bear slights with patience,

* Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

† The introduction of this remark, with a 'but' would seem as if the writer thought, that having many associates in sin in some degree took away from its sinfulness.—EDIT.

‡ Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 119.

and even to submit to very disagreeable supplications and expressions of deep humility, and great sense of his own failings, directly contrary to the conviction of his own conscience and understanding. The Bishop himself tells us, that the King could be very angry, and would then talk very loud, very probably too his language was but coarse, since many samples there are of that sort in his history; this had a great effect upon those that were about him, and kept them ever in a state of deep humility, in which, without doubt, Gardiner differed but very little from the rest; but the King letting him into the secret, that he could look sour and talk rough without meaning much harm, he ever after bore those sallies with much less anxiety. The thing happened thus, the Earl of Wiltshire and Dr. Gardiner had been joined in some affair of consequence, which had not been managed so as to give the King satisfaction, upon which he treated Gardiner, in the presence of the Earl, with such a storm of words as quite confounded him; but before they parted, the King took him into his chamber, and told him, that he was indeed very angry, yet not particularly with him, though he had used him so, because he could not take quite so much liberty with the Earl. Bishop Gardiner thenceforward could stand a royal rattling pretty well, or, to use his own words to the Duke of Somerset, *He folded it up in the matter,* and bore it patiently.* The King had another practice, which he called *whetting*, and this in effect was scolding with pen and ink; the Bishop says, that when some of the courtiers saw letters to him in this style, they looked upon him as undone, while himself was under no such apprehensions, knowing the King to be a wise prince, and who, after thus venting his anger, would remember past services, and be more ready to do an old servant a good than an ill turn, after giving him such correction.

Strype,† who has preserved the following letter, thinks it was written about 1535, and he gives us this account of the occasion of it. The King, it seems, was desirous that the Clergy of all ranks should acknowledge, that all the powers they had were derived from him, as the supreme head of the Christian Church in his dominions.

* *Not "sua virtute se" involvebat.*—EDIT. † Memorials, Vol. I, p. 215.

Against this doctrine somebody had written a book, with which the King was offended; and, as the Bishop of Winchester had both preached and written much to his satisfaction, in the support of his supremacy, he sent him this book, with orders to answer it. But, upon the perusal of it, this Bishop, whom we find often represented as one so complaisant that the King could require nothing from him which he was not ready to perform, not only declined writing such an answer as was expected, but professed himself of the same opinion with the author of that book. It is no wonder at all, that, to a monarch of Henry's disposition, this disappointment should appear in a very bad light, or that he should testify his dislike in very strong terms. This it seems he did, and sent the Bishop of Winchester word of it by his Almoner, Dr. Fox, as Strype conceives. The Bishop knowing his master's temper well, and not caring to meet the tempest of his anger by a personal apology, thought fit to write him the following letter, which is produced to shew the real sentiments of the man, and that he was not always so servile or so willing an instrument of the King's will, as we find him sometimes represented. In stating this fact without the letter, we must have left the reader in much uncertainty; but now having that before him, he may judge for himself, and form a true decision of the fitness, or unfitness, of this Prelate's behaviour upon so important an occasion.

*“ My duty remembered to your majesty, with all lowly humility and reverend honour. For as much as letted by disease of body, I cannot personally repair to your highness' presence, having heard of your grace's Almoner to my great discomfort, what opinion your highness hath conceived of me. I am compelled by these letters to represent me unto the same, lamenting and wailing my chance and fortune, to have lost, beside my desert, as much reputation in your grace's heart, as your highness, without my merit, hath conferred unto me, in estimation of the world. And if I comforted not myself with remembrance of your grace's goodness, with whom Veritas semper vincit, & sortis tæderet & vitæ. I know in myself, and can never forget your grace's benefits, your highness'

notable affection toward me. I know my duty and bond to your highness. How much I desire to declare, in outward deeds, my inward knowledge, God knoweth, and I trust your highness shall know. But, in the meantime, for want thereof, thus I suffer, and know no remedy but your highness' goodness, to expend what I have done, what I should have done, and what I may do; and not to be discontent, though, in correcting the answer made, I believed, so great a number of learned men affirming it so precisely to be true, that was in the answer alleged concerning God's law. Especially, considering your highness' book against Luther, in mine understanding, most plainly approveth it. The book written in your grace's cause, and translated into English, seemeth to allow it. And the council of Constance, condemning the articles of Wicklif, manifestly decreeth it. The contrary whereof of your grace can now prove, yet I, not learned in divinity, nor knowing any part of your grace's proves, am, I trust, without cause of blame in that behalf. When I know that I know not, I shall then speak thereafter. It were pity we lived, if so little expressing our love to God in our deeds, we should abuse his name and authority to your highness' displeasure, of whom we have received so many benefits. On the other part, if it be God's authority to us allotted, though we cannot use it condignly, yet we cannot give it away. And it is no less danger to receive than to give, as your highness, of your high wisdom, can consider. I am, for my part, as I am bound, most desirous not only to do what may be done to your highness' contention, but also applicable to learn the truth what ought to be done. Trusting your majesty will finally take in good part, that I think that true for which I have so good ground and authorities, until I hear stronger grounds and reasons to the contrary. I shall most gladly confer with any of your grace's counsel in this matter. And, in the meantime, daily pray to God for knowledge of his truth, and preservation of your majesty in much felicity; always most ready and desirous to do as becometh

Your most humble Subject,

Most bounden Chaplain,

And daily Bedeman,

STEPHEN WINTON."

In the time of King Henry there was no such thing as enjoying court favours, without being exposed also to

threats and frowns, Bishop Gardiner felt these, as Cranmer and others did alternately, living now in the sunshine, and by and by in the shade, or rather under a cloud. But, in the latter end of the King's life, the prospect grew darker than ever. In 1544, if we may rely on the credit of John Fox,* who assures us he had what he relates from one Morrice, who was secretary to Archbishop Cranmer, this Prelate had a very narrow escape from the greatest danger to which he was ever exposed in his whole life. He had a secretary, and a relation, one German Gardiner, who is said to have been much in his favour, and who had distinguished himself by his conferences with John Frith the martyr, an account of which he published. This young clergyman being suspected in the matter of the King's supremacy, a prosecution was commenced against him, and, his obstinacy being great, he was executed as a traitor March 7th, 1544. The enemies of the Bishop, and, as Fox says, the Duke of Suffolk particularly, suggested to the King, that it was very likely, notwithstanding all he had written, that he was of his secretary's opinion, and that, if he was once in the tower, matter enough might be found against him; on which his majesty consented to send him thither. But the Bishop, having intelligence of this, went immediately to the King, submitted with the utmost humility, confessed whatever his majesty charged him with, and, to the no small disappointment of his enemies, by complying with the King's humour, and shewing the deepest concern for his real or pretended failings, obtained his full pardon. Yet, after this, we may suppose, provoked by such usage, for, as Fox states it, one cannot avoid seeing it was a design to destroy him at any rate, he thought upon refining upon this invention, and of turning their own artillery upon his adversaries. In short, he is said to have dipped very deep in a plot against Archbishop Cranmer, which was discovered and dissipated by the King, who left all his enemies to his mercy, and, amongst the rest, the Bishop of Winchester; but he forgave him.† After this, the King opening himself to Bishop Gardiner, upon some suspicions he entertained of his last Queen Katherine

* Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II, p. 646.

† Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 124.

Parr, as inclined to heresy, he so far improved these jealousies as to prepare a paper of articles against her, which the King signed, and it was agreed to send her to the tower; but Chancellor Wriothesly, who was entrusted with this paper, dropped it out of his bosom, and it was immediately carried to the princess. She so wrought upon the King's affections as to dispel his suspicions; and this brought severe reproaches upon the Chancellor, and the King's resentment against the Bishop grew so strong, that he would never see his face afterwards.* One has, however, some reason to wonder, that when John Bale wrote his article of Queen Katherine Parr, in which he celebrates her learning, piety, and zeal, for true religion, at the time all parties were living, and when any thing against the Bishop of Winchester would have been well received, he should say nothing of this iniquitous contrivance.† Nor is it less strange that, when matter was sought much farther back to charge him with, this should not be remembered in the proceedings at his deprivation under the succeeding reign. We need not wonder, if, standing in this light with the King, when drawing towards his latter end, he left him out of his will, and did not appoint him one of the counsellors to Prince Edward, as he once intended. Sanders alleges another reason for this, which was, that Gardiner taking some favourable opportunity, persuaded the King to restore the supremacy to the Pope, either by a solemn declaration in Parliament, if there was time to call one, or by an authentic act of his own, if there was not; which would sufficiently manifest his intention. In this respect, the King, as he tells the story, soon after changed his mind; and thence proceeded his enmity to Gardiner.‡ But all is pure fiction, for Bishop Gardiner himself, in a sermon before King Philip and Queen Mary, mentions some such thoughts in the King during the northern rebellion; and, had there been a grain of truth in it, no doubt would have mentioned his inclination at this time. Besides, there actually was a Parliament then in being, which was dissolved by his death. Some other reasons were assigned for the King's excluding him in his testament.

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. I, p. 345.

† Bale Script. edit. 1548, 4to, fol. 238.

‡ Schismat. Anglican. p. 209.

All this said of the Bishop of Winchester's contriving to thrust Queen Katherine into the tower, is taken from John Fox; nor are there any distinct marks by which the time when this happened can be certainly known. At the time when the King went to France, in his last expedition, the Bishop of Winchester was intended to be one of his executors;* but, after that, when the King's will came to be drawn afresh, he was left out without the privity, as it seems, of any of the council. Sir Anthony Brown, it is said, twice moved the King to put his name again into his testament, but without effect; and the King said, *if he was one, he would trouble them all, and they would never be able to rule him*; it is also reported, that, when the King saw him once with some of the privy counsellors, he shewed his dislike, and asked what he did there? He was answered, that the Bishop came to inform him of a benevolence granted by the clergy; upon which the King called him immediately to deliver his message, and, having received it, went away. Yet, for all this, the Bishop himself, in one of his letters to the protector, puts him in mind of a commission in which he was named, amongst others, in the very last year of the King's life; so that whatever the King's distaste was, it must have been sudden; and there is nothing so probable, as that his acquaintance with, and attachment to, the Norfolk family, might be the cause. The King knew this very well, and, having determined to reduce the power and authority of that family, as well as to take off the heads of it, it was a very easy and a very natural consequence of that resolution, to remove the Bishop of Winchester from being one of his executors, whom he knew to have great obligations, and a very warm friendship, for the Duke of Norfolk and his son.

Whatever usage Gardiner might meet with at any time from his master, he shewed upon all occasions very high respect for his memory, and ever spoke and wrote of him with much deference; and though Fox treats him very coarsely on that head, yet others have thought there was in it as much of prudence as of gratitude. Upon the accession of King Edward VI., Archbishop Cranmer, being earnest in carrying on the great work of Reforma-

* Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II, p. 647.

tion, to which he found the protector, Somerset, well inclined, laboured all he could to gain the Bishop of Winchester to a concurrence, or at least to an acquiescence.* But this wary Prelate thought, or seemed to think, that, by making too much haste, all might be spoiled, and opposed his sentiments at least, to those of the protector, and all his council. He suggested, that the ruling maxim in a minority was to keep things quiet, and alleged this could never be done if any signal alterations were attempted in Church or State. On this principle he dissuaded the war with Scotland, as a measure necessarily attended with much hazard and a vast expense.† The protector received his advice civilly, and wrote answers to his letters, still remaining, with much decency and moderation. But, notwithstanding this, things went on according to the plan laid down by the Archbishop, who formed a design of having a royal visitation by commissioners, who might see the condition of every diocese, encourage the progress of reformed religion, remove and discredit superstition, and one in each list of these commissioners, being a clergyman, was directed to preach sound doctrine.‡ The wisdom of the Archbishop, in framing this scheme, was certainly great; and yet Winchester no sooner had intelligence of it than he set up objections. In the first place, he doubted it's legality, as it was to countenance innovations; in the next, he thought it imprudent, as it would disturb the order of government in Church and state; and lastly, he thought it impolitic, as all things must be done in the King's name and by his authority, as Supreme Head of the Church, at a time when he, being a child, could know nothing of these things; and his uncle, the protector, being at the head of an army and absent, could know very little more of them: so that in the opinion even of the meanest people, this would weaken that great prerogative which King Henry had assumed, and on the due use of which all reformation must depend.§ Sir John Godsolve,

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. at the entrance of second Vol.

† Taken from the Bishop's letter, published by Fox.

‡ Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 146-147-148.

§ Bishop Gardiner's Letters in Fox's Acts and Monuments.

one of the visitors (but not for the diocese of Winchester), having heard of the Bishop's discourses, and, having a very sincere regard for him, wrote to him, desiring him to be more discreet, and not run the manifest hazard of ruining himself and losing his Bishopric. Bishop Gardiner sent him an answer highly commended by Bishop Burnet, and which is inserted to shew the temper of the man in these times, and how very able he was in putting the fairest colour imaginable on all his opinions and actions.*

It is very singular, that this, being a private letter, should remain and be preserved to our times. Bishop Burnet says, that it has the most of a christian and a Bishop in it of any thing he had seen of Gardiner's; he adds too, very judiciously, that it has no less of a patriot, and therefore he resolved not to suppress it, though it was on the other side. But, from this letter, it cannot be shewn that the Bishop of Winchester was on the other side, for there is nothing of Popery in this letter, or indeed in his whole opposition; what he had in his heart no man can say; but either he was sincere in penning this epistle, or he was the most finished dissembler in the world.† It is true he changed afterwards, and we shall consider how far he changed when we come to that period of his life, from the testimony of writers who did not at all flatter him. But now to the letter, which runs thus :—

“Mr. Godsalve, after my right hearty commendations, with like thanks for the declaration of your good mind towards me (as you mean it), although it agreeth not with mine account, such as I have had leisure to make in this time of liberty, since the death of my late sovereign lord, whose soul Jesu pardon. For this have I reckoned that I was called to this Bishopric, without the offence of God's law or the King's in attaining of it. I have kept my Bishopric these sixteen years, accomplished this very day that I write these letters unto you, without offending God's law or the King's in the retaining of it: howsoever I have of frailty otherwise sinned. Now if I may play the third part well, to depart from the Bishopric without

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 36.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 36.

the offence of God's law or the King's, I shall think the tragedy of my life well passed over, and, in this part, to be well handled, is all my care and study now how to finish this third act well; for so I offended not God's law nor the King's, I will no more care to see my Bishopric taken from me, than myself to be taken from the Bishopric.

"I am by nature already condemned to die, which sentence no man can pardon, nor assure me of delay in the execution of it; and so see that of necessity I shall leave my Bishopric to the disposition of the crown, from whence I had it; my household also to break up, and my bringing up youth to cease, the remembrance whereof troubleth me nothing. I made in my house at London a pleasant study that delighted me much, and yet I was glad to come into the country and leave it; and as I have left the use of somewhat, so can I leave the use of all to obtain more quiet; it is not loss to change for the better.

"Honesty and truth are more leef to me than all the possessions of the realm; and in these two, to say and do frankly, as I must, I never forbare; yet, and in these two, honesty and truth, I take such pleasure and comfort, as I will never leave them for no respect, for they will abide by a man, and so will nothing else. No man can take them away from me but myself, and if myself do them away from me, then myself do undo myself, and make myself worthy to lose my Bishopric: whereat such as gape might take more sport than they are like to have at my hands.

"What other men have said or done in the homilies I cannot tell, and what homilies or injunctions shall be brought hither I know not; such as the printers have sold abroad, I have read and considered, and am therefore the better instructed how to use myself to the visitors at their repair hither, to whom I will use no manner of protestation, but a plain allegation, as the matter serveth, and as honesty and truth shall bind me to speak; for I will never yield to do that should not beseem a christian. Bishops ought never to lose the inheritance of the King's laws, due to every Englishman, for want of petition. I will shew myself a true subject, humble and obedient; which repugneth not with the preservation of my duty to God, and my right in the realm not to be enjoined against an Act of Parliament: which mine intent I have signified to the council, with request of redress in the matter; and

not to compel me to such an allegation, which, without I were a beast, I cannot p̄etermit; and I were more than a beast, if, after I had signified to the council truth and reason in words, I should then seem in my deeds not to care for it.

“My lord Protector, in one of such letters as he wrote to me, willed me not to fear too much; and indeed I know him so well, and divers others of my lords of the council, that I cannot fear any hurt at their hands, in the allegation of God’s law and the King’s; and I will never defame them so much to be seen to fear it. And of what strength an Act of Parliament is, the realm was taught in the case of her that we called Queen Anne; where all such as spake against her in the Parliament-House, although they did it by special commandment of the King, and spake that which was truth; yet they were fain to have a pardon, because that speaking was against an Act of Parliament. Did you never know or hear tell of any man, that for doing that the King, our late sovereign lord, willed, devised, and required, to be done; he that took pains, and was commanded to do it, was fain to sue for his pardon; and such other also as were doers in it; and I could tell who it were; sure there has been such a case, and I have been present when it hath been reasoned.

“That the doing against an Act of Parliament excuseth not a man even from the case of treason, although a man did it by the King’s commandment. You can tell this to your remembrance, when you think farther of it; and when it cometh to your remembrance, you will not be best content with yourself, I believe, to have advised me to venture the breach of an Act of Parliament, without surety of pardon, although the King command it; and were such indeed as it were no matter to do it at all. And thus I answer the letters with worldly civil reasons, and take your mind and zeal towards me to be as tender as may be; and yet you see, that the following of your advice might make me lose my Bishopric by mine own act, which I am sure you would I should keep; and so would I, as might stand with my truth and honesty, and none otherwise, as knoweth God, who send you heartily well to fare.”

In all probability, this answer of the Bishop proved the cause of that Prelate’s first imprisonment, which was in all respects extraordinary, and out of the common forms

of justice.* He was sent for when in London to attend the council, three weeks before the visitors came into his diocese; and because he would not promise to receive the homilies, and pay obedience to whatever the King's visitors might require, the council, notwithstanding his close reasoning the point as to its consistency with law, and his earnest entreaty to give him a little space to consider, committed him close prisoner to the Fleet.† He was there, as we see by his letters and petitions, very strictly kept, and very indifferently used; which must have been by order, since John Fox has marked on the margin of one of his applications for redress, that the warden of the Fleet was his friend.‡ It is probable the Archbishop consented to this, but it is impossible he should contrive it; being a very deep, though a most unjustifiable, stroke of policy. The Bishop held the visitation, as directed by the instructions, illegal without an Act of Parliament; but, being confined, he could not hinder that visitation going on; and, remaining close in the Fleet during the whole session (though a lord of Parliament), he could give no opposition to those bills, which were calculated to make the things lawful which he had objected to as illegal.§ When all this was done, he was discharged like a common malefactor, under colour of the King's general pardon, though never charged judicially with any offence.¶ The very dates prove these facts: he was committed Sept. 25, the Parliament assembled Nov. 4, was prorogued Dec. 24, and he was set at liberty before the close of that year, 1547. Besides this, all that we have advanced is supported by unquestionable authorities.∥

There are, to say the truth, but very few writers amongst our ecclesiastical historians that have taken upon them to justify these proceedings; but on the other hand, none of them go to the bottom, except Bishop Burnet,** who speaks very clearly and candidly of this whole affair.

* Fuller, Heylin, Burnet. † Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. II, p. 3.

‡ Ibid. p. 9, in a letter from Bishop Gardiner to the Duke of Somerset when Protector.

§ Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. II, p. 36.

¶ Strype's Memorials. ∥ Holinshed, Stowe, Strype.

** Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 36-37.

“On Sept. 25,” says he, “the council being informed that Gardiner had written to some of that board, and had spoken to others many things in prejudice and contempt of the King’s visitation, and that he intended to refuse to set forth the homilies and injunctions, he was sent for to the council. Where being examined, he said, he thought they were contrary to the word of God, and that his conscience would not suffer him to observe them. He excepted to one of the homilies, that it excluded charity from justifying men, as well as faith. This he said was contrary to the book set out in the late King’s time, which was afterwards confirmed in the Parliament in the year 1542; he said further, that he could never see one place of scripture, nor any ancient doctor that favoured it. He also said, Erasmus’s Paraphrase was bad enough in Latin, but much worse in English; for the translator had oft out of ignorance, and oft out of design, misrendered him palpably, and was one that neither understood Latin nor English well. He offered to go to Oxford to dispute about justification with any they should send him to, or to enter into conference with any that would undertake his instruction in town. But this did not satisfy the council. So they pressed him to declare what he intended to do when the visitors should be with him. He said, he did not know; he should further study these points, for it would be three weeks before they could be with him, and he was sure he would say no worse than that he should obey them, as far as could consist with God’s law and the King’s. The council urged him to promise that he would without any limitation, set forth the homilies and the injunctions, which he refusing to do, was sent to the Fleet. Some days after that, Cranmer went to see the Dean of St. Paul’s, having the Bishops of Lincoln and Rochester, with Dr. Cox, and some others with him. He sent for Gardiner thither, and entered into discourse with him about that passage in the homily, excluding charity out of our justification, and urged those places of St. Paul, *That we are justified by faith, without the works of the law*: he said, his design in that passage was only to draw men from trusting in any thing they did, and to teach them to trust only to Christ. But Gardiner had a very different notion of justification. For as he said, infants were justified by baptism, and penitents by the sacrament of penance; and that the conditions of the

justifying of those of age, were charity as well as faith, as the three estates make a law all joined together; for by this simile, he set it out in the report he wrote of that discourse to the lord Protector, reckoning the King one of the three estates (a way of speech very strange, especially in a Bishop and a lawyer). For Erasmus, it was said, that though there were faults in his Paraphrase, as no book besides the Scriptures is without faults, yet it was best for that use they could find, and they did choose rather to set out what so learned a man had written, than to make a new one, which might give occasion to more objections, and he was the most indifferent writer they knew. Afterwards Cranmer, knowing what was likely to work most on him, let fall some words as Gardiner wrote to the Protector,* of bringing him into the privy council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect on him, he was carried back to the Fleet."

