Diocesan Histories

Durham

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A MAP
TO ILLUSTRATE THE
ANNALS OF DURHAM

Eng. Miles

NORTH SEA

NORTHUMBERLAND

DURHAM

CUMBERLAND

WESTMORLAND

YORK

LINDISFARNE

Cheviot Hills

The Cheviot

Norham

R. Tweed

Berwick on Tweed

Holy Island

Bamburgh

Farne Islands

Alnwick

Rothbury

Morpeth

Hexham

Corbridge

Newcastle

Jarrow

Wearmouth

DURHAM

Houghton le Spring

Stanhope

Auckland

Darlington

Stockton

Barnard Castle

Cross Fell

Alston Moor

REFERENCE

Ancient Sees	
churches	
Collegiate	
Monasteries	
Archdeaconries	LINDISFARNE
Modern Deaneries	Jarrow
Villages	Wark

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DIOCESAN HISTORIES.

DURHAM.

BY

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WITH MAP AND PLAN.

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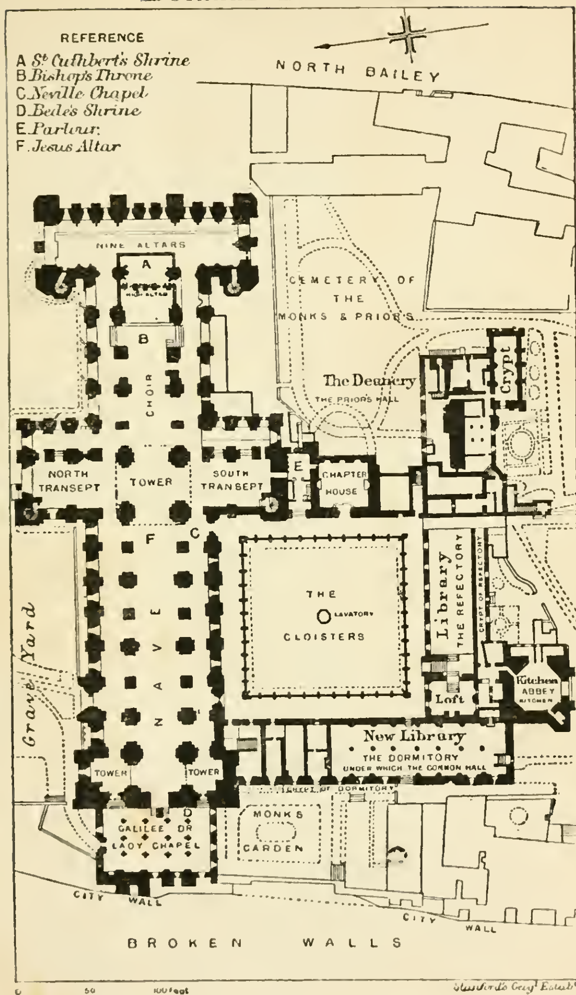
DURHAM CATHEDRAL.



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DURHAM.

CHAPTER I.

THE ROMAN MISSION.

THE present diocese of Durham consists of the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and the parish of Alston in Cumberland. It extends from Sockburn on the Tees to Berwick-upon-Tweed, about 88 miles. Its greatest width, from east to west, is about 47 miles, and its area is about 3,100 square miles. These dimensions are the result of many changes, the last of which took place so late as 1836. These will be noticed as the narrative proceeds. It is sufficient here to say that the Bishop of Durham represents the ancient bishops of Lindisfarne; and that these for a time were the only Christian prelates in the ancient Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, which extended from the Humber to the Frith of Forth, a territory now distributed among six dioceses.[1] Subsequently the district to the south of the Tees was assigned to the see of York, and the northern portion was divided into two dioceses—that

[1] York, Ripon, Durham, Carlisle, Glasgow (the greater part), Edinburgh.

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of Hexham, which reached from the Tees to the Aln, and that of Lindisfarne, which extended from the Aln to the Forth. During the troubles caused by the Danish invasions the see of Hexham came to an end, the diocese was re-annexed to that of Lindisfarne, and the bishop removed to Chester-le-Street, whence, in A.D. 995, the see was transferred to Durham. Soon after this the Lothians, which had not perhaps occupied much of the attention of the bishops at Chester-le-Street, were ceded to Scotland, and came under the rule of the Scottish bishops. The see of Carlisle was founded in the twelfth century, and thus the diocese at last became nearly what it now is.

It is well known that during at least the latter part of the time of the Roman occupation, there was a Christian Church in Britain; but it seems to have been chiefly confined to the Roman settlements, and though there are abundant traces of the Roman sway in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, in the remains of roads, of numerous encampments, and notably of the great wall which reached from the estuary of the Tyne to the Solway Frith, yet there is no reason to believe that the Romans ever made any permanent settlement to the north of the Tees. It is vain, therefore, to inquire after any traces of Christianity before the Anglo-Saxon conquest.

The kingdom of Northumbria, in early times at least, might fairly claim, on many accounts, to be the foremost in the Heptarchy. Out of seven princes who ruled the whole of Britain as Bretwaldas, the three last were kings of Northumbria. The Northumbrian Church, as this history will show, did far more for the

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spread of the gospel in England than the Roman mission in Kent, and it is to a presbyter of that Church, the Venerable Bede, that England is indebted for the earliest and most trustworthy history both of her ecclesiastical and civil state. NORTHUMBRIA was divided into two provinces, which were sometimes separate kingdoms—DEIRA, the southern portion, reaching from the Humber to the Tees; BERNICIA, the northern, from the Tees or the Tyne to the Frith of Forth. The latter was the first settled. In A.D. 547 Ida, a chieftain among the Angles, landed in the far north with forty *chiules* or keels, a name for barges still familiar on the Tyne, and fixed his head-quarters on a precipitous rock overhanging the German Ocean, about sixteen miles south of Berwick. A castle, afterwards long the capital of Bernicia, was built by Ida's son and successor, Ethelric, and named after his wife, Bebbanburgh, a name which it still retains in a shortened form—Bamburgh. A few years later another chieftain, named Ella, settled in Deira. The reader will remember that the name both of Deira and Ella occur in the oft-told and very beautiful story of Pope Gregory and the English youths in the slave market at Rome. When Ella died his son Edwin was a minor; and Ida's grandson, Ethelfrith, a fierce and sanguinary warrior, who had married Ella's daughter, drove his brother-in-law, Edwin, into exile, and took possession of Deira.

The interesting and picturesque story of Edwin tells us how, with the help of Redwald, King of the East Angles, and the fourth Bretwalda, he gained

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possession, not only of his paternal kingdom, but, by the fall of Ethelfrith in battle, of the whole of Northumbria—how he married a Christian princess, Edilberga, daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, who had been converted by the Roman missionary, St. Augustine—how he himself received the faith, and was baptised by Paulinus, a Roman missionary and bishop who had accompanied his wife to the North—but all this belongs rather to general history and the history of the Diocese of York, than to these pages. Paulinus fixed his head-quarters at York, where, with King Edwin's help, he built a church, the original of the present magnificent minster; but he did not neglect the northern province of Bernicia. In the train of the king he extended his missionary journeys nearly as far north as Berwick. Edwin had a residence at Yevering, at the foot of the Cheviots, and there, we are told by Bede, on one occasion the bishop tarried for thirty-six days, occupied solely in the work of catechising, and baptizing in the river Glen. The memory of Paulinus still survives in the name of Pallins-burn, near the Tweed, and there still lingers a tradition of his baptizing also at Halystone on the Coquet, where, by the side of a pool near the site of an ancient nunnery, there now stands a rude statue supposed to represent the saint. Bede gives, on the authority of a priest named Deda, "a most truthful man," who had been baptized by Paulinus in the presence of King Edwin, a description of his person: "a tall man, slightly bent, with black hair, a thin face, a very slender aquiline nose, venerable, yet awful in countenance." He had in attendance on

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him "James, a deacon, an active labourer, and noble as regards Christ and his Church."

Edwin became the fifth Bretwalda, and Bede gives a glowing account of his power and magnificence, and of the unwonted peace and prosperity which England enjoyed under his reign. Unhappily for Northumbria and for England, his time was short. Ceadwalla, a British prince and a Christian, joined in an unhallowed alliance with Penda, a fierce warrior of the race of the Mercian kings, who long continued the champion of paganism in England. They rose against the Bretwalda, and Edwin fell in battle on Hatfield Moor, on the borders of Lincolnshire. The Christian host, it is said, was far the more cruel and relentless of the two. After Edwin's death Paulinus, despairing of the cause as it would seem, returned with the widowed queen and her son and daughter to Kent, where he afterwards became Bishop of Rochester. Edilberga built for herself a nunnery at Lyminge, near Hythe, and devoted herself to a religious life. Such was the close of the attempt made by the Roman missionaries to establish Christianity in the North. It seemed as if a premature end had come on Northumbrian Christianity; but He who is Head over all things to the Church, so ordered it that there should be a speedy renewal of the work, though not before two further failures had occurred.

Note to Chapter I.

It is wonderful how the belief, that England owes its Christianity, mainly if not entirely, to St. Augustine

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and the Roman Mission, holds its ground. We have been recently told that a place in Kent was "the starting-point of the two great missions by which the conversion of the whole of northern England[1] was brought about;" and even in the North itself, a foolish little legend prevails at Alston in Cumberland, that the neighbouring mountain of Cross Fell was originally Fiends' Fell, that St. Augustine by prayers and benedictions drove away the fiends, and planted the cross on its summit, and that Alston church is consequently named after him.[2] A member of the church of St. Aidan and St. Cuthbert may be suspected of partiality; but the late A. W. Haddan, an East Saxon, ought to be above suspicion—One passage out of many from his writings may suffice :—

"Every Christian man north of the Thames (with the most petty exceptions), owed his restoration to, and confirmation in the faith, and except those of the eastern shires from York downwards, his conversion also, to teachers directly or indirectly Scotch . . . . The record of the sixty years' labours of the entire Italian Kentish mission is summed up, after the Kentish success, in three failures to extend their limits—in Middlesex, York, and East Anglia,—in the permission accorded to one of another race and church to make a more successful effort in the last-named of the three, and in a simple abstinence from any effort at all to convert the little county of Sussex, which remained pagan at their very doors after the last Italian prelate had been laid in St. Augustine's porch."[3]

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[1] It is not easy to understand what is meant here.

[2] See "Davie Armstrong," S.P.C.K., p. 18, a charming little tale, clearly the work of one who understands the "North Countrie," and its inhabitants well. It is hardly needful to say that Augustine was never in the North at all.

[3] "Remains," pp. 316, 317. See also pp. 266, 267, 304, 305.

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CHAPTER II.

THE SCOTTISH MISSION.

In the sixth century there was in Ireland a most flourishing Church, full of life and energy—an energy which led it, in that and succeeding ages, to send forth missionaries all over the continent of Europe, to the distant Faroe Islands, and even to Iceland. Ireland was then most truly the "Island of Saints," and learning still flourished there when it had been banished from England, and almost all Europe, by the inroads of the barbarians. The inhabitants of Ireland were then called Scots, and their country Scotia. The greater part of North Britain was inhabited by the Picts or Caledonians, though in the north-western parts a colony of Scots had settled as early as the fourth century. In process of time the Scots got the upper hand, the very name of Pict disappeared, and North Britain became, what it is now called, Scotland. The southern Picts had been converted to Christianity early in the sixth century, but the northern Picts remained pagans.

In 563, seventy years before the death of Edwin, Columba, a priest, who is said to have been of royal blood, crossed over from Ireland to Britain, accompanied by twelve disciples, with the view of preaching the gospel among the northern Picts. He obtained

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from the Scottish king a grant of the very small island of Hy, since more frequently called Iona, and there he founded a monastery destined to become a centre of light and Christian influence, not only to the northern parts of Britain, but indirectly to all England. Columba was a most holy and devoted man, and his preaching, with the Divine blessing, met with great success. He is not known to have composed any written RULE for his monks; but there is a document extant under that name, probably the composition of a monk of his community, at a later period, which in all likelihood fairly represents it. Considering how great an influence it was to exercise in Northumbria, it may be well to give it here—it is too brief for abridgment :—

"Be alone in a separate place near a chief city, if thy conscience is not prepared to be in common with the crowd.

Be always naked,[1] in imitation of Christ and the evangelists.

Whatever little or much thou possessest of anything, whether clothing, or food, or drink, let it be at the command of the senior, and his disposal, for it is not befitting a religious to have any distinction of property with his own free brother.

Let a fast place, with one door, enclose thee.

A few religious men to converse with thee of God and His testament; to visit thee on days of solemnity; to strengthen thee in the testaments of God and the narratives of the scriptures.

A person who would talk with thee in idle words, or of the world, or who murmurs at what he cannot remedy or prevent, but who would distress thee more should he be a tattler between friends and foes, thou shalt not admit him to thee, but at once give him thy benediction, should he deserve it.

Let thy servant be a discreet religious, not tale-telling man,

[1] Bare of worldly goods.

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who is to attend continually on thee, with moderate labour of course, but always ready.

Yield submission to every rule that is of devotion.

A mind prepared for red martyrdom [*i.e.* to the effusion of blood].

A mind fortified and stedfast for white martyrdom [*i.e.* severe penitential exercises].

Forgiveness from the heart to every one.

Constant prayers for those who trouble thee.

Fervour in singing the Office for the Dead, as if every faithful dead person was a particular friend of thine.

Hymns for souls to be sung standing.

Let thy vigils be constant, from eve to eve, under the direction of another person.

Three labours in the day, viz., prayers, work, and reading.

The work to be divided into three parts, viz., thine own work and the work of thy place, as regards its real wants; secondly, thy share of the brethren's [work]; lastly, to help thy neighbours, viz., by instruction or writing, or sewing garments, or whatever labour they may be in want of, as the Lord saith, 'Thou shalt not appear before me empty.'

Everything in its proper order; for no one is crowned unless he strive lawfully.

Follow almsgiving before all things.

Take not of food till thou art hungry.

Sleep not till thou feelest desire.

Speak not except on business.

Every increase which comes to thee in lawful meals or in wearing apparel, give it for pity to the brethren that want it, or to the poor in like manner.

The love of God with all thy heart and all thy strength.

The love of thy neighbour as thyself.

Abide in the testaments of God throughout all times.

Thy measure of prayer shall be until thy tears come;

Or thy measure of work of labour till thy tears come;

Or thy measure of thy work of labour or of thy genuflexions until thy perspiration often comes if thy tears be not free."[1]

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[1] Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," vol. ii. pp. 119-121.

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Their labour comprehended tilling the ground, working at the anvil, plowing, baking, and all domestic occupations. Their dwellings, which were of the simplest character, their churches, constructed of oak-trees split in two, and thatched with reeds—these, together with their garments, were all the work of their own hands. Writing included making copies of the Holy Scriptures, the Works of the Fathers, Service Books, and devotional works; and not only were their manuscripts most scrupulously faithful copies, but they were often most exquisite works of art in their ornaments and illuminations. Some of these have been preserved to this day, and are still the objects of the highest admiration.

Such societies, imbued with such a spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice, became the sources, not only of religious light and life, but of education and civilization wherever they were planted. The land was cultivated, and thus the chances of famine greatly diminished; useful arts were introduced, and the words of the prophet were realized, "The wilderness and the solitary place became glad for them; the desert rejoiced, and blossomed as the rose." Modern refinement may wonder, perhaps smile, at their simple asceticism, but it must respect their consistency of life, which Bede never omits an occasion of mentioning; and it is further to be considered that in modern times, with all our boasted light and civilization, kingdoms are not converted nor are nations born at once. Before he came into Britain, Columba had founded a famous monastery in Ireland, at a place which Bede calls Dearmach, supposed to be Durrow,

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in King's County, and from this house and his later foundation at Hy, his institute spread far and wide, both in Ireland and Britain; but among all his foundations, Hy or Iona, where he died, held the chief place. It was governed by an abbot, who was only a presbyter, and yet by what Bede calls "an unusual arrangement," the whole province, and even the bishops were subject to him. In fact, he and his successors were for some centuries the primates, to all intents and purposes, of the British Scots.

When Ethelfrith lost his life and his kingdom, his sons, accompanied by a considerable number of youthful nobles, took refuge in Scotland. Ethelfrith had seven sons and one daughter, but only three of the sons and the daughter appear on the page of history,—Eanfrid, Oswald, Oswy, and their sister Ebba. It is not certain, though it is not unlikely, that Hy itself was their place of refuge; but it is quite certain that they received the faith from the disciples of St. Columba, and were baptized by them. When King Edwin fell in battle they returned to Northumbria. Edwin left no son old enough to take his place, and the kingdom was again divided. Deira, which was more particularly Edwin's own kingdom, fell to the lot of Osric, his cousin, who had been baptized by St. Paulinus, while Eanfrid, the eldest of the sons of Ethelfrith, obtained possession of Bernicia, so that notwithstanding the flight of the bishop, the succession of two Christian princes promised well for the cause of Christianity. But again there was a failure. No sooner had these young men attained the royal dignity than each of them renounced his baptism, and

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apostatized to paganism. If they thought by this step to render their tenure of power more secure, they were disappointed. Both of them, ere a year had elapsed, " by the just vengeance of heaven, fell by the wicked hand of Ceadwalla." Osric rashly besieged a town, perhaps York, in which the British king had taken up his quarters, and was cut off in a sally made by the besieged; Eanfrid went with twelve companions to sue for peace, and he and all the rest were murdered. "It was a luckless[1] year," says Bede, " hateful to all good men even to this day, both on account of the apostasy of the princes and the insane tyranny of the British king. Therefore, by common consent, it was agreed that in reckoning the years of the kings the memory of the apostates should be dropped, and that year counted to the next reign, that of Oswald, beloved of God."

Oswald could only muster a small army, but it was one which was strong in the faith of Christ, and he hesitated not to march against the oppressor, whom he met beside a brook called Deniseburn, near Hexham. Here he hastily, mainly with his own hands, erected a cross, and proclaimed with a loud voice, "Let us bend our knees, and with one voice beseech the Lord Almighty, the Living and True, to defend us by His mercy from our fierce and proud enemy; for He knows that we have undertaken a just war for the deliverance of our nation." They all knelt in prayer, and with the dawn joined in battle with the enemy. Notwithstanding great inferiority in numbers, by the blessing of God, they gained the

[1] Infaustus.

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victory. The place bore the auspicious name of Heavenfield, and King Oswald's Cross long remained as a place of devotion. Afterwards, according to Bede, the brethren of Hexham Abbey erected a church on the spot, and "with good reason," he adds, "for, so far as we can learn, there was no sign of the Christian faith, no church, no altar in the whole kingdom of Bernicia before King Oswald, moved by his piety, erected this standard of the Holy Cross when about to join battle with his most cruel enemy." This, then, was the first permanent symbol of Christianity in what we now call Northumberland. The place was immediately to the north of the wall, not far from the confluence of the North and South Tyne.

This victory established King Oswald's power, and the first use he made of it was to take measures for the re-establishment of Christianity. For this purpose he applied to the elders of the Scots,[1] from whom he himself had learned the faith, and requested them to send bishops to instruct his people. The brethren at Hy readily assented. But there was yet to be one more failure. Their first missionary was a man of severe character, and, finding he could make no way, he returned home in despair. A council was held to deliberate what further steps could be taken. They were anxious to persevere, but were disconcerted with their failure. A brother named AIDAN was present, and on hearing the report of the returned missionary he spoke thus:—"It seems to me, brother, that you have been harder than was meet with your ignorant hearers, and have not, according to the teaching of

[1] "Misit ad majores natu Scottorum." Bede, H. E. iii. 3.

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the apostles, offered them first the milk of gentle teaching, till, being gradually nourished by the Divine Word, they had become capable of receiving more perfect instruction, and of fulfilling the higher precepts of God." Immediately the eyes of all were turned to the speaker, his words were earnestly weighed and discussed, and all agreed that he should be ordained bishop, and sent to carry out his more discreet views among the untutored Northumbrians. Bede represents him as a man of the utmost meekness, piety, and moderation, having a zeal for God though not (as he seems reluctantly to add) in all respects according to knowledge. The chief point in which he was deficient was, after all, not his own. The Scottish Christians, both in Ireland and North Britain, used a defective computation for finding the time of Easter. The fact is that, in the imperfect state of astronomical science, the whole Christian world could only be said to be groping their way to a satisfactory mode of finding Easter. Since the conversion of the Scots, improvements had been adopted by the Church of Rome and Continental Christians generally, but the Scots had for a long time been in a great measure shut out from intercourse with the Continent, and so adhered to the computation they had first received, which frequently caused a great discrepancy between them and others in the time of observing the great Christian festival. Besides this, the Scots varied from the Romans in the form of their tonsure, that is, in the manner in which the heads of ecclesiastics were shaved.

On his arrival in Northumbria King Oswald as-

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signed to Aidan, at his own request, the Island of Lindisfarne as a place of residence,—a memorable spot, the first dwelling-place of Christianity to the north of the Tees. It lies opposite the coast of Northumberland, three or four miles to the north of Bamburgh. It is but half an island, for twice a day it is joined to the mainland as the tide recedes; twice a day the flood-tide makes it an island. It contains about 1000 acres, half of which are barren sand; an unattractive place in itself, yet dear to the heart not only of the people of this northern diocese, but to that of every well-instructed Englishman, as the seat of a mission which eventually had far more to do with the evangelization of his native land than Canterbury itself.

Various reasons may have moved Aidan in his choice of Lindisfarne as the seat of his mission. No doubt the neighbourhood of Bamburgh, the royal residence, had some weight, but probably the chief motive was because like Iona, the isle of saints from which he had been sent forth,—it was an island. It must also have been more secure than any spot on the mainland from the disturbances of those unquiet times. Hence, then, Aidan and his monks went forth to preach the word of truth. "The king," says Bede, "listened gladly and humbly to the admonitions of the bishop in all things, and with great diligence took measures for building up and extending the Church of Christ in his kingdom; and the fair sight might often be seen of the prelate, who had but an imperfect knowledge of English, preaching in his own tongue, and the king, who in his long exile had perfectly learned

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the language of the Scots, explaining the heavenly word to his officers and servants. Thenceforward," continues the historian, "every day numbers of the Scots began to come into Britain, and to preach the word of faith with great devotion, and, as many as were graced with the priestly function, to minister the grace of Baptism in the provinces over which King Oswald ruled. Churches were everywhere built, and multitudes gladly flocked to hear the word; endowments were granted by the munificence of the king; and the children of the English along with their elders were instructed by their Scottish teachers in the precepts and observances of monastic discipline."

Aidan himself was a pattern of primitive simplicity. "He seemed neither to seek nor to love anything of this world. Whatever was bestowed on him by the king, or by the wealthy, he gave to the poor. He was wont to travel on foot through all places in town or country, never riding on horseback unless compelled by urgent necessity. Wherever he met with any persons in his journeys, whether rich or poor, he presently entered into discourse with them, inviting them, if unbelievers, to receive the sacrament of the faith; or, if believers, encouraging them in the faith, and stirring them up, both by WORD AND DEED, to good works and almsgiving." It was, in truth, the chief recommendation of his teaching, that his life and his doctrine were in exact agreement. "So far," says Bede, who died about a hundred years after St. Aidan's arrival in England, "was he from the indolence of our times, that all who travelled with him, whether clergymen or laymen, were required to

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occupy themselves in meditation, in reading the Scriptures, or in learning psalms. This was his own daily employment and of those who were with him. If ever, which was but seldom, he accepted an invitation to eat with the king, he came in with one or two of his clergy, and, after a slight refreshment, hastened to retire to read or pray with his attendants. After his example all religious persons at that time, whether men or women, were accustomed, through the whole year, excepting the fifty days after Easter, to fast on Wednesdays and Fridays till three in the afternoon. He was never induced either by respect or fear to be silent when rich men needed reproof; but he could rebuke them sharply if it was needed. He was never wont to give money to men in power, but only food when he entertained them; and the gifts which he received from the rich he either gave to the poor or bestowed for the release of such as were unjustly held in bondage. Many of those whom he thus redeemed he made his disciples, and some of these, after proper training, he promoted to the priesthood." Such is the attractive and, beyond all doubt, faithful picture of a primitive bishop, drawn by the affectionate hand of one who had abundant means of knowing the truth, and could administer blame as well as praise, when blame rather than praise was due.