He afterwards gives the remainder of the story thus. "But notwithstanding all his letters, yet he continued a prisoner until the Parliament was over, and then by the act of pardon, he was set at liberty. This was much censured as an invasion of liberty; and it was said, those at court durst not suffer him to come to the house, lest he had confounded them in all they did. And the explaining justification with so much nicety in homilies that were to be read to the people, was thought a needless subtilty. But the former abuses of trusting to the acts of charity that men did, by which they fancied they bought Heaven, made Cranmer judge it necessary to express the matter so nicely, though the expounding those places of St. Paul, was as many thought, rather according to the strain of the Germans, than to the meaning of these epistles. And, upon the whole matter, they knew Gardiner's haughty temper, and that it was necessary to mortify him a little, though the pretence on which they did it, seemed too slight for such severities. But it is ordinary, when a thing is once resolved on, to make use of the first occasion that offers for effecting it."

In the course of Gardiner's imprisonment, it came out, that the famous state book of religion, published by

* In his letter printed in the 2nd. vol. of the Acts & Monuments, ed. 1641.

authority, under the title of *The Erudition of a Christian Man*, was compiled chiefly by him. By comparing this with the religious systems in the reign of Edward VI., the difference may be seen between his notions and those of Cranmer; and from hence we may discern the probability of his being in earnest in his declarations, without supposing, as almost all writers do, misled therein by the Papists themselves, that in his heart he was a bigot to Popery. The Archbishop was once as well pleased with the book before-mentioned as any body, and had recommended it as strenuously; but now having changed his mind as to the real presence, he was not unwilling the world should know its true author; and Gardiner, being touched with his insinuations, replied very eagerly in defence of his book. Always insisting however, that it had the sanction of the King's authority.

While the Bishop was under this confinement, the Archbishop of Canterbury sometimes wrote to him, and, as Strype tells us, proposed to him, employing a part of his time in writing Homilies, which he declined; but it was in one of these conferences, that the dispute to which we refer, happened; the same author tells it in the following words.* “During his being here, which was not long, there passed some letters between the Archbishop of Canterbury and him. He had urged to the Archbishop, the state of religion in King Henry's days; from which, he and the clergy and the council, did begin so much to vary, Winchester reminded him of the King's book as he called it, established by Parliament. But the Archbishop in his answer told him, that he indeed called it so, and that the King was seduced; and that he, the Archbishop knew by whom he was compassed in that book.

But Winchester sharply replied to him: “That the book was acknowledged by the Parliament as the King's book, and that the Archbishop himself commanded it to be published in his diocese as the King's book. And that if he thought it not true, he ought to think his grace would not, for all the Princes christened in the world have yielded unto. And he threatened the Archbishop, that if he made this matter more public, and charged the late King with being seduced, he would vindicate his master, as one of his old servants. And whereas the

* Strype's Memorials, vol. III, p. 277.

Archbishop had advised him to bethink himself of his present condition, lying in prison; Winchester replied to this with seemingly much satisfaction: how himself was arrived to that haven of quietness, without the loss of any notable tackle, as the mariners say, which he said, was a great matter as the winds had blown, and with a little flea biting, conveyed to an easy state. He advised, that seeing King Henry died so honourably and so much lamented, and was concluded to be received to God's mercy, the realm should not be troubled during the minority with matters of novelty, there being so many other things for the King's counsellors to regard."

Upon his obtaining his liberty, the Bishop went down to his Diocese, and there was so far from creating any trouble or disturbance, that he was remarkably active and diligent in giving obedience, and seeing that it was given to the laws concerning religion;* but those who had a dislike to him, would not suffer him to be long at quiet. They were no sooner informed of his returning to town, than they procured an order for him to come before the council, where he was roughly treated, and then directed to keep his house until he gave satisfaction, which was to be done in a sermon preached before the King and his Ministers, in a public audience; for the matter of which, he was directed as well what he should not, as what he should say, by Sir William Cecil.† On St. Peter's day the Bishop did accordingly preach, but was so far from giving satisfaction, that the very next day, June 30, 1548, he was sent to the tower, and continued there a prisoner all that reign.‡ It was very near a year, notwithstanding repeated applications, that he continued there, without having scarce any notice taken of him, his Chaplain having admittance but once when he was ill, and then restrained because his life was not thought in danger.§ When the Protector was deposed, or some small time before, he had hopes given him of his release, and from those it is likely who could have done it if they had judged it proper.¶ But finding himself deceived, he took the freedom of applying himself by letter to the

* Strype's Memorials, vol. II, p. 71.

† See the Bishop's account of this matter at large in Fox.

‡ Stowe, Strype, Burnet.

§ So stated by himself to the council.

¶ See the article of Dudley, (John) Duke of Northumberland.

council, of which we have probably a true, though certainly a very unpolished account, from honest John Stowe;* who likewise tells us very plainly why he published it, which in effect was because he saw that nobody else would.

Whoever will take the pains of examining our ecclesiastical and civil histories, will see how little care is taken to fix the dates relative to these transactions, which are only to be recovered from the original papers that are still preserved. By comparing them the reader will perceive, that the Bishop of Winchester never sat in any one of King Edward's Parliaments; and notwithstanding this flagrant injustice, we do not find so much as a single word said of it in the articles against the Protector, Somerset, though it was not only of more moment than many things alleged in them, but was also a fact which he could not possibly deny. It is indeed affirmed in the following account, and we have some notices of it elsewhere, that the Earl of Warwick, and some of the rest of the cabal, gave Gardiner assurances of his liberty; but when they found themselves able to act without him, they made no scruple of forgetting or breaking that promise, from a just foresight, that he would give the same opposition to their measures he was inclined to have given to those of the Duke.

But let us hear Stowe,† who very seldom puts original papers into his Annals, and takes care when he does, that they shall be equally curious and important, thus then he writes. "Now when the Duke of Somerset was first apprehended, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then being a prisoner in the tower (as before ye have heard) was borne in hand, he should be set at liberty; in hope whereof, he prepared him new apparel for that purpose, thinking verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days: but when he was forgotten, and nothing said unto him by the space of one month after, he thought it good to put the lords in remembrance by his letters; wherein, after commendations he had unto them, he wrote as followeth: I have continued here in this miserable prison now one year, one quarter, and one month, this same day that I write these my letters, with want of air to

* Annals, p. 600.

† Ib.

relieve my body; want of books to relieve my mind; want of good company the only solace of this world; and finally, want of a just cause why I should have come hither at all. More of this letter came not to my hands; but that the lords took it in good part, and laughed very merrily thereat, saying, he had a pleasant head; for reward whereof, they gave him leave to remain still in prison five or six weeks after, without saying or sending any word to him; which when he considered, then he wrote to them this letter following. After my due commendations to your good lordships: howsoever the time is stolen from you with the multitude of businesses, and variety of matters wherewith ye be travailed; whereby ye rather want time, as I suppose, than be glutted with it; yet with me, being alone comfortless in this miserable prison, the time passeth more sensibly; and as the grief groweth in length, so it bringeth more encombrie and travail with it. And being now the time of Parliament, whereof I am a member, in my degree called unto it by writ, and not cut from it by any fault, but only by power kept here, it is a double calamity to be detained in prison by so intolerable wrong, and excluded from this assembly, so much against right. I have suffered the like in the late lord Protector's time, against all reason, which God hath given you power now to reform; and among many other things, which in his time wrythed amiss, no one thing, as I suppose, was of worse example, nor more prejudicial to the good order of the high court of Parliament, which is the direction of all men's lives, lands, and goods in this realm, than to allow for a precedent, that any one man being member thereof, might, without cause, be excluded, and so letted to parley there his mind in public matters for the wealth of the realm, and such other private causes as do occur. If the strength of the Parliament be not impaired by wrong in one, because right consisteth not in number, it shall be at the pleasure of him that ruleth, to do the same in me, whereby others may take more harm than I, as experience hath shewed in such examples. But I know it becometh me not to reason the strength of that court, nor the order of it: the lawyers of this realm know that, and to their knowledge I submit my judgment, and take for good that they allow. But this I dare say, when religion is entreated in a general council of Christendom, if the rulers of the council let any man's repair

thither, that hath right to be there, whatsoever is there concluded is in the laws of the world abroad, taken of no force by excluding of one member wrongfully, that should furnish the body, which I write unto your lordships for the good opinion I have of you, trusting that ye intend not to uphold or follow the late lord Protector's doings, by wrong, but so fashion your proceedings, as they may agree with justice at home, and seem agreeable to reason to others abroad; being so assured of mine innocency, that when your lordships shall hear what can be said against me, and mine answer thereunto, there shall appear cause why I should have had praise, thanks, and commendations, of the late lord Protector, (if truth, honesty, and due obedience might look therefore) and no cause of trouble or displeasure at all: so wrongfully have I been tormented in this prison, so boldly dare I speak to you of my cause, with such an opinion and estimation of your wisdoms, which I know and reverence, as I ought not, nor would not vainly hope to abuse you with words, but upon certain confidence of your indifferences; verily I trust that ye will deem and take things in such sort, as being plainly and truly opened, shall appear unto you by matter indeed. In consideration whereof, I renew my suit unto your lordships, instantly requiring you, that I may be heard according to justice, and that, with such speed, as the delay of your audience give not occasion to such as be ignorant abroad of my matter, to think that your lordships allowed and approved the detaining of me here. Which without hearing my declaration, I trust ye will not but have such consideration of me, as mine estate in the common-wealth; the passing my former life amongst you, and other respects do require; wherein you shall bind me, and do agreeably to your honours and justice: the free course whereof you have honourably taken upon you to make open to the realm without respect, which is the only establishment of all common-wealths; and therefore the zeal of him was allowed, that said, *Fiat justitia & ruat mundus*: signifying, that by it, the world is kept from falling indeed, although it might seem otherwise in some respect, and some trouble to arise in doing it. [This is a new construction of the passage.] And this I write, because in the late lord Protector's time, there was an insinuation made unto me, as though I were kept here by policy, which, with the violation of justice,

took never good effect, as I doubt not of your wisdoms; ye can and will consider, and do therefore accordingly; for the effectual execution whereof, I shall not fail to pray Almighty God for the preservation and increase of your honours. *From the Tower.*"

Thus much concerning these letters have I thought good to set down, for that I find not the same otherwise extant, in large discourses of the said Bishop's writings.

When the Duke of Somerset, though removed from his high office, found means to come again into power, and to be called to the council, this affair of Bishop Gardiner was brought once more on the carpet, and the Duke and others, by virtue of an order of that board, went to confer with him in the tower June 9, 1550.* It was proposed that he should make a submission for what was passed, should testify his approbation of all that had been done in religion since he had been laid aside, and that he should promise obedience for the future. The two last points Winchester readily assented to, and actually signed all that was expected from him; but refused his assent to the first, insisting upon his innocence. Much solicitation there was, with what intent one cannot say; at last, the Bishop perceiving they rose in their demands, told them roundly he would do nothing in a prison; and that he did not seek either favour or pity, but justice.† July 19, he was brought to the council, and being asked whether he would subscribe the last articles or not, he answered in the negative; and it was thereupon declared to him, that his Bishopric should be sequestered; and, if in three months he did not comply, they would go still farther.‡ Fuller confesses, in case he was innocent, he was in the right not to acknowledge himself guilty;§ and Heylin seems to think, those who had now to do with him, would not have been satisfied let him have subscribed what he would.¶ Strype, out of respect to Cranmer, approves the whole proceeding, as Fox applauds it; but Bishop Burnet, having undertaken to state the matter impartially, does it accordingly, with that clearness which the evidence of the fact demands.

* See King Edward's Journal, inserted in the 2nd vol. of Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat.

† See the Proceedings against him in Fox. ‡ Strype's Memorials.

§ Church History, cent. XVI. p. 400. ¶ Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 99.

Before we come to the account of this matter given by Bishop Burnet, whose authority in these points must be decisive, as nothing could induce him to treat these subjects as he does, but a due respect for truth, which every historical writer ought to prefer to every other consideration; it is necessary to observe, that he is entirely mistaken as to the time of the King's sending to the Bishop, in which he supposes Fox to have erred, and all this from a notion, that, upon his submission, the Protector might have been prevailed with to set him at liberty; whereas, in truth, the offers that were made him, came from the Protector's enemies, who, it has been suggested, made very great use of the Bishop of Winchester's head and hand, in bringing their design to bear; insomuch that a certain author says,* the original of the articles against him which he confessed, and upon which he was deposed, or rather the draught of those articles, was in Winchester's own hand-writing. But be that as it will, the King's own Journal very fully shews,† that the first message sent from him to Gardiner, was June 9, 1550, when the Bishop had been, within a few days, two years in prison. These points being premised, let us hear our right reverend author.

“When the book of common-prayer was set out, the Lord St. John, and Secretary Petre, were sent with it to him, to know of him, whether he would conform to it or not; and they gave him great hopes that if he would submit, the Protector would sue to the King for mercy to him. He answered, that he did not know himself guilty of any thing that needed mercy; so he desired to be tried for what had been objected to him, according to law. For the book, he did not think that while he was a prisoner, he was bound to give his opinion about such things; it might be thought he did it against his conscience to obtain his liberty; but if he were out of prison, he should either obey it, or be liable to punishment according to law. Upon the Duke of Somerset's fall, the Lord-Treasurer, the Earl of Warwick, Sir William Herbert, and Secretary Petre, were sent to him: Fox

* Mr. Strype asserts this from his own acquaintance with the hands of those times.

† Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II. p. 150.

says this was on the ninth of July, but there must be an error in that ; for Gardiner in his answer says, that upon the Duke of Somerset's coming to the Tower, he looked to have been let out within two days, and had made his farewell feast ; but when these were with him, a month, or thereabout, had passed, so it must have been in November the former year. They brought him a paper, to which they desired he would set his hand. It contained, first a preface, which was an acknowledgment of former faults, for which he had been justly punished : there were also divers articles contained in it, which were touching the King's supremacy, his power of appointing or dispensing with holidays and fasts ; that the book of common-prayer, set out by the King and Parliament, was a most christian and godly book, to be allowed of by all Bishops and Pastors in England ; and that he should, both in sermons and discourses, commend it to be observed ; that the King's power was complete now, when under age, and that all owed obedience to him now, as much as if he were thirty or forty years old ; that the Six Articles were justly abrogated, and that the King had full authority to correct and reform what was amiss in the Church, both in England and Ireland. He only excepted to the preface, and offered to sign all the articles, but would have had the preface left out. They bid him rather write on the margin his exceptions to it, so he writ, that he could not, with a good conscience, agree to the preface, and with that exception, he set his hand to the whole paper. The Lords used him with great kindness, and gave him hope, that his troubles should be quickly ended. Herbert and Petre came to him some time after that, but how soon is not so clear, and pressed him to make the acknowledgment without exception ; he refused it, and said he would never defame himself ; for when he had done it, he was not sure, but it might be made use of against him as a confession. Two or three days after that, Ridley was sent to him, together with the other two, and they brought him new articles. In this paper, the acknowledgment was more general than in the former ; it was said here in the preface, that he had been suspected of not approving the King's proceedings, and being appointed to preach, had not done it as he ought to have done, and so deserved the King's displeasure, for which he was sorry : the articles related to the Pope's supre-

macy, the suppression of abbies and chantries, pilgrimages, masses, images ; the adoring the sacrament ; the communion in both kinds ; the abolishing the old books, and bringing in the new book of service, and that for ordaining of Priests and Bishops ; the completeness of the scripture, and the use of it in the vulgar tongue ; the lawfulness of Clergymen's marriage ; and to Erasmus's Paraphrase, that it had been on good considerations ordered to be set up in the Churches. He read all these, and said, he desired first to be discharged of his imprisonment, and then he would freely answer them all, so as to stand by it, and suffer if he did amiss, but he would trouble himself with no more articles while he remained in prison, since he desired not to be delivered out of his troubles in the way of mercy, but of justice.

“After that he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him, that they sat by a special commission to judge him, and so required him to subscribe the articles that had been sent him. He prayed them earnestly to put him to a trial for the grounds of his imprisonment, and when that was over, he would clearly answer them in all other things : but he did not think he could subscribe all the articles after one sort, some of them being about laws already made, which he could not qualify ; others of them being matters of learning, in which he might use more freedom : in conclusion, he desired leave to take them with him, and he would consider how to answer them. But they required him to subscribe them all, without any qualification ; which he refused to do. Upon this, the fruits of his Bishopric were sequestered, and he was required to conform himself to their orders within three months, upon pain of deprivation ; and the liberty he had of walking in some open galleries, when the Duke of Norfolk was not in them, was taken from him, and he was again shut up in his chamber.

“All this was much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of Englishmen, and the forms of all legal proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man in prison upon a complaint against him, and without any further enquiry into it, after two years durance, to put articles to him. And they which spoke freely, said, it savoured too much of the Inquisition. But the Canon Law not being rectified, and the King being in the Pope's room, there were some things gathered from the Canon Law,

and the way of proceeding *ex officio*, which rather excused, than justified this hard measure he met with." The sequel of this business shall be related in its proper place.

When the three months were fully expired, and the Bishop remained in the same sentiments, a resolution was taken to proceed judicially against him, in order to deprive him of the See of Winchester, and what other preferments he had under the authority of the King's commission, in which the Archbishop presided. These Commissioners began their proceedings December 15, and ended them February 14, following,* having had in all 22 sessions, when the grand affair was finished, and the Bishop deprived for irreverence to the King's authority; though but a few months before they had condemned the abuse of that authority, by those in whose hands it then was. It was added, that he was disobedient to the King's orders and instructions in ecclesiastical affairs; tho' he twice subscribed his approbation to all that was already done, and promised never to disclose any future scruples he might have but to the Privy Council. As a further aggravation of his offences, it was suggested that he refused to confess his faults, and submit himself to the King's mercy; tho' he alleged first his innocence, which entitled him to receive from the King's justice what it was supposed he ought to accept as his mercy; and next, that he was not sure of this mercy if inclined to submit, but had reason to fear this confession might be made a ground for conviction, where he knew there was a defect of evidence. He complained that those who committed him were to be his judges, and consequently their own; that he was charged for disobedience to some of them, who in this case were prosecutors as well as parties and judges; and that the whole was the contrivance of men who had been long his enemies, and who, after failing in many schemes, hoped to prevail in this, to his destruction.† A particular detail of this matter would detain us too long, but some curious points, supported by unquestionable evidence, shall be stated.

It is very propable, that having once determined to

* Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 223-24-25.

† See the Proceedings in his case.

deprived him of all his preferments for his contempt, they began to consider what that contempt was,* and framed an order about it, expressed in such terms as they judged convenient, which was to pass for the order upon which he was committed, and he made the foundation of their subsequent proceedings. This is indeed a very strange fact, and to which no credit could be given, if it was not reported by Bishop Burnet, from the council book, where he discovered it by the orders being signed ‘*Bedford*,’ amongst other counsellors; but that noble peer recollecting that he had not his title at the time the order was dated, struck it out again, and subscribed *J. Russel*; we have from the same writer, a short but very satisfactory account of the proceedings in that great cause, upon which, though Collier makes some remarks, yet he does not treat the point so fairly or so fully as Bishop Burnet, whose words are these. “There was a commission issued out (*Hist. Ref. II.* p. 165,) to the Archbishop, the Bishops of London, Ely, and Lincoln, Secretary Petre, Judge Hales, Griffith and Leyson, two Civilians, and Goodrick and Gosnold, two Masters of Chancery, to proceed against Gardiner for his contempt in the matters formerly objected to him. He put in a compurgation, by which he endeavoured to shew there was malice borne to him, and conspiracies against him, as appeared by the business of Sir Henry Knevet, mentioned in the former part, and the leaving him out of the late King’s will, which he said was procured by his enemies. He complained of his long imprisonment without any trial, and that articles of one sort after another were brought to him, so that it was plain he was not detained for any crime, but to try if such usage could force him to do any thing that should be imposed on him. He declared that what order soever were set out by the King’s council, he should never speak against it, but to the council themselves; and that though he could not give consent to the changes before they were made, he was now well satisfied to obey them, but he would never make any acknowledgment of any fault. The things chiefly laid against him were, that, being required, he refused to preach concerning the King’s power when he was under age; and that he had affronted

* Something like Rhadamanthus’s mode:—“*Castigatque auditque dolos.*” They deprived him first, and made enquiry afterwards.—EDIT.

preachers sent by the King into his diocese, and had been negligent in obeying the King's injunctions, and continued after all so obstinate, that he would not confess his fault, nor ask the King mercy. His crimes were aggravated by this; that his timely asserting the King's power under age, might have been a great means for preventing the rebellion and effusion of blood which had afterwards happened chiefly on that pretence, to which his obstinacy had given no small occasion. Upon this, many witnesses were examined, chiefly the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Wiltshire and Bedford, who deposed against him. But to this he answered, that he was not required to do it by any order of council, but only in a private discourse, to which he did not think himself bound to give obedience. Other witnesses were also examined on the other particulars; but he appealed from the delegates to the King in person. Yet his judges on the *eighteenth of April, gave sentence against him; by which, for his disobedience and contempt, they deprived him of his Bishopric."