And his royal disciple was worthy of his master. "Not only did King Oswald and his people learn to hope for a kingdom in heaven of which their forefathers knew nothing, but God also endowed him with an earthly kingdom greater than that of his ancestors." Like Edwin he bore the title, and wielded the power

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of Bretwalda or Lord of Britain. The four nations of Britain owned his sway, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Angles. But notwithstanding his earthly greatness he was ever humble, kind, and bountiful to the poor and the stranger. A story is told of him that one Easter day he and the bishop were seated at dinner, and a silver dish was brought in filled with royal dainties. Hands were raised to bless the meat, when his almoner entered to say that a great multitude of poor persons were seated without, asking for alms. The king immediately commanded the silver dish to be carried out, the meat distributed, and the dish broken in pieces and given to the poor. The bishop, delighted with his piety, laid hold of his right hand and said, " May this hand never grow old."

When his kingdom was fully established, King Oswald repaired to the court of Cynegils, King of Wessex with the view of obtaining his daughter in marriage. Here he found Birinus, a bishop who had been sent by Pope Honorius to help forward the cause of Christianity in England. By the united efforts of Birinus and Oswald, Cynegils was led to embrace Christianity, and King Oswald was his godfather when he was baptized by the bishop. The two kings (Oswald was Bretwalda) gave Birinus as his see Dorchester in Oxfordshire, whence in after times it was transferred to Winchester.

Eight years King Oswald reigned, remarkable alike for his piety and his power, an uncommon conjunction. At length he fell in battle with Penda of Mercia, who had formerly slain King Edwin, at a place called Maserfield, but whether in Shropshire near

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Oswestry or in Lancashire near Winwick historians are not agreed. He died praying for his people, so that it passed into a kind of proverb, "Lord have mercy on the souls of my people said Oswald, when he fell." He was succeeded by his brother Oswy both as king of Northumbria and Bretwalda, but this prince never attained so great power as his brother. The union between the two provinces of Deira and Bernicia was never cordial, and the men of Deira preferred to have a king of their own. Oswin, the son of Osric, the traitor, and grandson of a brother of Ella, Edwin's father, obtained Deira as his inheritance, and Oswy was obliged to admit the claim. For some years the two princes lived in peace, but at length discussions arose, and they went to war. Oswin, seeing that he could not cope with his rival, disbanded his army, and with one attendant retreated to the house of a thane named Hunwald, whom he believed to be his friend, at Gilling, near Richmond. But Hunwald treacherously gave up Oswin and his faithful attendant, who were both put to death by the command of Oswy. Bede paints the character of Oswin in very glowing colours. He was tall and handsome in person, pleasant in speech, affable in his manners and bountiful to all, whether noble or not. These qualities both of person and character won for him the esteem and love of all, and especially of the good Bishop Aidan, who was much attached to him on account of his piety and many virtues. A remarkable instance is given of his wonderful humility. He had given the bishop a very fine horse that, though he was accustomed to go everywhere on foot, he might use

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him when waters were to be crossed, or in any great emergency. Shortly after Aidan, meeting a poor man who asked for alms, gave him the horse with its costly trappings. When he next went to the royal residence, the king asked what he meant by giving such a horse to a beggar—one of far less value, he thought, might have sufficed. "What say you, O King?" the bishop replied "Is the son of a mare dearer to you than a son of God?" Oswin was silent and stood warming himself at the fire. After a time, when he had pondered the bishop's words, he ungirt his sword, fell at Aidan's feet and asked his pardon, promising never again to question or even form a judgment on what the bishop thought fit to do with what belonged to him. The bishop was deeply moved, and declared that he feared Oswin would not live long, for that such a king was too good for this world. It was very soon after this that Oswin was put to death; and in twelve days more Aidan followed his friend and went to his reward, having been Bishop of Lindisfarne seventeen years. He was succeeded by FINAN another monk from Iona, who held the see for ten years.

The cruel murder of Oswin did not serve the purpose of consolidating King Oswy's power. The people of Deira were still disinclined for a complete union with Bernicia, and made Oidilwald, the son of Oswald, their king. Oswy had married Eanfleda, the daughter of King Edwin and Edilberga, who, when just born, was the first in Northumbria to receive baptism from St. Paulinus. She afterwards founded a monastery at Gilling, where prayers were offered both for Oswy and Oswin, for the repose of Oswin's soul

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and for the remission of Oswy's guilt in slaying him. Oswin was buried at Tynemouth, where a church had been built by King Oswald. It may be hoped that Oswy sincerely repented of the murder of Oswin, but any how there are other and better things to be told of him. Penda of Mercia, though now advanced in age, kept up the same hostility towards Oswy that he had entertained against Edwin and Oswald. Oswy was anxious by every means in his power to put an end to this harassing warfare, and, among other measures which he took for the purpose, he sought Penda's daughter Cyneburga as a wife for his son Alchfrid. This led for a time to friendly intercourse, and Peada, the son of Penda, came to visit Alchfrid and Cyneburga. While on this visit he was attracted by Alchfleda, Oswy's daughter, and sought her in marriage. The answer he received was that *a Christian maiden must not marry an idolater.*[1] He was induced to listen to Christian instruction, and then he asked for baptism, declaring that, whether he might have the princess or not, he was resolved to be a Christian. He was baptized by Bishop Finan at a place called by Bede *Ad Murum*, that is, By the Wall, supposed by some to be Walbottle, by others a place, now marked only by a farm-house and a tower, named Welton or Walltown. When Peada returned to Mercia, four missionaries, three of them Saxons and one a Scot, accompanied him. One of them was the brother of the abbot of a monastery which already existed at Gateshead, and Diuma, the Scot, was afterwards bishop

[1] The same answer had been given to Edwin when he sought for Edilberga, the daughter of Ethelbert of Kent in marriage.

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of the Middle Angles. Old Penda made no objection to the conversion of his subjects, he only shrewdly remarked that he hated those who, professing Christianity, would not live in obedience to its precepts. Here again we find Northumbrian Christianity extending itself into other regions. And this was not the only such instance in Oswy's time. Christianity had been introduced into Essex by the Roman missionaries sent by Pope Gregory, but on the death of Sabert, of Essex, who founded St. Paul's in London, they had been expelled, and with the sons of Sabert the East Saxons relapsed into idolatry. Sigebert, the nephew of Sabert, was now king, and, being a friend of Oswy, frequently came to visit him. Oswy endeavoured, Bede tells us, to persuade his friend that "*they could be no gods which were made by men's hands; God could not be made of matter, such as wood or stone, the residue of which was either burned or formed into vessels for men's use, or perhaps cast out and trodden under foot:—that we must rather think of God as incomprehensible in majesty, invisible to human eyes, Almighty, Eternal, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of mankind, whose eternal seat we must believe to be not in vile and perishing metal, but in heaven; and that all who learn and do the will of their Maker may with good reason expect to receive from Him eternal rewards.*" These and many such like arguments Oswy urged with friendly and even brotherly solicitude. Sigebert took counsel with his friends, and finding them all favourable and assenting, he and they were baptized by Finan, as Peada had been, at Oswy's residence, *By the Wall.* So that this spot has the

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honour of being the spiritual birthplace of two southern princes, both of whom became the means of introducing Christianity into their own dominions. Sigebert's death proved the reality of his conversion, being indeed a kind of martyrdom. He was murdered; and the only reason the murderer had to give for his crime was that he could not bear to see a king so humble, meek, and forgiving.

The friendship of Oswy and Penda was of short duration. Before long the fierce old warrior was again in the field, and it appears that Oidilwald, Oswy's nephew, was in alliance with him. Oswy tried to buy Penda off with presents—but to no purpose; nothing would content him short of the extinction of the Northumbrian kingdom. Seeing no hope of earthly help, for his force was very much inferior to Penda's, Oswy turned to a higher quarter. "If the Pagan will not accept our gifts, let us offer them to Him who will." Accordingly, like another Jephthah, he vowed that if God should give him the victory, he would dedicate his infant daughter Elfleda to His service, and give land for the erection of twelve monasteries. He had no one with him but his son Alchfrid. His younger son Egfrid was a hostage in the hands of Penda's wife. His nephew, Oidilwald, the king of Deira, was on Penda's side, though when the time came for fighting he did not join against his uncle, perhaps ashamed of the part he had taken. Oswy gained a complete victory, and Penda was at last slain.[1] With him fell Paganism, for never again

[1] Many perished in the river, then very much flooded by heavy rains.

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did any one take up arms in England professedly in defence of Paganism.[1] Oswy established Christianity in Mercia, and shared the temporal dominion with Peada, his son-in-law, who, however, did not long enjoy it, being slain soon after it is said by the treachery of his wife.

After the victory Oswy hastened to fulfil his vows by giving his daughter Elfleda, then only a year old, to Hilda, Abbess of a monastery at Hartlepool, which had been founded in the time of St. Aidan. He also gave the land for twelve monasteries, six of which were to be erected in Bernicia, and as many in Deira. The early Saxon monasteries were of course set up after the model of Iona. At Lindisfarne, the mother church, the bishop and his clergy lived in common. Besides Lindisfarne, St. Aidan founded another at Melrose—for it must be remembered that the great Northumbrian diocese extended northward to the Frith of Forth as well as southward to the Humber, until the see of York was restored, some time after this period. At Melrose, Aidan placed as Abbot, Eata, one of his disciples already mentioned. He also founded a monastery at Gateshead.

Hilda, to whom, as the reader has just seen, King Oswy entrusted his infant daughter, was a very remarkable woman. She was the daughter of Hereric, a nephew of King Edwin, and was one of the first fruits of Northumbria unto Christ, having been baptized by St. Paulinus when she was thirteen years of

[1] Five Christian princes had been slain by Penda—Edwin, and Oswald of Northumbria, Egric and Sigebert and Anna of East Anglia. They were now avenged.

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age, at the same time as King Edwin. From this time she was very remarkable for her piety. She went from her friends into East Anglia, intending to pass over into France, where her sister was leading a religious life in the monastery of Celles, but St. Aidan prevailed upon her to return and remain in England. He first set her over a small nunnery on the banks of the Wear, the site of which is not now known : but soon after she was made Abbess of the monastery at Hartlepool. Two years after King Oswy's daughter was put under her care, having obtained possession of ten folclands at Streanæshalch, a name which Bede interprets the Bay of the Lighthouse—now known as Whitby, the name given to it afterwards by the Danes —she removed thither. The house there consisted both of monks and nuns, and flourished greatly under Hilda's government. Bede remarks that five of her monks became bishops, and another was elected, but died before he was consecrated. Three of these were bishops in Northumbria, Bosa and Wilfrid II. bishops of York, and John (commonly called St. John of Beverley), bishop of Hexham.[1]

[1] Hilda died in 680 at the age of sixty-six. For six years before her death she was afflicted by continual fever, but she never ceased exhorting those under her charge to serve God while they were in health, and ever faithfully to give Him thanks in adversity and sickness. On the night of her death we are informed by Bede that Begu, one of the nuns in a daughter house at Hackness, thirteen miles from Whitby, had a dream in which she heard the sound of the passing bell in the air and then saw Hilda's soul carried up by angels into heaven. When she awoke she was aware it was a vision. In great terror she went to the superior, and informed her what she had seen. The

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Hilda was not the only high-born lady who founded a monastery of this kind. Ebba, the sister of the two kings, Oswald and Oswy, retired from the world, and first, it is said, gathered a small community together among the ruins of a Roman camp on the banks of the Derwent, where she has left her name to the little town of Ebchester. She next founded a double monastery at Coldingham in Berwickshire, where her memory still survives in the name of St. Abb's Head. Here Etheldreda, the wife of King Egfrid, Ebba's nephew, took the veil, and here Ebba was visited by Egfrid and his second wife Ermenburga, and also by St. Cuthbert. Bede tells us that this monastery was destroyed by fire on account of the wickedness of the inmates, but not before they had been warned. A brother who had been leading a severely penitential life, had gone to some distance from the monastery. Returning in company with another monk, he stopped when he came in sight of the buildings, and foretold their destruction. This was related to the Abbess, and on her inquiring further, he told her that in a vision one had stood by him who told him of the careless, or worse than careless, lives many were leading—that he was the only one amongst them who cared for his soul, and that the judgment of God would fall upon them for their sins. He added that the calamity would

sisters were called up, and passed the rest of the night in prayer for the repose of Hilda's soul. Next morning came the news of Hilda's death. The sisters at Hackness answered the messenger, "We know it;" and it appeared that at the very time of Begu's vision her soul had passed to God.

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not come in her time. This produced a temporary reformation; but after Ebba's death, they returned to their old ways, and the prophecy was fulfilled by the burning of the house to the ground. Coldingham was destroyed by the Danes, and afterwards rebuilt, and was long a cell to the great monastery of Durham.

In the time of Bishop Finan the paschal controversy began to attract more attention. While St. Aidan lived, all men patiently bore with his singularity in regard to the observance of Easter, and his unwillingness to change the customs which he had been taught by those from whom he had received his mission. "He was loved by all who thought differently, because he was careful to follow the saints in faith, piety, and love; and he was held in veneration not only by ordinary men, but by such bishops as Honorius of Canterbury." In thus making a tacit comparison between Aidan and Finan, Bede clearly implies that the latter, though a most excellent man, did not quite rise to the standard of his predecessor. Ronan, a Scot by birth, who had learned the Catholic usage at Rome and in France, debated the point with Finan, but with little success, for one at least, if not both of them, had a warm and positive temper. James, the deacon of St. Paulinus, who still remained at York, celebrated Easter after the manner of his master. So also did Romanus, the chaplain who had come from Kent with Eanfleda the queen, while Oswy himself, having learned the faith among the Scots, whose language he understood well, adhered to their custom, and thus in the royal

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household itself there were sometimes two Easters kept in one year. Such was the state of things when Finan died in 661.

He was succeeded by Colman, another bishop sent by the Scots. In his time things came to a crisis. Alchfrid, the king's son, was much attached to Wilfrid, a young Saxon priest, who had travelled to Rome and had resided some time at Lyons, where he had learned the Catholic usage on this as well as on other points. Alchfrid had founded a monastery at Ripon, where he had settled Scottish monks, among whom was Cuthbert, afterwards Bishop of Lindisfarne; but after a time they had the choice offered to them, either to conform to Catholic usages or to leave Ripon. They chose the latter alternative, and the care of the monastery was committed to Wilfrid. About this time also Agilbert, Bishop of the West Saxons, came to the north, accompanied by a presbyter named Agatho, and they too gave their support to the Catholic side. It was at length resolved to hold a synod at Hilda's monastery at Whitby, and the selection of this place gave some small advantage to the Scottish party, for she held to their side.

The Synod of Whitby took place in 664. King Oswy opened the proceedings, and after some remarks on the necessity of unity among Christians, called upon Colman to state his case. This he did; after which Wilfrid replied; and although he had certainly the best case, his arguments were not entirely sound, any more than the bishop's. Among other pleas, one was that St. Peter must be right, to whom our Saviour had committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

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This arrested the king's attention, and he inquired whether the Bishop of Lindisfarne and his friends admitted that our Lord had given such a charge to St. Peter. Colman replied that it was so. The king next asked whether any such charge had been given to St. Columba? The bishop answered, "No." "Then," said the king, "I shall yield to the authority of St. Peter, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he who keeps the keys should refuse to admit me." Thus the matter was settled. Colman was silenced, but not convinced; and, resigning his see, he returned to Scotland. It is curious and interesting to think that the very same thing has occurred again since the Reformation. In 1582 Pope Gregory effected a much-needed reform of the calendar, including among other things a more accurate mode of finding Easter. Our insular pride kept us from acquiescing in the change for 170 years. It was only in 1752 that we accepted the Pope's emendations. The bishop and monks of Lindisfarne were profoundly ignorant of science, but the time during which we refused to accept the Gregorian calendar was that of Sir Isaac Newton.

Such was the end of the Scottish supremacy at Lindisfarne. Colman was succeeded by TUDA. He had been educated and ordained among the southern Scots (*i.e.*, in the south of Ireland), who held the right computation of Easter, and used the proper ecclesiastical tonsure—a good man and a diligent teacher, who had come to Northumbria during the episcopate of Colman. Colman departed, accompanied by many of the monks; and in parting with the Scottish bishops, Bede gives a most lovely pic-

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ture of their holiness and zeal for God. "The very place which Colman and his predecessors ruled bore witness to their frugality and self-denial; for there were very few houses to be seen except the church, only such as were quite indispensable for social life. Their wealth consisted only of their flocks. If they received any money from the rich, it was forthwith given to the poor. There was no need to gather money or to provide houses for the entertainment of the wealthy, for such never came to the church, save for prayer or to hear the word of God. The king himself, when occasion required, came with only five or six attendants, and departed when church prayers were finished. If it happened that they got any refreshment, they were content with the simple daily fare of the brethren, and sought nothing more. For these teachers were bent on serving God only, not the world; all their care was to keep their hearts in order, not to pamper their belly. Hence at that time the religious habit was held in great veneration; so that whenever any clergymen or monk came, he was gladly welcomed by all as a servant of God. When any of them were met with on a journey, people ran to him, and bent their necks to receive the holy sign from his hand, or a blessing from his lips; and they heard with diligent attention his words of exhortation. Moreover, on the Lord's Day they flocked in troops to the church, or to the monasteries; not seeking refreshment for the body, but eager to hear the word of God. When a priest arrived in a village, the people of the place immediately assembled, earnestly desiring to hear the word of God from him; for

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neither clergymen nor monks ever went to any place but to preach, to baptize, to visit the sick, or, in short, to care for souls. They were so perfectly free from any taint of covetousness that, unless forced by the wealthy, no one accepted lands or possessions for the building of monasteries. This way of life in all respects prevailed in the churches of Northumbria for some time after this. But enough of these things." It is quite clear that in this beautiful passage, Bede is silently contrasting this state of things with that which prevailed towards the close of his life, seventy years later. It will receive illustration and confirmation when we come to speak of St. Boisil and St. Cuthbert, at Melrose. Eata, who had been one of twelve disciples of St. Aidan, and at this time Prior of Melrose, was, at Colman's request, set over the monks who chose to remain at Lindisfarne.

The episcopate of Tuda lasted a very short time. He fell a victim to an epidemic which then raged in the country. On his death, by the influence of Alchfrid, whom Oswy had made sub-king of Deira, Wilfrid was chosen to succeed him. This very remarkable man is generally spoken of as Archbishop or rather Bishop of York, but on account of his connection with Lindisfarne and Hexham, it is necessary to give a short account of him here. He belonged to a noble family in Northumberland. At the age of fourteen, at the instance of Queen Eanfleda, he was committed by his father to the care of the monks of Lindisfarne. After some years he expressed a desire to visit Rome for the sake of improvement. The brethren of the monastery gave their consent, and his

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patroness, Queen Eanfleda, not only encouraged him in his intention, but gave him letters to her cousin Earconbert, King of Kent, desiring him to forward Wilfrid on his journey. He stayed some time at Canterbury, and there Earconbert found a suitable companion for him in another young Northumbrian noble who was on his way to Rome, Benedict Biscop, whom we shall meet with afterwards as Abbot of Wearmouth. They proceeded together as far as Lyons. Here Annemund, the archbishop, was so charmed with Wilfrid that he offered to adopt him as his son, and to give him his niece in marriage, if he would remain with him. But Wilfrid was not to be moved from his resolution to lead a monastic life. He stayed, however, with Annemund some time, while his companion, being impatient to see Rome, proceeded on his journey. At length, provided with a guide by the archbishop, Wilfrid went on to Rome. Here he studied for some time, and then returned to Lyons, where he resided three years with the archbishop. But Annemund having for some reason incurred the displeasure of the queen, was put to death. Wilfrid would gladly have died with his benefactor, but he was not so far gratified. He now returned to England, where he gained the confidence and friendship of Alchfrid, who first gave him land to build a monastery at Stamford, near York, and then set him over the monastery at Ripon, which the Scottish monks had left. Here he remained for some years. We have seen him at the council of Whitby, the leader of the Catholic party, for his education at Rome and Lyons had no doubt confirmed him in his

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zeal for Catholic practices. Very soon after this he was elected to fill the vacancy occasioned by Tuda's death. For thirty years—since the departure of Paulinus, there had been no bishop at York—the Northumbrian prelates had lived at Lindisfarne, but now it was intended to restore the see to York. There happened to be then no bishops in England from whom Wilfrid would consent to receive consecration, and he proceeded to France for that purpose. His consecration was attended by circumstances of great splendour. Twelve bishops assisted, and he was carried on a golden chair to the altar. But he lingered for a long time in France, doubtless finding himself in congenial scenes and pleasant society. In the meantime Oswy became impatient; perhaps, with his old Scottish associations, he had never been very cordial in the business of Wilfrid's promotion; and Ceadda, Abbot of Lastingham, was chosen to be Bishop of York. He was consecrated at home by Wini, Bishop of Winchester, assisted by two British bishops. When Wilfrid returned, and found the see filled by another, he quietly retired to his abbey at Ripon, whence he was frequently called to discharge episcopal functions in Mercia. In the meantime Theodore of Tarsus had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and consecrated at Rome by Pope Vitalian. He was gladly received in England, and was "the first," says Bede, "of the archbishops to whom all the churches of the English submitted." Two or three years after Wilfrid's return, he visited Northumbria. He decided that Ceadda's consecration was irregular, and, unwilling to degrade him,

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offered to complete his consecration. But Ceadda was only too happy to retire, and withdrew to his beloved retreat at Lastingham. He afterwards became Bishop of Lichfield, where the name of the fair cathedral still preserves the memory of that meek and holy bishop. Wilfrid now obtained the Northumbrian see, and continued in it nearly ten years, during which he built and consecrated the minster of Ripon, where he was afterwards buried, and a shrine was erected to his memory.

But now a change came over the fortunes of Wilfrid. Oswy was dead, and, Alchfrid having died before him, had been succeeded by his younger son, Egfrid. His queen, Etheldreda, was bent on leading a monastic life. Wilfrid joined with the king in trying to dissuade her, but finding her resolute, he gave her the veil at Ebba's nunnery of Coldingham. This displeased the king to begin with. His second wife, Ermenburga, was a vain, haughty woman, and being annoyed by the freedom of Wilfrid's expostulations, she endeavoured to inflame the mind of the king against him. She objected to the splendour of the bishop's retinue and the extent of his power; and it may be that there were some grounds for her complaints, for Wilfrid was a very different prelate from the bishops to whom the Northumbrians had been accustomed—the simple-minded Scottish bishops, and Ceadda, the first Saxon bishop, who was as unassuming in his habits as they had been. Theodore was called in, and on the plea that Wilfrid's diocese was too large, he divided it without consulting Wilfrid. Wilfrid, refusing his consent, was

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deposed, Bosa, one of St. Hilda's monks, was consecrated Bishop of York in his stead. Eata, abbot of Lindisfarne, was made Bishop of Bernicia, to be ruled either from Lindisfarne or Hexham, and Eadhaed for the Lindiswaras, in Lincolnshire, at that time, as part of Egfrid's dominions, subject to the see of York. Two years after a fourth bishop, Tunberct, was consecrated for Hexham, Eata being restricted to Lindisfarne; and a fifth for the Southern Picts, then under Egfrid's rule. These proceedings could hardly be defended. However necessary the division of the diocese might be, it was a very arbitrary exercise of power to effect it against Wilfrid's will, and without even consulting him. It was also a very unhappy circumstance that such a step should be mixed up with court intrigues and jealousies.