It is to be observed, that Gardiner always insisted, that these proceedings in the King's minority, would produce such disturbances, that the King's supremacy had been sworn to, but that the council's supremacy was a new point, and this it was which he declined preaching to the people. But it was not deprivation alone that would content Gardiner's enemies, more especially since by his protestation he shewed plainly that he did not despair of having this matter reviewed, and therefore they went farther, as Strype tells us,† and on the next day the council made the following order, which he transcribed from the book. "For as much as it appeared he had at all times before the judges of his cause, used himself unreverently to the King's majesty, and slanderfully towards his council, and especially yesterday, being the day of his judgment given against him, he called his judges heretics and sacramentaries, they being there the King's commissioners, and of his highness's council; it was therefore ordered by the whole board, that he should be removed from the lodging he hath now in the tower, to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but one by the lieutenant's appointment, in such sort, as by the

* It should be the 14th of Feb. † Memorials of Archb. Cranmer, p. 225.

resort of any man to him, he have not the liberty to send out to any man, or to hear from any man. And likewise that his books and papers be taken from him and seen; and that from henceforth, he have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to write his detestable purposes, but be sequestered from all conferences, and from all means that may serve him to practise any way." But in process of time, very probably the rigour of this order might be dispensed with.

It is no wonder that the Romanists dwell so much on these proceedings, or that they are so slightly passed over by some of our own historians, because they are apparently indefensible upon any constitutional principles, and can only be excused in the lump, by alleging that all was done to gratify a party; lay open the rich Bishopric of Winchester to be cantoned amongst Clergy and Laity, so that Dr. Poynt had only the title and 2000 marks a year, instead of being possessed of the temporalities as his predecessors held them; and to keep an old man fast in prison, whom they knew not how to manage, out. For this, if considered in any other light, was by no means reconciliable to law of any kind, much less to any notions of liberty; since in effect it was delivering up both Church and State into the hands of a few ambitious and avaricious men,* who, when they had trampled on others, fell out amongst themselves about the spoil, and, by the natural consequences of their irregular administration, made way for their own destruction in the issue; as at the very time it revived the cause of Popery, and the hopes of Papists.

This, though a matter little regarded by modern writers, is in reality a thing of great consequence, in respect to the history of those times. Contemporary writers on both sides agree, that these proceedings of King Edward's ministers had this effect, and that those who were bigotted papists shewed their joy and satisfaction at these prosecutions. They drove some of the ablest and greatest men out of the Church, as Gardiner, Tonstall, and Day, who had shewn themselves very well affected to some of the principal points of the Reformation; and who, if they had gone on complying, as they would have done, would in time have both strengthened themselves and drawn in others.† Gardiner particularly had declared himself on

* Sir John Hayward's Hist. of Edward VI.

† This was once Archbishop Craumer's opinion.

the point of supremacy very fully; which they took the most effectual method to make him repent; he had acknowledged, that though men were married, they might continue priests, though, for prudential reasons, he thought that the marriages of clergymen should be discouraged, that they might live the better, and exercise greater hospitality out of their revenues. He was a strenuous advocate for the real presence in the sacrament, yet disclaimed transubstantiation, and was for the communion in both kinds. He wrote against treating images irreverently, but justified the taking them away upon due proof of their being abused. In reference to Justification, he declared himself clearly on his death-bed, but professed ☞ it ought to be taught with *caution* to the people, to prevent their falling into *fanaticism*, and running away with a notion, that if they believed in Christ they might be saved, though they did not live like christians. Sir John Harrington* therefore had reason to say, that he was a *Catholic Protestant*, or a *protesting Catholic*, that is, he had given such proofs of his willingness to adhere unto and proceed in the Reformation, that if he had not been treated as he was, he might have been highly serviceable; whereas, by these severe, and in some respects, irregular proceedings, King Edward's ministers actually provided instruments for Queen Mary, who otherwise might have found none, and furnished a colourable pretence for what was afterwards done against themselves.

Another injury that the Protestant religion received was in the spoiling the Bishoprics, which were thus rendered vacant, which was either done under colour of the King's authority, or by the persons who accepted them; and this countenanced the clamours of the Papists, that all was done out of temporal views, and that men *pretended a quarrel to the doctrines, that they might get at the lands of the Church.*† If there had been no cause given for these complaints, if the Bishop of Winchester had been encouraged to proceed as he did immediately after he came out of the Fleet, in officiating as the law directed,‡

* Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 43.

† It is hardly possible to help noticing the existence of a similar feeling in these our days, on the part of Catholics and Dissenters: and which is, probably, the true source of their discontent.—EDIT.

‡ Strype's Memorials, vol. III, p. 71.

and preaching the King's authority to remove what was amiss in the ceremonies and discipline of the Church, and the great men had shewn themselves as zealous Protestants in their lives, as they were in their professions, without carving for themselves estates out of what belonged to the Bishops' Sees, which had not been done in the time of Henry VIII., and which it was both unwise and unsafe to do in the time of a minority, all the troubles the nation suffered might have been avoided; the young King's uncles, and perhaps the young King himself, might have lived much longer; the unjust attempt to alter the succession, the consequences of which were so fatal to many noble and not a few innocent persons, would never have been thought necessary;* and the Reformation would have been so effectually established, that even the ecclesiastics would have been against alterations.

Bishop Gardiner himself very prudently laid the weight of the whole on the delegates who deprived him, and, by protesting and appealing to the King, shewed plainly that all the hopes of redress he had, lay in the crown, and must spring from the exercise of that supremacy to which they represented him as an enemy. He could not, however, avoid seeing, as he was a consummate statesman, that the politicians made tools in this transaction of the Prelates, and were making large steps towards such a depression of the Church, as would make it entirely dependant on the crown and its ministers, with such a shew of its ancient privileges as might enable those who commanded it to have an uncontrolable power over the legislature, which, how plausibly soever it may be defended by such as have an interest in it at the time, will be ever esteemed a dangerous thing by intelligent and impartial persons. Our ecclesiastical historians have been most of them aware of this,† but unwilling to own it, because they were afraid it might reflect on some of the great men amongst our first Reformers; whereas in truth nothing can do them so much service as setting this fact right, and shewing they were outwitted by persons who pretended zeal for the Reformation, and yet had no religion, or were Papists in their hearts. It is no wonder that they

* See Hayward, Godwin, and Heylin's Accounts of this reign.

† Fuller, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

were not politicians, much less is it criminal; on the contrary, their simplicity, in this respect, is their true and best excuse. All the blame that can be justly laid upon them is, that they ever suffered themselves to be drawn into schemes, the bottom of which they could not understand, or foresee the consequences.*

There is not any period in the English history, where one who searches for truth, finds himself more at a loss which road to take, than in the short reign of Edward VI.; and the reason is, because most of our historians have written systematically, and have laboured to reduce all the characters they met with, into such forms as might make them best suit with their respective plans. In some we find the Protector, Somerset, represented as one of the wisest, best, and mildest governors this nation ever had,† and brought to an untimely end by the artifices of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who is made one of the greatest monsters that ever lived. In others, that Duke is represented as a weak man, whom Dudley governed until he had made do so many exorbitant and unpopular things, as shewed him unfit to be trusted longer with the administration, and then took the government upon himself.‡ The truth of this matter is, they were both ambitious men, and both laboured to support their power by gratifying their dependants.

All the remaining part of this reign Bishop Gardiner remained in the same state, that is, a close prisoner in the tower, and yet not so strictly kept, at least all the latter part of the time, as the order of council seemed to require; for certain it is, that, in this space, he not only wrote many controversial pieces, but also composed a variety of Latin poems, and translated into verse several beautiful passages in the books of Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Testament.§ He also kept up his spirits all that time, and was wont to say very confidently, as either believing it or desiring to be thought to believe it, that he should live to see another turn, and another court in which he should be as great as ever.¶ On the death of King Edward no doubt he foresaw that

* Remarks on the Hist. of the Reformat. p. 31.

† See Holinshed, Burnet, Strype.

‡ See Hayward's Edward VI.

§ Tanner's Biblioth. Britanico-Hibernica, p. 309.

¶ Lloyd's Worthies.

turn was near, notwithstanding the new court set up in his neighbourhood for that unfortunate lady, Queen Jane. July 19, 1553, Queen Mary was publicly proclaimed by that very council which the day before owned the right of her competitor, and gave her the coarse and injurious title of bastard of Henry VIII.* On August 3rd, the Queen made her solemn entry into the tower, when Bishop Gardiner, in the name of himself and his fellow prisoners, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duchess of Somerset, the Lord Courteney, and others of high rank, made a congratulatory speech to her majesty, who gave them all their liberties.† On the 8th of the same month he performed, in the Queen's presence, the obsequies for the late King Edward, whose body was buried at Westminster, with the English service, by Archbishop Cranmer, the funeral sermon being preached by Bishop Day.‡ On the 9th, Bishop Gardiner went to Winchester-house, in Southwark, after a confinement of somewhat more than five years.§ On the 23rd he was declared Chancellor of England, though his patent did not pass until Sept. 21.¶ On October 5th, he had the honour of crowning the Queen,|| and on the 5th of the same month he opened the first Parliament in her reign.** By this time he was in possession again of his academical honours; for as at the beginning of his misfortunes the University of Cambridge elected in his place the Duke of Somerset, and on his fall the Duke of Northumberland; so when he fell they re-chose the Bishop of Winchester for their Chancellor, and restored him also to his headship of Trinity-Hall, then possessed by Dr. Mowse.†† At this juncture, the Bishop of Winchester, either through the Queen's esteem for, and confidence in, him; or, as some suggest, though without any great evidence, through the recommendation of Charles V., was possessed of a larger compass of civil and ecclesiastical power, than any English minister ever enjoyed, except Cardinal Wolsey; and in his management of this, in all its various branches, though taken from so

* Godwin's Annals, 1553. † Stowe's Annals, p. 613. ‡ Holinshed, p. 1089.

§ Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 20.

¶ Pat. I. Mar. p. 8.

|| Cooper's Chronicle, part iii. p. 361.

** Godwin's Annals.

†† Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 132.

long an imprisonment, and labouring under the weight of so great an age as seventy, his bitterest enemies must allow he gave indubitable marks of superior talents.* If contriving to accomplish, and that in a short time, things so great and difficult as to surpass all men's expectations, be, as the world seems agreed they are, sure signs of superior talents; it may perhaps be truly said, that Gardiner was the wisest and most fortunate, as Cecil was the worthiest and most steady, of English ministers. The greater part of Queen Mary's reign was full of uneasiness and misfortunes, but neither began until after the death of the Bishop of Winchester, whose administration was a perfect triumph, which must not be understood over his enemies, for that would be false as well as fulsome flattery, but over all the obstacles he met with, and never minister met with greater. August the 3rd, 1553, he was discharged from his imprisonment, and took his seat in the Queen's council, where he was Prime-Minister from the time he entered it, though he was not declared Chancellor until about three weeks after, and had not his patent until the time before-mentioned. He was a man of such comprehensive parts, that every thing was present to him; and, which is still more extraordinary, whatever he did, was so done, that it looked as if he attended to nothing else.

He saw the kingdom in great confusion, and the Queen surrounded by an army, but he loved not standing forces, and besides her coffers would not afford it: he disbanded them therefore, and provided for the Queen's security by paper. He penned first a proclamation for quieting people's minds in respect to the disputes in Church and State, forbidding the abusive words Papist and Heretic, speaking fair to both parties, and prohibiting any rash acts of loyalty, by injuring those who had been concerned in supporting Queen Jane. To prevent despair, and to give a high idea of the Queen's clemency, a pardon was granted to the Duke of Suffolk, who had persuaded his daughter to take the title of Queen, after he had been four days in the tower. The Bishop of Winchester had a conference also with the Duke of Northumberland, who it is said told him, he was desirous of living, if it were in

* Remarks on the History of the Reformation, p. 39.

a mouse-hole ; to which the Bishop replied, that instead of a mouse-hole, he would be glad to spare him one of his palaces, but that he would do well to prepare for the worst ; it is reported that he interceded for him to the Queen, but she was not inclined to spare him, and indeed it could not be expected.*

The Queen is said, by most of our historians, to have recommended three great points to the Bishop of Winchester's care, with equal concern, all of which were attended with almost equal difficulties ; the first was, the clearing the legitimacy of her birth, and annulling the divorce of her mother ; though this was apparently bastardizing her sister, and presumptive successor. The next was, restoring the old religion, and reconciling the nation to Rome, in the same manner as before her father's desertion. The third was, obtaining the consent of Parliament to her marriage with Prince Philip : which was so unpopular, that the former House of Commons prepared an address to the Queen not to marry a foreigner.† Amongst all the secret and open obstacles, which were not a few, that our Minister had to overcome in the prosecution of these measures, none probably gave him more trouble than getting over his own dislike to every one of them. The procuring the divorce was the first service he rendered the father ; and now reversing this divorce, and branding all who had been concerned in it, was the first service required by the daughter. He had also assisted, promoted, and defended, the King's supremacy, which made way for all that followed, as much or more than any in the kingdom, and had the reputation also of penning what was published in defence of that prince's marriage with Anne Bulleine, and all that happened thereupon, which was now to be condemned as null and illegal. Besides, so far as we are guided by unquestionable authorities, this seems to have been going greater lengths than he intended ; for hitherto he had not entered into correspondence with the Pope, or done any thing in ecclesiastical affairs but in virtue of the Queen's supremacy, an authority more agreeable to his system of divinity than that of the Roman Pontiff ; but in that particular

* Burnet, Strype, Echard, Father Persons's Warn-word, p. 43.

† See Strype and Burnet.

the Queen was inflexible, and her passion as strong to relinquish this title to the Pope, as her father's ambition was to take it from him.* The Spanish match crossed the mind of Winchester, as much as it did that of the nation; he foresaw that many troubles would follow from it, and that the Queen would enjoy none of that felicity with which she flattered herself in the prospect. But he well knew what a temper she inherited from her parents, and that she would find ministers enough to carry into execution all that she proposed; he knew of how great importance this was to the kingdom, and that the manner of doing these things was almost as material as the points themselves, since, if any means could be found to mitigate their malignity, it must be by a proper regulation of the conditions attending them.† Upon this consideration therefore, joined to a sense of his own danger from what was passed if a new revolution happened, he resolved to remain where he was, and employ his utmost skill to render the measures of Queen Mary's reign as beneficial to herself, and as little burthensome to her people, as in their nature they could be; though it is certain he was not able to prevent all the evil, or do all the good, he could wish.‡ The Convocation being assembled, he procured such questions to be moved there, as he judged conducive to the change he proposed to make; yet went no farther than declaring the Real Presence in the Sacrament, which made way for reviving the old service on the 21st of December.§ In Parliament he went the same pace, repealing, by a single law, nine acts passed in the reign of King Edward, all respecting religion; by which those who were of that religion, countenanced by Henry VIII., became as safe as they could wish, and even the grossest Papists were out of danger, yet not restored to power.¶ The Queen's legitimacy was established, the divorce declared null and void, the whole fault being thrown upon Archbishop Cranmer, against all truth and justice, since Gardiner had to the full as great a share therein as he, though now Chancellor of England and Prime-Minister, while the other was attainted of high-treason, by a bill passed this sessions; but to make that

* Fox, Fuller, Heylin. † Collier, Strype, Burnet. ‡ Sanders, Persons.

§ Journal of the Convocation.

¶ Remarks on the Hist. of the Reformat. p. 47.

venerable Prelate some amends, upon an humble letter acknowledging his fault in the business of Queen Jane, he received a pardon.* These extraordinary changes were wrought rather by address and fair speeches, than by violence or corruption, though some of our writers say the contrary. As to force, the Queen, a few guards excepted, had none; and her case as to money was the same, though the Bishop of Winchester was a frugal Minister.† But what seems to put corruption out of the question in this Parliament is, that, after all, the members could not be brought to relish the Queen's marriage to Don Philip, and therefore, the Chancellor advised the dissolving this assembly before the close of the year. And thus two of the three great points were accomplished. But much greater difficulties were to be surmounted before the third could be brought to bear. The marriage treaty was left entirely in the hands of Bishop Gardiner, and it is allowed he managed it very dexterously. He made use of the great reluctance shewn by the last Parliament, to procure such articles as might secure the nation against the ambition of Philip and his Spaniards; and foreseeing expences might follow upon this match, notwithstanding the hard bargain he had made, he procured, as is said, half a million sterling from the Emperor, to facilitate the approbation of a new Parliament. But while these preparations employed those in the cabinet, such as abhorred this match were contriving very formidable measures for its disappointment. Sir Thomas Wiat of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew of Cornwall, laid the plan of a deep and dangerous insurrection, in which the unfortunate Duke of Suffolk had just share enough to bring his own head, and, which was much more to be regretted, the heads of Lady Jane and her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley, to the block. The whole scheme miscarried by the ill management, and, to say the truth, the want of honesty in the chiefs.‡ Sir Peter Carew declared before the time fixed, and was easily subdued; this forced out Sir Thomas Wiat before he was ready. Yet he was very near carrying his point, and might have carried it if he had used less artifice; but he carried his declarations

* Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer.

† Fuller, Heylin, Strype.

‡ Burnet, Collier, Echard.

of duty to the Queen so high, that those who were in the first digestion of his enterprize were afraid to join him; so that at length his forces were broken, and he surrendered. Sir George Harper betrayed the whole conspiracy, and explained all the secret correspondences on which those who embarked in it had depended.* Sir Thomas also behaved meanly, and talked of discoveries to save his life. When he found that was impracticable, he recanted, and denied the truth of what he had said. But, notwithstanding this, some persons of the highest rank suffered deeply, either by his perfidy or pusillanimity; and it is one of the heaviest charges against the Bishop of Winchester, that he gave credit, or seemed to give credit, to these informations.†

All insurrections, when suppressed, are useful to those against whom they are raised, more especially when managed by men of parts and dexterity. None knew better how to procure or to use advantages, than Bishop Gardiner; and he so well managed men's hopes and fears, with every other help he had, that when the Queen's second Parliament met, April 2nd, 1554, it very soon appeared he might prevail on them to give a sanction to his measures, whatever they were. The terms of the Queen's marriage, as he settled them, met with very little opposition; and as for making severe laws against Heretics, it is allowed the Bishop had no other trouble than to restrain them, which in several instances he did. His own and the wiser Bishops' zeal, not flaming near so high as that of this House of Commons.‡ In the whole of his conduct through this Parliament, over which he had as much influence as Minister ever had, there was nothing done that was either unworthy of his station, or injurious to his country; on the contrary, foreseeing that some who had access to the Queen might make an ill use of her confidence, and engage her, by plausible promises, to countenance things every way beneath her, and dangerous to her subjects, he procured this to be put out of her power, by a short law drawn by his direction.

But when the great measures aimed at were once adjusted, the Chancellor supposing that what remained

* Stowe, Holinshed, Speed. † Burnet, Collier, Strype.

‡ Godwin, Burnet, Heylin.

for accomplishing the whole of the Queen's plan, might be compassed more effectually after the marriage, the Queen on the 5th of May came to the Parliament, and, having given her consent to fifteen bills, dissolved that assembly.* All obstacles to the marriage being now removed, and the circumstances of the house of Austria making it necessary to hasten it, King Philip put to sea, and arrived towards the close of July at Southampton, escorted by a considerable fleet, which however was obliged to pay homage to that of England in the narrow seas; such was the temper of those times, and the vigour of that administration.† He proceeded with a numerous train of nobility from Southampton to Winchester, where he was received, and splendidly entertained by the Bishop; on St. James's day, the tutelary saint of Spain, he was by that Prelate solemnly married to the Queen in the cathedral, the Emperor Charles V. resigning to him the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and many nominal sovereignties, upon the marriage.‡ In his way to London the King took Windsor, where he was installed Knight of the Garter, and made his entry into this capital on the 11th of August, 1554, with prodigious magnificence, and, like all new Princes, with universal acclamations.§ The Chancellor well knowing this fair weather would not continue long, resolved to avail himself of it while it lasted, and therefore called a new Parliament about the middle of November the same year. A very little after the session begun, Cardinal Pole came into England, not much to the real good liking either of the King or Chancellor. But the Queen being set upon it, and the new House of Commons having the same bigotted spirit with the old one, a solemn deputation was sent to fetch him over, Lord Paget and Sir William Cecil being two of the commissioners. His attainder, in the reign of the late King Henry VIII. was reversed with as much facility as it was made, and with much the same consideration.¶ To prevent his falling into the same inconveniency that Wolsey had done, he had a licence, under the Queen's broad seal, to execute his functions as the Pope's legate.

* Strype's Memorials, vol. III. † Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

‡ Godwin, Stowe, Speed.

§ Godwin's Annals.

¶ Strype, Fuller, Burnet.