Wilfrid now took an unheard-of step. He set off to Rome for the purpose of laying his case before the Pope. This was not really so strange a proceeding as it may appear in these days. If it be considered that all England had accepted the archbishop whom the Pope had sent—that it was this very archbishop who had deposed Wilfrid—that, moreover, a century had not yet elapsed since Pope Gregory had taken the first steps for the conversion of England, and that the first Bishop of York to whom, though after an interval of thirty years, Wilfrid was the next in succession, was also a Roman missionary—the appeal to Rome ceases to look so very strange. Pope Agatho heard the cause at a synod in the Lateran church, and his decision seems to have been an equitable one—it was to the effect that it was right

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that the Northumbrian diocese should be divided, but that it had not been done in a right way—Wilfrid was to be first restored, and then to appoint his assistant bishops. Wilfrid returned home triumphant, but obtained no redress. He was accused of having obtained the papal decision by misrepresentation and bribery, he was spoiled of everything but the clothes he wore, and committed to prison. The queen appropriated his reliquary, and testified her faith in it by keeping it constantly in her chamber. Wilfrid was first confined at Brunanburg, a place which cannot now be identified; but, astonished at his piety, the reeve of the fortress begged to be relieved of his charge. He was transferred to Dunbar, near Coldingham, where Ebba's monastery was. The king and queen came to visit the abbess—the queen fell sick—the abbess expostulated on their usage of Wilfrid—the reliquary was restored, and Wilfrid suffered to depart—and the queen was restored to health.

Wilfrid first retired into Mercia, where he was most kindly received at first, but before long was expelled at the desire of the Northumbrian court. He proceeded to Wessex, but thither Ermenburga's relentless hostility followed him, and he was obliged to leave. He next went to Sussex, the only one of the Saxon kingdoms which was still in heathen darkness, although it was so very near to Canterbury. In his return from France after his consecration Wilfrid had been wrecked on the Sussex coast, and hardly escaped from the natives with his life. He now returned good for evil, for he came among them

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as a missionary to lead them to eternal life. They were suffering from a famine of terrible severity, and many were throwing themselves from the cliffs into the sea in sheer despair. They were so ignorant as to know nothing of fishing, except for eels. He taught them to fish with nets in the sea, and thus preserved the lives of thousands. After this we need not wonder to hear that he had great success in his preaching. He presided as bishop among them, and founded the see of Selsey, which was afterwards transferred to Chichester.

In course of time Archbishop Theodore began to find himself near his end. He had arrived at the age of sixty-six when he was consecrated, and he was now a very old man. He began to reflect that he had been too harsh, and he now professed so great an esteem for Wilfrid that he desired, before his death, to recommend him as his successor at Canterbury. Wilfrid declined, saying, that when the time arrived such a matter ought to be decided in a proper assembly. Theodore then sent letters to the kings of Mercia and Northumbria recommending Wilfrid's restoration. Egfrid had by this time fallen in battle with the Picts, and had been succeeded by his illegitimate brother Aldfrid, a prince who, having spent a great part of his life among the Scots for the purpose of study, was accounted a very learned man. On the receipt of these letters Wilfrid was invited to the North, and Hexham having become vacant by the death of Eata, he administered the diocese for a year until the appointment of John (of Beverley). In 686, Bosa, whether voluntarily or not, retired from York, and

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Wilfrid was reinstated. The following year Cuthbert, of Lindisfarne died, and in like manner as he had administered Hexham he took charge of Lindisfarne for a year, until the appointment of Eadbert. He continued at York for five years, when troubles broke out again, and ended in a second expulsion in 691. He retired once more into Mercia. A synod was held at Easterfield, in 702, when an attempt was made to arrange matters, but the terms proposed to Wilfrid were such as he could not accept, and at the age of seventy he again carried his appeal to Rome. Again he returned successful, and now, John of Beverley being transferred to York, he was allowed to take charge of the see of Hexham, where he continued until his death in 709. His career was truly a wonderful one. His wealth was very great, and his liberality unbounded. Besides Hexham and Ripon, he founded several other monasteries. If he is chargeable with ambition it is certain that he was very severely and unfairly dealt with, and it is not very consistent with the charge of ambition when we find him, at the beginning, quietly retiring when he returned from France and found Ceadda at York. His apostolic labours in Frisia and Sussex point him out as a true and devoted servant of God. He seems to have been in a great measure the victim of court jealousy and intrigue, aided by a time-serving disposition on the part of many of his brethren, though, on the other hand, when we see such men as Bosa, St. Cuthbert, St. John of Beverley, and his early friend Benedict Biscop, acquiescing in the measures of the court

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and holding sees separated from his without his consent, we cannot but believe either that they were deceived, or that they had reasons which are not now discernible by us. Bede is very reticent as to his troubles, and our chief source of information is his life by Eddius, which bears very strong marks of partiality in his favour.

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CHAPTER III.

ST. CUTHBERT.

We now come to a very different person from Wilfrid, yet concerning whom, though on entirely different grounds, there may have been almost as great a difference of opinion—St. Cuthbert, sixth Bishop of Lindisfarne. We have seen that, in 681, Tunberct was appointed Bishop of Hexham. For some unexplained reason he was deposed in 685, and Cuthbert, at that time a recluse in the Island of Farne, was elected to fill his place. But we must look back on the previous life of this illustrious bishop.

Scarcely anything is known of the birth or origin of St. Cuthbert. Ireland and Scotland both claim him. It has even been said that he was of princely extraction in Ireland. But the most probable account is that he was born on the north side of the Tweed, not far from Melrose, and that his parents were of humble condition. He lost them, it appears, when he was only eight years of age, and the orphan boy was employed in tending sheep on the banks of a little river called the Leader Water, which falls into the Tweed about two miles below Melrose. It is said that his appearance when a lad was most attractive, that he was distinguished by grace and beauty of person,

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and had a most sweet and engaging expression of countenance, which won the love and admiration of every one.

Considering the eminence which he afterwards attained in self-denying holiness, no less than in ecclesiastical dignity, we are prepared to find that the incidents of his boyhood and youth were carefully treasured up, and even came to be invested with more or less of the marvellous. We learn that from early youth he was of a devout frame of mind, and took great delight in witnessing the holy life of the brethren at Melrose, imitating their example in nightly watching and prayer. At the same time he was fond of play, and one day, while he was engaged in some rude sport with other boys, a little child addressed him as priest and prelate, whom God had called to be an instructor of others, and reproved him for indulging in amusements so unbefitting his dignity. This was of course remembered afterwards as a presage of what was to come, and meanwhile it had the effect of rendering Cuthbert more thoughtful.

One of his knees was seized with violent pain, accompanied with swelling, till at last he was unable to walk. One day, when he had been carried out into the open air and left alone, a horseman rode up and accosted him. Seeing he did not move, the stranger asked if he could give him some refreshment. Cuthbert answered that he would have been glad to do so, but was unable to walk. The horseman dismounted, examined his knee, recommended an application of flour boiled with milk, and rode off. His directions were obeyed, and the knee was cured.

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It was the simple application of a poultice, but afterwards in legend the horseman became an angel.

A strong wind had blown out to sea five rafts laden with fuel for the use of a monastery at the mouth of the Tyne. They were dancing on the crest of the waves like sea-fowl, and the men upon them, no doubt some of the monks, were in great danger. A rude crowd was jeering at those who were bringing in a strange religion, when Cuthbert came on the scene. He reproved the rustics, telling them they ought rather to pray for those who were in such danger than mock them. They rudely answered that they would neither pray for, nor help, them who were teaching new modes of worship, such as no one knew how to observe. Cuthbert knelt in prayer—the storm ceased, and the rafts came safe to land. It may have been the turn of the tide, but why should any Christian man refuse to believe that there was some efficacy in the prayer of faith? The ignorant Pagans did not do so; they were quite ashamed, and began to praise the faith of Cuthbert as loudly as they had denounced it.

But, another occurrence, of which we are able to fix the date, had the effect of leading him to embrace the monastic profession. He and some others were keeping watch over their flocks by night, far away among the hills. The others were asleep, Cuthbert was watching and praying. Suddenly, a bright light broke the darkness—he seemed to see a company of angels come down and immediately return, bearing with them a spirit of surpassing brightness. Cuthbert's mind was deeply stirred. He first gave thanks to God,

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and then awoke his fellows and told them what he had seen. It is not unlikely that Cuthbert was in a state between sleeping and waking, and had a dream, but in the morning it was found that St. Aidan had passed to his reward. There are so many well-authenticated modern instances of a similar nature that, though it was wonderful, it cannot be said to be incredible. The date of St. Aidan's death was August 31st, 651—and Cuthbert has been supposed to be then fourteen or fifteen years of age, but it is more likely he was older.

There were two religious houses open to Cuthbert's choice — Lindisfarne and Melrose — both of them under the same head, Eata. As we have seen, he was already familiar with the life of the brethren at Melrose. Boisil, the Prior, was a man of very eminent piety, and a most diligent preacher all over the surrounding country. His name still survives in that of a parish near Melrose, St. Boswell's. The Abbot Eata, and Boisil had been fellow-scholars under St. Aidan; and it requires little stretch of fancy to imagine that Boisil and Cuthbert were already acquainted. At any rate, when the vision had determined his choice, it was to Melrose that he betook himself.

When he arrived at the monastery he leaped from his horse, and gave the horse and his spear, which, not having yet laid aside the secular habit, he still held in his hand, to an attendant, and was about to enter the church to pray. Boisil was standing before the door, and was the first to see the stranger. As if he foresaw in spirit what manner of man Cuthbert would prove to be, he said to one who stood by:

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"Behold a servant of the Lord." The Abbot was from home, but on his return Cuthbert was received into the community.

The neophyte entered on his new duties with great fervour. In reading, working, watching, and prayer, he was pre-eminent. Like Samson of old he carefully abstained from any kind of intoxicating drink, but his biographer adds, with great simplicity, that "he was not so able to abstain from meat, lest he should become less fit for labour, for his frame was robust, and his strength unimpaired, apt for any kind of work."

In this peaceful seclusion about ten years of Cuthbert's life passed away, when Alchfrid, the sub-King of Deira, made a donation of a piece of land at Ripon to the Abbot Eata, for the foundation of a new monastery. For this establishment Eata chose a number of brethren out of the community at Melrose, and among the rest Cuthbert, who thereupon removed to Ripon. Here he had the charge of receiving the guests, a duty which he discharged with so great assiduity and kindness that, according to his biographers, he was rewarded by having the honour on one occasion of entertaining an angel unawares.

But the sojourn of the Scottish monks at Ripon was short. They held to their national usage in respect to the time of celebrating Easter and the clerical tonsure, and Alchfrid was entirely under the guidance of Wilfrid. By his advice, shortly after the foundation of the monastery at Ripon, the Scottish monks had the alternative offered them to conform or to resign. Although at a later period Cuthbert became convinced of the duty of conformity, he and

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his brethren were not as yet ripe for the change, so they chose the latter alternative, and returned to Melrose.

Three or four years afterwards came the pestilence, which carried off the bishop Tuda, and both Cuthbert and his friend Boisil the prior were attacked. The brethren of the monastery were much concerned on Cuthbert's account, and devoted a whole night to prayer for his recovery. When he heard of this in the morning he cried out, "Then why am I lying here? It is impossible that God should disregard your prayers. Give me my stick and my shoes." He rose, and, leaning on his staff, attempted to walk. His strength gradually returned, and he was restored to health, though some of the effects of the disease continued to trouble him through life.

It was otherwise with the prior. He died, though not for some time after Cuthbert's recovery. Hearing that his beloved pupil was restored to health, Boisil sent for him and said to him, "I have now but seven days to live, you must make the most of the short time that remains to learn all you can from me." Cuthbert asked what he would advise him to read that could be finished in seven days. Boisil replied "John the Evangelist. I have a copy in seven parts, we can, with God's help, read and meditate on one of these every day." They did so, avoiding, it is added, curious and subtile questions, seeking only that "simple faith which worketh by love." During these seven days it is said that Boisil foretold many things and, among others, that Cuthbert would be a bishop. Cuthbert kept this prophecy to himself. He

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was wont to say that if he might have a habitation on a rock in the midst of the sea, he would not even then regard himself as secure from temptation.

On Boisil's death Cuthbert was appointed prior, and we have a most edifying account of his zeal and diligence in his new office. He not only instructed the brethren of the monastery by precept and example, but he did all that he could to lead the minds of the common people of the neighbourhood to the love of heavenly joys. It seems that their Christianity was still very imperfect, and in the time of the plague many forgot it so far as to have recourse to heathen charms with a view to recovery. To remedy these errors, Cuthbert, following in the steps of Boisil, his predecessor, went out to all the neighbouring villages, and preached the way of truth to the people. In those days there were no parish churches, and it was the custom, when a clergyman entered a village, for the people to flock round him to hear him, and so great, we are told, was Cuthbert's skill and zeal, so angelic the aspect of his countenance, that no one could venture to conceal anything from him. They believed it to be impossible to deceive him, and they trusted by an honest confession to be put in the way of forgiveness. Nor did he confine his labours to the villages, wherever there were souls to be saved, however great the poverty of the people or the natural difficulties of the country, he would travel into the remotest corners, far up in the hills, and sometimes remain days and weeks, and even a month at a time, teaching the people both by the word of truth and by the holiness of his life.

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About thirteen years after his first profession, Cuthbert was called upon to leave Melrose. Lindisfarne and Melrose, as we have seen, were both under Eata's government, and he now desired Cuthbert to remove to Lindisfarne and undertake the charge of that monastery. It was in 664, on the death of Tuda and the temporary abandonment of the see of Lindisfarne, that Cuthbert entered on his new office. His mode of life was the same as at Melrose. He continued to enforce his teaching by the mute yet powerful eloquence of a holy life. He drew up a rule or code of monastic laws for the guidance of the brotherhood, and this was ever after observed in his monasteries in conjunction with the Rule of St. Benedict, which was added to it in after times. He constantly preached with diligence and zeal in the neighbourhood, "striving to lead his hearers to seek after the heavenly reward."

His mode of dealing with gainsayers in the monastery is particularly worthy of notice. "There were certain brethren in the monastery," says Bede, "who preferred rather to follow their own customs," probably in the matter of Easter and the tonsure, "than to submit to regular discipline. These he overcame by the gentle force of patience, and by daily exercise gradually brought them to a better system. Frequently in their disputes, when wearied with the bitter reproaches of his opponents, he would rise up suddenly, and with a placid look and an unruffled temper, dismiss the assembly and walk out. Next day, as if the day before he had met with no opposition, he would make the same proposals to the same hearers until by

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degrees he turned them to be of his own mind. For he excelled above all in the virtue of patience, and was invincible in bearing bravely all adversities of body or mind, showing always a cheerful countenance under vexation, so that it was plain that the inward comfort of the Holy Ghost enabled him to despise outward trials."

When the brethren were displeased if accidentally awakened at night or at the time of their noonday rest, he would say "No one can ever displease me by waking me out of sleep: he rather gives me pleasure, for he rouses me from inactivity to do or to think of something useful." Bede particularly remarks the intensity of his devotion in saying Mass, which he never could do without shedding abundance of tears. "He imitated the Lord's passion which he commemorated, offering himself up to God in humble contrition of heart. And it was by raising his soul rather than his voice, by his groans rather than by his singing, that he exhorted those who stood by to 'lift up their hearts' and 'to give thanks to the Lord God.'"

Thus passed away twelve years of Cuthbert's life as Prior of Lindisfarne. At the end of that period, still aiming at higher degrees of Christian perfection, he resolved to retire from his office, and betake himself to a solitary life; a design which it appears he had long cherished. We may suppose that it would not be without difficulty that he would obtain the consent of his abbot; but he did obtain it, and withdrew in the first instance to a place not far from the monastery. The exact locality is not certainly known; most probably it was an islet close to the south-west

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corner of the Island of Lindisfarne, still called St. Cuthbert's Island. There are still to be traced the ruins of a Chapel, and there abound the entrochi which are still called St. Cuthbert's Beads. But this was soon exchanged for another retreat, more remote and lonely. This was the Island of Farne, one of a group which lie off the coast, about six miles from Holy Island, and nearly opposite Bamburgh. These islands have become famous in our time for two very melancholy shipwrecks, and for the heroism of a girl of lowly birth. The name of Grace Darling will not soon be forgotten in those regions. There are a considerable number of islets, but most of them are mere rocks. That to which Cuthbert retired is the one nearest the shore, called the House Island, and in ancient times Farne—now inhabited by three light keepers and their families. There is a Chapel named after St. Cuthbert, which, till forty or fifty years ago, lay in ruins, but was carefully restored and fitted for divine service by the pious care of the late Archdeacon of Durham, Dr. Charles Thorp. Before St. Cuthbert's time this island had afforded a place of occasional retreat to St. Aidan, but if any permanent building had been erected for his use, it was no longer available, and Cuthbert had to begin by providing a habitation for himself. The island was said to be the haunt of evil spirits; "but," says St. Cuthbert's biographer, "when this soldier of Christ came armed with the helmet of salvation, and the the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, all the fiery darts of the wicked were quenched, and that evil one with all his train was put to flight."

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The writer adds, in somewhat turgid language: "Christ's soldier, when the army of the tyrant had been subdued, and he had become the monarch of the land, built a city fit for his empire and houses therein fitted to the city." The buildings thus magnificently described consisted of a hut which he constructed with his own hands. "The outer walls were higher than a man; but within he made it much deeper by cutting away the rock, that he might restrain as much as possible the wandering of the eye and of the thought, and raise the whole bent of his mind to meditation on heavenly things." The wall was constructed of rough stones and turf, and the roof of rough poles covered with straw. The stones of the wall were of great size, and the loving simplicity of his followers believed that he had been assisted in his work by angels. The house contained two chambers, one for ordinary use, the other for an oratory. Besides this, he built a larger house near the landing place, as a *hospitium* for the brethren who might come to see him. Near this was a well: his own dwelling had none, but by digging in the floor with the help of his brethren, a plentiful supply of water was obtained, in answer, it was believed, to Cuthbert's prayers.

When all his buildings were finished and he needed no longer the help of others, he shut himself up more completely. At first he would come to meet the brethren who visited him, and wash their feet; and they in turn insisted sometimes on rendering the same service to him, which was no more than was needful, for so indifferent had he become to his bodily

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comfort that he never took off his shoes. As his zeal for perfection increased, he increased his seclusion, and never left his cell to receive visitors, only leaving his window open, that they who came might see him and he them; but, by and by he shut up the window also, and never opened it save to bestow his blessing or for necessary purposes. His time was passed in watching, fasting, and prayer, and in labour for the supply of his bodily wants. At first he was indebted for the slender allowance he required to the brethren of the monastery, but afterwards he thought it more fitting that he should support himself. Accordingly he requested them to bring him implements of husbandry, with which he tilled the ground. He first sowed wheat, but it did not come up. He next tried barley, and, though sown out of season, it yielded a plentiful crop. So he passed his time in solitary meditation and communion with God.

For the most part the only companions of the anchoret were the birds which frequented these islands in great numbers; and there is something very pleasing in the sympathy which seems to have existed between Cuthbert and his feathered neighbours. The crows, we are told, attacked his barley, and on another occasion began to pull off the thatch of his house to build their own nests. In both cases they were restrained by his mere prohibition. The eider duck, whose only breeding place in England is in these islands, has been named after him—St. Cuthbert's duck, and the beautiful down which it yields, St. Cuthbert's down. They became so tame that they would never stir when he came near them, and

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it is said that in later times they used to nestle near the altar in the chapel afterwards built on the island, and would sometimes peck the priest with their bills as he said Mass. A stronger and wilder inhabitant of the island is the solan goose. Its flesh is rank and fishy in flavour, yet it was by no means despised as food at a feasting time by Cuthbert and his visitors. St. Cuthbert is not the only holy man of whom such things have been told—St. Francis, for example. Sympathy with the lower animals seems almost a mark of saintliness, and it is just what Holy Scripture would lead us to expect. "Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth. . . Thou shalt not be afraid of the beasts of the earth. For thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field, and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee." It is to be the characteristic of the happy times when "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea;" that "the sucking child shall play upon the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den. They shall not hunt nor destroy in all My holy mountain."

In this seclusion Cuthbert was by no means useless to others. To say nothing of the value of the prayers he was continually offering up on behalf of the whole Church, and specially, we may be sure, for the Church of the English, he was of great service to very many in the way of comfort and instruction. "Many," says Bede, "came to the man of God, not only from the immediate neighbourhood, but even from the more remote parts of Britain, attracted by

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the fame of his virtues." They came, "either confessing their sins, or the temptations by which the devil had assailed them, or to lay open the afflictions common to mortals which had overtaken them," in the hope of receiving comfort from a man of such eminent holiness. Nor were they disappointed, "for no one ever left him without the joy of consolation; no one ever returned burdened with the grief which had led him thither, for he knew how to comfort the sad with loving exhortations, to recall to the memory of those who were in straits the joys of the heavenly life, to show how fleeting and unsubstantial are all earthly things, whether prosperous or adverse. He was skilful in laying bare the manifold wiles of the old enemy, whereby the mind which is destitute of the love of God and of the brethren is so easily ensnared."

Nor do his biographers attempt to conceal that he felt his own weakness, in the face of his ghostly enemies. "How often," he would say, "have they miserably cast me headlong from the high rock! How have they, as it were, cast stones at me to slay me! Yea, they sought to affright me again and again by various trials of apparitions, and endeavoured to drive me from this place of conflict; yet were they never able to injure my body, or to terrify my mind."

On one occasion he was induced by the Abbess Elfleda, the sister of King Egfrid, to visit her at a monastery on Coquet Island. Here, it is said, he foretold that the king would only reign one year longer, and would be succeeded by his illegitimate brother, Aldfrid. Elfleda knew that the king wished

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to make Cuthbert a bishop, and desired to know whether this would take place. He professed his sense of his entire unworthiness of such a dignity, but said at the same time that it would not be for him to resist the will of God if that were made plain to him. He added that he believed if such a thing should happen, his Lord would, after two years, send him back to his solitude.

It was not long after this that Cuthbert was made a bishop. At a synod held at Twyford, on the Alue, Tunberct, Bishop of Hexham, was deposed, and Cuthbert chosen to fill his place. But neither messengers nor letters were able to draw him from his seclusion, until King Egfrid himself, accompanied by Bishop Trumwin and other holy and religious men, sailed over to Farne and adjured him, in the name of God, to yield to their desire. Convinced that it was the will of God, Cuthbert gave way; but, as he entertained a decided and reasonable preference for Lindisfarne, an arrangement was effected by which Eata went to Hexham and Cuthbert became Bishop of Lindisfarne, being the sixth from Aidan, the first bishop. He was consecrated at York on Easter Day, 26th March, 685, seven bishops assisting. Thus was fulfilled the prediction of his beloved master, Boisil, twenty-one years before. The fulfilment of Cuthbert's own prediction as to the length of Egfrid's reign very speedily followed. Contrary to the advice of his friends, and especially of the Bishop of Lindisfarne, Egfrid had engaged in war with the Picts. The Queen—the haughty Ermenburga—had gone to Carlisle, and was there residing in her sister's monas-

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tery, awaiting the result of Egfrid's expedition. There the bishop, who believed that the time of her widowhood was at hand, came to visit her. The day after his arrival some of the citizens led the bishop out to view the walls of the city and a remarkable fountain of Roman workmanship. He was leaning on his staff, his countenance bent sorrowfully to the ground, when suddenly he raised himself and lifted up his eyes to heaven, exclaiming, "Perhaps even now the contest is decided." A priest who was standing by hastily inquired, "How do you know?" The bishop, who probably could not himself explain his presentiment, drew his attention to the circumstance that the air was wonderfully changed and disturbed. "But," he added, "who among men is able to search out the judgments of God?" He immediately endeavoured to persuade the Queen to leave Carlisle for her own residence, lest perhaps something had happened to the king, promising to follow her as soon as his engagements would permit. A day or two after a man who had escaped from the battle brought the sad news that the king was slain.

Cuthbert's manner of life as a bishop was such as might have been expected from what we know of him as prior both at Melrose and Lindisfarne. His activity seems to have been unbounded. The diocese was of immense extent, reaching from the North Sea to the Solway, and northward to the Frith of Forth; yet he went everywhere, preaching the word, laying hands on the baptized, ordaining priests, and consecrating churches. The author of one of his lives thus describes his preaching, and his dealing with

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individuals :—"His discourse was pure and explicit, serious and candid, full of sweetness and grace, whether he spoke on the ministry of the law, the doctrines of the faith, the virtue of temperance, or the discipline of righteousness. His instructions were varied, and suited always to the person whom he addressed, for HE ALWAYS KNEW WHAT TO SAY, TO WHOM, WHEN, AND HOW TO SAY IT." We hear also of his abounding in works of charity and alms deeds.

In those early days churches were very few and far apart. Upon one occasion the bishop and his attendants came to a wild mountain district, where there were no houses. Yet there was a vast concourse of people from remote hamlets, who had come for instruction and confirmation. They pitched tents for the bishop on the road, and cut down branches from the trees to make such shelter as they could; and there he continued two days ministering the rite of confirmation. He could not be deterred even by the pestilence from his labours of love. Having on one occasion visited and comforted, so far as he knew, all the sick in an infected village, he said to his chaplain, "Think you any one else remains who stands in need of our ministrations?—or have we now seen all the sick, so that we may go elsewhere?"

His episcopate was of very short duration. In less than two years it came to an end. A short time before his last illness he was invited to Carlisle to ordain priests, and to give his blessing to Queen Ermenburga, who, since her husband's death, had put on the religious habit. Cuthbert had a friend named Herebert, who had taken up his abode in one of

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the islands of Lake Derwentwater. He had been accustomed to pay Cuthbert an annual visit, and now hearing that the bishop was at Carlisle, he came to meet him. Cuthbert desired him at once to put any question to him to which he wished to have an answer, for, he said, they would never meet again in this world. Herebert begged that he would remember his old friend, and entreat the Supreme Goodness that they should leave the world at the same time. The bishop applied himself to prayer, and presently announced to his friend that he knew that his prayer would be granted. And so it turned out. The two died at the same time, each in his own solitude.

About Christmas, 686, being persuaded that his end was drawing near, Cuthbert laid aside his episcopal functions, and retired to end his days in his beloved solitude of Farne. A great number of monks accompanied him to the boat. One asked him when they might look for his return. "When you bring my body back hither," was the answer. Nearly three months he lived on the island at that wintry and inclement season. For two months he was sufficiently strong to be able to leave his cell to meet the brethren who came to see him; but about the end of February he became so much worse that he could no longer do so. He was frequently visited by Herefrid, Abbot of Lindisfarne, to whom on one occasion he gave directions as to his funeral. His body was to be wrapped in the linen cloth which had been given him by the Abbess Verca, enclosed in a stone coffin, the gift of the Abbot Cudda, which, he said, would be found in his oratory, and buried in the island beside a cross at

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the east end of the oratory. After this conversation Herefrid returned to Lindisfarne, and for five days the stormy weather would not permit a boat to put out to sea. When Herefrid returned, he found the bishop had been much worse. He had managed to creep from the cell to the *Hospitium*, and, when asked how he had subsisted, he showed five onions, one of which was half eaten; with these he said he had moistened his mouth when parched with fever. The abbot conveyed to him the earnest desire of the brethren at Lindisfarne that he would permit them to have his body among them in the church. With some difficulty his consent was obtained; he feared his tomb would become a place of sanctuary for evil-doers, and so cause trouble to the community. He was now prevailed on to allow two brethren to remain with him, and chose one named Bede,[1] and Walstod, one who had been long afflicted. He was conveyed back to his cell, and permitted Walstod to go in with him. The good man afterwards declared his belief that as soon as he touched the bishop to support him his malady was cured. This took place about the third hour of the day (nine a.m.), Tuesday, 19th March, 687. Six hours afterwards Walstod came out, and told the abbot that the bishop desired to see him. Herefrid found him in the oratory, lying in a corner before the altar. He sat down by his side, and inquired what farewell message he had to send to the brethren. Cuthbert was now very weak, and could not speak long at a time. He exhorted them to keep

[1] Not, of course, the historian, who was a monk, not of Lindisfarne, but of Jarrow.

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peace among themselves; to attend carefully to the duties of hospitality; but to have no communion with any who, by keeping Easter at a wrong time or by an evil life, broke the unity of the Church. If at any future time they were compelled to choose between two evils, they were rather to take up his bones and leave the monastery than give way to schismatical courses; they were to be diligent in their studies, to observe most carefully the Catholic rules of the fathers and their own monastic institute.

Having finished his broken and interrupted instructions, Cuthbert spent the rest of the day in looking forward to his end and the future glory. The night he gave to watching and prayer. About midnight he received the last rites of religion from Herefrid, and strengthened himself for his passage by partaking of the body and blood of the Lord. Then, lifting up his eyes and stretching out his hands towards Heaven, in the early morn he breathed out his soul to God, on the Wednesday after Mid-lent Sunday, 20th March, 687.

Herefrid immediately communicated the sad news to the two brethren who were watching outside. At that moment they were saying the Psalms of the office for matins, and had come to the one beginning, "*Deus repulisti nos, et destruxisti nos; iratus es, et misertus es nobis.*" "O God, thou hast cast us out." (Ps. lix., = our lx.) According to an arrangement previously agreed on, one of them lighted two torches, went up to an elevated spot, and made a signal to the brethren at Lindisfarne that the blessed spirit of their father

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had passed to God. The brother who was watching at Lindisfarne saw the signal and hastened to the church. They were assembled for matins, and at the moment the messenger entered the choir were singing the same psalm, "*Deus repulisti.*" The coincidence was afterwards remembered as if it had been prophetic of troubles—of what precise nature we are not informed—which followed immediately on the death of their bishop.

St. Cuthbert's body was wrapped, according to his request, in Verca's linen cloth, enclosed in Cudda's stone coffin, and conveyed to Lindisfarne. It was met there by a great concourse of people, amid the chants of the brethren. When the needful preparations had been completed, it was carried to its place of rest, on the right side of the altar in the church of St. Peter at Lindisfarne.

It is to be observed, that in the case of St. Cuthbert many of the most ordinary causes of posthumous fame were absent. He was not, like Augustine of Canterbury, the founder of the church over which he presided. He did not suffer martyrdom for the faith which he preached. He does not seem even to have been exposed to persecution—on the contrary, he appears to have enjoyed the good will and esteem of all with whom he came in contact, including the fierce and headstrong King Egfrid, with whom his contemporary, Wilfrid, was called to maintain a life-long dispute. There is no evidence that he was in any way eminent for learning, and he has left no writings behind him. Yet he who began life as a poor orphan shepherd boy, was raised to the dignity

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of a bishop, and for almost twelve centuries his name has been a household word in the North. He only sat for a year and three quarters as Bishop of Lindisfarne, yet the Prince-Bishops of Durham have always been spoken of as his successors, rather than of Aidan, the founder of the see. He was never, so far as appears, canonized at Rome, yet the Church, which once contained his shrine, is one of the most glorious temples in our land. But, on the other hand, no one can read the simple and affectionate tale of his life by the Venerable Bede without feeling that he was unquestionably a man of great natural ability, and—no mean advantage—of a most attractive personal presence, a man of most loving and tender disposition, of ardent zeal for holiness, for the highest good of his fellow-men and for the glory of God, of unwearied diligence in his Master's cause. He had no selfish aims, he was content to spend and to be spent for the sake of others. There are evident tokens of great simplicity of character, and yet of consummate skill. Consider his judicious treatment of contentious brethren at Lindisfarne (p. 47). In him patience and meekness stood in the place of *tact*,—it was "the wisdom which is from above." Consider also his skill and efficacy as a preacher and director of souls, both as prior of Melrose and as bishop (pp. 46 and 56). "No one could conceal anything from him, and he always knew beforehand—WHAT TO SAY, TO WHOM, WHEN, AND HOW TO SAY IT." Bede, moreover, never misses an opportunity of mentioning his consistency. It cannot have escaped the reader how constantly the phrase occurs, "teaching by

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precept and example," "as well by his life as by his doctrine," &c. Can we wonder, then, that one so wise, yet so loving, so holy in his life, even in his asceticism so free of all taint of Pharisaical pride in himself, should have won the esteem and the love of all good men, and even compelled the veneration of the inconsistent and the bad? And so it was; in him were fulfilled the true sayings, "The memory of the just is blessed," "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance." Nearly seventy churches in Scotland and England, from Edinburgh to Wales, and even, it is said, in Cornwall, bear his name.

In later ages, women were jealously excluded from the churches of St. Cuthbert. At Durham the Galilee was built for their accommodation, and at Lindisfarne they attended divine service in a separate church, which now serves as the parish church of Holy Island. It was alleged that this was done by command of the saint, and a reason is found in the disorders of Ebba's monastery at Coldingham.[1] But there is not the smallest satisfactory proof that St. Cuthbert ever made such a regulation. The first writer who mentions it is Symeon of Durham, in whose time the restriction was undoubtedly in force; but he lived and wrote four centuries after St. Cuthbert's death. Bede, who lived in the adjoining diocese of Hexham, who survived the saint forty-eight years, and died in the eleventh year of his third successor, is quite silent on the subject, and so also is the Monk of Lindisfarne, who wrote his life.

[1] Symeon Dunelm, Ed. Bedford, p. 100.

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Many miracles were attributed to St. Cuthbert by the loving credulity of his contemporaries.[1] While he is preaching, the devil, to distract his hearers, makes a neighbouring house appear to be in flames; he detects the imposture, and removes the illusion—a real fire is extinguished by his prayers—the sea casts up timber for his use during his residence in Farne—the Abbess Elfleda is cured of an infirmity by wearing his girdle. It is obvious that some of these miracles can easily be explained. The simple-minded Christians of those days expected miracles, and when such are looked for, every unusual occurrence, every providential interposition, especially if it appears to be an answer to prayer, will assume the guise of a miracle.

"In this respect the caution of Bede is worthy of notice. He relates several wonderful events, but not one of them on his own knowledge. To

[1] Some of these are picturesque if not poetical—He is going to a distance to preach, with a boy for his companion,—while yet far from their destination they begin to be hungry, but know of no one on their road who can offer them hospitality—"Learn, my son," Cuthbert tells his companion, "to have faith in God, for he that serves Him never perishes with hunger" (clearly alluding to *Ps.* xxxiv. 9, 10). An eagle flies past, and Cuthbert says that it is in the power of God to make her minister to their wants. Presently the eagle alights by the side of a river—the boy is sent to see if she has provided anything, and returns with a fish of some size—he is reproved for bringing the whole—their *minister* must have her share—the fish is cut in two and half left for the eagle: the rest is taken to the nearest dwelling, where it is roasted, and they feast on it, sharing it with the people of the house, while Cuthbert preaches the Word of God to them, and praises Him for all His benefits.

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some he gives full credit on the personal authority of men whose names he mentions, and of whose veracity he can entertain no doubt; of the others he is careful to state that they come to him at third or fourth hand, or from the tradition of certain churches; and with this information he leaves them to the judgment of his readers." "It is singular that though his life of St. Cuthbert abounds with such narratives furnished by the monks of Lindisfarne, yet his lives of the five first abbots of his own monastery contain no notice of a single miracle."[1]

[1] Lingard, "Anglo-Saxon Church," vol. ii. p. 103.

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CHAPTER IV.

MONKWEARMOUTH—JARROW—THE VENERABLE BEDE.

ONE of the most remarkable of the early Northumbrian monasteries was the joint foundation of Wearmouth and Jarrow. We have the history of the foundation from Bede himself, who, during nearly the whole of his most useful life, was a member of the house at Jarrow. BENEDICT BISCOP was a Saxon of noble descent, who held office under King Oswy, and had been endowed by him with an estate suitable to his dignity. At the age of twenty-five he "renounced the secular life, despising the service of this world, with its corruptible and fading rewards, that he might engage in the service of the Heavenly King, and so attain to an eternal kingdom in heaven. He left home, kindred, and country, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, declining marriage in the flesh that he might follow the Virgin Lamb to the heavenly country."

In the year 653 he went to Rome to visit and worship at the tombs of the Apostles. Setting out in company with Wilfrid, who was some years younger, the two travelled together to Lyons, where Benedict, eager to be at Rome, left Wilfrid, and proceeded on his journey alone. He returned full of love and veneration, and was ever speaking to all whom he met about what he had seen. Alchfrid,

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the son of King Oswy, was smitten with Benedict's enthusiasm, and wished to accompany him on a second journey to the threshold of the Apostles, but his father could not spare him; and in 665 Benedict went to Rome alone. Having again taken deep draughts there of sacred knowledge, he retired to Lerins, a small island lying off the south coast of France, where there was a famous monastery. Here he received the tonsure, and remained for two years, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with monastic rules. From Lerins he returned to Rome, just at the time when Wighard had been sent by Egbert, King of Kent, and Oswy of Northumbria, to be consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Wighard died at Rome before he could be consecrated, and Pope Vitalian selected for the Primacy Theodore of Tarsus, a man versed in the Greek and Latin tongues, and skilled alike in secular and ecclesiastical learning. He gave him as his colleague and counsellor the Abbot Hadrian, and seeing Benedict to be wise, industrious, and religious, he persuaded him to return with the new Archbishop to his own country, that his knowledge of England and the English tongue might be a help to Theodore and Hadrian in their new undertaking. Benedict went to Canterbury with them, and undertook the charge of the monastery of St. Peter, of which Hadrian afterwards became abbot.

After two years in Kent, he took a third journey to Rome, where he acquired many books of sacred learning. On his return to his native Northumbria, he gave Egfrid, who was now king, an account of his adventures, displayed before him all his books and

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relics, and acquainted him with his desire to lead a religious life. Egfrid made him a grant of seventy folclands on the north side of the mouth of the river Wear, on which to build a monastery. Benedict, without loss of time, repaired to France to find masons, and such was their diligence, that in about a year their work was nearly completed. He now sent to France for workers in glass, from whom the English learnt the art of glazing windows, and making vessels of all kinds of glass. Vessels for the altar, and other things which could not be had in Britain, he procured from abroad. What could not be obtained in Gaul must be fetched from Rome, so thither he went a fourth time, and returned with a great store of books and relics, accompanied, too, by John the precentor of St. Peter's and abbot of St. Martin's, whom he had begged from the Pope, that he might teach the English the true ecclesiastical chant. At the instance of King Egfrid, he obtained from Pope Agatho letters of privilege for his monastery, and brought with him pictures to adorn his monastery,—The Blessed Virgin,—the twelve Apostles,—and scenes from the Apocalypse; so that, wherever men turned their eyes, they might behold the lovely countenance of Christ and His saints. With all this King Egfrid was so highly delighted, that he made Benedict another grant of forty folclands at the mouth of the Tyne, to build a second monastery. This was Jarrow. Twenty-two brethren, ten of whom had received the tonsure, were told off to form the new society under the presidency of Ceolfrid.

CEOLFRID, like Benedict Biscop, was of noble

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extraction, and born of devout parents. At the age of eighteen he made choice of the monastic life, and entered the monastery of Gilling, then under the care of Cynefrid, who had been set over it by Tunberct, afterwards Bishop of Hexham. Here Ceolfrid became remarkable for his devotion, which seemed greater than even that of his devout naster, and for his assiduous attention to reading, manual labour, and the discipline of the monastery. From Gilling he went with Tunberct, at the invitation of Wilfrid, to Ripon. There, in his twenty-seventh year, he was ordained presbyter. His desire for further improvement now led him to Kent and to the country of the East Angles, that he might profit by the teaching and example of St. Botulf. Though Ceolfrid excelled all in his knowledge of ecclesiastical and monastic discipline, yet he excelled still more in humility. He chose the humble office of baker to the community, and might be found perfecting himself in his knowledge of his priestly functions while heating the oven.

Benedict Biscop heard of him, "and (says his biographer) as Barnabas, a good man, full of the Holy Ghost and of faith, when he was about to preach at Antioch went to Tarsus to seek Saul, so Benedict, when about to found his abbey at Wearmouth, sought and obtained the help of Ceolfrid." But wearied out by the intractability of some of the better born in the monastery, before long Ceolfrid retired in disgust. Benedict, however, succeeded in recalling him, and chose him for his companion in the journey which he took to Rome, after the completion of the monastery. At Rome Ceolfrid profited much by what he saw and

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learned, and returned in company with Benedict and John the Precentor. Such was the man whom Benedict chose as the superior of his new house at Jarrow, and the manner in which he discharged his duties there fully justified his choice.

At the same time, in view of his frequent absence from home, Benedict appointed EASTERWIN, who had been left in charge during Benedict and Ceolfrid's journey to Rome, as joint abbot with himself at Wearmouth. Easterwin was a near relation of Benedict, and, like him, had left the service of King Oswy for a religious life. Notwithstanding his noble birth, so great was his humility, that he shrank from no kind of labour, but would take his turn in the barn or the mill, in the bakehouse, the garden, and the kitchen, and in looking after the sheep and the calves. After his promotion to the office of assistant abbot, he would have no separate lodging, no distinction in food from the brethren, but shared with them in everything. If, on visiting another monastery, he found the brethren at work, he would join in their labour at the plough or the anvil, or in winnowing corn.

Having made these appointments, Benedict went a fifth time to Rome, whence he came back, as before, loaded with books and sacred pictures, for the adornment of the church of St. Mary, which they had built in the larger monastery, and of that of St. Paul, at Jarrow. For St. Paul's there was a series of the Old Testament types, with the fulfilment of them in the Gospel History, such as Isaac carrying the wood, with our Saviour bearing the cross, the brazen

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serpent, with the Lord hanging on the cross, and so forth.

But much sorrow awaited Benedict on his return. King Egfrid, his patron, had been slain in battle, and the pestilence had been busy both at Wearmouth and Jarrow. At Wearmouth, Easterwin had been carried off; but it was some comfort that a very fit successor had been found in SIGFRID, the deacon, whose election in his absence met with Benedict's entire approval. At Jarrow all who were able to chant the service had been taken away, save Ceolfrid and one little boy. The two struggled on, as best they might, to perform the daily offices, only for a time omitting the antiphons at matins and vespers. But when, with many tears, they had gone on in this way for one week, they returned to the usual manner of reciting the office, though it cost Ceolfrid and the boy much labour before the survivors were able to take their part.

Benedict, it has been said, was highly pleased with the appointment of Sigfrid; but Sigfrid was in a very weak state of health, being afflicted with an incurable disease of the lungs; and it was not long before Benedict himself was smitten with paralysis. Three years he survived in entire helplessness, the whole lower part of his body being, as it were, dead. But both he and Sigfrid studied in all things to give thanks to God, and to mingle the praises of God with brotherly exhortations. Benedict enjoined on his brethren the strict observance of their rule; he committed to their anxious care the noble library which he had collected at Rome, lest it should be injured

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by neglect or, through want of care, gradually dispersed. He particularly advised them with regard to the election of his successor, who was to be chosen solely with a view to his qualifications for the office, without regard to birth or kindred;—he would rather have the monastery broken up, than committed to the charge of his own brother, who, as they knew, had not entered the way of truth. In the election, they were to be mindful of the rule of St. Benedict, and of the regulations laid down in the letters he had obtained from the Pope, and then to seek for the blessing of the bishop.

In his sleepless nights Benedict sent for a reader to comfort him with the story of Job, or with some other part of Holy Scripture, and as he was no longer able to rise for the nocturnal service, he would have some of the brethren take their turn in reciting the office at his bedside, while he endeavoured, as well as he could, to accompany them with his voice, though even this was a great trial to him. Long were these two—Benedict and Sigfrid—afflicted; and when the end drew near, as neither could move, Sigfrid was brought in his couch into Benedict's cell, laid on the same couch, and their heads were brought together that they might kiss each other. Ceolfrid, in the meantime, ruled as sole abbot in both monasteries.

Two months after this, Sigfrid was "released from the furnace in which he had been tried," and entered into his rest. Benedict lingered four months longer. It was a cold and stormy night in January, when it became clear that the end was at hand. The brethren

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met in the church to solace their grief by singing psalms, while some remained with the dying father. All the night through, to soothe his pain, the Gospel was read by a presbyter. When the hour of his departure drew near, he received the sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, as provision for his last journey. Then he quietly passed away. It was hailed as an indication that his exit had been guarded from the assaults of evil spirits, that, at the moment of his death, they were singing in the church the eighty-second Psalm (our lxxxiii.), in which we see the enemies of God, plotting against the Church and every believing soul, put to utter confusion by the Lord, to whom none is to be compared, who only is the Most High over all the earth. Benedict had ruled the monastery for sixteen years; eight alone, four with the help of Easterwin, three with that of Sigfrid, and one with that of Ceolfrid.

Ceolfrid governed the monasteries, or rather the one monastery in two places, for twenty-seven years. He was remarkable for his skill in psalmody, for his prudence in correcting the erring, and in comforting the weak, for his spareness in diet beyond what is usual with governors; for almsgiving and kindness to the poor. He enlarged and beautified the monastery, he added largely to the vessels for the altar and the church, and doubled the valuable library which Benedict had taken so much pains to found. Three copies of the entire Scriptures in Latin were written out; one for the church of St. Peter at Wearmouth, another for the church of St. Paul at Jarrow, "that all who should wish to read any chapter of either Testa-

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ment might be able readily to find what they desired." The third he destined as an offering to the Prince of the apostles at Rome. "A Codex of the Cosmographers, of marvellous workmanship, bought by Benedict at Rome, he gave to King Aldfrid," who, we have seen, was a learned man, "in exchange for eight folclands for the monastery." In the time of Pope Sergius he sent two monks to Rome, and obtained a charter of privileges for his own monastery (Jarrow) similar to that obtained from Pope Agatho by Benedict. When this was brought to England and laid before a synod, it was confirmed by the signatures of the bishops who were present, and of "the magnificent King Aldfrid."

At length Ceolfrid found himself too old for the work of his station, and resolved to resign and betake himself to Rome, there to prepare for his end. It was with difficulty and only after many tears and entreaties to remain with them that he could win the consent of the brethren. The account of his departure is so interesting and picturesque that we must linger for awhile over it. Very early in the morning on the 4th of June, the Thursday before Pentecost, 716, mass was said in the two churches of St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Peter at Wearmouth, when all who were present communicated. Then followed the preparation for his departure. All meet in the church of St. Peter—Ceolfrid offers incense and says a prayer at the altar—he stands on the steps where he was wont to read, with a thurible in his hand, and gives the kiss of peace to most of them—for his own weeping and theirs prevent him giving it to all. They go out,

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singing Litanies, as well as they can for weeping. On their way they enter the Oratory of St. Laurence in the Dormitory—the last farewell is said, the Abbot exhorting all to preserve mutual love and to observe in correcting delinquents the rule of the Gospel (St. Matt. xviii. 15–16); on his own part he offers forgiveness and reconciliation to all who may have offended him; he commends himself to their prayers, asking pardon if he should have reprehended any with undue severity. Thereupon they take up the psalm with the antiphon, and proceed to the shore. Once more the kiss of peace is given to all, again he says a prayer, all kneeling. He enters the boat with his companions, and two deacons, one bearing two lighted tapers, the other a golden cross, of Ceolfrid's own workmanship. From the shore he hears the chant blended with weeping; he himself, overcome with tears and sobbing, can only say—"Christ, have mercy on that company: Lord Almighty, protect that band. I am sure I have never seen better men, or men more ready to obey." He lands, adores the cross, mounts his horse, and departs, leaving in the two monasteries about six hundred monks.

The monks immediately proceeded to the election of a new abbot. Their choice fell on Huætberct, one of the monks who had been sent by Ceolfrid to Rome. In the meantime Ceolfrid proceeded on his journey slowly, accompanied by a large retinue consisting of eighty persons. He got as far as Langres on his way to Rome, and died there at the age of seventy-four.

But the great glory of this illustrious brotherhood

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was one who was the most distinguished ornament of the Northumbrian Church, one who is even now to be regarded as one of the most distinguished of the English race, the Presbyter BEDA, most commonly known in later times as the Venerable Bede, a man in whom the deepest piety and consequently the deepest humility appeared in combination with the most profound learning: "the saint, the scholar," the expounder of Holy Writ, the man of science—there seemed to be nothing that in his age could be known, that he did not know. "Who," says Mabillon, "ever applied himself to the study of every branch of literature and also to the teaching of others, more than Bede? Yet who was more closely united to heaven by the exercises of piety and religion?" "To see him pray," says an ancient writer, "one would have thought he left himself no time for study; and when we look at his books, we wonder he could have found time to do any thing else but write." Yet, as he passed his whole life from the age of seven in the monastery of Jarrow, it is not to be wondered at that the notices of his life are after all very scanty.