When these advances had been gradually made, a supplication was presented from both Houses to the King and Queen, that the nation might be reconciled to the See of Rome; which being granted Nov. 30, 1554, the request of both Lords and Commons was signified in the presence of their Majesties, to his Holiness's legate, by the Lord High-Chancellor the Bishop of Winchester; when the Cardinal, after a long oration, solemnly absolved them, and received the people of England once more into the bosom of the Catholic Church.* By these gradations all things were brought back to their old situation; and the sanguinary laws, for repressing what they called heresy, revived and carried into execution. Thus the Bishop of Winchester paid the full price of his exaltation to the ministry, and obtained, in spite of all difficulties, all that the Queen had desired.†

But the joy ensuing on this was quickly troubled by the bloody persecution set on foot in almost all parts of the kingdom,‡ whether by the advice, and with the entire concurrence, of the Bishop of Winchester, as many historians affirm, it is but just should be largely discussed. We have more than once touched this matter of the strong imputations upon this Bishop, for his cruelty to the Protestants; indeed in most of our histories, his character is represented as very odious in this respect. In the first place we shall observe, that there is a double charge against him, that he was the author of the doctrine of persecution in Queen Mary's reign; and next, that he was active and zealous in carrying this doctrine into execution; with respect to the former it is very positively asserted, that when Pole advised the Queen to rely upon fair means for bringing men back to the Romish Church, to reform the lives of the Clergy, and to take other steps of the same mild nature; Bishop Gardiner opposed this, and prevailed so far, as to bring the Queen to consent, that the weapons of the law, rather than the arguments of the Gospel, should be employed to reduce Heretics to the Catholic Church. This Bishop Burnet having transcribed from others, adds, that *this advice proceeded from his own abject and servile spirit.*§

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. Vol. II.

† Heylin, Fuller, Burnet.

‡ Fox's Acts and Monuments.

§ Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II. p. 269.

With respect to particulars, he is charged to have condemned Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, who was burnt with great cruelty in Wales; the like accusation we find with respect to Dr. John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, with this aggravating circumstance, that it proceeded from private resentment for what Hooper had done against him in the former reign. To him, is chiefly ascribed the burning Father Latimer, once Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London; and he is farther said to have been a persecutor of Archbishop Cranmer, with a view of getting into his Archbishopric; and that it was no better motive than this, which afterwards engaged him to protect and prolong that prelate's life, in order to defeat the views and expectations of Cardinal Pole, and thereby gain time for himself to equal him in one, to deprive him of another, and to supplant him in a third dignity, by procuring from Pope Paul the Fourth, a Cardinal's hat with the Legantine Power, and his nomination to the See of Canterbury, which would indeed have rendered him not equal only, but superior to his master Wolsey. Besides these, there are many lighter imputations, such as his driving abroad the Duchess of Suffolk, and other Protestants of distinction, by his menaces; and his expressing the most violent resentment against the exiles in general, though he well knew that they only fled to be out of the reach of his severity.

After reporting fairly what has been asserted, in order to render the portrait of this great man as hideous and deformed as it is possible, we are obliged in justice to consider what may be said in extenuation, both of the general and particular charges, and in doing this, we shall content ourselves with appealing to the common sense and candour of the intelligent and attentive reader, and the authorities of Protestant writers; for as to the Papists, they exceed as much on the other hand, and bestow upon him praises as little consistent with truth, as the flaming invectives of some of his enemies, so that no man of an impartial disposition, can ever prevail upon himself to give an implicit belief to either. It is strange that the Bishop of Winchester should oppose the milder measures of Pole, when he came over vested with legantine power, considering, that before he had this, that Prelate himself was possessed of almost equal authority,

which he exercised in quite another manner. We have observed in the text, that the House of Commons in the second Parliament of Queen Mary's reign, expressed a furious zeal for the old religion, and had actually prepared a bill for reviving the old Law of the six Articles, the passing which was prevented by the dissolution of that Parliament when Gardiner was Prime-Minister.* Of this law the Protestants in general were so much afraid, that John Fox, in the name of the exiles, penned an epistle in Latin to the Parliament, in which he told them they had a Queen, who, as she was most noble, she was ready to listen to sound and wholesome counsel; and that they had a Chancellor too, who, as he was learned, so he was not of a rough nature, if uninfluenced by the counsels of others. His own words are very elegant and pathetic. *Porrò, habetis ad hoc Reginam, ut Nobilissimam, ita ad sana & salubria quæque obsequacem Principem. Habetis & Cancellarium, ut doctrina præstabilem, ita natura non improbum, si quorum absint concilia.* He goes on to insinuate, that as among animals there are some born to create trouble and mischief to the rest; so there wanted not of mankind, a race by nature turbulent and cruel, and formed to disturb and destroy, by their intrigues, both Church and State. It was from them therefore that Fox and his associates then dreaded those mischiefs that afterwards followed. But it is strange logic to infer, that because Bishop Gardiner, by a hasty dissolution of that Parliament, prevented that bill from passing, therefore he was the author of cruel counsels, and not the person, who by an Act of another Parliament, had the power of persecuting put into his hands.

Before the proceedings of the Protestant Bishops for religion, the Popish Prelates, who were to prosecute, went, not to Westminster, or Winchester-house, but to Lambeth,† where they received their instructions, and all the bloody things that were afterwards done, were done by commissions from the person, who is said to have given those mild counsels; and it is acknowledged, even by Bishop Burnet, who makes Gardiner the author of these cruelties, that he grew very soon weary of them, and refused to have any farther hand in them, reproaching

* Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 320. † Collier's Church History, vol. II, p. 379.

Bonner for his butcher-like disposition, in pursuing them as he did.* Would it not have been natural in Bonner and his associates to vindicate the Cardinal and themselves, by recriminating; and if they had done so, is it possible that the world should not have heard of it? besides, in another proceeding, when the prisoner charged the Bishops with misleading the Queen, and drawing her against her will to these severe courses, they very roundly asserted the contrary, and that themselves were rather compelled by her.†

Indeed, whatever is said from John Fox, of Gardiner's giving cruel advice, is in a good measure contradicted by what Strype delivers from the authority of records, and of the directions from Lambeth before-mentioned, which it is necessary we should produce for our own justification.‡ “In these instructions there are several strictures, that make it appear, Pole was not so gentle towards the Heretics (as the professors of the Gospel were then styled) as is reported, but rather the contrary, and that he went hand in hand with the bloody Bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the Bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of Inquisition, by him set up, whereby, not a man might escape that stood not well affected to Popery? I mean his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that in every place and parish in England were reconciled; and so, whosoever were not found in those books, might be known to be no friends to the Pope, and so to be proceeded against. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all that good opinion that men had before conceived of him vanished, and they found themselves much mistaken in him, especially seeing so many learned and pious Gospel Bishops and Ministers imprisoned, and martyred under him, and by his commission. Insomuch, that now the people spake of him, as bad as of the Pope himself, or the worst of his Cardinals.”

* Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 304.

† See the History of John Rogers's Martyrdom in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

‡ Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 346-47.

We will now proceed to the particular charges. As to Dr. Robert Farrar, the account given of him by Bishop Godwin, who lived in those times, and knew well what he wrote, is this.* “He was a man of a rigid temper and rough behaviour, which drew on him much trouble, even in King Edward’s days, and was now perhaps his destruction: for having been preferred to that dignity by the Duke of Somerset, after his death, this good and learned man, by the unhappy moroseness of his manners, which even bordered upon arrogance, raised against himself accusers. Two of these, who were Bishops afterwards under Queen Elizabeth, easily prevailed with the faction against Somerset, to get Farrar imprisoned. Thus being in custody at Queen Mary’s accession to the throne, he was brought before the Bishop of Winchester, and it is very probable, that by a little temper in his answers, and a discreet regard to the times, he might have saved himself, without wrong to his integrity, from the hands of bloody men, as several had done, who were not engaged in the cause of Lady Jane, nor had any other way affronted the patrons of Popery, whose flight was therefore connived at, or if they were taken, they were soon discharged again, at the intercession of their friends. But Farrar, swayed by his natural severity, and ungoverned passion, gave such bold and provoking answers to the Bishops, that it is not to be admired it went so hard with him.” It is therefore his commitment only, that is to be attributed to the Bishop of Winchester; for as to his trial, conviction, and the terrible cruelties afterwards exercised on him, they are to be placed to the account of Dr. Morgan, Bishop of St. David’s; however, from the foregoing account, it appears, that Bishop Godwin thought with John Fox, that Gardiner was not naturally ill tempered, and that a little civility, which certainly is not incompatible with Christianity, might have opened a passage for this Prelate to escape the flames.

In reference to Bishop Hooper, we are told by Strype,† that he was extremely hated by Gardiner, not only as an earnest reformer of religion, but for having been one of the witnesses against him in the time of King Edward,

* Life of Queen Mary, p. 349-50.

† Memorials, vol. III, p. 179.

For this, it is said, that he was exceedingly ill used in prison. Bishop Godwin gives another account of this matter; he says, that he had been very instrumental in procuring Bonner's deprivation,* and adds, which now probably proved his ruin, it is very likely from hence, that Mr. Strype put Gardiner for Bonner: and though he tells us afterwards, that he transcribed the circumstances he mentions from a letter of Bishop Hooper, in which he styles Gardiner, *God's enemy and mine*; yet as that letter is not placed in his appendix, we have no opportunity of seeing whether Gardiner is there mentioned by name, or whether the person to whom that character is given, is not left to be discovered from circumstances, which point us not to Gardiner but to Bonner. It cannot however be denied, that the Bishop of Winchester sat in judgment upon this Prelate, in the church of St. Mary Overie, near his own house, but then he sat as a commissioner, with twelve other Bishops; and though Mr. Strype does not insist upon what was said by any of the rest, yet he admits that Winchester both offered a pardon, and laboured all he could to convince Hooper, that nothing dangerous to his conscience was expected from him; which proposition he rejected with great disdain, and the Bishop of Winchester, as his commission obliged him, pronounced sentence.

In this, without doubt, he acted severely, and against the sentiments of humanity; but as things were circumstanced, it is not easy to see how he could act otherwise, or how the blood of Bishop Hooper, lay more at his door, than that of the other Bishops, or the blood of others put to death under colour of heresy, in the time of Henry VIII.; at the doors of such Bishops as afterwards changed their sentiments, and became martyrs for the same opinion that those held whom they formerly condemned. These were dismal and dreadful times, when a zeal, that was certainly not according to knowledge, prevailed strongly in the minds of men, and induced them, under the colour of promoting the Gospel, to act exactly in the same manner as the Jews did against those who first preached it. It may however be inferred from hence, that being a vice of the times, it ought not, with peculiar vehemence, to be

* Life of Queen Mary, p. 349.

ascribed to any particular man. Bishop Gardiner, to be sure, had his share in these barbarous proceedings, yet he had but his share, and ought not therefore to bear all the reproach.

Bishop Burnet says, that by this time he was convinced severity would not do, and that refusing to meddle any more with condemnations, he left them to Bonner.* Yet it was some months after this, that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford; with which, the Bishop of Winchester, is by the same writers, reported to be highly pleased, and to have been so eager to receive the news, that he delayed his dinner until the post came in; † which how well founded a report it is, we shall hereafter have occasion to enquire. In the mean time let it be observed, how the same writers vary this man's character, he had borne five years imprisonment in the reign of King Edward, besides the loss of his Bishopric and all his other preferments, rather than stoop to make a submission; and yet his advising these cruelties, is ascribed to his servile and abject temper, apt to be wrought on by the same means. Then he becomes a brutal persecutor, taking pleasure in the miseries and misfortunes, not only of his fellow creatures, but of some who had been his intimate acquaintance; yet the acts or judicial proceedings plainly prove, that he took all the pains in his power to persuade those who were tried before him to accept of pardon. At length, it is said, he was thoroughly distasted at persecution, because he saw it did not answer his end, but instead of drawing the people to, drove them from, Poperý; and yet we find him some months after, having a better stomach to the blood and slaughter of men, with whom he had lived before in intimacy, than to his dinner: this is not only to make him a bad man, but a beast, and those who would be inclined to believe him ever so wicked, will find it hard to reconcile this to his weakness, or that again to the great things which he performed, or the character he had with some of the best and wisest amongst the Protestants.

In respect to Cranmer, all that is said of the Bishop of Winchester's conduct towards him, is upon a supposition of the original author's sagacity, in judging of that Prelate's

* Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 304.

† Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 323.

thoughts, and penetrating into the secrets of his heart; for nobody has the confidence to say, that he owned he preserved Cranmer's life to spite Pole, or to get possession of his See, to which, by the way, Bishops of Winchester rarely aspire. Let us now hear a few things on the other side. Very soon after King Edward's death, a rumour prevailed, as if the Archbishop had changed his sentiments;* in answer to which, he drew up a kind of manifesto, which was published without his consent, by the indiscretion of his friends. Upon this, he was brought before the council where Gardiner presided, there he boldly owned the paper, said, he meant to have enlarged and strengthened it, and to have posted it upon the gates of St. Paul's. He was, notwithstanding this, discharged, contrary to all men's expectations, but by the Bishop of Winchester's advice; and if the Archbishop had followed the counsel of his friends he might then have withdrawn; we are farther assured, that Gardiner proposed removing him from his dignity, and allowing him a pension for his support in a private state of life. When he was attainted of high-treason by Parliament, for the share he had in Queen Jane's business, he had a pardon granted him. Such was the treatment of this great Prelate, while Gardiner had the sole direction of affairs; and after this, when the supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs was transferred to Cardinal Pole, he had still authority enough to preserve the Archbishop's life, and it is allowed he did preserve it, and there let the matter rest.

As to the Duchess of Suffolk, what is related concerning her, runs thus:† “This lady being most zealous for the Reformation in the reign of King Edward VI., Stephen Gardiner, after he was restored to his Bishopric of Winchester by Queen Mary, sent for her husband in the first year of her reign, and among some questions touching his religion, asked, *Whether the lady, his wife, was now as ready to set up mass as she had been to pull it down, when in her progress, she caused a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by his name?* whereupon, being advertised by his friends, that the Bishop meant to call the Duchess, his wife, to an account of her faith, and

* Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 304-5.

† Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1143-44.

foreseeing danger, he procured the Queen's licence to travel beyond sea, under colour of such debts as were due from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk, his lady's former husband. And having obtained it, passed the seas at Dover, in June the same year, leaving her behind, who, in January following, went disguised from her house in Barbican, and passing to Leigh, in Essex, privately took shipping, and after much danger met her husband in the Duchy of Cleves." If there was any thing harsh in what the Bishop said to Mr. Bertie, it must consist in putting him in mind of an action no ways suitable to that great lady's quality. It is not pretended, that the Bishop of Winchester, either impeded their retreat, or persecuted them after they were abroad; it is true, that some injuries were afterwards offered them, which obliged them to fly, with some hazard to their lives, but this was after the Bishop of Winchester was in his grave.

We are also told, that the Bishop frightened the famous John Fox* out of England, at a time, when he was tutor to the Duke of Norfolk's grand-children; but, as in this matter, all is ascribed to Fox's own suspicions, though it might be a reason why he did not easily forgive that Prelate, yet it ought not to reflect any stain upon his character. After all, what is here collected remains entirely under the censure of the reader, who in every case, without question, will distinguish which are facts, and which are conjectures.

Certain it is, that, to this time, our Prelate had not discovered any thing of this persecuting disposition. He is indeed reputed, by many of our historians, a great dissembler;† but in this, acted quite another part. In all public transactions he professed himself always of the same opinion with the council, and did not aim at screening himself from popular odium, by putting on a cloke of moderation. But, in all the trials, where, by virtue of Cardinal Pole's commission, he was obliged to be, he was exceedingly assiduous to shew the prisoners, that, in the matter of the Real Presence, which was most insisted on, they might easily save their lives, by complying

* See the Life of John Fox, written by his son, prefixed to the 2nd. vol. of his Acts and Monuments.

† See Fox's Acts and Monuments. And Fuller, Burnet, and Strype, from him.

with subscriptions drawn in very general terms; until, by foul language, they convinced him that he had to do with men who were as little to be wheedled as frightened out of their principles.* This surely proves that he was not desirous of severities, or persecuted for the sake of gratifying a cruel temper, or to revenge past injuries.† And that such Protestants as were of milder natures, and content to reserve themselves for better times, when driven to distress, were well received by him, and not barely screened, but encouraged and protected, without offering any violence to their consciences farther than locking them up, and committing the key to the custody of their own discretions, which I may very safely affirm is a point out of dispute.‡

There was, without doubt, very great confusion amongst those that had made a figure in the court of King Edward VI., and who were sincerely Protestants when they saw Queen Mary fixed upon the throne, and how strong her inclinations were to the Popish Religion. But, however, there were some very eminent men, who by behaving with great moderation and decency, preserved themselves from trouble, without making shipwreck of their consciences; and of these, not a few stood indebted for their safety, and something more, to the protection afforded them by the Bishop of Winchester. Amongst these was Sir William Cecil,§ afterwards the great Lord Burleigh, who had been twice Secretary of State, and of whom it was suggested, that he furnished the reasons of policy set forth in his master's will in favour of Queen Jane. Some troubles he met with, which were not very sharp, but lived afterwards not only in peace and honour, but might also have been secretary again if he would have complied; and though he declined this, because of the condition, yet it was without incurring the Queen's displeasure, or the loss of Gardiner's friendship, with whom he went over to Calais, in the last year of that Prelate's life, and remained upon perfect good terms with him to the last.

Sir Thomas Smith, who was also Secretary to King Edward, was, by the favour of Gardiner, permitted to

* As in the cases of Farrar, Hooper, and Latimer.

† Imputed to him by Fox and others. ‡ Strype's Life of Sir Thos. Smith.

§ From Cecil's own Diary.

live in a state of learned privacy, which he affected without any enquiry into his religious principles, and with a pension of £100. a year, which in those times was a considerable sum, for his better support,* though he had a good estate of his own. Yet both Cecil and Smith had formerly opposed the Bishop, one at court, and the other at the University, but without any thing of rudeness or asperity; which Gardiner was so far from remembering, that he treated them both with the utmost kindness and respect. We may add to these, the celebrated Mr. Ascham, another Secretary of the Latin tongue, continued in his office, as indeed he well deserved, and his salary increased by this Prelate's favour, which he fully repaid by those grateful and elegant epistles to him, that are extant among his works, which do equal honour to both, and which will be read with pleasure as long as there continues any taste for style or sentiment. But let us hear how honest Mr. Strype represents this matter, with respect both to Smith and Ascham, his words are these:†

“ This must be remembered to this Bishop's commendation, among the many evil things that asperse and blacken his name to this day. Nor must the like favour, or a greater, be forgotten by him, shewn to such another learned and grave Protestant friend, and contemporary with Smith: I mean Roger Ascham, which I must have leave to mention here. Whom the Bishop of Winchester did not only spare, but called to court, and preferred to be Secretary of the Latin tongue to Queen Mary. Whom for his learning in the languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean style and beautiful writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many benefits. And when Sir Francis Englefield, Master of the Wards and Liveries, a fierce Papist, had often cried out upon Ascham to the Bishop, as an Heretic, and fit to be rejected and punished as such, he never would hearken to him, either to punish him, or remove him from his place. Thus lived two excellent Protestants under the wings, as it were, of the sworn enemy and destroyer of Protestants, Ascham and Smith, to whom we now return again.”

The same plain spoken writer, in an account he gives

* English Baronetage, vol. III, p. 338. † Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 65.

us of the adventures of one Underhill, a gentleman of the band of pensioners, and a zealous Protestant, has the following passage, as to what happened when the Queen was going to be married:* “Then was there preparing,” says he, “to go with the Queen to Winchester: and all the books of the ordinaries were perused by the Bishop of Winchester and the Earl of Arundel, two great Papists, to consider of every man; and one would think Underhill should have hardly escaped now. Sir Humphrey Radcliffe, lieutenant of the band, brought unto them the book of the pensioners. Which when they overlooked, and came unto Underhill’s name, *What doth he here*, said the Earl of Arundel? *I know no cause why he should not be here*, said Radcliffe, who also was secretly a favourer of the Gospel. *He is an honest man, and hath served from the beginning of the band, and was as forward as any to serve the Queen in the time of Wyat’s rebellion. Let him pass then*, said the Bishop. *Well*, said the Earl, *you may do so, but I assure your lordship, he is an arch-heretic.* Thus he passed the brunt.”

This is a strange proof of our author’s position, that Bishop Gardiner was a *great*, that is, a *bigotted* Papist; and the ingenuous Dr. Fuller, has no less strange a proof of his being a most invenomed persecutor; perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see that too, thus then our ecclesiastical historian writes:†

“In the Diocese of Winchester, consisting of Hampshire and Surry, I find no great impression from Stephen Gardiner the Bishop, and much marvel thereat. It may be, this politician, who managed his malice with cunning, spared his own Diocese, fox like, preying farthest from his own den; indeed he would often stay behind the traverse, and send Bonner upon the stage; free enough of himself, without spurring, to do mischief, to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may say of Gardiner, that he had an head, if not an hand, in the death of every eminent Protestant: plotting, though not acting, their destruction. And being Lord Chancellor of England, he counted it his honour to fly at stout game indeed, contriving the death of the lady Elizabeth, and using to say, that it was vain to strike at the branches, whilst the root of all

* Memorials, vol. III, p. 65. † Church Hist. of Britain, cent. XVI. b. viii. p. 17.

Heretics doth remain. And this good lady was appointed for the slaughter, and brought to the shambles, when the seasonable death of this butcher, saved the sheep alive.