Nothing is known of his parentage, which probably was humble, but in the most valuable autobiographical notice appended to his "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," he tells us that he was born in the territory of the Abbey of Wearmouth. At the age of seven he was given up to the Abbot Benedict Biscop for education, and by him transferred to Ceolfrid whom, when he was about ten years old, he accompanied to the newly-founded Abbey at Jarrow.

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There can be very little doubt that he was the little boy who, with Ceolfrid, was the only survivor who could sing the service when the plague desolated Jarrow about the year 686. It is particularly mentioned that this boy with whom alone Ceolfrid continued to sing the daily office was afterwards a presbyter in the same monastery. In Benedict and Ceolfrid he had the advantage of very able and very learned teachers. Both of them had had the advantage of lengthened intercourse with the Archbishop Theodore and the Abbot Hadrian, and through them it doubtless was that Bede made his acquaintance with the Greek tongue, while John the Precentor was, perhaps, his instructor in Psalmody. And he failed not to turn these advantages to good account. "I spent the whole of my life," he tells us, "in the same monastery, and bestowed all my pains on the study of the Scriptures; and amid the observance of regular discipline, and the daily duty of singing in church, I have always held it sweet either to learn, or to teach, or to write. I received the diaconate in my nineteenth year, in the thirtieth the degree of the priesthood, both by the ministry of the most reverend Bishop John, at the desire of Ceolfrid." The bishop was John, Bishop of Hexham, commonly known as John of Beverley, in whose diocese Jarrow was situated.

Hitherto he seems to have written nothing, but now, after being advanced to the priesthood, he began to write at the command of his Bishop and the Abbot. "From the time that I was ordained priest until the fifty-ninth year of my life it has been my

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care, for my own benefit and that of those connected with me, to make short notes from the writings of the fathers, and occasionally to add something after the pattern of their sense and interpretation." Thus modestly does he speak of a long catalogue of commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, which have ever been held in high esteem in the Church, and quoted with deference by the most acute and learned commentators of later times. If a large part of them, as he says himself, is collected from the Fathers, let it be remembered that to make a judicious selection demands no small amount of learning and judgment as well as industry. Besides his comments on Holy Scripture, he wrote on every science that was then known, particularly arithmetic, geography, and astronomy, so that his works are really a kind of Encyclopædia, which is truly marvellous for that age.

But the work of his which is best known, and which is indeed a most inestimable treasure, is his "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation." To this we are indebted for all we know of the introduction of Christianity into Great Britain, and the early history of the English Church. Our civil historians also are under very great obligations to its author, for, not to mention that the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons was in itself an event most important as a social revolution even in matters purely civil, it is a treasury of most valuable information respecting the various revolutions of the different kingdoms and the history of their kings. The design was taken up at the suggestion of Albinus, Abbot of the Church of Canterbury, a disciple of Theodore, and of Hadrian the Abbot.

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From Albinus he derived his information concerning the affairs of the Church of Canterbury, transmitted partly by letters and partly by word of mouth, through Nothelm, a priest of the Church of London, who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Nothelm also had been to Rome, and had been permitted to search the archives of the Roman court for the transactions of Gregory the Great in connection with Britain. As to the rest of England, Bede derived his information from the various bishops and monasteries. He particularly mentions Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, who was still alive when he wrote. As to Northumbria he wrote either from personal knowledge, or from very recent tradition. This work was dedicated to King Ceolwulf, who was himself a learned man. A century and a-half afterwards, considerable portions of it were translated into English by the great King Alfred for the instruction of his countrymen.

Almost the last act of Bede's life was to write an epistle to Bishop Egbert, soon after Archbishop of York, a prelate of considerable eminence. A Pontifical under his name, the oldest or one of the oldest known, has come down to us, besides a Penitentiary, certain canons called the Excerpts of Egbert, and one or two other works. He was the instructor of the great scholar Alcuin, afterwards tutor of Charlemagne, the emperor. He founded a magnificent library at York. The Archbishopric had been in abeyance ever since St. Paulinus left the North, but Egbert recovered it in the very year of Bede's death. When this epistle was written, therefore, he was only a bishop. The letter is extremely interesting, not

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only as illustrating the character of the writer, but also as throwing light, not always very pleasant, on the state of the English Church at the close of Bede's life.

It begins by saying that the writer had visited Egbert the year before, and had spent some time with him in study. The bishop wished him to return this year, but increasing infirmity preventing him, this letter was written instead. He proceeds to offer some very earnest and affectionate counsel to the bishop respecting his own life. TEACHING AND PRACTICE ought to go together. Neither is of avail without the other. If a bishop lead a good life, but neglects to teach, or if he teach well, but is careless in his life, he will come short of the reward. He cautions him especially against idle talking, and other excesses of an "untamed tongue." Let him occupy his mind and tongue in speaking of divine things and meditating on the Holy Scriptures—specially St. Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus, the Pastoral Rule of St. Gregory, and some of his homilies on the Gospels. If it be indecent that the vessels of the altar and sanctuary should be applied to common or vile uses, so is it that the hands and lips employed in the celebration of divine mysteries should be used for what is frivolous or even offensive to God. It is a great help in guarding the tongue to keep good company—one may help the other. But he has heard of some bishops who delight in the society of those who are full of laughter, jests, and merry stories, and more inclined to pamper their bodies than to feed their souls with heavenly sacrifices. He holds out the examples in the Acts of Paul and Bar-

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nabas for the company they kept, and their diligence in preaching. Wherever he goes he should collect the people together and preach the Word to them. As his diocese is so extensive that he cannot go through all the hamlets this way in a year, he is to call in help by ordaining presbyters to preach, celebrate divine mysteries, and, especially, to baptize when occasion require. All ought to know the Belief and the Lord's Prayer—those who do not know Latin—among whom were some clergymen and monks —in the vulgar tongue—he himself had purposely translated them into English. It is a great sin when men look after the emoluments of their office and neglect its duties. He has heard of wild and woody places, where no bishop or preacher was ever seen, where yet the dues were collected. The gospel ought to be preached without charge; but what when men exact a charge but do not preach! How different the example of Samuel! (1 Sam. xii. 2 et seq.) If there be, as we believe, a benefit in the laying on of hands (in confirmation), since hereby the Holy Spirit is received, there must be a loss when it is withheld. The root of this evil is covetousness. When a prelate from covetousness undertakes the charge of a diocese, which he cannot go through in a year, preaching everywhere, he is guilty of mortal sin. Large dioceses ought to be divided. He believes Egbert would find the pious king Ceolwulf anxious to help him. The plan of St. Gregory, by which there were to be twelve bishops in our nation, with York for a metropolitan, ought to be carried out. But by the foolish grants of former kings hardly a place could be

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found for a new see. A great council ought to be held, and, with the consent of the bishop and the king, some of the monasteries ought to be applied to this purpose: and if opposition should be offered, let opponents be soothed by being allowed to appoint some one, either of themselves, or, if there were no one amongst themselves qualified, some one from without, to preside both over the monastery and the diocese. If this were done, Egbert would more readily recover the metropolitan pall for York.

Many are monasteries only in name, where there is no regular life; so many needless grants have been made that no way is left by which the sons of nobles or veterans can be provided for. Hence young men are unable to marry, and either leave the country or take to evil living. By a greater abuse still, laymen have purchased land for the erection of monasteries, got it made hereditary, and filled these houses with irregular monks, or even their own servants. There are few who have been in office under the king who have not done this. They remain laymen, but call themselves abbots, though they know nothing, and do not care to know anything of a religious life. They even bring in their wives, and beget children—often making their wives rulers (rectrices) over houses of women. Such places are profitable neither to God or man, for they neither advance the glory of God by exhibiting patterns of holy life nor do they provide soldiers for the defence of the country against the barbarians. There ought to be no scruple about revoking such reckless and mischievous grants. The difficulty was that bishops and abbots themselves had

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been found to confirm them. All this had been going on for thirty years, since the death of King Aldfrid.

He enjoins on Egbert to be very careful in the appointment of rulers, and to visit them to see that they execute faithfully the duties of their charge. He is to take care for the instruction of the laity, that they be taught what works they must do, what sins they who desire to please God must shun, with what sincerity of heart they must believe in Him, with what devout humility they are to implore His mercy, with what frequent diligence they ought to fortify themselves and all that is theirs by the sign of the holy Cross against the wiles of unclean spirits, how salutary for all sorts of Christians is the daily receiving of the body and blood of the Lord after the custom of the Church of Christ in Italy, Gaul, Africa, Greece, and all the East. Such devotion has become in our province so rare among the laity though the carelessness of their teachers, that very few communicate oftener than at the Nativity, the Epiphany, and Easter, whereas there are many persons of all ages and both sexes of sufficiently good life to communicate at least every Sunday and on every festival, as Egbert must have seen done at Rome.

Bede concludes his letter by a denunciation of covetousness; those who, under pretence of religion, k for worldly possessions are guilty of the sin of Ananias and Sapphira; yet *they* did not seek after what was not theirs, but only kept back what was their own. The Gospel rule is, "Sell all that thou

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hast;" the modern one is, "Get all that thou canst." Again, since the Lord has solemnly declared that the wide gate and the broad way lead to destruction, what hope can be entertained as to the salvation of those who plainly walk in the broad way all their life, who are restrained from no indulgence either of mind or body by the thought of final retribution; unless it can be thought that the alms which they give amid all their sinful pleasures may procure forgiveness, whereas no offering is acceptable to God which does not come from a clean hand, a pure conscience; or that those who have lived unworthy of the mysteries of the most holy oblation can hope that these mysteries celebrated by others after their death will avail to their redemption. Covetousness, he subjoins, in a very eloquent passage, ruined Balaam, Achan, King Saul, Gehazi, Judas, Ananias, and Sapphira; nay, to mount higher, the rebel angels and our first parents themselves.

THE story of Bede's death has been preserved in a letter from a monk in the monastery of Jarrow, named Cuthbert, to a friend whose name was Cuthwin; and always when the story is told, which it has been many times, it has been told in Cuthbert's words, translated from the Latin, though sometimes abridged.

"To his dearly-beloved in Christ and fellow-student Cuthwin, his fellow-disciple Cuthbert—health in the Lord. The little present sent by thee I received with much pleasure, and I have read with much gratification the letter of devout and learned

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friend, in which I find what I most especially desired, that you are most diligent in celebrating masses and holy prayers for Bede, our father and master, beloved of God. Wherefore I have the greater pleasure, at your request, in telling shortly, according to my ability, the manner of his departure from this world. About a fortnight before Easter, he began to be much troubled with quick breathing, yet without pain, and from this time until the Ascension of the Lord, that is the seventh of the calends of June (May 26) he spent his time in joy and gladness, night and day at all hours giving thanks to God. He gave lessons to us, his scholars, every day; the rest of the day he employed in singing psalms; the whole night, with short intervals of sleep, he watched with joy and thanksgiving. On waking he rehearsed the customary offices, and ceased not with outstretched hands to give thanks to God. Oh, truly blessed man! He sang that sentence of the blessed apostle, Paul, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,' and many other passages of Holy Writ. In our English tongue also he sang many things, for he was well acquainted with our songs. It was then that he composed in English verse, and sang with compunction, 'Before the needful departure, no man is more wise than needs, to search out, ere his going hence, for what of good or evil his soul may be brought into judgment after his death.' He sang also anthems according to his and our custom, one of which was, 'O King of glory, Lord of Hosts, who hast this day ascended in triumph above all heavens, leave us not orphans, but send upon us the promise of the

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Father, the spirit of truth. Alleluia.'[1] When he came to the words, 'Leave us not orphans,' he burst into tears and wept much. An hour after, he commenced to say over again what he had said before, and we, as we heard him, mourned with him. In turn we read, in turn we wept, indeed, we ever wept as we read. In such gladness we passed the Quinquagesimal days[2] until the Ascension, and he, with much joy, gave thanks to God that he was worthy to be so afflicted. He often repeated, 'God scourgeth every son whom He receiveth,' and other such texts—also the saying of St. Ambrose, 'I have not so lived that I am ashamed to live among you; but neither do I fear to die, seeing that we have a good God.' In those days, besides the lessons he gave us, and singing of psalms, he went on with the com position of two little works,—most worthy to be remembered—the rendering of the Gospel of St. John into our language for the benefit of the church, and some extracts from the Notes of Isidore the Bishop. 'For,' said he, 'I am not willing that my scholars should read falsehoods, or labour fruitlessly in this, after my death.' On the third day of the week (Tuesday) before the Ascension of the Lord, he began to be more severely distressed by shortness of breath, and some swelling began to appear in his feet; but

[1] The reader will here recognise the Collect for the Sunday after Ascension in the Prayer Book, introduced in that place at the Reformation. It was previously an anthem sung at Vespers, before and after the Magnificat on Ascension Day.

[2] This means the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, forty of which had elapsed at the Ascension.

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he spent the whole of that day in teaching, and dictated to us cheerfully, sometimes saying, 'Make haste to learn; I know not how long I may live; it may be my Maker will soon take me away.' To us, however, it seemed as if he well knew when he should depart. He passed the whole night awake, in thanksgiving. When morning broke on the fourth day (Wednesday) he directed us to write diligently what we had begun. After this, we walked in procession until the third hour (9 a.m.) with the relics of the saints, as the custom of the day requires; but one of us remained with him, who said to him, 'Dearest master, there is yet one chapter wanting; does it seem difficult to you to answer any more questions?' 'It is easy,' he said, 'take thy pen, be quiet, and write quickly.' The scholar complied. At the ninth hour (3 p.m.), he said to me, 'There are some valuables in my little box—pepper, handkerchiefs, and incense. Run quickly, and bring the presbyters of our monastery, that I may distribute among them some little presents, such as God has given me. The rich in this world aim at giving gold, silver, and other precious things; but I, with much love and joy, will bestow on my brethren what God has given me.' He spoke to every one, entreating that masses and prayers should be diligently offered for him. This they willingly promised; but they all wept, and sorrowed most of all for the word which he spake, that they should see his face no more in this world. Yet they rejoiced, because he said, 'It is time that I should return to Him who made me, who created me, who formed me out of nothing. I have

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lived a long time—my kind Judge has well ordered my life for me. The time of my departure is at hand; I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.' Speaking thus, and with other like words, he passed the day in joy until the evening. Then the youth before-mentioned said, 'Now the writing is finished.' Bede replied, 'Well! Thou hast said truly; all is finished. Take hold of my head, for it pleases me much to sit over against the holy place, where I was wont to pray, that so sitting I may call upon my Father.' Thus sitting on the pavement of his cell, singing 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' when he had named the Holy Ghost, he drew his last breath, and passed to the heavenly kingdom. Then all who witnessed the departure of the blessed Father declared that they had never seen any one finish his life in so great devotion and tranquillity. For, as thou hast heard, so long as the soul was in the body, he ceased not to say, 'Glory be to the Father,' and other spiritual words, and with outstretched hands to give thanks to God, the Living and True. Know, then, dearest brother, that there are many more things which I might tell about him; but at present want of skill in the tongue causes brevity of speech. Still I mean, with the help of God, some time to write more fully of what I have seen with my eyes and heard with my ears."

With Bede and his contemporaries the golden age of the Northumbrian Church may be said to have closed. This seems, therefore, not an unfitting occa-

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sion to endeavour to form some estimate of the results of the introduction of Christianity amongst them.

The tribes who subjugated Britain after the departure of the Romans were doubtless fierce and covetous, but they cannot be regarded as altogether savages. They had among them the elements of social life—first of the family, then of the tribe—and they were amenable to law and order. They were therefore less unprepared than many other nations to rise to higher things. After the failure of the attempt made by St. Paulinus, the Roman missionary, the Gospel was preached among them by the Scottish teachers from Hy, and the reader has learned what manner of men they were. Under them idolatry was abolished, and the Church of Christ established. What then was the result of the change?

1. They learned the true secret of their being—the true doctrine of a future state and of final retribution—the unspeakable love of God in sending a Saviour and Redeemer to his guilty creatures. They were taught by men who exemplified in their own conduct all that they enjoined on others, to deny self, to despise the world, and to set their heart on things above—to love God above all, and each one his neighbour as himself.

2. The monasteries were not only the homes of the preachers, but places of education for the clergy and for the young nobility, and the training they imparted was of a most practical character. We find English-born men, like Bede and Acca, familiar with the classics and the fathers of the Church within a few years after the arrival of St. Aidan; and men of

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noble birth, like Ceolfrid and Easterwin, freely giving themselves up to a life of hardness, and not disdaining manual labour of all kinds, thus practically teaching the fierce warriors among whom they lived the dignity of labour. Agriculture was promoted, and thus not only the chances of famine diminished, but a new and peaceful source of wealth opened up. Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop introduce architecture with all its kindred arts, such as working in metals and in glass. Nor must we forget the proficiency in art displayed in their manuscripts, of which we shall presently meet with a remarkable instance in a book which survives to the present time.

3. By such journeys as those of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop intercourse with the continent was opened up, and just as it is characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, both in England and America in the present day, to be great travellers, so in these early times pilgrimage to Rome, and even to much more distant places, speedily became a passion both with men and women, often, it is to be feared, withdrawing men from their duties at home, and not seldom proving fatal to the virtue of women [1]—thus becoming one source of the demoralizing influences which led to decay.

4. Many instances have come under the reader's notice of what was the great glory of the Northumbrian Church—its missionary character—but this has been already so much enlarged upon that it is needless to say any more here.

[1] "Epist. Bonifacii ad Cuthbertum." Haddan and Stubbs, vol. iii., p. 381.

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5. There is no reason to believe that the Anglo-Saxon Church differed from the rest of Christendom, or from Rome itself, either in doctrine or worship. The prominence given to the controversies respecting Easter and the tonsure sufficiently prove this; for if there had been any other difference it must have been mentioned, and the same argument will suffice against any surmise of a different system of government drawn from the peculiar constitution of the monastery at Hy,—if the system of government had been different from that of the rest of the Church, it must have become the subject of debate. It is almost certain, from the narrative of St. Cuthbert's death, that in the use of the Psalter they agreed with the Church of later times. The brethren outside the bishop's cell were saying their office—it was Wednesday morning—and had begun the psalm, "*Deus repulisti nos*," when they were informed of his death. At Lindisfarne they were saying the same psalm in church, and this is exactly what both would have been doing if they had used the breviary of Sarum, York, or Rome.

Nothing can be more absurd than to talk of the adoption of the Roman Easter and tonsure as the surrender of an independent position and submission to a usurping power. Men like Cuthbert and Bede had the good sense to see that the Scottish Easter was an indefensible singularity, founded upon a pure mistake, and producing needless difference between them and the rest of Christendom. It might as well be said that, in 1752, George II. and the English Church and nation submitted to the Pope, when they adopted

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the Gregorian Calendar—it has already been pointed out that the two cases are very much alike. The tonsure was a mere fashion, and it is nothing uncommon for Englishmen to adopt continental fashions.

The early days of the Northumbrian Church were full of glory, but it is manifest that before Bede's death her love had begun to wax cold. In the letter to Egbert he hints, not obscurely, of careless, avaricious, and ambitious bishops, of laxity in real monasteries, and of monasteries set up merely that those who originated them might be freed from public burdens. All this pointed to disorder and decay and things did not improve till by and by the avenger came.

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CHAPTER V.

LINDISFARNE—HEXHAM—CHESTER-LE-STREET.

WEARMOUTH and Jarrow and the venerable Bede have taken us far from the bishops of Lindisfarne and Hexham. Nearly fifty years elapsed between the death of St. Cuthbert and that of Bede. We now return to the bishops, and it may be well to take those of Hexham first, as that see came to an end about eighty-five years after Bede's death.

Eata, we have seen, was appointed to Hexham when Cuthbert was consecrated for Lindisfarne. His time at Hexham was very short, for he died soon after his appointment. Wilfrid then administered the see for a year, and then JOHN, afterwards known as St. John of Beverley, succeeded. John was one of the five monks under St. Hilda at Whitby whom that holy woman saw raised to the episcopate. In his early youth, in order to qualify himself for the service of God, he had gone to Canterbury, where he became a pupil of the Abbot Hadrian, in the famous school founded by Archbishop Theodore. Here he made great advances, both in learning and in piety. He was probably still an inmate of the monastery at Whitby when he was called to be Bishop of Hexham. Here his life was such as was to be expected from his previous history. Like St. Cuthbert, he spent much

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of his time, particularly in Lent, in retirement for the purpose of devotion. His favourite retreat was a solitary place about a mile-and-a-half from Hexham, called Earnshaw, the Eagle's Mount, where there was an oratory of St. Michael. But here he was not always alone. He was wont to take with him some poor or afflicted person to whom he might minister. On one of these occasions his companion was a poor boy who could not speak, and was also afflicted by a skin disease on his head which seems to have resembled ring-worm. The bishop prayed for him, and made the sign of the cross on his tongue, upon which, as we are told, he gained the faculty of speech. He then proceeded to instruct him how to use his newly-acquired power, teaching first to say "gae," meaning in Saxon, "yes," and then the different sounds represented by the letters of the alphabet. As to his head, he consulted a physician, and the result of the treatment prescribed was that he was completely cured, and his hair, which formerly had a most repulsive appearance, became beautiful and luxuriant.

Another anecdote serves to illustrate not only the tender and loving spirit of the good bishop, but also the estimation in which he was held. One day, when he was riding with a number of attendants, both laymen and clergymen, some of the younger members of the party asked and obtained the bishop's permission to try the metal of their horses by breaking out into a gallop. A young clergyman was forbidden by the bishop to follow their example; but being very well mounted, and the ground level and smooth, he was tempted to transgress. He was thrown, and severely

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injured. The bishop was very much concerned for him, and instead of staying that night, as usual, with his clergy, he watched and prayed beside the sufferer all night. In the morning he asked him if he knew who was speaking to him. "Yes," he answered, "you are my beloved bishop." The young man speedily recovered.

It was John, as we have seen, who ordained Bede both deacon and priest. Jarrow was in the diocese of Hexham, which, we are told, extended from the river Tees to the river Aln. John presided eighteen years at Hexham, and on the death of Bosa, in 706, was translated to York. The same love of retirement for the purpose of devotion followed him here. He founded a monastery at a place about twenty-seven miles from York, then called Deira-wood, and afterwards Beverley. In 717 he consecrated Wilfrid Junior, as his successor in the see of York, and retired altogether to Beverley to prepare for his end. He died in 721, and after his death was reverenced as a saint. To his intercession the famous king Athelstane ascribed his victory at Brunanburg in 937, and nearly seven centuries after his death Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a synod in 1416, ordered the two festivals—that of his death on June 7, and that of his translation on October 25—to be observed as holy days all over England, on the ground that it was to his merits that King Henry V. was indebted for the famous victory of Agincourt.

John was succeeded at Hexham by the famous Wilfrid, after his final reconciliation with King Aldfrid. When he was bishop at York he had built a

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very magnificent minster at Hexham, said by those who had travelled to Rome to be the goodliest church on this side of the Alps. A minute description of it is given by an early historian, Richard, Abbot of Hexham; but it is not very intelligible at the present day. Wilfrid died in 710, after an episcopate of four years. So ended his struggle, continued over a space of so many years, in resisting the division of the enormous diocese of York, which then reached from the Humber to the Forth—including also for a time a great part of Lincolnshire—more than 180 miles from north to south. It is hardly possible that Bede could have failed to have this in his mind when he speaks so severely of over extensive dioceses in his epistle to Egbert of York, the prelate who succeeded Wilfrid Junior, at York, the year before Bede died.

Wilfrid was succeeded as Bishop of Hexham by Acca, Abbot of Hexham. Acca was a man of great learning and of zeal for the truth, and, in every respect a very accomplished man. In his early days he resided as a scholar with Bosa, afterwards Bishop of York; but he subsequently attached himself to the fortunes of Wilfrid. He was with him in his last journey to Rome, where, as we are told, he learned much that he had no opportunity of learning elsewhere. After his return he became Abbot of Hexham, and on Wilfrid's death succeeded him as bishop. It fell to his lot to complete the churches which Wilfrid had begun, and he adorned them with lights and sacred vessels, besides many relics of the saints. Acca also collected a very ample library, containing many

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histories of the sufferings of the saints. He was himself well skilled in sacred song, and brought to Hexham one Maban, who had learned the ecclesiastical chant from the successors of the scholars of Pope Gregory at Canterbury, and retained him there twelve years, as well to teach the inmates of the monastery what they did not know, as to restore the knowledge of what had been partially forgotten.

As Bishop of Hexham Acca was Bede's diocesan, and there existed a very intimate friendship between them. It was at the instance of Acca that Bede wrote many of his commentaries on Holy Scripture. His commentary on St. Mark was dedicated to the Bishop of Hexham, and when Bede, in his modesty, hesitated to proceed with St. Luke, because it had been already treated by St. Ambrose, Acca wrote a letter of encouragement. Many of the Fathers, he reminded Bede, had written commentaries on parts of the Scriptures which had been handled by others; and with regard to St. Ambrose, his writings were so learned and profound that only the learned could understand them. He points out that St. Augustine, in his Epistle to Paulina on the Vision of God, makes a lengthened quotation from St. Ambrose on St. Luke, and spends the rest of the epistle in explaining it. This letter of Acca's, which he requested Bœda to prefix to his commentary, is a very remarkable one, showing an intimate acquaintance, not only with the Fathers, but also with classical authors, both of whom he quotes freely, yet without any parade of learning. Acca is said to have been expelled from his see in 732, but we are not told why or how. It is scarcely possible that one who was

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so much revered both before and after his death should have been driven away for any fault of his own; but he had held the see for twenty years, and must have been advanced in age. He survived his expulsion eight years.

It was one of the first acts of Egbert at York, after he received the pall as archbishop, to consecrate Acca's successor, FRETHBERT. Little is recorded of him but that for some time he administered the see of Lindisfarne during the temporary suspension by the king of Cynewulf, the bishop. He was succeeded by ALCHMUND, who, as well as his successor TILBERT was reverenced as a saint after his death. The next bishop was ETHELBERT. To him and to his monk Alcuin wrote one of his characteristic letters about the time when Lindisfarne was sacked by the Danes, exhorting them to faithfulness in the discharge of their duties, and reminding them of those who had gone before them, such as Wilfrid and Acca. Three other bishops, EADRED, EANBERT, and TIDFERTH, ruled at Hexham, and then about 820 in some way, not explained by historians, the see of Hexham came to an end.

We now return to the Bishops of Lindisfarne. St. Cuthbert died March 20, 687; after a year, during which Wilfrid had charge of this diocese, he was succeeded by EADBERT, "a man," Bede says, "illustrious for his knowledge of the Divine Scriptures, for his observance of heavenly precepts, and especially of almsgiving, so that he not only, according to the law, gave tithes of four-footed animals, and of corn and

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fruit, but also of clothing, to the poor." He stripped off the thatch with which his predecessor Finan had covered his wooden church, and put on a new roof of lead—covering the walls also, which were formed of split oak, with plates of lead. At the very end of his episcopate he directed the grave of St. Cuthbert to be opened on the eleventh anniversary of his death. The brethren expected nothing else than that the body would be entirely decayed, and that they would find nothing but bones. But to their great surprise and even terror they found that the body was quite entire, and the joints flexible. All the garments were quite fresh. The bishop was at the time in a sequestered part of the island, to which he was wont to retire for fasting with prayer and tears during Lent, and for forty days before Christmas, after the example of St. Cuthbert, at Farne. The brethren hastened to tell him of their discovery. By his direction the body was arrayed in new vestments, enclosed in a new chest, and placed upon the floor of the church. Eadbert died soon after. He had prayed fervently that he should not be taken away by a sudden death, but after a long illness, and his prayer was heard. He lingered for six weeks, and died on May 6, 698. He was buried in the tomb out of which St. Cuthbert's body had been taken.

The next bishop was EADFRID, another disciple of St. Cuthbert. It was to him that Bede dedicated his prose life of St. Cuthbert. The cell which the saint had occupied in Farne did not long remain untenanted. Ethelwold, a monk of Ripon, took up his abode in it, and lived there twelve years. Felgild, another solitary,

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succeeded, but by this time the cell had fallen into a very dilapidated state, and Eadfrid rebuilt it from the foundation. This bishop was a very skilful penman. In honour of St. Cuthbert he made a copy of the four gospels in Latin, which has come down to our time and is now in the British Museum. It is still quite fresh, and a work of surpassing beauty, both for the writing and the illuminations. Ethelwold, the successor of Eadfrid, caused it to be adorned with gold and gems, by Bilfrid, an anchoret, who was a very skilful worker in gold. It was preserved in the church at Lindisfarne with great care, and when, a century and a half later, the community were forced by the Danish invasions to desert their church and monastery, and fly with St. Cuthbert's body, they took this book with them. In an abortive attempt which they made to cross into Ireland, it fell into the sea, but was recovered perfectly uninjured. It accompanied the community to Chester-le-Street and Durham, and was given after the Conquest to the restored monastery of Lindisfarne, the inmates of which were obliged to transmit to Durham every year an attestation of its safe custody. The original manuscript is the Latin of St. Jerome, but long after an interlinear Saxon gloss was made by one Aldred. It is uncertain at what time this was done, but the language shows that it must have been after the Danes had been long enough in the country to modify the common speech considerably. At the Dissolution in the time of Henry VIII., it disappeared, but came eventually into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, by whom it was given to the British Museum. It is

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supposed to have been written by Eadfrid before he became bishop, but if it was done in the lifetime of St. Cuthbert, there is no evidence to show that it was ever given to him personally. Eadfrid held the see for ten years.

He was succeeded by ETHELWOLD, who also had been an attendant on St. Cuthbert. His care for the adornment of the "Book of the Gospels" written by his predecessor has just been mentioned. During his time Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, resigned his crown, and retired into the monastery of Lindisfarne, being succeeded by Eadfrid. It is said that up to this time the monks had never been allowed to drink beer, but now that they had a royal neophyte this indulgence was permitted. Ceolwulf was a prince of great piety and learning, but, as it would seem, not well fitted for the cares of government in these rough and troubled times.

After Ethelwold succeeded CYNEWULF as bishop, and held the see forty years. He had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of King Eadfrid on account of the murder of one Offa, a person of royal extraction, who had taken sanctuary at Lindisfarne. The bishop was imprisoned for two years, during which the affairs of the diocese were administered by the Bishop of Hexham, but he and the king were afterwards reconciled to each other. Eadfrid after an energetic reign of twenty-one years, at a time of peace and prosperity, when he was in the enjoyment of the respect and esteem of all his contemporaries, followed the example of King Ceolwulf and retired to a monastic life at York, where his brother was archbishop.

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In the year 780, Cynewulf, worn out by old age and fatigue, with the consent of the congregation resigned the episcopate to HIGBALD, who ruled the see during a most calamitous period of twenty-one years. The kingdom of Northumbria was now hastening to decay. There is no reason to hope that there was any improvement during the previous half-century in the church—and it was no good sign, though they may have believed themselves to be actuated by good motives, when one king after another abandoned the charge committed to him and embraced the monastic profession. In truth the country had become a scene of dissension, perjury, fraud, and bloodshed. It was obviously bad enough that England should be divided into so many petty kingdoms almost constantly at war with each other, but in Northumbria, in particular, dissension, treason, and murder seem almost to have been the normal condition of things. And England had been warned. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, himself an Englishman, had addressed a letter to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he denounced in very strong terms the wickedness of the nation. Alcuin, also a pupil of Egbert, Archbishop of York, had written from the court of Charlemagne on the same subject to his friends in the north of England. But these warnings were little heeded and, before long, punishment came. The history reads almost like what we have in the Books of the Kings and the Prophets of Israel and Judah—calls to repentance slighted, followed at length by the strokes of divine vengeance.

Some years after the beginning of Higbald's episco-

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pate the Danes began to infest the coast of England. They were first heard of in 787, when three ships landed in Wessex, but there is not much more said about them until 793, when they made a descent on the coast of Northumbria. On the 7th June they came to Lindisfarne. Not content with plundering the monastery they profaned the sanctuary and dug down the altars. Some of the defenceless monks were slain. Others were carried off bound. Most of these after being insulted and stripped were released in scorn. Others were drowned.

This calamity sent a thrill of consternation and horror wherever the Saxon tongue was spoken. Alcuin heard of it at the court of Charlemagne, and it grieved him to the heart, but he could not refrain from seeing in it the hand of an avenging God. His sorrow found vent in various letters to the King of Northumbria and his nobles, and to the brethren at Lindisfarne. After expostulating most faithfully with the former on the sins of the land, he continues, "Fear the scourge which has come on the Church of St. Cuthbert, a place most holy, abundantly enriched with the prayers of many saints, but now miserably wasted by the pagans. He who does not fear and correct himself, and pray in penitence to God for the prosperity of his country has not a heart of flesh, but one of stone." In another letter "Behold we and our fathers have for three hundred and fifty years been the inhabitants of this most fair land, and never before now has such a terror appeared as we have suffered from the pagans, nor could such a shipwreck have been thought possible. See the Church of St. Cuth-

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bert sprinkled with the blood of the saints of God, spoiled of all its adornments—the most venerable place in Britain given up to be the spoil of the heathen, and where first, after the departure of Paulinus from York, the Christian religion took root among the Northumbrians, there it finds the beginning of sorrows and calamity." He proceeds again to enlarge on the prevalence of iniquity and to urge amendment. He reminds the bishop and the monks of Lindisfarne of the virtuous example of their fathers, urges them to take in good part the chastening of the Lord, points to Jerusalem wasted by the Chaldeans, Rome by the Goths, yea, all Europe by the Goths and Huns, but now, by God's mercy, as the heavens are adorned with stars, so is Europe with churches in which the offices of the Christian religion flourish and increase. "Exhort one another, and say, 'Let us return to the Lord our God, for He will abundantly pardon, and He never forsakes them who trust in Him.'"

The next year the same calamity befel Wearmouth and Jarrow, but this time the avenger was at hand. The leader of the pagan host was slain, his ships wrecked by a tempest, and his men who escaped the sea were slain by the inhabitants. After some time Higbald and his monks stole back to their devastated church. It was a great comfort in the midst of their sorrows that they found that the shrine of St. Cuthbert had escaped destruction. Higbald survived this catastrophe for ten years, and died 25th May, 803.

He was succeeded by EGBERT who filled the see eighteen years, 803—821.

Next HEATHURERD presided for eight years, 821—

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829. In his time the see of Hexham became extinct, but neither he nor any other bishop till Eardulf seems to have taken charge of it.

After him Eggred became bishop, of whom little more is recorded than that he was a man of noble birth, and did more than any of his predecessors in increasing the possessions of the church. He built the church of Norham in honour of St. Cuthbert and King Ceolwulf, and translated the relics of the latter to that place. He died in the sixteenth year of his episcopate, 830--846.

Next came Eanbert who presided for eight years, 846—854.

After him, in 854, Eardulf became bishop. He appears to have been a very exemplary prelate, most diligent in the visitation of his wide-spreading diocese, not overlooking even its most remote dependencies, such as Carlisle, which, from the time of King Egfrid, had been regarded as part of the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, and subject to the episcopal sway of his successors. Eadred, the abbot of the monastery founded at Carlisle by St. Cuthbert, became Eardulf's faithful friend, adviser, and companion in all the troubles which fell to his lot. Eardulf is most of all remarkable for his wanderings from place to place for seven years with the body of St. Cuthbert, and for the final transfer of the see in his time from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street. In the twentieth year of his episcopate occurred a most terrible invasion of the Danes and other barbarous and pagan tribes. For seven years they devasted the southern provinces of England, and at length, about 881, reached the banks of

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the Tyne. Even had they come in less overpowering numbers, Northumbria was miserably ill prepared to resist them. Two rival kings, Osbert and Ella, were contending for the sovereignty, now tributary to Wessex, and the country was, as indeed it had been for long, a scene of dissension and bloodshed. At the last hour the two rivals agreed to lay aside their differences, and make common cause against the enemy. Both fell in battle, apparently little regretted, for both alike were inclined to tyranny, and had laid violent hands on the possessions of the church. The whole country was now at the mercy of the ruthless enemy, and Eardulf, fearing a repetition of the horrors of 793, resolved, with Eadred's advice and concurrence, to anticipate the catastrophe by seeking safety in flight. The bishop and the monks took the body of St. Cuthbert, the sacred vessels and books of the church, with the relics of St. Oswald and the early bishops, and bade a final adieu to Lindisfarne. They were accompanied by the young men who had been brought up in the monastery and a great number of the Christian people. For seven years they wandered over fell and moor constantly changing their resting place lest they should be overtaken by the enemy, often worn out by hunger and fatigue, thus presenting a most singular and unprecedented instance of devotion. At one time Eardulf, in something like despair, resolved to cross over into Ireland. The weather seemed propitious when they embarked, but very soon a storm arose, and not improbably Eardulf's conscience accused him of cowardice, and they resolved to return. Imme-

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diately thereupon the storm abated, and they were presently landed in safety. It is not wonderful that, in after times, many a picturesque legend gathered round the remarkable story of the flight and wanderings of the servants of St. Cuthbert, and doubtless found ready belief in a credulous and superstitious age—how, when they were about to leave the island, the sea opened of itself to afford them a passage—how, in the attempted passage to Ireland, Eadbert's precious book of the Gospels fell overboard and was afterwards recovered by the direction of the saint himself at a great distance from the place where, apparently, it was lost—how the saint appeared to King Alfred when in hiding in Ethelingay, and foretold his victory over his enemies and his restoration to his kingdom —how, when the bearers of the body were worn out with fatigue, the saint directed them where to find a horse and car in which they ever afterwards conveyed their precious load.

At length, after seven years wandering they reached the abbey of Craike, in Yorkshire, near Easingwold, one of the places given by King Egfrid to St. Cuthbert, and were hospitably received by Geve the abbot. Here the abbot, Eadred, had a dream in which he was directed by St. Cuthbert to say that a captive of Danish extraction, Guthred, the son of Hardacnut, who had been sold to a widow, was to be sought out and redeemed from slavery; that he was to be proposed before an assembly of the army as king of Northumbria under Alfred, and to have the bracelet, the sign of royal dignity, placed upon his arm. When the abbot awoke he told the dream to his friends. The young man

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was sought out, redeemed, and by the united vote of the natives and the Danes proposed as king, and the appointment was ratified by King Alfred. Four months after this they removed with the body of St. Cuthbert to Cuncachester now called Chester-le-Street.[1] This place being at some distance from the sea might appear to be less exposed to the ravages of the Danes. It was also more central than Lindisfarne for the diocese, which now extended over what had been the diocese of Hexham. Here the body of the saint remained, and here was the seat of the bishop and the brotherhood for a hundred and thirteen years, at the end of which time, after another flight, they finally found their final resting place at Durham. As might be supposed, Guthred, who at the instance of the monks had been raised from slavery to kingly power, was not ungrateful. With the concurrence of his over-lord, King Alfred, he made over all the land between the Wear and the Tyne to St. Cuthbert and the ministers in his church, and to this grant were added many other valuable privileges; amongst others, that whosoever should take refuge at the sepulchre of St. Cuthbert should have the right of sanctuary for thirty-seven days.

Nine bishops in succession ruled at Chester-le-Street. Eardulf survived the change for nineteen years, and died in the forty-sixth year of his episcopate.

Cutheard succeeded, who had on the whole a peaceful time, though the country must have been in a very distracted state. He held the see fifteen years.

[1] The old name means the camp on the little river Con; the modern, the camp on the street, or Roman way.

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TILRED came next, who, after an episcopate of fourteen years, died in 928.

WIGRED succeeded and died in 944.

UCHTRED. 944–947.

SEXHELM came next, but at the end of a few months was forced to resign, being so covetous a man that the people could not endure him.

ALDRED succeeded, and held the see twenty-one years. 947–968.

ELFSIG for twenty-two years. 968–990.

Then, in the year 990, ALDHUN, in whose time another great change occurred.

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CHAPTER VI.

DURHAM.

"LOOK UPON ZION, THE CITY OF OUR SOLEMNITIES;
THINE EYES SHALL SEE JERUSALEM, A QUIET HABITATION.
* * * * * *
THERE THE GLORIOUS LORD SHALL BE UNTO US
A PLACE OF BROAD RIVERS AND STREAMS,
WHEREIN SHALL GO NO GALLEY WITH OARS,
NEITHER SHALL GALLANT SHIP PASS THERE BY."

ALDHUN is said to have been of noble extraction and a prelate of very great merit. But during his episcopate the country under the weak rule of Ethelred the Unready was sorely harassed by Danes, though many of them had embraced Christianity and settled peaceably in the country, a large portion of England having in fact been given up to them. But still, from time to time, fresh bands of pirates were landing on the coast. When in 995 they appeared in Northumbria there was no adequate force to oppose them; on the contrary three of the chieftains whose duty it was to defend the country, took part with the invaders. Bamburgh was captured and the whole country ravaged. The bishop and monks in their terror deserted Chester-le-Street, and, taking with them the body of St. Cuthbert fled southward to Ripon. After an absence of three or four months, a precarious peace having been obtained by lavish gifts on the part of the English King, the fugitives resolved to

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return. On their way to Chester-le-Street, they had got as far as Wredelau, a place to the east of Durham, the precise situation of which is not now known, when the car on which the body of St. Cuthbert was borne became immoveable. More strength was applied and yet more, but all to no purpose. In this emergency the Bishop enjoined a fast of three days with prayer for divine direction. On the third day it was revealed to a monk named Eadmer that they must take the body of the saint to DUNHOLM. They hastened to obey and now the car, which formerly all their united strength could not move, was drawn with the greatest ease. At Dunholm—for such was the name which was afterwards modified into DURHAM—there was to be seen an eminence on a peninsula formed by the windings of the river Wear, covered entirely with shaggy wood, except a little spot on the top which was cleared and under cultivation. It is needless to attempt to describe the unrivalled beauty of the situation. Since even now it owes much to the woods which adorn the *Banks* (such is the local word) of the winding river, it must, even then, before it received its crown of church and castle and monastery, have been a place exceeding fair. It was obviously, moreover, a position of great natural strength, the river on three sides affording additional protection, and this circumstance, with its distance from the sea, must have given to the sons of St. Cuthbert a sense of as great immunity from hostile assault as they could expect to find anywhere. It was indeed a "lordly seat" for the "Cathedral huge and vast" which was in due time to "look down upon the Wear."

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A chapel formed of boughs was hastily erected to receive the body of St. Cuthbert, for they were now persuaded that it was the will of God and St. Cuthbert that here they should remain. There were considerable difficulties to be faced in rendering it habitable, but they received abundant help. Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland, and the whole population from the Coquet to the Tees came to their aid, and the hill was very soon sufficiently cleared to enable them to erect dwellings for the accommodation of the bishop and his company. Aldhun took measures without delay to commence the building of a church. The body of St. Cuthbert was before long transferred from the chapel of Boughs to another built of stone, afterwards called the White church, until the great church which Aldhun contemplated should be built.

The building of this went on apace. It was finished all but the western tower in three years, and on the 4th September, 999, it was solemnly dedicated. Then, "all men rejoicing and praising God, the uncorrupted body of the most holy father Cuthbert was translated with due honour into the place prepared for it." The day was kept ever afterwards as the Feast of the Translation of St. Cuthbert.

Aldhun held the see for twenty-nine years, and died in the year 1018. It is said that his end was hastened by grief on account of a miserable defeat sustained by the Northumbrians in a battle with the Scots at Carham, in which a vast number of his people were slain. Aldhun had a daughter, Egfrida, whom he married to Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland above mentioned, giving with her certain lands which

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belonged "to the church of St. Cuthbert" on condition that he would treat her with due honour. But Uchtred sent her back, and restored the lands. After this she was married to a thane of the country, but he too sent her back; and then her father sent her to a monastery, where she took the veil and remained for the rest of her life. As all the Saxon bishops were monks, Egfrida must have been born before her father's profession, at which time he was doubtless a widower. But, whatever the causes may have been, Egfrida's history is certainly a remarkable one. Uchtred's subsequent history presents us with a strange view of the state of society among the upper classes at this time. After he had repudiated Egfrida, Styr, the son of Ulf, a wealthy thane who is mentioned as having given Darlington to the church of St. Cuthbert, gave him his daughter—stipulating that he would aid him in his feud with one Thurebrand by doing his best to kill him. After this, Uchtred increased so much in military renown that King Ethelred gave him his daughter Elfgiva, as his third wife. When Sweyn, the king of Denmark, invaded England, Uchtred found himself obliged, after some resistance, to submit to the foreigner, and when Sweyn died and Canute, his son, took his place, he called on Uchtred to help him. Uchtred refused to fight against his father-in-law, but soon found it necessary once more to yield. He was summoned to an interview with Canute, and agreed to meet him on receiving a promise of safety in going and returning. But behind a curtain which stretched across the hall of audience was concealed a band of Danish soldiers headed by his enemy

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Thurebrand, or one of the same name. These at a given signal rushed out and slew Uchtred. Aldred, Uchtred's son by Aldhun's daughter, afterwards avenged his father's murder by slaying Thurebrand, and then a feud ensued between Aldred and Carl, the son of Thurebrand; after a time this was made up by the interposition of friends, and the two agreed, as a pledge of friendship, to visit Rome together. Unpropitious weather delayed their departure, and Carl was treacherous—at a feast in his own house, after receiving Aldred with great seeming kindness, he assassinated him. Long after this, Waltheof, the grandson of Aldred, collected a band of youthful comrades, and assailed Carl's sons when they were at a feast in their elder brother's house. They were all cut off but two—one of whom was absent, while the other was spared on account of his amiable character. Having accomplished their purpose, they plundered the house and withdrew. All this gives us a fearful idea of the state of society which immediately preceded the Norman conquest, and makes even that visitation appear a real blessing. Indeed, there can be no doubt that it was owing to the complete demoralization of the Saxons, and the disunion and treachery that prevailed amongst them, that the barbarous Danes were enabled to make so easy a conquest of England and to spread desolation and destruction over the face of the country.

After Aldhun's death the see remained vacant for three years. This is to be accounted for in some measure by the very unsettled and insecure state of the country, but another reason is also assigned.

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The clergy held an assembly to consider who among themselves should be chosen to fill the vacant seat; but "each in turn thought it hard to leave the joys of the world, to turn his back on the blandishments and pleasures of life, in order to undertake so holy an office, for the canons required that the bishop should be a member of the same church (*i.e.* a monk), and a man of honest and religious conversation." At length, one day when they were engaged in their deliberations, a presbyter of good life named EADMUND entered the assembly, and when he found what they were discussing, jestingly asked: "Why cannot you appoint me?" Knowing him to be a man of great piety and great energy, they took in earnest what he had said in jest, and proceeded to elect him. At first he thought they too were jesting, but, finding that they really meant it, he earnestly disclaimed any degree of fitness for the dignity—but, seeing that nothing is impossible with God, he left himself to His will. They had recourse to fasting with prayer for three days. On the third day, when a certain presbyter was saying mass at the tomb of St. Cuthbert, in the middle of the *Canon* he seemed to hear a voice from the shrine say three times: "Eadmund is Bishop." In great surprise he immediately bent his knee, and after a pause proceeded with the mass. When it was over, on questioning the deacon who was assisting, he found that he also had heard the voice. The rest expressed wonder at the celebrant having bent the knee at a part of the office where it was not usual to do so, and they were told what had been heard. Eadmund was forced to give way, and, after

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having assumed the monastic habit, was presented as bishop elect to King Canute, and consecrated at Winchester by Wulstan, Archbishop of York. On his return he visited Peterborough, and requested the Abbot to provide him with a monk well versed in ecclesiastical offices and the monastic institute, whom he might carry with him to the north as his companion and friend. The abbot sent with him Egelric, who was afterwards bishop. Eadmund, who was a man of noble birth, fully justified the choice of the clergy. He was an upright, active, and impartial prelate; feared by the evil and beloved by the good, and in no wise disposed to flatter the great, or to permit any encroachment on the rights of the Church.