“ However, as bloody as he was, for mine own part I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner, and here I solemnly tender the same. It is on the account of Mrs. Clarke, my great-grandmother, by my mother’s side, whose husband rented Farnham-Castle, a place whither Bishop Gardiner retired, in Surry, as belonging to his See. This Bishop, sensible of the consumptionous state of his body, and finding physic out of the kitchen more beneficial for him than that out of the apothecary’s shop, and special comfort from the cordials she provided him, did not only himself connive at her heresy, as he termed it, but also protected her, during his life, from the fury of others. Some will say, this his courtesy to her, was founded on kindness to himself. But however, I am so far from detaining thanks from any deserved or just cause, that I am ready to pay them, where they are but pretended due on any colour.”

After the coming of Cardinal Pole, it is not impossible that the Archbishop of Canterbury being deprived, and he nominated to that See,* with the legantine authority in his hands, Gardiner might have less weight in ecclesiastical affairs, more especially if, as some say, Queen Mary considered him rather as a statesman than a priest, and looked on Pole as a confessor for religion, and a saint in morals.† If this was at all the case, Bishop Gardiner did wisely not to contend with him; for, besides the privilege of his high birth, and his dignity, it was visible enough that he would be supported by a great party amongst the Clergy, and the hot men in the House of Commons, who, by restoring the Pope’s supremacy, and reviving the laws against heresy, had made that cause their own. At least there is something so probable in this, and it accounts so well for the subsequent behaviour of the Chancellor, that it certainly deserves to be impartially considered.—Towards the close of the year, it was strongly reported, and indeed generally believed, that the Queen was with child, for which rejoicings were made,

* Collier’s Church History, vol. II, p. 371.

† Burnet’s History of the Reformation, vol. II, p. 242.

and prayers appointed for her safe delivery. The Chancellor made a right use of this wrong notion; he persuaded her majesty to set several prisoners at liberty, that had been near a year in confinement, and for that purpose went in person to the tower,* Jan. 18, 1555, and discharged the Archbishop of York, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Edward Warner, Sir George Harper, Sir William Saintlow, Sir Gawin Carew, Sir Andrew Dudley, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, John Harrington, Esqrs., Mr. Tremain, and others. One of these had a little before taken the liberty of expostulating with him very freely, notwithstanding which he had (beyond his expectations perhaps) his liberty amongst the rest. His son [Sir John Harrington] has given us, in an account of this adventure, some passages† relating to Bishop Gardiner, very well worth notice. The person hinted at, is Sir John Harrington, of Kelston, who wrote for the use of Henry Prince of Wales, a kind of supplement to Bishop Godwin's Catalogue of English Bishops, and gives us therein an account of Bishop Gardiner's sending his father to the Tower, for carrying a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and obliging that Princess to discharge his mother for being a Heretic; but notwithstanding this, the reader will find he was no bitter enemy to that Prelate, but rather inclined to treat him, as a gentleman should, with impartiality and candour. Thus he writes,‡ after transcribing some of the hard things that had been said of Gardiner, by the martyrologist Fox and others.

“ Yet that I speak not at all in passion, I must confess, I have heard some as partially praise his clemency and good conscience, and namely, that he was cause of restoring many honourable houses overthrown by King Henry the Eighth, and in King Edward's minority. The Duke of Norfolk, though Mr. Fox saith, that Gardiner made him stay long for his dinner one day, yet both he and those descended of him, were beholden to him, with the House of Stanhope's, and the Lord Arundel of Wardour; and I have heard old Sir Matthew

* Stow's Annals, p. 626.

† Harrington's Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 43.

‡ Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 46, 47, 48.

Arundel say, that Bonner was more faulty than he, and that Gardiner would rate at him for it, and call him ass, for using poor men so bloodily; and when I would maintain the contrary, he would say, that my father was worthy to have lain in prison a year longer, for the saucy sonnet he wrote to him from out of the Tower; which sonnet, both because it was written in defence of Queen Elizabeth, and because, if I be not partial, it is no ill verse for those unrefined times, and toucheth the matter I enforce; I will here set down, pre-supposing, that in the eleven months before, he had sent him many letters and petitions full of reason, that could not prevail for his liberty. The distressed prisoner writeth this rhyme:”

I.

At last withdraw your cruelty,
Or force the times to work your will;
It is too much extremity,
To keep me pent in prison still.
Free from all fault, void of all cause,
Without all right, against all laws.
How can you doe more cruel spight,
Than proffer wrong and promise right?
Nor can accuse nor will acquight.

II.

Eleven months past and longer space,
I have abid your divelish drifts;
While you have sought both man and place,
And set your snares with all your shifts;
The faultlesse foot to wrap in wile,
With any guilt by any guile:
And now you see that will not be,
How can you thus for shame agree,
To keep him bound you can set free?

III.

Your chance was once as mine is now,
To keep this hold against your will;
And then you sware you know well how,
Though now you swearve, I know how ill.
But thus the world his course doth passe,
The Priest forgets a Clerk he was;
And you that then cry'd justice still,
And now have justice at your will,
Wrest justice wrong against all skill.

IV.

But why doe I thus coldly plaine,
As if it were my cause alone;
When cause doth each man so constraîne,
As England through hath cause to moane?
To see your bloody search of such,
Whom all the earth can no way touch,
And better were that all your kind,
Like hounds in Hell with shame were shrin'd,
Then you had might unto your mind.

V.

But as the stone that strikes the wall,
 Sometimes bounds back on th' hurler's head ;
 So your foul fetch, to your foul fall,
 May turn and noy the breast that bred.
 And then such measure as you gave,
 Of right and justice look to have,
 If good or ill, if short or long,
 If false or true, if right or wrong,
 And thus till then I end my song.

The three months next ensuing, Bishop Gardiner was employed in carrying the laws lately revived against Heretics into execution, and sat often (to his eternal disgrace), by virtue of a commission from Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate, at Winchester-house, Southwark, to examine such as were brought before him.* Yet we are told that he soon grew weary, and would proceed no farther, upon which this cruel and invidious task was put upon Bonner ; neither was it long before he grew relax, until quickened by orders from the council, and other measures.† The Queen, or it may be the Chancellor, foreseeing that sooner or later the nation might be obliged to take part in the war between the Emperor and the French King, if it continued, it was resolved to send over commissioners of the highest rank, to a sort of congress that was to be held at Calais, in order to mediate a peace.‡ Cardinal Pole went over on behalf of the Pope ; the Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Arundel, and Lord Paget, on the part of the Queen of England.§ They departed May 18, 1555, and while they were employed in this negociation the Pope died, and the Queen wrote most pressing letters to her commissioners, to engage the powers with whom they were treating to consent that Cardinal Pole should be raised to the Papal dignity.¶ But neither in this, or any thing else, could her ministers succeed ; and therefore, after a fruitless stay of some weeks, at a great expence, returned June, 26.|| During the Chancellor's absence, the great seal was put into the hands of William, Marquess of Winchester ;** and from

* Strype's Memorials, vol. III, p. 231.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 311. ‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 626.

§ Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 310.

¶ From the Queen's Letter on this occasion. || Cecil's Diary.

** Holinshed's Chronicle, vol. II, p. 1286.

the council books it appears, good use was made of it for stirring up the persecution ; for quickening of which, writ after writ was issued, and letters directed to the nobility and gentry, as well as clergy, exciting them to give their attendance, with their servants, at the burning of Heretics;* *so that we see this cruel flame raged most when the Bishop was abroad, and grew still higher after his death.* Upon his coming home he declared plainly he would have no farther hand in severities, and therefore those apprehended in his Diocese were removed into that of London, and so put under the jurisdiction of Bonner,† who in a short time fell off again, and had fresh reprimands from the King and Queen for his relaxation and lenity. We may, from these instances, perceive that some made their court to the Queen by promoting those cruel proceedings, and that they were neither pressed, nor could be impeded, by the Bishop of Winchester.‡ In matters of government his influence was still without diminution, and according to his advice a Parliament was summoned to meet in October;§ for it was one of his maxims, to have short sessions and frequent Parliaments. He had projected some additional security for Church and Abbey lands, which, by a well-timed address from the Convocation to the Cardinal, which he put into his hands himself, he had in some measure preserved to all who possessed them ; and this project was afterwards brought to bear by his friend Mr. Secretary Petre.¶ October 21, 1555, he opened the session with a judicious speech ; and was there again on the 23rd, which was the last time of his appearing in that assembly.|| Towards the close of this month he fell ill, and continued to grow worse and worse to the 13th of November, 1555, when he departed this life, about the age of 72.** As to the time of his decease the dispute is not great about it, but the manner of it is far from being settled.

In those times, such was the eagerness and heat of most writers, that scarce any extraordinary person went to his

* Strype, Burnet, Collier. † Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II. p. 153.

‡ Remarks on the Hist. of the Reformat. p. 191. § Godwin's Annals.

¶ Strype, Burnet, Collier. || Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II. p. 320.

** From an original Letter of Mr. Crych, to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

grave without a prodigy. In that great Chronicle which goes under the name of Holinshed,* though in the latter editions there was much added by Abraham Fleming, we have the following passage inserted from John Fox, and the reason that we take it from thence is, because this Chronicle being chiefly consulted by the abridgers of English History, the substance of this passage has been often retailed to the world for an undoubted truth.

“ During this session of Parliament, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England, died, at his house called Winchester-palace, beside St. Mary Overie’s, in Southwark, Nov. 9, whose corpse was shortly after solemnly thence conveyed to his Church of Winchester, and there buried. The manner of whose death why should I blush to blaze as I find it by report. One Mistress Monday, being the wife of one Master Monday, secretary some time to the old Lord Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified thus, openly reported in the house of a worshipful citizen, bearing office in this city, in words and effect as followeth. The same day when as Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer suffered at Oxford, being about the 19th of October, there came to the house of Stephen Gardiner the old Duke of Norfolk, with the aforesaid Monday, his secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged Duke there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the Bishop being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time until 3 or 4 o’clock at afternoon. At length, about 4 o’clock, cometh his servant posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the Bishop what he had heard and seen, of whom the said Bishop diligently enquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the Duke. Now, saith he, let us go to dinner; whereupon they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the Bishop began merrily to eat; but what followed: the bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God his terrible hand fell upon him, in such sort as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed, where he continued the space of fifteen days in such intolerable anguish and torments,

* Holinshed’s Chronicle, vol. II. p. 1130.

that all that mean while, during those fifteen days, he could not avoid by ordure, or urine, or otherwise, any thing that he received; whereby his body being miserably inflamed within, who had inflamed so many good martyrs before, was brought to a wretched end. And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue, so swoln and black with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted, and beholden, of all such bloody burning persecutors. But whatsoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord therefore; not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past, in perverting his princess, in bringing in the six articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, &c., as also, especially, for that he had thought to have brought to pass in murdering also our noble Queen that now is. For whatsoever danger it was of death that she was in, it did no doubt proceed from that bloody Bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain, which we have heard, that her highness being in the tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is out of controversy that wily Winchester was the only Dædalus and framer of that engine. Who no doubt in that one day had brought this whole realm into woful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious council, through Master Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the Queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices. For the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English Churches, Amen."

There are many exceptions to the truth of this account, which, in common justice to this Prelate's memory, ought to be mentioned. Strype very justly observes, that both the time and place of his death are mistaken; since he did not die on the 9th. but on the 13th of Nov. at two in the morning; neither did he die at Winchester-house, but in Westminster.* Yet Strype does not observe another

* Memorials, vol. III, p. 270.

mistake, which is that of the day when Latimer and Ridley suffered at Oxford, which was not the 19th of October, but the 16th; so that here is at least a week gained towards making the judgment more probable. Then the suppression of urine is expressly said to have continued 15 days; whereas, according to his manner of stating it, it must have lasted 21 at least; and had the story been true, and the dates rightly placed, it must have lasted 27.

This, however, is not all; the Bishop of Winchester, as Chancellor, opened the new Parliament October 21st, and was there again on the 23rd, a week after the death of the two martyrs; at whose death it is not likely he should rejoice, if what Heylin says be true, that he studied to prevent it.* One of the exiles abroad, who laboured to expose Gardiner all in his power, charges him with straining his authority, in offering Latimer a pardon without the knowledge of the Queen or council.† But to come closer to the point, the old Duke of Norfolk, who waited so long for his dinner, as his secretary reported, who waited with him, died in the month of September, 1554, that is, *thirteen months before this transaction happened.*‡ His death was a thing of great notoriety, the Queen and court, out of respect to his memory, going into mourning. One would think that Fox might have known this as well as another, since he lived long in that Duke's family, and went abroad but a very little before his death.

In reference to the latter part of this account, it may not be amiss to observe, that the honest and impartial historian, John Speed, who was furnished with the best materials from some of the most considerable persons in this kingdom, ascribes the ill usage of the princess Elizabeth, and the advice given to take her off, to the Lord Paget;§ and asserts, that King Philip was ever after diffident of him, and those of his party. A certain Popish writer does indeed pretend to let us into the secret of the affair; he says, that Sir Thomas Wiat's plan for an insurrection was sent to the lady Elizabeth in a bracelet; that this was discovered by the Bishop of Winchester, but

* Hist. of the Reformat. p. 227. † New Book of spiritual Physic.

‡ Strype's Memorials, vol. III, p. 200-1. Echard's Hist. of Eng. p. 320.

† Chronicle, p. 228.

that that he pushed it no farther than to persuade her to submit herself to the Queen. But the silence of Camden, in the account he gives of her sufferings before her accession to the crown, as to all these facts, leaves them not a little doubtful.

It must be acknowledged, that Fox is not only the author that has given the manner of his death the air of a judgment, for John Bale* goes even farther than he, affirming that he was informed by a letter written from England, "that his disease was *hydrops acidus & prodigiousus scabies*, a sharp dropsy and prodigious leprosy, taken, as was commonly reported, by drinking or whoredom. For he had indulged much to both those vices in his life-time.† In his sickness he stunk like a jakes, his breath not to be endured, his body distended, his eyes distorted and turned inwards; during his illness he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and inexpressible torments," &c. He likewise adds, that he left £30,000. in ready money behind him, besides plate and rich furniture.

Dr. Thomas Cooper, who was himself Bishop of Winchester in Queen Elizabeth's time, and published his Chronicle within five years after Gardiner's death, sets it down simply, and without any of these strange circumstances.‡ He charges the death of Latimer and Ridley expressly upon Cardinal Pole; and though he gives a very particular account of the ill usage of the lady Elizabeth, yet he does not ascribe it in the least to Gardiner. Bishop Godwin§ asserts that he died of the gout. Dr. Fuller,¶ as we have seen, ascribes his end to a consumption. In a book compiled by the direction of Archbishop Parker,|| he is also said to have died of the gout or rheumatism; the lower parts of his body being mortified, smelt very offensively. We are told by Bishop

Strype's Memorials, vol. III, p. 281.

† It will be recollected that, this is an assertion without even the shadow of proof. This mode of consigning a man to infamy, however obnoxious his tenets as a Romanist, is uncandid and ungenerous in the extreme.—EDIT.

‡ Chronicle, fol. 371.

§ De Præsulibus Angliæ, p. 237.

¶ Church Hist. cent. XVI. p. 17.

|| Antiq. Britan. Eccles. p. 517.

Burnet,* “he had great remorse for his former life; and Day, Bishop of Chichester, coming to him, and comforting him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ, he answered him, he might speak of that to him, or others in his condition, but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell altogether. He often repeated those words, *Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro*: I have erred with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter.”

He died at the royal palace of Whitehall,† about one in the morning; and about three the same morning, his body was carried over to Winchester-house, from whence the funeral was performed.‡ His death was a great loss to the Queen his mistress, who found no minister that could manage her affairs so well, or keep her on so good terms with her Parliaments, from whom, during his administration, she received nothing, but lived upon the settled ordinary revenue of the crown, with some help it may be from the treasure brought over by King Philip. But this course was speedily altered, and from that hour dissatisfaction and complaints began.§ The clergy had also a great loss in him; they depended much on his wisdom, and no less on his experience, but most of all on his caution and due regard for the law, by which they might be kept out of the reach of a premunire; nor did he deceive their expectations in this, taking care while he lived that Cardinal Pole should do nothing within this realm, but by authority under the broad seal of England as well as that of St. Peter.¶ Those who were affectionate to that government had a great loss in him, for he kept things together; and, by steering steadily and keeping a good countenance, Ⓜ preserved a degree of *respect* which can never be preserved where there is a *fluctuation of councils*.

His pen also was of no small use, since in polemical writings he was inferior to none of his contemporaries, and with one party (few have it with more) had a high reputation for learning from the many books he had penned.

It is, without doubt, a very difficult task to attempt

Hist. of the Reformat. col. xi. p. 320.

† Then called York-place.—EDIT. ‡ Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 229.

§ Godwin, Heylin, Strype. ¶ Memorials, vol. III.

giving the reader an account of the writings of this Prelate; some few of them indeed were published with his name, and concerning them there is no dispute. Others are without any name, and yet there are good reasons to induce us to believe they fell from his pen; and others again have the names of other men set before them, though they were in reality penned by this Bishop. We will, however, manage the matter as well as we can, and give the reader as just and as correct a catalogue of his writings, as the best enquiry we could make has put in our power.

The first piece published by our author, was his treatise *De vera Obedientia*, (i. e.) Of true Obedience, Lond. 1534, 1535, 4to. at *Hamburgh* in 1536, 8vo. with Bishop Bonner's epistle prefixed, in which several strong things are contained against the Pope's supremacy, and in support of the King's divorce from Queen Katherine. We have before told the reader the nature of this work, which induced the author to speak rather as an orator than as a logician; yet some of his arguments are not easily answered, though delivered with great plainness and moderation. He suggests, that the policy of the Church, in every kingdom, was partly spiritual and partly temporal; that, with respect to the former powers, they came from God; and for the latter, since they could not be executed without the consent, so it is impossible they should come but from the civil magistrate. He urges, that princes lose their sovereign dignity if they are not supreme in all causes over their subjects, and that therefore their supremacy makes a part of their sovereignty; when therefore novelty is objected to this doctrine, he says it goes no farther than this, that a new term is employed in speaking of an old right. *He positively asserts, &c. that St. Peter's supremacy cannot be proved by Scripture*;* that the Bishopric of Jerusalem was yielded by him, and the rest of the Apostles, to St. James, the brother of our Lord; and that if, on particular occasions, St. Peter acted as chief of the Apostles, it was owing to the deference they had for his extraordinary conduct and courage, which being personal qualities, could not convey any right to

* This, from so staunch a Romanist, and so able a man, speaks volumes.—EDIT.

his successors. In the close he puts an objection against himself: it might be said there was no agreement between his book and his practice; he had undertaken to press obedience, and failed notoriously in that branch of his duty. He had engaged his subjection to the court of Rome, sworn submission to the Pope and his successors, and solemnly obliged himself to defend the privileges and jurisdiction of the Apostolic See. He received his episcopal character by the Pope's consent, and was consecrated by his mandate; and yet, after all these ties and assurances, he *ventured to write against his supremacy*, and renounce him in the most public manner. To take off the imputation of falsehood and perjury, he observes, than an engagement against *right* is by no means *binding*. For an oath was never intended a bond of iniquity, and a bar against repentance. He illustrates his case by a husband's marrying a second wife, the former living, whom, after the best enquiry, he concluded dead. Thus he continued undisturbed in his second marriage: and when his first wife returned from a foreign country, and challenged him for her husband, he denied the relation. But after she had made out her claim by legal proof, he lived with her again, and dismissed the second. This instance the Bishop applies to his own case. He thought the Pope's authority unquestionable at first, and submitted accordingly. But when truth appeared he found himself mistaken, and therefore ought not to be charged with breach of faith for altering his measures. There were many other editions of this work, and a translation into English, printed abroad in Queen Mary's time, by one Dr. Turner, with a most vindictive preface before it; as also some additions, with intent to expose the Bishop's inconstancy, who had now submitted again to the Pope.

Palinodia dicti libri; that is, *A Retraction of the foregoing work*; when or where published we cannot say.

A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christianman, set furth by the Kynges majestie of England, &c. Lond. by Thomas Barthelet, 1543; this, as we have said before, was published with royal authority; and Strype, in giving us the history of this piece, which was the system of religion in King Henry's time, allows the Bishop of Winchester but a very small share in it; yet, in King Edward's time, Archbishop Cranmer was for yielding him the whole merit of the work; and

his report was so much credited, that John Bale put it into the catalogue of our author's writings, in which he has been followed by Bishop Tanner; yet there is a passage in the declaration, concerning the life and actions of the Archbishop, written by his Secretary Mr. Morris, still preserved in Benet College Library at Cambridge,* which is not very consistent with this account, and which is reported here only to shew how very difficult a thing it is to come at certainty, with respect to matters of fact, even from those who one would think must have been best acquainted with them.

“At which time, says he, the book of articles of our religion was new penned; for even at that season, the whole rabblement, which he took to be his friends, being commissioners with him, forsook him, and his opinion and doctrine. And so leaving him post alone, revolted altogether on the part of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. As by name, Bishops Hethe, [Heath] Shaxton, Day, and all other of the meaner sort. By whom these so named were chiefly advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this sudden inversion, notwithstanding God gave him such favour with his Prince, that book altogether past by his assertions against all their minds. More to be marvelled at, the time considered, than by any reason to compass how it should come to pass. For then would there have been laid thousands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he should, before that synod had been ended, have been shut up in the tower, beside his friend the Lord Cromwell. Howbeit, the King's Majesty having an assured and approved affiance, both of his deep knowledge in religion, and fidelity both to God and him, suspected in that time other men in their judgments, not to walk uprightly nor sincerely. For that some of them swerved from their former opinions in doctrine; and having great experience of the constancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drove him all along to join with the said Lord Cranmer, in the confirmation of his opinion and doctrine against all the rest, to their great admiration.” When the Bishop of Winchester was in Germany, with the title of ambassador from Henry VIII. he had several conferences with the learned Bucer, upon different points,

* This declaration is a very curious piece, and deserves to be printed entire.

which afterwards occasioned warm writings on both sides, some of which were published, and others not.