There was in his time a priest in the Church of Durham by name Elfred, who survived to the time of Bishop Egelwin, entirely devoted to St. Cuthbert; very sober, given to alms-deeds, diligent in prayer, a terror to persons of loose character, but revered by all well-behaved and God-fearing men. He was a most faithful guardian of the Church, and when two succeeding bishops, Egelric and Egelwin, and some of the monks wished to make free with the goods of the Church, and even with the relics, the fear of Elfred restrained them. Every night he recited the psalter, before he rang the bell for nocturns, and he was most zealous in teaching the young men to take their part in divine service. He possessed what he believed to be one of the hairs of St. Cuthbert, and he would fill a thurible with burning coals and lay the hair upon them—it would not burn, but shone

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in the fire like gold, and when cooled returned to its former hue. In obedience, as he believed, to a vision, he visited all the ancient churches of Northumbria, where the bodies of the saints of former days lay buried. These he disinterred, and placed above ground to be venerated by the faithful, taking care, at the same time to reserve a portion of the relics for his own church of Durham. It was his practice every year on the anniversary of the death of the Venerable Bede to go to Jarrow, where the great Teacher lived, and died, and was buried, in order to watch and pray beside his grave. On one of these occasions, after spending as usual some days of vigil and prayer in the ruined church, he set off one morning very early for Durham, without saying anything to his companions, like one who had some secret which he would not share with others. Though he lived many years after this he never returned to Jarrow, as if he had obtained all that he had wished for. Being frequently asked where the bones of the Venerable Bede rested, he would reply, "No one knows that better than I do. Be assured that the same coffin which holds the most sacred body of Cuthbert contains also the bones of Bede. They will be sought for in vain elsewhere." [1]

After an episcopate of twenty-three years Eadmund died at Gloucester, A.D. 1041. In his time Duncan, king

[1] Such is Symeon's story, on the strength of which Elfred has been accused of *stealing* the bones of the Venerable Bede from Jarrow. It is to be remembered, however, that the church at Jarrow then lay in ruins, nor was it till more than forty years after that any attempt was made to rebuild it.

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of the Scots, the "gracious Duncan" of Shakespeare, invaded Northumbria. He laid siege to Durham, but was repelled with much slaughter of his men, whose heads were exposed in the market-place. He returned to his own country to be murdered by Macbeth.

After Eadmund's death, EADRED, a priest of the church, bought the bishopric from King Hardecanute with money taken from the treasury of the church, but ten months after he suddenly became indisposed when he was going into the church, nd died. It is not certain that he was ever consecrated.

EGELRIC now assumed the bishopric. At this time Seward bore rule as Earl of Northumbria from the Humber to the Tweed, the Lothians having been made over by a former earl to the Scots. Egelric, being a stranger, was obnoxious to the people, who, in his third year, expelled him. He applied to Seward, who compelled the clergy to receive him back again whether they would or not. In fact, no sympathy existed between Egelric and his flock. They regarded him as an alien, and latterly, at least, his chief aim seems to have been to gather all that he could, without any particular regard to the means of doing so, and to return to the south with his spoils. Having undertaken to re-build the Church of Chester-le-Street, where the see had been for one hundred and thirteen years, he pulled down the wooden fabric. In digging the foundations for a church of stone a great mass of treasure was found, which was believed to have been hidden there in the time of Sexhelm. This Egelric

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appropriated, and sent to his own monastery of Peterborough, intending soon to follow it. Having amassed all he could, and by the favour of Earl Tosti secured the nomination of his brother as his successor, he abdicated the see and retired to the south. Here he employed his ill-gotten wealth in building bridges and making roads in marshy places, which caused him to be regarded with favour in that country. Some years after he was called to account for his peculations by the Conqueror, and put in prison at Westminster, where he died.

EGELWIN now succeeded, A.D. 1056, rather, as we have seen, by the aid of Earl Tosti than by the election or consent of the clergy and people. Ten years after came the conquest of England by William the Norman. In the north the claims of Edgar the Atheling were supported by some of the nobility, and among the rest by Bishop Egelwin. But Edgar soon found it necessary to make his submission. In the third year of his reign William sent to the north Robert Cumin to keep the natives in order. All were in despair at his approach; but it was winter, and there was no escape. The bishop met Cumin at the River Tees, and warned him not to venture to Durham without a sufficient force. Perhaps the Bishop was suspected, but, anyhow, the warning was neglected, and Cumin entered Durham with only seven hundred men, whom he at once let loose upon the inhabitants. But early in the morning the people rose against their invaders, and slew great numbers of them. The house in which Cumin himself lodged was set on fire, and, as it was close to the church,

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the Western Tower, to the horror and consternation of the people, took fire. Many and fervent were their prayers, and as they prayed a change of wind saved the tower. The house continued to burn, and the inmates, including their leader, were either burnt, or slain in attempting to escape.

The Conqueror was not a man to be trifled with, and dire was his vengeance. The whole country to the north of York was laid waste, so that for nine years after the ground lay untilled. The Bishop foresaw the approaching storm, and resolved to flee with St. Cuthbert's body to Lindisfarne. The first night of their journey they stayed at Jarrow, still in ruins, the second at Bedlington, the third at Tuggall, in the parish of Bamburgh; on the fourth they reached the coast opposite the Island. Here the tide was full, and for a time they were in despair. But once more the waves were parted and made a way for them. In three months they were able to return to Durham, where all divine service had ceased since their departure. To their great joy they found all things as they had left them, except a massive crucifix, the gift of Earl Tosti, which was too large for them to remove in the hurry of their departure. This had been stripped of its gold and jewels. It seems the Conqueror afterwards expressed great regret at this mischance, and in the time of Walcher, the next bishop, bestowed sufficient gold on the church to make good the damage. Part of it was applied to this purpose, the rest Walcher, in his poverty, appropriated to his own use.

Not long after the return from Lindisfarne, Egelwin, having seized a large amount of the Church's treasure,

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resolved to betake himself to Cologne, and he embarked for the purpose of crossing to the continent. But adverse winds drove him into Scotland, where he spent the winter. He then set out for the south, but was captured at Ely, taken to Abingdon, and there imprisoned by order of the king. Being required to restore what he had taken from the Church, he denied upon oath that he had appropriated anything, but he was betrayed by a bracelet dropping down from his arm as he was washing his hands. It is said that in his vexation he refused all sustenance, and so died, though it has been doubted whether his abstinence was altogether voluntary. Such was the end of the last Saxon bishop. The dates of his abdication and death are uncertain.

The history of the later Bishops of Durham must have made it plain to the reader that the Church was in a state of great spiritual decay. The chapter had from the beginning been under monastic rule; or, to speak more correctly, the bishop and the monks formed one community, called the "Congregation of St. Cuthbert;" but the monks had fallen away from all regular discipline, so that they could not even be called regular canons. This state of things was no doubt greatly owing to the confusions caused by the continual irruptions of the Danes. In the south a great deal had been done by the famous Archbishop Dunstan, and Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, for the restoration of discipline; but even their reforms had, by the time of the conquest, in a great measure lost their vigour. The clergy in general all over England were very ignorant, and, as

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indeed is almost the necessary result, irregular and vicious in their lives. In short, all over the country King William found the Church more or less in disorder, and the ecclesiastical changes which he made were very great. He displaced most of the Saxon prelates, and filled their places with Norman ecclesiastics, who, as foreigners, were likely in most cases to have much less in common with their flocks or their clergy than with the king. He also separated the bishops' courts from the courts of the hundreds. This did not mean merely that causes of a spiritual nature were to come exclusively under the cognizance of the bishop, but that whenever a clerk was in any way an offender, he was amenable to the bishop alone. This measure afterwards led to great disturbances; it was, for instance, in great part the cause of the dissension between Thomas-à-Becket and Henry II.; but, in the mean time, it served to increase the power of the king. Besides this, the bishops and abbots who held baronies were put on the same footing with regard to feudal obligations as the secular barons, and the consequence was that in time the bishops began to regard themselves very much in the light of feudal nobles.

During the course of ages the possessions of the church of Durham, or, as it was called, the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, had become very great; but hitherto this patrimony appears to have been held in common by the bishop and monks under the name of the Congregation of St. Cuthbert. From this time a separation of interests began to take place, followed by continual dissensions between the bishop and the

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chapter, until at last, though not before the time of the ninth bishop after the conquest, they came to an agreement, hereafter to be noticed, by which their respective possessions and immunities were defined.

But there was one peculiarity which distinguished the see of Durham from all others in England—the Palatinate power. The Bishop was not only a prelate of the church, but a temporal Prince. All the other great divisions of England were called *Counties* because they were, or were supposed to be, under the jurisdiction of an earl or *count*, but the territory between the Tees and the Tyne, with certain detached districts between the Tyne and the Tweed, was not called a *county* but "THE BISHOPRICK," because the bishop was its temporal ruler. Elsewhere the terms *Diocese* and *Bishoprick* meant the same thing, but it was not so here—the word "Diocese" referred to the whole territory under the bishop's spiritual jurisdiction, that is, the country from the Tees to the Tweed, including both the shires of Durham and Northumberland—the word "Bishoprick" referred only to the district under the bishop's temporal jurisdiction, or the shire of Durham. Hence "the men of the Bishoprick" are constantly distinguished from "the men of Northumberland," though both alike were in the diocese. And the powers of the Bishop of Durham within the Bishoprick were far greater than those of any earl in his county. The origin of the Palatinate is lost in the mist of remote antiquity. It does not seem to have begun at the Conquest, nor was it then at its greatest height. The germ may have existed in Saxon times, perhaps ever since the kings Guthred and Alfred gave

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to the church the land between the Wear and the Tyne, and its culmination appears to have arrived in the fourteenth century. The following list will show how extensive the powers of the palatinate were within the liberty and franchise of the bishop, including what is now called the county of Durham, Bedlingtonshire, near Morpeth, and Islandshire and Norhamshire in the extreme north of Northumberland :—

1. The right of having his own courts of chancery, exchequer, and admiralty, as well as holding pleas of the crown, pleas of land, and all other pleas, and also a court of wards and liveries.

2. The same right of appointing his own chancellor, justices, sheriffs, justices of the peace, coroners, escheators, and other officers, with the liberty of Durham as the sovereign possessed elsewhere within his realm.

3. The right of issuing in his own name writs, precepts, and mandates, both original and judicial, and commissions to raise forces and levy subsidies.

4. The right of coining money in his own mint at Durham.

5. Forfeitures and escheats of every description, whether for high treason, or in right of being "ultimus hæres."

6. The right of the "year, day, and waste."[1]

[1] Forfeitures for felonies short of high treason were only for the life of the defendant, but the sovereign had a right to a *year and a day* more, during which time he might commit any *waste* he pleased, such as pulling down houses, extirpating gardens, ploughing meadows, or the like.

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7. The right to pardon treasons, murders, felonies, and infractions of the peace.

8 The right of holding councils in the nature of parliaments.

9. The right of granting charters for free warren markets, fairs, as also for murage, pontage, pavage, &c.

10. The right of creating palatine barons by summoning his tenants to councils and parliaments.[1]

Such were the magnificent immunities and powers of the ancient Bishops of Durham, rendering him almost independent of the king. It is not wonderful to find that some of our more strenuous sovereigns, such as Edward I., were jealous of such a power belonging to a subject, more especially in the hands of so ambitious and daring a man as Anthony Bek. These powers were much curtailed by Henry VIII., and in 1836 what remained, with the title itself of Count Palatine, were vested in the crown.

But not only the Bishop, the people of the Bishoprick also were a privileged class. They were called the Haliwercfolc or Holy-work-people, whose proper work was prayer and attendance on the body of St. Cuthbert, of which they were the guardians. As the Bishop's *men*, they were subject to none but to him, and to him only within the bounds of the Bishoprick. They were not liable to be called upon, either by the king or the Bishop to serve in Scotland without their own consent, and the reader will find them claiming this immunity in the time of the most powerful and arbitrary prelate who ever occupied the see of Durham.

[1] Sir T. D. Hardy. Pref. to Bp. Kellaw's Register, p. lv.

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From the time at which the history has now arrived, the Bishops of Durham were great feudal barons, or rather princes, and it must be owned there was much more of worldliness than of religion in the history of the diocese. It is much to be regretted that it is very difficult, during all the subsequent period till the Reformation, to get even a glimpse of the people. Doubtless there were many, both in monastic and secular life, who during that time lived and died in the faith and fear of God, but such as these do not, for the most part, appear on the page of history. Nevertheless, such as it is, it is a stirring, eventful, and interesting history.

It is most unfortunate that nearly all the episcopal registers of Durham have disappeared, but there is in the archives of the Dean and Chapter a vast store of records of various kinds, from which much valuable historical information is to be derived. A considerable number of these have been printed. A series of historians, six in number, all belonging to the church of Durham itself, recount the annals of the see, from the first preaching of the Gospel to the Reformation.

1. The Venerable Bede, who closes his invaluable history four years before his death, A.D. 731.

2. Symeon, a monk of Durham, takes up the story where Bede breaks off, and brings it down to the death of Bishop Galfrid Rufus, A.D. 1143.

3. An anonymous continuator of Symeon carries the history to the election of Bishop Pudsey, A.D. 1154.

4. Geoffrey of Coldingham to the election of Bishop Richard de Marisco, A.D. 1217.

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5. Robert de Graystanes, who closes with his own election to the see, A.D. 1333.

6. William de Chambre continues the history to the death of Bishop Tunstall, A.D. 1559.[1]

[1] In the compilation of the following pages much valuable help and counsel has been most kindly rendered by the Rev. William Greenwell, Librarian to the dean and chapter, without the grateful mention of whose name no book on any subject connected with Durham or the North, or on any subject about which information is to be obtained at Durham, would be complete; the Rev. J. T. Fowler, Librarian to the University, and and Keeper of Bishop Cosin's library; the Rev. George Ornsby, and the Rev. James Raine, cánons of York; all members of the University of Durham, all but one natives of the "Bishoprick," and scholars of the Cathedral School. The church of St. Cuthbert can thus still produce her own Haliwercfolc.

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CHAPTER VII.

NORMAN BISHOPS—DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

A YEAR after Egelwin's flight the see was filled by WALCHER, the Conqueror himself appointing a native of Lorraine, and, it seems, a canon of Liege, a man of noble birth, of no mean attainments either in sacred or secular knowledge. His consecration took place at Winchester, and when Queen Editha, the widow of the Confessor, saw his milk-white hair, his rosy countenance, and tall and handsome figure, she exclaimed, thinking of the wild and fierce race among whom he was going, "Here we have a martyr."

Not long after his appointment, the Conqueror, on his return from Scotland, paid a visit to Durham, and made many enquiries about the body of St. Cuthbert. Though all with one voice loudly asserted that it rested at Durham, he would not believe them, but insisted upon an investigation being made by certain bishops and abbots whom he deputed for the purpose, threatening that if he detected any imposture, he would put all the chief men of the people to death. All were in consternation, and earnestly implored the mercy of God for the sake of the merits of St. Cuthbert; but while the bishop was celebrating mass on All Saints Day, the king, who was bent on carrying out his purpose, was suddenly seized

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with a violent fever. He rushed from the church, turned his back on a splendid banquet which had been prepared for him, mounted his horse, and never drew bridle till he reached the Tees. In remembrance of this occurrence the little street at the east end of the cathedral was long called the King's Gate.[1]

In Bishop Walcher's time the monastic institute was revived in the diocese of Durham by three strangers from the far south. Aldwin, Prior of Winchcombe, in the diocese of Worcester, had read in church history (doubtless that of the Venerable Bede) of monasteries long ago in Northumbria filled by holy men leading lives of mortification and self-denial, and he was seized with a desire to seek out the ruined places, and there, in imitation of the saints of former days, to lead a life of poverty. He found no one likeminded with himself at Winchcombe, but in the neighbouring monastery of Evesham he met with two—Elfwius, a deacon, and Reinfrid, a brother who was quite ignorant of letters. Their abbot gave them permission to go with him only on condition that he would undertake the charge of their souls. Full of earnest purpose the three took their journey to the north on foot, having with them an ass carrying a few books, with vestments and other things necessary

[1] It was the chief of the people, not of the clergy who were threatened. They had no doubt made the guardianship of St. Cuthbert's body a plea for declining feudal service. This was sure to enrage the Conqueror, who immediately questioned the *existence* of the body. Its *incorruption* did not at all come into discussion. Their terror was natural enough ; for though they knew that the coffin was there, they could not be *sure* after such a lapse of time that it really contained the body.

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for the celebration of divine service. In due time they reached a place on the north bank of the Tyne called Monkchester, the City of Monks, where soon after the Conqueror built a castle and so entitled it to receive the well known name of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. But, notwithstanding the name which promised so well for their purpose, they found that here they were under secular jurisdiction, that of the Earl of Northumberland, and that there were no monastic ruins. The bishop heard of them and invited them to come to Durham and place themselves under the protection of the Church. When they arrived he received them with great honour, and gave thanks to God who had sent such men to him. Soon after he bestowed on them the monastery of St. Paul, at Jarrow, now a melancholy ruin, retaining no trace of its ancient glory. They made a roof for the church of rough spars and hay, and immediately began the celebration of divine service. For themselves, they set up a hut in the midst of the ruins, to serve as a place for eating and sleeping, trusting to the alms of devout and charitable persons for their sustenance. Here they lived in cold, and often in hunger. But, by and by, others joined them,—a few Northumbrians, but far more from the south of England, who, like Abraham, forsaking land and kindred, came to put themselves under Aldwin's care. "For he was a man distinguished for contempt of the world, humble both in mind and deportment, patient in adversity, not elated by prosperity, of an acute genius, prudent in counsel, grave in speech and action, a companion of the lowly, fervent in zeal against contumacy, with

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a mind set on heavenly things, trying to lead all that he could in the same way." The Bishop gave them all the encouragement in his power, and assigned to them some land in the neighbourhood, that they might be able to rebuild the church and monastery.

As their numbers increased Aldwin began to think of occupying new ground; and leaving his companion in travel, Elfwius, whom the community had elected as their prior, he departed from Jarrow. The third of the original band, Reinfrid, went to Whitby, where he repaired the ruins of Hilda's famous house, and founded a new community, which was afterwards removed to York, and became the Abbey of St. Mary in that city. Aldwin was accompanied by Turgot, a person who had not yet assumed the monastic habit. Turgot's history was a remarkable one. He was an Englishman of good birth in Lincolnshire. When that district submitted to the Conqueror, he was detained with others as a hostage in Lincoln Castle. Hence he made his escape, and got on board a ship at Grimsby bound for Norway. In the same vessel were ambassadors from King William, on their way to the Court of Norway. Great was their surprise when they found a runaway hostage on board. They would have had the shipmen to turn back, but this they refused to do, and Turgot went on to Norway. Here he came under the notice of King Olave, who wanted some one to teach him to chant the Psalms, a service which Turgot was able to render him. This brought him into high favour, and he lived in ease at court, and even acquired wealth. Sometimes his conscience told him that this way of life was incon-

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sistent with that contempt of the world which he ought to feel; but "religious desires pass away when not at once acted on, and he became once more quite easy in his mind." At length he resolved to break with all, and embarked with his effects on board a ship sailing to England. The ship was wrecked, and all his goods were lost, while only he and five or six of the crew were saved. He came to Durham, and having told the bishop his story, was put by him under the care of Aldwin.

Turgot was the companion with whom Aldwin left Jarrow. They went together to Melrose, wishing to make a settlement among the ruins of the monastery where St. Cuthbert had been brought up under the care of St. Boisil; but they were not well received. King Malcolm would have them swear allegiance to him, and as they were not prepared for this, the king treated them with great harshness. Walcher invited them to return, and when they hesitated, threatened them with excommunication if they persisted in disobedience. Fearing the spiritual censure more than the wrath of the king, they returned, and Walcher bestowed on them the ruins of Wearmouth. Here they made for themselves dwellings of boughs, and Aldwin gave Turgot the monastic habit. The bishop showed them great kindness, and frequently invited them to Durham that he might converse with them, admitting them to his counsel, and frequently acting by their advice. He gave them the Vill of Wearmouth, to which his successor added Southwick. Many brethren came to them from remote parts of England to lead a monastic life with them, and "with

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one heart and one soul to serve Christ." They now began to repair the Church of St. Peter, of which but the half-ruined walls were standing, overgrown not only with briars and thorns but with trees. They cut down these, and roofed over the walls. Here they led a calm and peaceful life, under the bishop's protection, who often came to visit them and to take care that their wants were supplied. Here also, if his life had been longer spared, Walcher had intended to become a monk himself, and afterwards to remove the monks to Durham. For the latter purpose he commenced the necessary buildings, but his death prevented this being carried into effect.

The country continued in a very unsettled state during Walcher's episcopate. On his return from Scotland, in 1072, the Conqueror built two castles, one at Durham for the protection of the Church, and another, as has already been noticed, at Monkchester, thus "the City of Monks" became the New Castle upon the Tyne. On the forfeiture of Earl Waltheof, he committed the charge of the Earldom of Northumberland to the bishop, an invidious and perilous addition to the cares of the episcopal office.

Bishop Walcher came to a very tragical end. He seems himself to have been a man of a mild and gentle disposition; but he did not exercise a sufficient control over his servants. Leobwin, his chaplain, and Gilbert, to whom he had entrusted the affairs of the earldom, were hated by the people on account of their tyranny. There was one Lyulf, a person of extensive property, held in high esteem by the public, and also a much valued friend of the Bishop,

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who ventured to remonstrate with him on the conduct of his servants. This enraged these men against Lyulf, and they contrived to have him assassinated. In vain did the bishop deny any complicity in this atrocious deed, for it was noticed that he still retained the guilty parties in his service. At length it was agreed to hold a conference at Gateshead, and thither came a number of persons of consequence from the north of the Tyne with no friendly feelings towards the Bishop. A tumult arose, and Walcher retired into the church, and calling some of the chief men to him, endeavoured to persuade them to peace and good feeling. They retired as if to speak to the people, and the Bishop was left with a very few attendants, among whom appear to have been Leobwin and Gilbert. Outside the mob set upon the Bishop's soldiers when off their guard and killed them. They next set fire to the church, and then arose the horrid cry, "Good rede, short rede, slay ye the bishop." In great terror those within confessed their sins, and going out were instantly slain. The bishop was now reduced to the alternative of being burnt or facing the furious mob. Choosing the latter, he went out, and covering his face with his robe was immediately killed. His body was so mangled that it could hardly be recognised. The monks of Jarrow carried it off by water to their own house, from whence it was conveyed to Durham for burial. The mob rushed to Durham, and kept possession of the city for some days, so that the murdered prelate could not be buried with due respect. At last the fear of vengeance compelled them to with-

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draw. Odo, the king's brother, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, was sent to take summary vengeance for the tumult. It seems he acted towards the Church as a spoiler as well as an avenger, for he carried off a magnificent crozier heavy with gold and gems.

Little more than six months after Walcher's murder, a new bishop, another foreigner, William, Abbot of St. Vincent, in Normandy, was appointed by the king. In his youth he had been a member of the Church of Bayeux, but, his father having become a monk in the monastery of St. Carilef, he removed to that house, where he took the monastic habit. In time he became head of the neighbouring Abbey of St. Vincent, and is commonly known as WILLIAM OF ST. CARILEF. He was a man of great ability and of great attainments, eloquent, active, and astute. He was a great friend of the monks, and is, therefore, as might be supposed, well spoken of by them, but he does not appear to have stood high in the opinion of others.[1] By William Rufus, who succeeded his father, Carilef was much trusted, but he betrayed his trust and joined the king's uncle, Odo of Bayeux, in rebellion, and was consequently obliged to leave the country and remain in exile in Normandy for three years. At the end of that time he was successful in saving one of the king's castles in Normandy, by contriving to get the siege raised when the garrison was on the point of surrender. This led to a reconciliation, and from that time till his death Carilef strove with all his might to conciliate the king, and appeared to be inclined to stick at

[1] See Church's "Life of St. Anselm," pp. 203, seq.