In 1550, Archbishop Cranmer published a book intitled "A Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, with a confutation of sundry errors concerning the same; grounded and established upon God's holy word, and approved by the consent of the most antient doctors of the church." In this book he mentioned the Bishop of Winchester by name, as one of the greatest writers amongst the papists; with which this Prelate was so much offended, that he thought himself obliged to write an answer, as he did under this title, "An explication and assertion of the true Catholic faith, touching the most blessed sacrament of the altar, with the confutation of a book written against the same:" which was printed abroad in 1551, and the Bishop of Winchester endeavoured to make the world believe that his writing this book was one great cause, or rather the principal cause, of the severe proceedings against him; which, however, was peremptorily denied by the Archbishop, who not long after published another piece, under the following title: "An Answer, by the Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and sophistical cavillation, devised by Stephen Gardiner, L.L.D. late Bishop of Winchester, against the true and godly doctrine of the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ. Wherein is also, as occasion serveth, answered such places of the book of Dr. Richard Smith, as may seem any thing worthy the answering. Also a true copy of the book written, and in open court delivered, by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one word added or diminished, but faithfully in all points agreeing with the original." To this, Gardiner replied in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a divine of Lovain, giving his book the following title, *Confutatio cavillationum, quibus, sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, ab impiis Capernaïtis impeti solet.* Printed at Paris, 1552. This piece he composed while a prisoner in the tower, which is the reason of our affirming that the order for debarring him the use of pen, ink, and paper, must have been relaxed; and to this the Archbishop, during his own confinement, wrote a large and copious answer, which he did not live to finish.

Bishop Gardiner managed this controversy also against Peter Martyr, and others who espoused the cause of Crammer; and it was for these writings of his, that he was in those days magnified by the Papists, as a most zealous Catholic; and disliked and dreaded by those of the Church of England, as a warm and irreconcilable enemy; whereas, in truth, *he admitted the Communion to be given in both kinds*, and, being allowed to put his own sense upon the words, would have subscribed to what was established about the Sacrament. After the accession of Queen Mary, finding himself attacked with the utmost violence and virulence by several of the exiles abroad, and particularly by Dr. Turner,* who wrote several treatises on purpose to expose and abuse him; as Dr. Poynt likewise did, who succeeded him in the title of Bishop of Winchester, when he was deprived, to which he wrote replies; and is also said to have corrected at least, if he did not compose, Dr. Martyn's book against the married Clergy.

He likewise preached two very remarkable sermons in that reign: the first, Nov. 13, 1554, at Paul's Cross, to a very numerous audience, in which he placed the new opinions, as he called them, in a very bad light, attributing to them all the extravagant and unjust things that had been done under the reign of King Edward. In this sermon he took shame to himself, and acknowledged that he had erred too as well as the rest, with a great deal more to the same purpose. In the second part of his sermon he gave a high character of King Philip, whom he represented as a prudent, gentle, and temperate prince, exhorting the people to behave well towards him, by which they might gain him, and all that he had brought with him; which some say alluded to his money that had been carried publicly to the tower, in order to ingratiate him with the populace. Thus much is certainly true, that, by the marriage articles which Gardiner framed, that prince was allowed to bring what riches he pleased into the kingdom, but was restrained from carrying out specie, bullion, or jewels.

The Bishop's second sermon was likewise preached at Paul's Cross, Dec. 2nd, following, on account of the nation's returning to communion with the See of Rome.

* See his article in Bale and Tanner.

His text was,* *Knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep, &c.* From these words, amongst other things, he observed, that when King Henry VIII. was pressed with a rebellion in the North, he resolved to return the Pope his Supremacy. But this resolution came to nothing. *The hour was not yet come.* For had the matter gone forward under such circumstances of difficulty, some would have said the King had been overawed into justice. After this, Gardiner and Knevet were sent ambassadors to the Emperor, to request his mediation for bringing the Pope and the King to a good understanding, and to smooth the way for renewing the former correspondence between them: *but the time was not yet come:* for the juncture might have made the King's measures misunderstood, and interpreted his compliance to reasons of state. In the beginning of King Edward's reign the business of reconciliation was moved, but neither was that *a proper time:* for the King being then a child, he could not have had a share in the submission. In short, he told them, this was the time which Providence seemed to have reserved for so great a blessing.

There are likewise extant in the first edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, several letters of the Bishop of Winchester to the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, with the Duke's answers to some of them; as also other letters of his, to different persons; we might add to these, several other little pieces, but to avoid prolixity, and in order to bring this long article to a speedy close, we will refer the curious reader to Bishop Tanner's accurate catalogue, with this observation only, that whereas he mentions two penitent letters to Archbishop Cranmer, published by Strype, as if they were written by the Bishop; that is plainly a mistake, for they were written by William Gardiner, one of the Prebendaries of Canterbury, who, about the year 1543, was engaged in a base design of aspersing the Archbishop, for which he seems to have been very penitent.† It is not impossible that this man's name might occasion other mistakes, and prove the handle for objecting to the Bishop of Winchester, his being so

* Rom. xiii. 11.

† Tanneri Biblioth. Britannico-Hibernica, p. 309. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, in the Appendix, p. 69-70-71.

deeply concerned in the several plots formed about that time against the Archbishop.

The letters of the Bishop of Winchester to Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Cheke, against the new pronunciation of the Greek language, are most of them extant; in which it was Roger Ascham's opinion, that though these learned Knights shewed themselves better critics than our Prelate, yet his letters manifested a superior genius, and were chiefly liable to censure, from his affecting to enter farther into a dispute of this kind than was necessary for a person of his dignity. On the whole it may be truly affirmed, that if he had not entered into business so early, or had not been so much employed as he was in political affairs, he might have established a great reputation for his knowledge in polite literature, which was certainly very extensive; and so much a master he was of foreign affairs, that in the latter part of King Henry's reign they were compelled to consult him, though unwilling to confide in him.

Under Queen Mary he shewed his great abilities in this science so highly useful to ministers, by his masterly conduct in the management of the Spanish match, and by his keeping the friends of King Philip, so long as he lived, from involving the English nation in a war with France, against which he had expressly provided in the last article of the marriage treaty. It is also believed, that notwithstanding he could not prevail with Queen Mary to retain the title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, or prevent her submitting to the See of Rome, yet he gave her such notions of her own rights, and of the necessity of opposing Papal encroachments, as induced her after his death to act with so much spirit as she did, when an attempt was made to send over a Legate who was unacceptable to her, merely because her politics happened not to be very consistent with those of the court of Rome at that juncture; though in all probability, had he survived, that quarrel would have been prevented, since it was owing to the Queen's deserting his maxim, and embracing her husband's foreign interests against her own.

The freedom taken in displaying his character from the evidence of facts, and supporting what is advanced by the clearest authorities, might in some degree dispense with our offering to sum up at the close, what has been in a great measure insisted on through the whole article,

But the length of it will not suffer such an omission, lest an unwary reader should take his sense from a part, and not from the whole ; which on that account it is necessary, as well as expedient, should be contracted into one point of view, and therefore his conduct in different stations shall be clearly and candidly, though not copiously, stated.

Character. The only certain way of collecting men's characters, is from their actions ; it is true, these are not always uniform, but neither is the mind of man, we must take them as we find them, and be content to follow the evidence they give, instead of suborning them to testify to the notions we have conceived. If we consider Stephen Gardiner in this light, we must allow him great parts, since he raised himself, and that, to the highest stations. We must also own, that he had many good qualities, not only because it is impossible that he should have risen without them, but because the proofs we have seen, in the foregoing memoir, are such, as will not, suffer it to be disputed. He was learned himself, and a lover of learning and learned men ; he was grateful to his master, Wolsey, in distress ; to the memory of his royal master, Henry VIII., when he was dead ; to the Duke of Norfolk, when himself was exalted to power. He was of a generous and liberal disposition, kept a good house, and brought up several young men, some of which, became afterwards Statesmen, Peers, and Privy-Counsellors, Secretaries of State, and Chancellors. He had courage, which enabled him to stand against all his enemies, in the time of King Henry, and bore him up through a long course of misery and misfortunes in the succeeding reign, neither did it forsake him in the last period of his life, since, in point of vigour, as well as prudence, his administration is as conspicuous as any in our records, and the more so, since from the day of his death, his mistress's affairs went wrong, and the public confusion became so great, as to break that Princess's heart, the force and credit of the nation being long before broken.

He had great address in conciliating the minds of men, which plainly appeared by that attachment which some of the greatest statesmen in all respects, had to his personal advice for almost forty years together, as well as by his interest with foreign princes, of which he availed himself upon all occasions. But his greatest virtue was public spirit, which he shewed in maintaining the rights of his

College, preserving the revenues of his See, and, above all, in preventing the projects of Philip from taking place, circumscribing the power of the Queen, when he found it might be dangerous to the constitution, and obliging Cardinal Pole to accept a commission under the great seal, for executing his legantine power, by which the Papal authority, when restored, was still in a condition of restraint.

He had his vices, and his bad qualities too, for what man, what minister, has them not? His envy appeared in his crossing the designs of Cranmer, in the reign of King Henry, and if he really drew the articles against the Protector Somerset, it is a proof that he was vindictive. He had certainly a great measure of pride, and his ambition was boundless, to which, if we add what most writers bestow on him plentifully, a refined dissimulation, we shall perhaps have a tolerable notion of the dark, as well as the bright side of this character. As to his religion, he seems to have been more a Protestant than a Papist in his principles, but with a great regard to *the authority of the Church*, from whence arose his unwillingness to reform hastily; he considered the mass of the people as grossly ignorant, and therefore he thought that some allowances were to be made them, from an apprehension, that if they were suddenly taught to contemn what they had long revered, it might render it very difficult to make them revere any thing; Cranmer was honest and open, hated priestcraft and superstition; Gardiner was close and circumspect, afraid of novelties, and suspicious that anarchy would ensue from affording a premature countenance to foreign opinions; this difference in their sentiments, had, as might well be expected, a strong influence on their fortunes, exposed Cranmer to sufferings, and Gardiner to misrepresentations.

To enter more thoroughly into his merit, let us consider him in the University, the Church, and the Court, since in the different scenes of his life, he was in some measure supreme in all. He loved an academical life, had a true notion of its advantages, and was very desirous of promoting them to the utmost extent of his power. Dr. Fuller, speaking of Trinity-Hall,* ranges

* History of Cambridge, p. 48.

the great men produced by that foundation, in four classes, Masters, Benefactors, Writers, Bishops, and we find Gardiner's name in every one of them. The Duke of Somerset, when Protector, would have had him resign that house into the hands of the crown, giving out, that from his affection to the civil law, he was inclined to erect a college for promoting that study, and to endow it with the revenues of that foundation, and of Clare-Hall. "Most politic Gardiner, says my author, not without cause, suspecting some design or casualty might surprise the interval between the dissolution of the old, and the erection of this new foundation, civilly declined the motion, informing his Grace, that the way to advance the study of the law, was by promoting the present professors of that faculty (now so generally discouraged) and not by founding a new college for the future students thereof, seeing Trinity-Hall alone, could breed more civilians than all England did prefer according to their deserts." This, as the same writer observes, cost Gardiner his mastership, but saved the foundation.

He was no less tender of the privileges of the University as Chancellor, than of the welfare of that Hall of which he was Master, this fully appears from Ascham's letters to him, even when the Protector had supplanted him in that office, so much the University depended upon his friendship, when necessity obliged them to deprive him of his power.* Upon the turn of the times, and his coming again into that office, he purged it thoroughly, turning out all the masters except two, yet some kind things made amends for this, if there was any injustice in it, for Queen Mary made a considerable grant to Trinity-College, and the Chancellor, by the help of his Vice-Chancellor, and another famous instrument of his, Dr. Andrew Perne, preserved that seat of the Muses from the flames of persecution. Cardinal Pole, who succeeded Gardiner, and was Chancellor at once of both Universities, began his administration at Cambridge, by burning the dead bodies of Martin Bucer, and Paul Fagius, which had remained quiet in their graves during Gardiner's time, though Bucer was his opponent; yet our Historians say, Gardiner was a furious persecutor, and Pole a very mode-

* Aschami Epistolæ. .

rate man, to which we should have no exception, if he had burnt only dead bodies.

As Bishop of Winchester, we find him always very considerable; he was able to do much in Convocation, and more in Parliament. Such as are disposed to see with their own eyes, and not trust to the reports of historians, will find abundant proofs of this, by resorting to the remains of the journals of both assemblies that are still preserved; and the further evidence of this is, the extraordinary care that was taken to exclude him from both, during the whole reign of King Edward. In this, those who loved the Reformation concurred, as fearing his abilities; and the courtiers assisted them therein, as being thoroughly acquainted with his resolution. They knew that no See in England afforded richer plunder than Winchester; and they knew in that point, that no Bishop in England was more inflexible than Gardiner, but being once heaved out, they made no doubt of cutting many pretty estates out of the lands of this Bishopric; and we have elsewhere shewn that in this they were not mistaken; but as this is a point of very great consequence, and as at the beginning of the article, we gave the reader Gardiner's picture drawn by the hands of his successor, Bishop Poyntet; so here we will give a detail of Bishop Poyntet's administration, as Mr. Strype* has drawn it from records, which will shew what those apprehensions were, that made Bishop Gardiner so stiff in his opposition, and what concessions the great men in power exacted for the countenance they gave to the reformation, to which we may in a great measure ascribe the turn that happened upon the accession of Queen Mary.

“ In the month of May, 1551, when Poyntet was made Bishop of Winchester, after the deprivation of Gardiner, a great alienation was made of the lands and revenues antiently belonging to that Bishopric, according as it was required of the said Poyntet, when he first came to the see, or rather conditionally to his preferment thither. Then he passed away to the King the manors of Marden, Twyford, Marwel, Waltham, &c. in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, lordships, tenements, rents, &c. and, in effect, all the temporalities of that rich

* Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 272-73-74.

Bishopric. And to make all sure, letters were dispatched to the Dean and Chapter, to confirm the grant of the said Bishop, by their full consent and seal of the Chapter, as in that case, by the order of the laws, is required and accustomed. Then did the King give to the Bishop and his successors, in consideration of the said Bishop's surrender, a great many rectories, as that of Bremmer, and of the chapel of Charford and Hale, and the rectory of Regborn, in the county of Southampton, and divers other lands, to the value of two thousand marks, to be held in *liberam eleemosynam*, and to take the profits from Michaelmas last. He granted him moreover, for some recompence for all this taken away, that his first fruits, which before were charged in the King's books at three thousand eight hundred eighty-five pounds, three shillings, three-pence half-penny farthing, should be now reduced to two thousand marks, and that for his tenths, from henceforth he should be taxed at two thousand marks and no more, to be paid yearly; that he should have ten years space to pay his first fruits in; that bonds should be taken for payment from the Bishop only, without sureties to be bound with him; and that all the bonds and writings for the first fruits of his former Bishopric, viz. of Rochester, should be delivered him up, which the King forgave him. And for the putting all this into effect, a warrant was issued out to the chancellor, treasurer, and council, and to all others being officers of the court of first fruits and tenths. The King also gave him a licence to enter into his Bishopric, and to take the profits thereof, without paying any thing therefore, notwithstanding a statute made in that behalf, in the twenty-sixth of Henry the Eighth, the import whereof was, that no spiritual person should enter upon his benefice before he had paid the first fruits, or given bond and security to pay them. A pardon also was granted him of all pains, penalties, and sums of money that might be forfeited and due to the King, for entering into the Bishopric of Rochester, contrary to the said statute. The King soon gratified his servants with the lands and manors of this Bishopric, viz. to Sir John Gates, the manors of Sutton, Ropley, &c. in Southampton and Surry, of the yearly value of one hundred forty-five pounds, nineteen shillings, nine-pence half-penny; to Sir Philip Hoby, the manors of Marden, &c. in the county of Southampton, of the yearly value of eighty-seven

pounds, eighteen shillings, seven-pence ; to Sir Andrew Dudley, the manor of Witney, &c. of the yearly value of one hundred eighty pounds, seven-pence half-penny farthing ; to Sir Henry Seymour, lands to the yearly value of one hundred eighty-six pounds four-pence ; to William Fitz-Williams, the manor of High-Clere, &c. to the yearly value of eighty-four pounds, seventeen shillings, three-pence ; to Henry Nevyle, the manor of Margrave, &c. to the yearly value of one hundred fourteen pounds, eighteen shillings, ten-pence ; Sir Thomas Wroth, had also an annuity of one hundred pounds. And for the further confirmation of this alienation made by the Bishop of Winchester, it was thought requisite to have it allowed and consented to by the Dean and Chapter under their seal. Whereupon, in August, a letter was sent to Sir John Mason, knight, that he should repair to Winchester, and agree with the Bishop to meet them there at a certain day, and to cause all the Canons, Prebendaries, and others whom it concerned, to assemble in the Chapter-house, for confirming the said lands before Michaelmas next, and to advertise the council the next day, that order might be given to the King's learned counsel to be there at the same time. And a letter was sent to this Bishop, in behalf of the city of Winchester, namely, to take order, that the city and citizens, and their successors, might be freed from their suits and services heretofore made to that court, called the Palm Court, and all other liberties he had to the same, clearly exonerated and discharged by his sufficient writing under his seal, and confirmed by the chapter seal according to his promise."

We see that it was not either doctrine or ceremonies that produced Gardiner's deprivation, he would have consented to the one and complied with the other, though at the same time he professed, that more alterations were made than he could approve ; but spoiling his Bishopric was a thing to which he would never have yielded. *☞ He judged the Christian Church with the supremacy placed in the crown, to be a necessary part of the English constitution, and for that reason was for preserving it ; and when he afterwards recovered this see, he made use of the law to recover its revenues. But how right soever his conduct might be in this respect, his compliances were certainly wrong in the reign of Queen Mary, because he acted contrary to his own knowledge. However he might*

solve to himself the restoring the Papal power, and reviving the sanguinary laws, without which, it could not be supported; it is impossible to justify him, nor will any honest and ingenuous man attempt it; but that he acted in many things unwillingly, and under that necessity which he had brought upon himself and the nation, by complying with Queen Mary's bigotry, is apparent enough from his actions, which though they excuse him in some instances from cruelty, yet that very excuse demonstrates, that he acted against his principles, in procuring that power for others, which was executed with such unchristian rigour and severity.

Some of our historians urge in favour of Cardinal Pole, that he was under no necessity of putting Cranmer to death, in order to come at the Archbishopric, since that was conferred on him by the Pope,* before the burning of his predecessor. If this was really so, then the suggestion that Bishop Gardiner preserved Cranmer's life out of spleen to Pole, and from private views, must be also ill-founded, and his preservation of him as long as he lived, may be therefore referred to a better motive. But still, his reconciling the English nation to the obedience of the See of Rome, which was plainly his act and deed, is as indefensible as ever. Whatever compassion he might have as a man, he shewed little of the piety or prudence of a christian Bishop in that action, the worst without doubt of his whole life, though not the worst spoken of, even by Protestant historians.

His behaviour as a Minister of State in the reign of Henry, is far from being unexceptionable. His soliciting the divorce of Queen Katherine, at home and abroad; his carrying Cranmer to the King, applauding his advice, and taking upon himself to carry it into execution at Cambridge, if done contrary to his sense of things, as there is great probability it was, cannot be either defended or excused. His reversing all this by an Act of Parliament, and throwing the whole odium upon Cranmer, Bishop Burnet says,† shewed he had lost all sense of shame, and a man must want either conscience or understanding who does not think so. His advising Queen Mary to acts of lenity at her entrance on the government,

* Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. II, p. 391. † Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 254.

was certainly very commendable. His soliciting her to restore what the crown had taken from several noble families, such as Norfolk, Arundel, Stanhope, and Hungerford, and the provision for restoring in blood, the Earl of Devonshire, and the son of the Duke of Somerset, highly laudable; his excluding foreign influence from English councils, and his preventing a Spanish prince from being placed on the English throne, were essential services to his country; his attention upon all occasions to the spirit of the constitution, in preference to every thing, and particularly, both to royal and ministerial power, is worthy of praise and imitation.

It might be thought a strange omission, if we should say nothing of the charge that was brought against him of corrupting Parliaments, as it is mentioned by several eminent historians, but the asserting boldly, or transcribing a fact often, is no kind of evidence. We find nothing of it in the earliest historians, who wrote in the succeeding reign; and there is nothing brought to justify it, excepting what has been said of King Philip's bringing over a large sum in ready money. As to the Parliament, particularly insisted upon, which is the second of the Queen's reign, and as to which it is surmised, that he gave pensions to several of the members, there is a matter of fact that strongly contradicts it, and it is this, that this Parliament did not continue full two months, meeting on the second of April, and being dissolved on the twenty-fifth of May. Now it is natural to believe, that if this minister's influence, which was indeed very great, had been built upon corruption, he would have continued that Parliament; for it is not the custom of those who give wages, to be content with such short service, more especially when a Parliament was again called the very same year. Besides, the Spanish money was not then arrived.

We may add to all this, that our Prelate had less occasion to bribe, because he asked no supplies. It is usual to wet the sucker before the hand is applied to the pump: but it would be a mere waste of water if there was no intention of pumping. The ministers who followed him in that reign stood in need of that vile expedient, and practised it; but they steered by other maxims than Gardiner had done, and knew not the art of managing Parliaments by beginning with constitutional bills, and thereby putting them in a good humour, or of being

contented with a moderate share of success, and not pushing too many government points at once, which were the principal arts he used.

In this respect he was perfectly happy, that he died before he found himself under the necessity of altering his conduct, or of forfeiting the reputation he had acquired, by unwarrantable compliances. We are now at such a distance from the time in which he lived, and are possessed of so many public and private papers, that open to us the whole circle of his conduct, at the same time that all partiality or prejudice is, or ought to be, removed, that we may look on ourselves as free, as well as competent judges of it. To this, if the pains taken in the present article shall any way contribute, it will fully answer the only end for which they were taken, by recommending a critical examination of our history, with an unbiassed regard to truth and the constitution.

The fashion of those times allowed more to exterior expressions of funeral sorrow than ours, and by entertaining the eyes of the vulgar with a lugubrious spectacle* of a great man's last journey, impressed on their minds a greater degree of reverence than could be wrought by words. As this is a point not altogether unworthy of observation, and as we rarely find ceremonies of this kind so clearly, so circumstantially, and so methodically set down as these are, we judge it not altogether amiss to give them a place, as a sort of feature of that age, when there was more attention paid to sight than to all the rest of the senses, and more money bestowed, and more diligence used, in setting out such a solemnity, than without such a detail as this could be easily imagined.

In all probability, the reason of removing the Bishop's corpse so hastily, was to have it in the proper place where these funeral honours might be paid, since at the court, where he died, it would have been very improper. By five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, his bowels were buried before the high-altar, in the parish church of St. Mary Overie's; at six, the knell began, and a *Dirge* and *Mass*, all the bells continuing to ring until seven at night. Nov. 14, began the knell again; there was then a hearse adorned with four branches of gilt candlesticks,

* Stow's Annals, p. 627

two white branches, and three dozen of staff torches. The choir was hung with black, and coats of arms and escutcheons: *Dirge* sung that evening; the next day, Mass of *Requiem* was sung by Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London, many prelates, noblemen, knights, and gentlemen being present; after which, Dr. White, Bishop of Lincoln, ascended the pulpit, and preached the funeral sermou, this over, they went to Winchester-palace to dinner. The same day in the afternoon, was *Dirge* sung in every parish in London, with a hearse and ringing of bells, and the next day, a Mass of *Requiem* and prayers, according to the fashion of those times. On the 21st of the same month, about noon, began the knell, when the body was brought to the church of St. Mary Overie's, attended by all the Bishops who were then in town, and by a great number of the Clergy; the Bishop of London performed the funeral service, and wore his mitre; before the corpse, went the king at arms in his coat, and five banners of his arms, and four images wrought with gold and jewels. On the morrow were said three Masses, one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and one of *Requiem*; after which, the company repaired to dinner at Winchester-palace, and the body was deposited in a vault, until it could be carried to Winchester. On Feb. 24, following, the obsequies of this Prelate were celebrated after the following manner. In the afternoon, began the knell at St. Mary Overie's, and ringing. After that began the *Dirge*. A pall of cloth of gold, and two white branches, and two dozen of staff torches burning, and four great tapers. The Lord Montacute, the chief mourner, and the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Sir Robert Rochester, comptroller, and divers other attendants in black, and many black gowns and coats. And the morrow, Mass of *Requiem* and offering done, began the sermon; and so Mass being done, all repaired to a dinner at Lord Montacute's. At the gate, the corpse was put into a chariot with four horses all covered with black. Over the corpse, an image resembling the deceased, with his mitre on his head, with five gentlemen, bearing five banners of his arms. Then followed 100 men in gowns and hoods. Then two heralds in their coat-armour, Garter and Rouge Croix. Then came men riding, carrying torches burning, in number 60, about the corpse all the way. Then came the mourners in gowus

and coats, to the number of 200, afore and behind ; and ceasing, and there they had a great torch given them. And so through every parish until they came to Winchester. And as many as came to meet them had money given them. And a *Dirge* and Mass at every lodging.* All these ceremonies being over, the corpse was interred according to the Bishop's last will, as Bishop Godwin tells us, on the north side of the high altar in the Cathedral, in a tomb, answerable to that of Bishop Fox, on the other side.† Many poetical compositions, both in Latin and English, were published on the demise of this great Prelate ; the most bitter invectives against him may be found in Bale, who seems to have taken particular pleasure in the abuse of him ; on the other hand, Mr. John Morwen, who was fellow of C. C. C., Oxford, wrote an elegant Latin poem in honour of his memory, in which there are many facts, as well as much panegyric. Sir John Harrington, whom we have before mentioned, deals very fairly by him and the public, by preserving a poem highly in his commendation ; and that piece, according to the custom of those times, reversed into a most outrageous satire. It had been well, if authors on both sides had confined their partiality and their prejudice, to poetical compositions only, and left history untainted with them, we should then have been able to have made this article much shorter, as well as more satisfactory.

Many intrigues were set on foot at court, on this great Prelate's death, about filling his places, which occasioned some delay in disposing of them. The great seal was in the mean time put into the hands of Sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolls, and on New-year's-day following, given to Dr. Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York.‡ In the Chancellorship of Cambridge he was succeeded by Cardinal Pole,§ who had some inclination to have held his Bishopric of Winchester too *in commendam* ; but at length it was given to Dr. White, Bishop of Lincoln, the modest Cardinal contenting himself with a pension of £1,000. a year out of the revenue, for the support of his dignity.¶

* Strype's Memorials, vol. III, p. 229-30.—p. 225-86.

† De Præsulibus Angliæ, p. 237.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of the Reformat. vol. II, p. 321. § Cat. Cancell. Cantabrig.

¶ Godwin. de Præsul. Angliæ, p. 237.

As to the Mastership of Trinity-Hall, Dr. Mowse, who took it as a good Protestant in King Edward's time, was now become so good a Catholic as to take it again in Queen Mary's time; and in the days of Elizabeth had a Prebend of York bestowed on him, being once more become a Protestant.* As to the private estate of Bishop Gardiner, he disposed of it by will, of which his two old friends,† Sir Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute, and Dr. Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, were the executors.

[Here ends the re-print taken from the *Biographia Britannica*].

Fuller in his quaint style thus records Gardiner in his *Worthies*, under Suffolk, vol. II. p. 331, edit. 1811:—

“Stephen Gardiner was born in Bury-St.-Edmunds, one of the best airs in England, the sharpness whereof he retained in his wit and quick apprehension. Some make him base son to Lionel Widville, Bishop of Salisbury, which I can hardly believe, Salisbury and St. Edmund's Bury being six score miles asunder. Besides, *time* herein is harder to be reconciled than *place*. For, it being granted an error of *youth* in that Bishop, and he, vanishing out of the world in 1485, Gardiner must in all probability be allowed of greater age than he was at his death. [He is generally said to have died at the age of 72, in the year 1555, which was just 70 years after the death of Bishop Widville.]

It is confessed by all that he was a man of admirable parts, and memory especially, so conducive to learning, that one saith, “*Tantum scimus, quantum meminimus.*” He was bred L.L.D. in Trinity-Hall, Cambridge, and after many state embassies and employments, he was by King Henry VIII. made Bishop of Winchester. His *malice* was like what is commonly said of *white powder*, which surely discharged the bullet, yet made no report, being secret in all his acts of cruelty. This made him

* Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 400-1.

† Godwin, de Præsul. Angliæ, p. 237.

often chide Bonner, calling him *Ass*,* though not so much for killing poor people, as not for doing it more cunningly.

He was the chief contriver of what may be called *Gardiner's Creed*, though consisting but of *six articles*, which caused the death of many, and trouble of more protestants. He had almost cut off *one* who was, and prevented *another* from ever being a Queen. I mean *Katherine Parr* and the Lady *Elizabeth*, had not Divine Providence preserved them. He complied with King Henry VIII. and was what he would have him: opposed King Edward VI. by whom he was imprisoned and deprived; acted all under Queen Mary, by whom he was restored, and made Lord Chancellor of England.

He is reported to have died more than half a Protestant, avouching that he believed himself and all others only to be justified by the merits of *Christ*; which, if so, then did he verify the Latin proverb—

Sape Olitor valde verba opportuna locutus.

“The *Gardener* oft times in due season,
Speaks what is true and solid reason.”

He died at Whitehall, of the gout, Nov. 12, 1555, and is buried by his own appointment, on the north side of the choir, over against Bishop Fox, in a very fair monument. He had done well, if he had paralleled Bishop Fox (founder of C.C.C. Oxford) in erecting some public work, the rather because he died so rich, being reported to have left 40,000 marks in ready money behind him.

However, on one account, his memory must be commended, for improving his power with Queen Mary to restore some noble families formerly depressed. My author (Sir John Harrington) instanceth in some descendants from the Duke of Norfolk, in the Stanhopes, and the Arundels of Wardour Castle. To these give me leave to add, the right ancient family of the *Hungerfords*, to whom he procured a great part of their patrimony seized on by the crown, to be restored.”

Lodge in his *Illustrations*, gives the following concise outline of this Prelate's life:—“After having travelled with the Duke of Norfolk's sons, he became secretary to

* Sir John Harrington, in the Bishops of Wint.

Cardinal Wolsey in the business of the Chancery, and was recommended by that Prelate to the King, who employed him in several embassies to the principal courts of Europe, and at length appointed him a secretary of state. He negotiated at Rome the critical affair of Henry's divorce, and though a bigotted Catholic, of which he left many bloody marks, renounced the Pope's supremacy on oath, having been not long before promoted to the Bishopric of Winchester. This hypocritical concession kept him in favour till towards the end of this capricious reign; when having been discovered in a plot against Queen Katherine Parr, on account of some conscientious scruples entertained by that honest lady in matters of faith, he was suddenly disgraced, and Henry struck his name from the list of his executors. Soon after the accession of Edward VI. he was deprived and committed to the tower, for opposing the progress of the reformation; and remained a prisoner till the King's death, when Mary restored him to his Bishopric, and made him Lord Chancellor. He was a prime actor in the scenes of horror which followed, and had scarcely received the intelligence of the burning of Ridley and Latimer, for which he had waited with the utmost anxiety, when he was seized with a strange distemper, which carried him off in the second week of November, 1555."

A biographer of a singular cast, who wrote about a century after Gardiner's death, gives us a part of that Prelate's original character in the following original terms:—"His reservedness," says Lloyd, "was such, that he never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, never intended what he said, and never said what he thought: whereby he carried it so, that others should do his business when they opposed it, and he should undermine theirs when he seemed to promote it: A man that was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew, backward: if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not."—Page 102, 1791.

Sir John Harrington in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. I. from page 48 to 53, draws this Prelate's character at length. He has chiefly drawn his sketch from Fox's martyrs: a portion of what he has said, has been embodied in the preceding memoir.

Stow, in speaking of St. Overie's Church, observes, "The Church of the Priory of St. Mary Overy, was

purchased of the King by the inhabitants of the borough (Southwark.) Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winton, putting to his helping hand, they made thereof a parish church, for the parish church of St. Mary Magdalen, on the south side of the said choir, and of St. Margaret-on-the-Hill, which were made one parish of St. Saviour."—*Hist. Lond.* vol. II. p. 11.

Archbishop Crammer being at the accession of Queen Mary a prisoner in the tower, on a charge of high treason, Bishop Gardiner had the "*honour*," as Milner terms it, of performing the ceremony of crowning her in 1553. He was also, says the same writer, "*pitched upon*" to bestow the nuptial benediction on Queen Mary and Philip of Spain, in the chapel of the Queen's patroness, the Virgin Mary, now the Morning Chapel, where the chair is still shewn on which the Queen sat on this occasion.

It is impossible to help smiling at the *naiveté* and *sang froid* with which the Roman Catholic Bishop Milner, the historian of Winchester, touches upon the executions which took place by Bishop Gardiner's orders. The following are his words:—"Gardiner who had originally only voted for the persecutions carried on in this reign in a limited degree, *fancying*, that *a few capital punishments* would have the effect of making the whole nation of one religion," &c. &c. This truly is an amusing specimen of Catholicism: and shews *in how flippant a manner the STAKE is treated by Romanists of the 19th Century.*

Synopsis of some of the principal Dates connected with this Prelate.

Born 1483.

Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1525, being then L.L.D. *Le Neve Fasti*, p. 426.

Archdeacon of Norfolk, March 1, 1529, 20 Henry VIII. *Le Neve Fasti*, p. 220, and *Regist: Bishop Nyx*.

Archdeacon of Leicester, installed March 31, 1531. *Le Neve Fasti*, p. 164. Incorporated D.C.L. at Oxford, 1531, 23 Henry VIII, *Wood's Fasti*, I. p. 88, and *Rymer's Fœd.* vol. XIV. p. 429; resigned it Sept. the same year, and was succeeded by Edward Fox, afterwards Bishop of Hereford; *Wood's Fasti*, vol. I. p. 83.

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, 1531. Temporalities restored Dec. 5, consecrated the same day. Ditto, p. 287.

Ambassador to France, 1533.

Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, 1538.

Wood's *Fasti*, vol. 1, p. 390.

Committed prisoner to the Fleet, Sept. 25, 1547.

Liberated the same year.

Sent to the Tower, June 30, 1548.

Deprived of the Bishopric, 1550. Rymer's *Fœd.* vol. XIV. p. 429.

Liberated from the Tower and restored to his Bishopric 1553, 1 Queen Mary. *Ibid.*

Lord High Chancellor of England, eod. an.

Died Nov. 12, 1555; (of disury, as some say, while others say of gout.)

I do not find that this Prelate ever had the cure of souls. His name occurs not as Incumbent of any Living in any work I have examined.

Wharton, in general so accurate, is in the present instance in error, when he asserts (*Angl. Sacr.* vol. I. p. 319) that the Bishopric of Winton had been vacant four years between Wolsey and Gardiner. I find no authority for this; on the contrary, all the ecclesiastical records concur in fixing his succession at 1531, while Wolsey's death, as we have seen, took place at the close of 1530.

Portrait.—The portrait of this Bishop is thus noticed in Granger: "Stephanus Gardinerus, episc. Winton. Holbein. p. R. White, sc. h. sh." The print of Gardiner, which was engraved for Burnet's "*History of the Reformation*," has been taken for Bishop Horne's,* from the circumstance of the arms; but Mr. Thomas Baker observes, that Bishop Horne's arms were without a chevron: and the portrait of Gardiner seems to answer to the description of his person quoted by that learned gentleman from Poyntet, in the appendix of papers at the end of Burnet's *History*, vol. III. p. 411. But see an exaggerated description of Horne's person in Pit's "*De illust. Angl. Scrip.* p. 797." Of this Bishop, Granger thus proceeds:—"Stephen Gardiner, Lord Chancellor and Prime Minister in this reign, [Mary's] was distinguished for his extensive learning, insinuating address, and profound policy; the master piece of which, was the treaty of

* Robert Horne was the first Protestant Bishop of Winchester. Vide vol. 2 of this work.—EDIT.

marriage betwixt Philip and Mary, which was an effectual bar to the ambitious designs of Philip. His religious principles appear to have been more flexible than his political, which were invariably fixed to his own interest. He was a persecutor of those tenets to which he had subscribed, and in defence of which he had written. He was author of a treatise, "De vera obedientia," and had a great hand in the famous book entitled "The erudition of a Christian man." He also wrote an "Apology for Holy Water, &c. Ob. 1555."—*Biog. Hist. Engl.* vol. I. p. 160.

It has been a question whether Bishop Gardiner's persecution of the Protestants proceeded from a sanguinary disposition and gloomy bigotry, the characteristics certainly of Queen Mary, or from motives of policy, on a conviction that the principles, deemed heretical were incompatible with the good order and stability of civil government; be that as it may, towards the end of his life, we see he was both tired and ashamed of these bloody persecutions, in consequence of which, such as were confined in his diocese were consigned to the *tender mercies of Bishop Bonner*. Though after the arrival of Cardinal Pole in England, Gardiner was second only in the management of Church affairs, his influence in civil matters continued undiminished. His character has been so extolled by the Catholics, and so violently blackened by the Protestants, that the truth, as is usual in such matters, will be found in the middle. As to his moral qualities, he was generous and liberal, a promoter of superior talents, and warm in his attachments; but, at the same time, haughty and ambitious, a perfect dissembler and, if not sanguinary in his own nature, the base tool of Mary's vengeance. His literary acquirements were great, and his conduct of affairs, foreign and domestic, was such as gained him the reputation of a sagacious politician.

In this article I have adopted the life in the *Biographia Britannica*, because it is written with so much candour. I have purposely abstained from placing this Prelate's faults in the foreground, which I might easily have done had I been so disposed, for, I wish on the contrary, that his conduct should be viewed with Christian candour and Protestant forbearance. I know he is an especial

favourite of the Romanists, and I am for that very reason desirous that we should view his actions with equity and impartiality, and that all prejudice should be banished from our minds.

☞ I cannot, however, help remarking, that if Bishop Gardiner, and his associate Bishop Bonner, were in truth, the blood-stained tyrants which history has represented them, it becomes the imperative duty of a Protestant Legislature to guard against the *possibility*, however remote, of Roman Catholics again having the ascendancy in this kingdom: since their Church is ever one and the same: her principles unchanged and unchangeable; and her acts and modes of proselytism, are still, not reprobated, but defended.

JOHN *PONET or POYNET, D.D.

(A PROTESTANT),

SUCCEEDED A. D. 1550-1.—DIED A. D. 1556.

Bishop Ponet, remarkable for having been a Bishop at the early age of 33, was born in Kent in 1516, presented Jan. 29, 1545, to the eighth stall in Canterbury Cathedral (Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 17). He was of Queen's College, Cambridge, S.T.D.

This Prelate, against whom Bishop Milner and the Roman Catholic writers bitterly inveigh, probably, solely from the circumstance of his being a Protestant, was highly esteemed for his varied talents and acquirements by King Edward VI., who nominated him March 8, 1549, Bishop of Rochester. He was accordingly consecrated at Lambeth June 29, 1550, (*Registr. Cranmer*, f. 330); and on the deprivation of Bishop Gardiner, he was translated March 23, 1551, to the See of Winton. 1 Pat. 5 Edward VI. m. 40.

On the 29th of June, 1550, the day of his promotion to the See of Rochester, an order of council was made, that no Bishop should for the future hold any other benefice in commendam, except John Poynet, Bishop

* He wrote himself PONET.

elect of Rochester, and *that*, because he had no episcopal palace. Accordingly he had licence to hold in commendam with his Bishopric, the Vicarage of Ashford in his native county, Kent, about 12 miles from Canterbury; and of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, London, with his stall in Canterbury Cathedral. This licence was dated July 4, an. 4 Edward VI., 1550, to hold until Lady-Day, 1555. Rymer. *Fœd.* vol. 15, p. 70-241.

When Queen Mary came to the crown he left the kingdom, and after spending a few years among the celebrated self-exiled Protestants, who sojourned during Mary's reign at Strasburgh, in Germany, he died there April, 11, 1556, (Rymer. *Fœd.* vol. 15, 235. Le Neve's *Fæsti*, p. 287) at the age of 40. See Bayle's *Dictionary*, vol. 4, p. 692, and Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*, vol. 2, p. 42.

Fuller thus notices him in his *Worthies*, vol. 1. p. 406, Nichols's edition, under Kent:—

“John Poynt was born in this county; bred in King's College, Cambridge. Sure I am he was none of the foundation therein, because, not appearing in Master Hatcher's exact MS. Catalogue. Bale is rather to be believed herein, making him to be brought up in Queen's College in the same University. *De Script. Brit.* cent. 8, No. 62.

“But wherever he had his education, he arrived at admirable learning, being an exact Grecian and most expert mathematician. He presented King Henry VIII. with a horologium (which I might English *dial*, *clock*, or *watch*, save that it is epitheted *sciotericum*) observing the shadow of the sun, and therein shewing not only the hours, but days of the month, change of the moon, ebbing and flowing of the sea, &c. I confess the modern mystery of watch-making, is much completed, (men never being more curious to *divide*, more careless to *employ* their time;) but surely this was accounted a master piece in that age.

“His sermons so endeared him to King Edward VI., that he preferred him (whilst yet scarce 36 years of age*) to the Bishopric of Rochester, then of Winchester. But, alas! these honours soon got, were as soon lost, he being

* If “he was not fully 40” in 1556, he must have been scarce 34, instead of “scarce 36 years,” when made Bishop of Rochester in 1550.
—EDIT.

forced to fly into High Germany in the 1st of Queen Mary, where, before he was fully 40, and before he had finished his book begun against Thomas Martin in defence of ministers' marriage, he died at Strasburgh, Aug. 2, 1555, and was buried there with great lamentation."

Bishop Godwin records him in his English edition 4to. 1615, p. 248, thus, among the Bishops of Winchester:—"60. John Poynt. Presently upon the deprivation of Stephen Gardiner, John Poynt, D.D., a Kentish man born, brought up in King's College, in Cambridge, consecrated Bishop of Rochester June 21, 1550, was translated to Winchester. Queen Mary having attained the crown, he well knew there was no living for him in England, and therefore he fled the realm, and died at Strasburg in Germany, April 11, 1556, being scarce 40 years of age.* A man of great learning, whereof he left divers testimonies in writing, works yet extant both in Latin and English: beside the Greek and Latin, he was very well sent† in the Italian and Dutch tongues, and an excellent mathematician. He gave to King Henry VIII. a dial of his own device, shewing not only the hour of the day, but also the day of the month, the sign of the sun, the planetary hour; yea, the change of the moon, the ebbing and flowing of the sea; with divers other things as strange to the great wonder of the King and his own no less commendation. He was preferred altogether by King Edward in regard of certain excellent sermons preached before him."

He wrote a *Treatise on Politic Power*, which I have not seen; also, *An Apology or Defence of Priests' Marriages*: afterwards translated into Latin by Michael Remeger, Lond. 1604, 8°. Bodleian 8°. R. 68. Th. See Bliss's Wood's, A. O. vol. 2, p. 52.

Bishop Ponet was the first Bishop consecrated by the new ordinal of Edward VI. Bishop Milner affects to throw a doubt over the validity of the consecration, but it is to be remembered that, as that consecration was performed by Bishops who had themselves duly received their consecration from Catholic Prelates, the Apostolic

* The reader will see that Fuller has implicitly followed Godwin in this error, without stopping to rectify the anachronisms.—EDIT.

† (*I.E.*) Excellent—well approved. This pure Latin phraseology is well deserving notice: the scholar will immediately recognize in it Cicero's *vir honestus et spectatus*, and Virgil's *rebus spectata juvenus*.

succession was regularly kept up, In this individual case it signifies little, as we do not hear that Bishop Ponet ever officiated in any consecration of Bishops. But the *principle itself* is of essential importance, as the chief and distinguishing characteristic of the Priesthood of the Established Church: since the apostolic commission and the promises exclusively annexed thereto by the founder of the Christian Church (Matt. 28*) are the grand points which render communion with the Church in this country of such vital importance to salvation; and schism and "divisions" of any kind, however plausible, a matter of infinite danger to the spiritual concerns of those who give themselves up to those "carnal" sins, as the Apostle terms them. The Apostolic succession of the Priesthood of the Church of England was kept up by Archbishop Parker. Now, his consecration by duly consecrated Roman Catholic Bishops, though once cavilled at by the Romanists, is so safely and triumphantly established, that no historical fact on record can claim a superior ground of credibility.

Bishop Milner roundly asserts, that Ponet was raised to the See of Winchester for the express purpose of betraying the possessions of it to those who preferred him. He hesitates not to call his conduct simoniacal; and asserts, on the authority of Heylyn, that he dismembered from the See the palace of Marwell, with the manors and parks of Marwell and Twyford, which had before been seized upon by the Lord Protector to make a Knight's estate for Sir Henry Seymour. I should be unwilling to believe such harsh things of any man, unless upon much higher authority than that of Bishop Milner. Those who have a relish for invectives of this nature, may consult the history of Winchester, written by that able, though bigotted apologist of the Romanists, and impugner of the Establishment.

* The argument drawn from this verse resolves itself into a narrow compass, and defies the objections of Schismatics. Christ, in the passage quoted, assembles, not his disciples at large, but the 11 Apostles only. To them he gives a commission to baptize and make converts of all nations, and promises his presence with them to the end of the world. Now, as the Apostles were only men, and consequently mortal, this promise must refer to his presence with their legitimate *successors*: which the Apostles regularly appointed in all the Churches, as we learn from various passages of the Epistles, under the names of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

XXVII. JOHN WHITE, D.D.

THE LAST OF THE CATHOLIC BISHOPS.

SUCCEEDED A.D. 1556-7.—DEPRIVED A.D. 1559.—
DIED A.D. 1559-60.

“John Whyte,” [says *Anthony Wood] (“brother to Sir John Whyte, Lord Mayor of London, anno 1563) was son of Robert Whyte, of Farnham, Surry, (son of John Whyte, of the same place, son of Thomas Whyte, of Purvyle, † Hants), and was born at Farnham; educated in grammar learning in Wykeham’s school, near Winchester: admitted perpetual fellow of New College, in 1527, took the degrees in arts, that of A.M. being completed in an act celebrated March 23, 1533-4, left his fellowship in 1534, being about that time master of the said school in the place of Richard Tuchiner. Afterwards [he was also rector of Cheyton, near Winchester] he was made warden of the college, [in the year 1541, Willis’s *Mit. Abbies*, I. p. 333] near Winchester. Concerning him, while in that post, Strype (in his *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, lib. 2, cap. 21, p. 233) has these remarkable passages; “March 25, 1550, Mr. White, warden of Winchester appeared before the King’s council and confessed that he had divers books and letters from beyond sea, and namely from one Martin, a scholar there, who opposed the King’s Majesty’s proceeding utterly. And it being manifested that he had consented to things of that sort in such wise, that greater practices were thought to be in him that way, he was committed to the Tower; where lying for some months, he shewed better conformity in matters of religion. So on June 14, 1551, the council wrote a letter to the Archbishop that he should send a letter to the tower for Mr. White, to be brought to him and with him to remain till such time as he should reclaim him; which being done, he was sent back again to the

* The passages in brackets are supplied by the Editor.

† The pedigree here given by A. Wood, differs from that in Manning and Bray’s *History of Surry*. The latter authors make the last named John, Son, not of Thomas of Purvile, but of Robert of Farnham, with whom the pedigree begins, and whose will was proved Oct. 19, 1467.—*Hist. Surry*, vol. III. p. 177.—EDIT.

tower till the King's Majesty's further pleasure upon his Lordship's certificate of his proceedings with him. This White, however he complied now, was in Queen Mary's reign made Bishop successively of Lincoln and Winton.

He was elected Bishop of Lincoln upon the deprivation of Dr. John Tayler, and consecrated in St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, by Stephen [Gardiner] Bishop of Winchester, and his assistants, the temporalities of which See were restored to him, May 2, 1524, [Pat. I. R. Mar. p. 1.] he being then B.D. In the beginning of Oct. 1555, he was incorporated D.D. and soon after, upon the death of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, he was translated to Winchester, the temporalities of which were also restored [Pat. 3 and 4 R. Phil. and Mar. p. 6.*] to him, May 30, 1557; of some of which gradual rises Dr. Christopher Johnson, one of his successors in the mastership of Winchester school, made this distich :

Me puero custos, ludi paulo ante magister
Virus, et hâc demum præsul in urbe fuit.

“He was a man of an austere life, and much more mortified to the world than Stephen Gardiner, his predecessor. He was eminent also for piety and learning, was an eloquent orator, a solid divine, a nervous preacher, “et poetica facultate, ut tempora ferebant, tolerabilis,” as Camden tells us. [In *Annal. Elizab. sub. an. 1559.*] His fame and actions did well answer his name: and so did all men say, how contrary soever to him in religion, only for one black sermon that he made he gave offence, yet for the colour, it may be said, he kept decorum, because it was a funeral sermon of a great Queen by birth and marriage, I mean Queen Mary. The offence taken against him was this. His text [see in the *Brief view of the state of the Church of England, &c.* by John Harrington, Knt., Lond. 1653, p. 59-60.] was out of Eccles. 4, 2, ‘Laudavi mortuos magis quam viventes; et feliciorem utroque judicavi qui nec dum damnatus est.’ And speaking of Queen Mary's high parentage, her bountiful disposition, her great gravity, her rare devotion, (praying so much, as he affirmed, that her knees were

* See Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. XV. p. 436, and Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 287.

hard with kneeling) her justice and clemency in restoring noble houses, to her own private loss and hindrance, and lastly, her grievous and patient death, he fell into such an unfeigned weeping, that for a long space he could not speak. Then recovering himself, he said, she had left a sister to succeed her, a lady of great worth also, whom they were now bound to obey; for saith he, melior est canis vivus leone mortuo,* and I hope so shall reign well, and prosperously over us, but I must say still with my text 'laudavi mortuos magis quam viventes,' for certain it is, 'Maria optimam partem elegit.' Afterwards, Queen Elizabeth taking just indignation, did, partly for his sermon, and partly for that he was a zealous man for the Roman Catholic cause, and an enemy to the reformers of religion, commit him to custody; and for threatening (as it is said) to excommunicate her (as Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, did), was deprived of his Bishopric, for which he paid yearly £1,000 to Cardinal Pole to keep up his state and dignity. Dr. Heylin in his *History of the Reformation*, an. 1559, saith, 'White, Bishop of Winchester, and Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, of the number of the Catholic party that were to dispute with the reformed party about settling religion, behaved themselves with so little reverence, or with so much insolence rather, as to threaten the Queen with excommunication in that public audience, for which they were committed to the tower April 3, 1559.' Burnet, vol. 3, of the *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, an. 1559, p. 388, saith the like, that the conference began in the latter end of 1558. Ib. p. 396, the same person saith, 'that White and Watson were morose and sullen men, to which their studies, as well as their temper, had disposed them, for they were much given to scholastical divinity, which inclined men to be cynical, to overvalue themselves and despise others.'

His WORKS are:—

1. *Diacosio Martyrion*, (i. e.) ducentorum virorum testimonia, de veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, ante triennium, adversus Petr. Martyrem, ex professo conscriptum, sed nunc primum in lucem

* A live dog is better than a dead lion. No very elegant compliment to Queen Elizabeth.—EDR.

editum. Lond. 1553, 4to. in Latin verse. Bodl. 4to. W. 7. Th. Seld. [Tanner *Bibl. Brit.* 761, mentions an edition in 1554,] 4to. in Latin verse [Bodl. 4to. W. 7. Th. Seld].

The following poetical dedication to Queen Mary, will give some idea of the author's style.

Et soror et regis proles generosa Britanni,
 Cæsareo salve ventre, Maria, sata.
 Carminibus si fas est te sperare patronam,
 Non timeant linquas qualia cunque malas.

Et tamen ecce timent subterque examina tantæ
 Principis, ire pavent, nec tamen ire cavent.
 Infelix, o Musa, tuum tanto ante pudorem
 Cernere, quæ poteras non etiam effugere,

Mens prodesse fuit non urere; quod tamen urit,
 Hæresis invenit hic fors alicuude aliquid
 Inveniatque volo, studium, non casus in hoc est,
 Non pupugisse malos duximus esse malum.

Ferre impune lupos, Christi, grassari in ovile,
 Non mea, magnorum est laus ea pontificum.
 Neu mirere istis venit unde licentia verbis,
 Me quoque posse, scias, pro pietate pati.

Quid timeam moriturus? non pejora videbo
 Sæcula, non mores, non loca, non homines.
 Certe ubicunque meæ claudentur tempora vitæ
 Iste mihi codex, credo superstes erit.
 Hunc tibi dædico; contentus te judice fiet
 Sive legi jubeas, sive (Maria) tegi.

Sign. A. ij.

2. *Epistola Petro Martyri*, This is printed with the former book, and treats mostly of Martyrs' disputation at Oxford in King Edward's days; and is in vindication of Dr. Richard Smith, who disputed with, and baffled him.

Epigrammatum, lib. I.

Carmina in Matrimon. Philippi Regis, cum Maria Regina Angliæ.

Sermon preached at the funeral of Queen Mary, Dec. 13, 1558, on Eccles. 4. 2. MS. in the library sometime of Richard Smith, Secondary of the Poultry Compter. [Now in the British Museum, MS. Donat. 1578. See

Ayscough's *Catalogue*, i. 8. It has been printed from a MS. in the Cotton Library, in Strype's *Eccles. Memor. Append.* No. 81, p. 277, but from a very faulty copy. A much better penes me.—BAKER]. You will find also several of his discourses in the *Acts and Mon. of the Church*, &c., published by John Fox; and also his discourse with Bishop Ridley at Oxon, Sept. 30, 1555, when he was about to be burnt, exhorting him to return from his heresy, as he then termed it. See also in Rob. Persons, his animadversions on that discourse in the third part of a treatise entitled *Of three Conversions of England*, &c., printed 1604, ch. 14, p. 209,

At length, our John White being deprived of his Bishopric in 1559, retired to his sister's house at South-Warnborow in Hants, where spending the little remainder of his days in great sanctity and recluseness, he gave way to fate 11th January following [1559-60.] Whereupon his body was soon after carried to Winchester, and buried in the Cathedral there according to his will; which partly runs thus:—"My desire is to be buried in that my Cathedral of Winchester, ut in novissimâ die resurgam cum patribus et filiis, quorum fidem teneo," &c.

While he was Warden of the College near Winton, and dreamed not in the least to be removed thence to a Bishopric, he provided a tomb-stone for himself to be laid on the ground in the chapel belonging to the said College, with intentions to be buried under it by the care of his heir and executor, whensoever it should please God to call him out of this transitory life; and caused to be engraven 20 long and short verses of his own composition under his picture, engraven on a brass plate, and fastened to the said stone. The two first are these :

Hic tegor, hic post fata WHITUS propono jacere,
Scriptor JOHANNIS carminis ipse mei.

But being afterwards, contrary to all expectation, promoted successively to two Bishoprics by Queen Mary, his mind was altered as I have before told you.

He gave to Wykeham's College, near Winton, his mitre, and crosier staff; a silver tankard, gilt; a basin and ewer of silver; a Turkey carpet; and other choice goods: and some years before his death, he was a benefactor to New College, as you may see in *Hist. and*

Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. 2, p. 131. 6.* [This benefaction was the manor of Hall-Place, county Southampton, given conditionally that every scholar of the College should have 13s. 4d. on the day of his admission to the state of fellow.]

Nothing worth transcribing respecting this Prelate occurs in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*.

Bishop Godwin thus mentions him under the Sees of Lincoln and Winchester, respectively:—

“LINCOLN. 34. John White, D.D. brought up in New College, Oxford, was appointed Bishop of Lincoln by Queen Mary, 1557. He was removed to Winchester.”
—Edit. 1615, p. 310.

“WINCHESTER. 61. After the death of Stephen Gardiner there was an intent that Cardinal Pole (who complained that his living was too small for the maintenance of his post) should hold this Bishopric in commendam. But the Bishop of Lincoln, John White, for that he was born in that diocese, and had been Warden of Winchester College, suing importunately for the same, it was granted unto him, upon condition that he should pay out of it unto the Cardinal £1,000. a year so long as the Cardinal lived, and one year after his death.† Thereunto he agreeing, was admitted to that place, which he enjoyed but a small time, being deprived in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, for refusing to conform himself to the religion by her established: and that, somewhat the rather, in regard of a sermon preached by him at Queen Mary’s funeral,” &c. *ut. sup.* p. 249.

Fuller bestows on this Prelate the following notice:—

“John White was born in this county (Hants) of a worshipful house; began *on the floor* and mounted up *to the roof* of spiritual dignity in this Diocese. First, Scholar in Winchester, then fellow of New College in Oxford, then Master of Winchester School; then Warden of that College, and at last (taking Lincoln Bishopric in his passage) Bishop of Winchester: all composed in this district; [vide supra] which I may call a *golden verse*; for it cost this WHITE *many an angel to make it true*,

* Bliss’s Wood’s *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. 1, p. 311.

† This was an Hibernian sort of agreement. To pay a man £1,000. a year for one year *after his death*, sounds odd. Bishop Godwin must have meant to say—“and to his representatives or executors, one year after his death.”—EDIT.

entering into his Bishopric on this condition, to pay to Cardinal Pole a yearly pension of £1,000. Now though this was no better than *simony*, yet the Prelate's *pride* was so far above his covetousness, and his *covetousness* so far above his *conscience*, that he swallowed it without any regret.

He was a tolerable poet; and wrote an Elegy on the Eucharist, to prove the *corporeal presence*, and confute Peter Martyr (Pits, *De illust. Angl. Scrip.* p. 763), the first and last, I believe, who brought controversial divinity into verses. He preached the funeral sermon of Queen Mary, (or, if you will, of *public Popery* in England,) praising her so beyond all measure, and slighting Queen Elizabeth without any cause, that he justly incurred her displeasure. This cost him deprivation and imprisonment, *straiter* than others of his *order*, (though freer than any Protestant had under Popish persecutors) until his death, which happened at London about the year 1560."—*Worthies*, vol. I, p. 405, edit. Nichols, article Hants.

There appears to be neither inscription nor tomb-stone to the memory of Bishop White, the last of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Winchester.

No portrait of him is mentioned by Granger.

He occurs as one of the executors of the will of William, Lord Windsor. Proved Dec. 10, 1558. See *Test. Vetust.* vol. 2, p. 755.

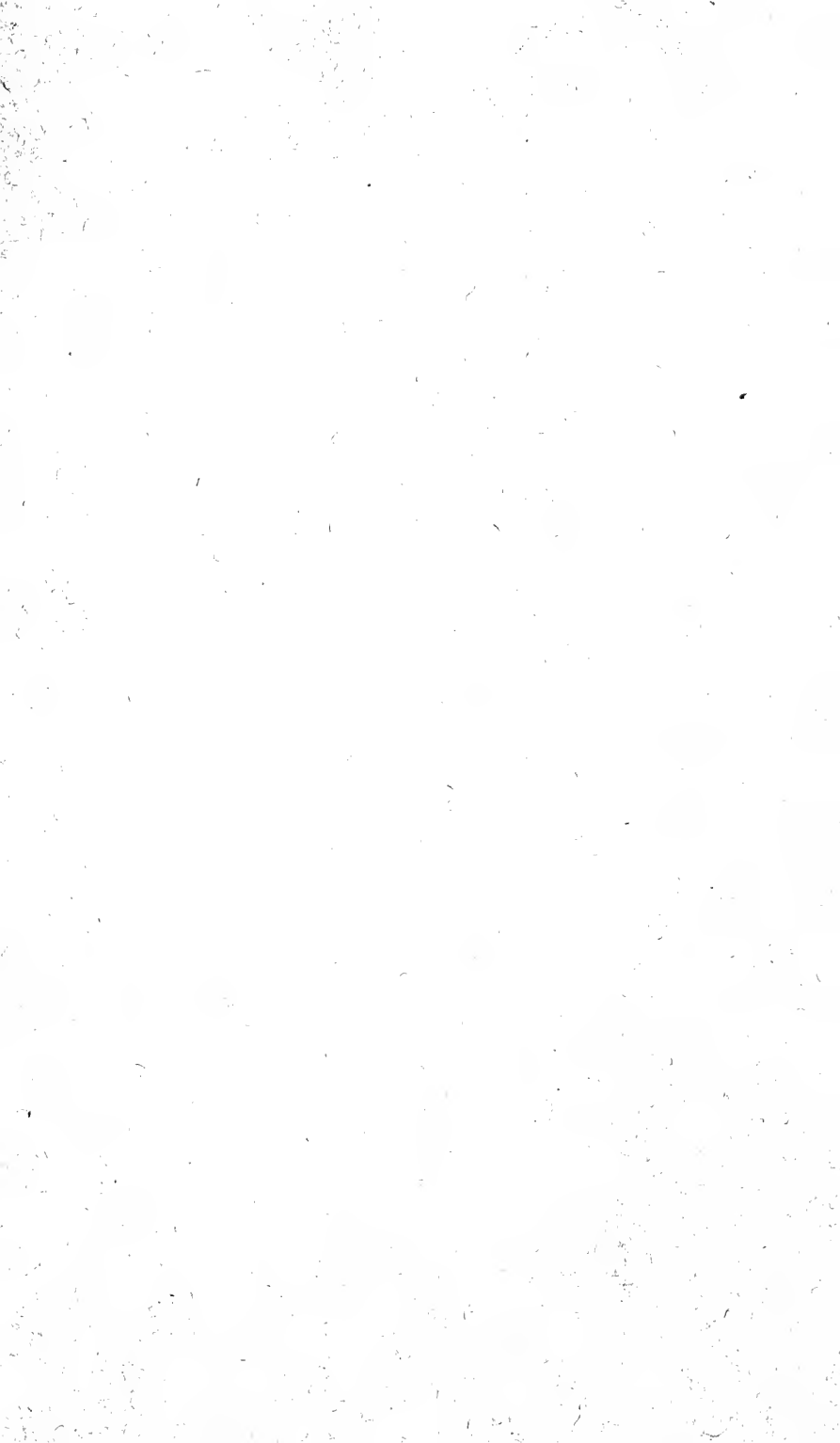
Milner, as might be expected, gives a favourable colouring to this *Marian* Prelate.

The reader will doubtless recollect the insolent and disloyal manner in which White spoke of Queen Elizabeth in his sermon. But his language insolent and disloyal as it was, is thus extolled by Bishop Milner: "He was chosen to speak the funeral oration of Queen Mary, which he performed more to his *credit* as a *scholar* and *Christian preacher* than to his interest as a courtier, [Truly it was any thing but courteous] being the first *victim* to the oath of supremacy. He had given offence by the *ardour* with which he extolled the deceased Queen [Mary], and the *frigid* manner in which he spoke of the reigning Queen," &c.—*Ilist. Wint.*

The same writer proceeds to remark, "He had incurred still greater displeasure by the rigour with which he defended the *ancient* faith [Quære, should we not read 'modern?'] in the public conferences, held between the

Catholic and Protestant divines in Westminster Abbey: in which, according to Heylin, he is said to have threatened the Queen with excommunication!!! Hence he and Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, had been [most deservedly] committed prisoners to the tower, but having refused to take the aforesaid oath, he was, in the month of June, 1550, declared to have forfeited his Bishopric," &c.—*Hist. Wint.*

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Bishops of Winchester.

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