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nothing which might promote his ends. It is needless to say that one who could act in this way towards William Rufus would not be very scrupulous. In all the contest between the king and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, he took part against the primate and urged his deposition, apparently hoping that, if Anselm were removed, he might be advanced to the primacy.

The two things for which Carilef is chiefly remarkable, and with which his name will be always associated, are,—(1), The removal of the secular or secularised clergy from the cathedral; and, (2), The commencement of a new cathedral.

1. We are told that on Carilef's arrival he found the services of the cathedral very negligently performed. The clergy were neither monks nor regular canons. As we have already seen, Bishop Walcher had planned the transfer of the new societies of Jarrow and Wearmouth to Durham, and Carilef, soon after his appointment, resolved to accomplish what his predecessor's death had prevented. But he went to work with caution. He consulted the king and Queen Matilda. William advised him to obtain the sanction of the pope, Gregory VII. About this there was no difficulty, and when all preliminaries had been settled, the clergy had the option offered of taking the habit or retiring. One only—and he was their dean—was with difficulty persuaded by his son, himself a monk, to take the habit. All the rest refused. They were provided for in the collegiate churches of Norton, Auckland, and Darlington, all of which were founded for secular canons. Upon this

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the monks were brought from Jarrow and Wearmouth, and settled at Durham as the chapter of the cathedral. The various offices of the Church were filled up out of their number. Their superior, Aldwin, was appointed prior. Thus, on the 26th May, 1083, "the monks were given to the Church, and the Church given to them." For four centuries and a half Durham continued to be a great Benedictine monastery.

2. If the society which belonged to the cathedral was in a state of decay, the same could hardly have been said of the material fabric, which was not a hundred years old, but Carilef resolved to rebuild it. The introduction of the monks signalised the early part of his episcopate, the commencement of the new church marked its close. It is not unlikely that during his exile in Normandy he matured his design. He returned with a great quantity of valuable furniture and books,—and no doubt with a skilful architect, for a skilful architect indeed he must have been who planned such a church as now stands at Durham,—a church which, for stately grandeur and beauty of proportion, may perhaps be matched, but cannot be exceeded anywhere. Its wonderful situation readily suggests the words of the Psalmist :—

> Beautiful for situation ; the joy of the whole land is Mount Zion.

while the Conqueror's Castle prompts the addition,—

> On the north side lieth the city of the great King.

In 1092 Aldwin's church was razed to the founda-

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tion,—on Friday, 29th July, 1093, the bishop and prior began to dig the foundations of the new church, and on the 11th of August the foundation-stone was laid by William the bishop and Turgot the prior. It is said by some that Malcolm Canmore, King of Scots, was also present and took part in the solemnity.

At this time also the bishop appointed Turgot to be Archdeacon as well as Prior of Durham, with the charge of preaching everywhere in the Bishoprick, in imitation, it is expressly stated, of St. Boisil and St. Cuthbert at Melrose.

In Carilef's time the Priory of Tynemouth, reared originally in memory of St. Oswin, was transferred by Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, to the Abbey of St. Alban's. In the time of former earls it had been in the possession of the monks of Jarrow, and was subsequently given to the church of St. Cuthbert, but Mowbray, having had a quarrel with the bishop, drove out the monks of St. Cuthbert. It continued to be a cell of St. Alban's until the dissolution of monasteries.

Carilef did not live to see his cathedral far advanced. He was taken ill at Windsor, at Christmas, 1095. It is very pleasant to hear that he was visited by St. Anselm, who conversed with him on his soul's health, and gave him his benediction. On New Year's Day, Thomas, Archbishop of York, Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester, and John, Bishop of Bath and Wells, came at the dying man's request to minister the last offices, and to receive his profession of faith. He commended his monks, "whom he dearly loved," to their care. Afterwards, the bishops began to con-

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verse among themselves as to the place of his burial. They expressed an opinion that he should be laid in the church at Durham, having evinced so much care for the memory of St. Cuthbert. Carilef overheard them, and earnestly protested against his being laid near the saint. He was utterly unworthy of so great an honour, and would prefer to be buried in the chapterhouse. He expired next day. His body was conveyed to Durham, where, according to his dying request, it was buried in the chapterhouse.

For three years and five months William Rufus kept the see vacant, and during this time an annual payment of three hundred pounds was made to the royal treasury. He then gave the Bishoprick to RANULF, who, on account of the great favour which the king had for him, was called *par excellence* the king's chaplain. This person, surnamed FLAMBARD or the Burning Torch, also called Passaflabere, was a Norman clergyman of obscure birth, a man of considerable ability though of little learning, very cunning and utterly unscrupulous.[1] He had been in the service of Maurice, Bishop of London, but leaving him on account of some dispute, he took service under the king. An unprincipled minister suited well an unprincipled king, and Ranulf made himself so useful that he was advanced from one step to another, till he exercised the whole power, whether invested with the titles or not, of Treasurer, Chancellor, and other high offices. It was from him that William learned his iniquitous practice of keeping

[1] See Church's "Life of St. Anselm," pp. 160, seq.

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bishopricks and abbeys vacant, and of appropriating the revenues. If the king demanded an aid from his subjects, Ranulf would exact double what was required, and William congratulated himself on having a minister who cared not whom he displeased, so he served his sovereign's ends. He was, indeed, universally hated, and at last his enemies determined to destroy him. A person named Gerold, who had been in the service of the Bishop of London at the same time as Ranulf, was found willing to promote their design. This man, meeting Ranulf on the banks of the Thames, feigned a message from the bishop, who he said was dying, and greatly desired to see Ranulf. He persuaded him to get into a boat that he might be conveyed to the bishop. But the boat, instead of going to the Bishop's, proceeded down the river till they came to a ship ready to sail, in which Ranulf was forced to embark. In his haste he had only taken with him his secretary and one or two other servants. He now threw away his own seal and his secretary's, lest some improper use should be made of them. His servants were next separated from him, and the ship proceeded out to sea. Two of the sailors were appointed to dispatch him, either by casting him overboard or by knocking him on the head with clubs; for which service they were to be rewarded with his clothes. But neither would consent to let the other have his cloak, which was the most valuable of his garments. This caused delay: and, in the meantime, a dreadful storm arose, and the shipmen began to be in great terror on their own account. Now was Ranulf's opportunity, of which he failed not to avail himself;

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in the end, by fair speeches and boundless promises, he prevailed on Gerold to turn back and set him on shore; and to the dismay of his enemies, a few days after they supposed they had got rid of him, he appeared again amongst them.

It was not long after this that the Bishoprick of Durham was conferred upon him, and he was now made to feel that the king had profited by what he had learned from him, for he had to pay a thousand pounds before he could get possession. He was consecrated in 1099, by Thomas, Archbishop of York, no profession of obedience being exacted any more than there had been from his predecessor. In little more than a year his patron, King William, was slain while hunting, and was succeeded by his brother, Henry I. The toils now closed around Ranulf, and the middle of August saw him in the Tower at the command of the King. But his cunning did not desert him, and he soon managed to escape. He was allowed two shillings a day for his subsistence, besides what his friends sent him, so that he was able to live well. One day he had a rope brought to him in a flagon of wine, and having feasted his guards till they were drunk, he fastened his rope to the central pillar of his window, took his pastoral staff in his hand and bade farewell to his prison. Unfortunately he forgot to take his gloves, and his hands were so torn in his descent that the bone was made bare—the rope was too short—and, as the bishop was fat, he came to the ground with some violence; but friends were ready with horses, and he escaped to Normandy, where he was well received by Earl Robert, King Henry's brother.

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During his absence, the king took from the see Carlisle with its belongings, and erected it into an independent diocese. He also took away Hexham and bestowed it on the Archbishop of York, thereby perhaps merely confirming a claim which the See of York had made before. Hexhamshire continued to be a peculiar of York until the year 1836. Teviotdale in Scotland, which the Bishop of Durham still claimed, was annexed to the diocese of Glasgow. When Robert invaded England, Ranulf came over with him, and when the two brothers, Henry and Robert, came to an agreement, he was permitted to return to his see.

In the year 1104, four hundred and seventeen years after the death of St. Cuthbert, the building of the new Cathedral had so far advanced as to permit his body to be removed into it. The 29th of August was fixed on for this purpose, and a very great concourse resorted to Durham to be present at the solemnity. Five days before the appointed time, Turgot and the monks, being anxious to ascertain whether the body of the saint was still in the same state as it was when the coffin was opened in 698, eleven years after his death, deputed the prior and nine of their number to make the necessary investigation. They opened the saint's coffin by night, and found that the body was still, after the lapse of more than four hundred years, in a state of incorruption, with the joints quite flexible. They reported the result of their investigation, which was received with great joy by the assembled company. But there was one abbot who doubted. Why, he asked, was the coffin opened at night, and no one

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unconnected with the house allowed to be present? The monks were very indignant at their veracity being called in question; but Ralf, Abbot of Seez, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, persuaded them to allow another inspection in public. It was found, moreover, that the bishop himself was among the sceptics. Another inspection was made, the Abbot of Seez moved the arms and raised up the body till it was nearly in a sitting position. The doubts of all vanished, and on the appointed day the solemnity of the translation took place. The body was first carried in solemn procession round the church. They halted at the east end, where the bishop preached a sermon, which he continued so long as to weary all his hearers. The body was then conveyed with great pomp to the place appointed for it behind the high altar, there to remain undisturbed for four hundred and thirty-six years more, till the time of the dissolution of monasteries.

Though allowed to return to his see, Ranulf could never succeed in recovering King Henry's favour, notwithstanding that he made him many presents, grievously oppressing his church to cover the expense. He now devoted his energies to building, and in his time the new cathedral advanced rapidly. It had been agreed in Carilef's time that the monks should build the monastery at their own expense, and that the bishop should defray the cost of the church. But this arrangement came to an end with Carilef's death; for after that event the monks dedicated all they could spare to the building of the church. Flambard also built a bridge over the Wear, connecting the

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city with the north suburb, called Framwellgate; also a great part of the city wall. He built the castle of Norham on the Tweed as a check upon the Scots. He contributed many ornaments and vestments to the church, and enlarged the space allotted for the monastic buildings. He was kind to the poor, not only when solicited, but also of his own accord. At length his health began to decline, and we are told that the chief persons of his church diligently solicited him "to prevent the face of the Lord with confession and make himself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness." He increased his almsgiving and paid his debts, and finally was carried into the church for an act of penitence. Here he bewailed his encroachment upon the customs and the possessions of the church, and made restitution of all by a deed attested by his seal, and by placing his ring on the altar. He died in 1129, after an episcopate of twenty-nine years. The king immediately seized all his goods and committed the Bishoprick to two barons for his own behoof. At the beginning of his reign he had come under a solemn obligation not to keep churches vacant. But he never acted on his promise, and five years elapsed before a new bishop was nominated.

In the year 1133 GALFRID RUFUS was appointed, being at the time Chancellor of England. Henry I. died in 1135, and then succeeded the stormy and disastrous reign of Stephen. David, the king of Scotland (St. David), was the uncle of Maud the Empress[1]

[1] Matilda, daughter of Henry I., was married to Henry V., Emperor of Germany, and was therefore commonly called the

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to whom the crown of England belonged by right of succession, and he thought it his duty to support the claims of his niece. The diocese of Durham was in consequence very much harassed by Scottish invasions. It was in 1138 that David advanced as far as Northallerton and sustained a complete defeat in the "Battle of the Standard." The English forces were encouraged by the presence of the aged Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of Orkney (not at that period a Scottish see). The standard from which it took its name consisted of the mast of a ship fixed upright upon a carriage, from the top of which a pix or box containing the consecrated host was suspended, while below were displayed the banners of St. Peter, St. Wilfrid, and St. John of Beverley. Hexham suffered very much in this war, and it is curious and interesting to observe in the chroniclers, who were abbots of that church, now an Augustinian Monastery, the careful distinction which they make between the pious King David and his ferocious and bloodthirsty troops. Bishop Galfrid or Geoffrey died in 1140 after what, but for the troubles of the time, might be called a peaceful episcopate of eight years.

Upon his death ensued a most extraordinary state of things. William Cumin, the chancellor of the Scottish king, had been educated by Bishop Geoffrey, and being at Durham with the bishop a short time before his death, he formed the daring project of possessing himself of the Bishoprick. He con-

Empress. She contested the crown of England with Stephen. By her second marriage with Geoffrey, count of Anjou, she was the mother of King Henry II.

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trived to interest King David in his favour and through him to secure the help of the Empress. He also won over most of the barons of the Bishoprick, but could make no impression on the prior and the archdeacon of Durham. Having got possession of the castle, he contrived by force and fraud, aided by the King of Scots and others, to hinder for three years the election of a bishop. At last, in spite of the close watch kept over them by Cumin, the prior and some of the monks escaped, and reached York, where they elected WILLIAM DE ST. BARBARA, dean of that church. The election was confirmed by King Stephen, and he was consecrated. Still Cumin kept possession of the castle, and was able for sixteen months to set the bishop at defiance. He had been excommunicated, and the clergy of the cathedral not only refused to celebrate the offices of the church in his presence, but barred the church against him. Some of his men obtained admission through the windows and opened the doors to the others, and an awful scene of confusion ensued. They assaulted the terrified and weeping monks, kindled fires, and cooked their meat within the sacred walls. "The shouts of the guard took the place of psalmody, and the savour of roasting flesh that of incense." Cumin retained possession of the church for some months, during which he is charged with perpetrating the most fearful cruelties on the adherents of the bishop. At one time an attempt was made by his party to fortify the Church of Merrington, situated on a hill not far from Auckland. At length, when it was least expected, Cumin submitted to the bishop,

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making great professions of penitence. This was on the Feast of St. Luke, 1144, on which day the bishop with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle entered Durham, and received Cumin's submission. There is nothing further of much importance to be noticed in the episcopate of William de St. Barbara. He sat for nine years after he obtained possession, and died in 1152.

On the death of William de St. Barbara, both the prior and the archdeacon were ambitious to succeed him, and if either would have given way the other would have been elected. But neither would give way, and the choice fell on HUGH PUDSEY, Treasurer of York, a young man of twenty-five years of age, of noble extraction and goodly presence. The Archbishop of York at this time was Henry Murdac, an intimate friend of the famous St. Bernard, and a man of stern virtue. The reigning Pope, Eugenius III., was also a friend, almost the pupil, of St. Bernard. The Archbishop and St. Bernard were very much disturbed when they heard of the election, for Hugh was not only a young man, but addicted to the pleasures of the world, and by no means strict in his life—for he had three illegitimate sons. On the other hand, King Stephen, his son Eustace, and his brother the Bishop of Winchester, favoured the elect, who was of their own kindred. When the archbishop found that the prior and chapter stood firm, he excommunicated them—but on the intercession of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, he admitted them to penance. At the door of Beverley Minster they submitted to stand naked, and to be beaten with

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rods, before they were absolved. Still the archbishop refused to consecrate Pudsey, and Laurence the Prior,[1] and the Archdeacon, with several gentlemen of the bishoprick, set off for Rome. The historian stops to tell us what goodly and noble looking persons they were, "attracting universal admiration, leading every one to think that church happy and incomparable which possessed such noteworthy men." On the way they heard of the death of Pope Eugenius and the accession of Anastasius. They went on to Rome and after some demur on account of his youth the bishop elect was consecrated by the pope on the Feast of St. Thomas. He was received at Durham with great joy and enthroned there 2nd May, 1154.

For a time all went well. Every one was charmed with the courtesy and the wisdom of the new bishop. "The Lord had mercifully looked down from heaven upon His people, and raised up a new Daniel in the land." But it is hard "for a camel to go through the eye of a needle." Prosperity did not fail of its effect, and dissensions soon arose between the bishop and the chapter. Absalom, the prior who succeeded Laurence, was not a learned man, and unfit to cope with the bishop. His successor, Thomas, for a while manfully resisted the Bishop's arbitrary proceedings, but the brethren did not support him, and he was forced to yield. He resigned and retired to Farne, where he made an edifying end. German came next but failed to make way against the stream. Bertram, who fol-

[1] Prior Laurence was a man of considerable attainments. His poems have been recently published by the Surtees Society.

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lowed, was more determined and succeeded better. He is said to have renewed the abbot's seat in the choir and chapter house—whether this means that he vindicated his right to occupy it seems uncertain, but the bishop went on paying little heed to old customs, either in respect of the monks or the barons of the Bishoprick. He was kind to those who were submissive, but, having found out that all were afraid of him, he failed not to profit by his knowledge.

In the contest between King Henry II. and Becket, it is not hard to surmise which side such a man as Pudsey would take. He followed the other bishops in taking part against the primate, and was involved in a sentence of suspension; but by the intervention of Becket himself, on the ground of his not having been so deeply implicated as the others, he was absolved. In the contest between Henry and his sons he was suspected of taking part against the king, and even of conniving at the passage of William, King of Scots, through his territory, and for this he had to pay a heavy fine.

His gifts to the Church were numerous and magnificent. He undertook to build a chapel at the east end of the cathedral, and brought marble columns and bases from foreign parts for the purpose—but too many masters were employed about the work, and whether for this reason or from some peculiarity of the ground, the foundations gave way, and they came to the conclusion that it was not the will of God or St. Cuthbert that they should build there. The bishop then turned his attention to the west end, and there he built the beautiful western chapel, since

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called the Galilee. Here he erected a magnificent shrine for the venerable Bede, in which he placed his relics, and there they are believed still to remain. He adorned the church with magnificent lights before the high altar, which were to burn day and night, with other candelabra round about to be lighted on great festivals. He gave also a cross and a chalice of gold, "as if he ever kept in his mind David's words: Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth." He founded Sherburn Hospital for lepers, and after restoring the borough of Elvet, which had lain waste since the devastations of Cumin, he gave it to the convent and connected it with the city by a bridge. Durham Castle, which had suffered by a fire in the early part of his episcopate, and Norham Castle, which had fallen into disrepair, were both repaired, and he kept all the houses in his various manors in good order. He was a man of great ability and industry, eloquent and prudent, and although, as we have seen, he was not on good terms with the chapter—it may be, not without cause on their part—he was most watchful over the interests and liberties of his Church.

In 1187 all Western Christendom was thrown into consternation by the news that Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Saracens. A royal decree was issued in England requiring a tenth to be levied on all bishops, abbots, earls, and barons, for the aid of a crusade. At the same time, if any of these should elect to serve in the crusade, they were to be allowed to have the tenth for their own use. King Henry proposed to take the cross himself, and the Bishop of Durham followed

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his example. He made most magnificent and costly preparations. His ships were most gorgeously furnished—in his own galley there was a silver seat for himself of wonderful workmanship, and the kitchen utensils and other vessels were of the same precious metal. It is well known that Henry did not live to embark in the crusade, but that his son and successor, Richard, took his place. The new king was needy, the bishop was rich, and a man of boundless ambition. He was present at Richard's coronation, and a great intimacy sprang up between them. Hugh bought the Earldom of Northumberland for life, for eleven thousand pounds, and the Manor of Sadberg in perpetuity, from which the bishops of Durham afterwards took the title of earl. The king remarked, when he invested him with the earldom, that he had made a young earl out of an old bishop. The bishop first got a dispensation from the crusade for three years, but in the end gave it up entirely, and he was appointed justiciary for the northern part of the kingdom, Longchamp, the Bishop of Ely, one of the most unscrupulous of men, having the southern. Pudsey murmured at the limitation of his power. Longchamp would not bear a rival. The Bishop of Durham was decoyed to London, committed to the Tower, and only released on condition of restricting himself to his northern jurisdiction. When the king returned, the bishop did not find himself high in the royal favour, although he had contributed a large sum for Richard's ransom, on pretext of which he had extorted a much larger sum from his vassals. In the midst of all his troubles he ceased not to proceed with the building

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of the Church of Darlington, where he purposed placing a college of secular canons such as had been in the cathedral before the time of the monks. Darlington Church is only second to the Galilee among Pudsey's works, and the difference between them marks the transition which was taking place in architecture during his time. The Galilee is Norman, of a very light and graceful character, a complete contrast to the massive solidity of the adjoining nave. St. Cuthert's, Darlington, is a very fine specimen of Early Pointed.

Pudsey was obliged to resign the earldom of Northumberland, and trembled for Sadberg also. In his seventieth year he undertook a journey to London, expecting to secure it, perhaps to gain additional honours. But he was taken ill at Craike—it was supposed after a plentiful supper—and, pushing on to Doncaster, he thereby increased his complaint. He was now conveyed by water to Howden. As it was plain his end was approaching, he confessed his sins, and made restitution to the monks for whatever wrong he had done them. It is said that many years previously a hermit had foretold that he would be blind seven years before his death. After this he took the greatest care of his eyes, and when he was on his death-bed said that the hermit had deceived him; but one of his attendants—he did not inspire so much terror now—was bold enough to tell him that he had long been blind in neglecting his pastoral duties to seek after an earldom and other worldly honours. He died March 2, 1194. His body was taken to Durham for burial; but, before his funeral could take

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place, Hugh Bardolf had seized the castle for the king.

Contemporary with the early part of Bishop Pudsey's episcopate lived a very different character, Godric of Finchale, the hermit just mentioned. He was born at Walpole, in Norfolk, and in his youth had travelled as a pedlar. As his means increased he extended his journeys, and, on one occasion returning from Scotland by sea, landed at Lindisfarne. He listened to the story of St. Cuthbert with amazement, and burned to emulate the austerities of the holy Confessor. It was some time, however, before he carried his design into full execution. He made a pilgrimage of devotion to Jerusalem, and on his return accepted the post of house-steward to a wealthy man in Norfolk. The irregularities of the servants, which he did not possess sufficient authority to restrain, forced him to give up his situation, and he returned to the north. Here he met with one Godwin, who is said to have been much with the monks of Durham, and to have learned lessons of holiness from them. The two went to live together in a lonely retreat near Carlisle, where they served each other, and gave themselves up to devotion. In a year and a-half Godwin died, and Godric was left alone. He made another pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and finally settled as a recluse at Finchale, a place not far from Durham. Here Bishop Flambard gave him a site for a chapel, which was, on his death, to revert to the Convent of Durham. At Finchale he lived in complete seclusion for many years, giving himself entirely up to devotion. But for the commands of the Prior of Durham, to whom he owed obedience, he would have

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declined to see or converse with any one. Yet he seems to have been free from spiritual pride, speaking of himself as one of the worst of men and only a counterfeit hermit. He was wholly illiterate, but had learned the psalter by heart, and was much reverenced for his sanctity; many miracles are imputed to him. His prediction concerning Bishop Pudsey has already been mentioned. Afterwards, Henry Pudsey, one of the bishop's sons, founded an abbey at Finchale, as a cell to the great Abbey of Durham. The beautiful ruins still exist, and are still associated with the memory of St. Godric. They occupy a most lovely situation on one of the sinuosities of the Wear, three miles below Durham.

After the see had been vacant a year and three-quarters, during which time it was miserably robbed by the king's officers, PHILIP DE PICTAVIA, a native, as his name implies, of Poitou, was elected by the chapter, at the urgent desire of the king, Dec. 30, 1195. It was not uncommon at this time for natives of England to be promoted in France, and *vice versâ.* John of Salisbury, the friend of Becket, became Bishop of Chartres, and another of his friends, the Bishop of Poitiers, had, like Pudsey, been Treasurer of York. Philip had long been on intimate and confidential terms with the king. He was not in priests' orders, and had to be ordained priest before he was consecrated. He went on an embassy to Rome, with Longchamp, Bishop of Ely—who died on the way—and was consecrated at Rome May 12, 1197. He is vehemently accused—we must remember the historian is a monk of Durham—of

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oppressing the convent. It seems, at least, that he did not recognise all the immunities they claimed. First arose a dispute about a vacancy in St. Oswald's Church. The brethren of the convent had entered it and closed the doors. The bishop was offended, surrounded the church with armed men, applied fire and smoke to the doors and windows, and endeavoured to starve them into submission by forbidding food to be sent in. This quarrel was made up. He next obtained letters from Rome, in virtue of which he claimed the rights of the abbot in the convent. It must be observed that the designation of prior supposes some one to be the abbot—for a prior is virtually the same as sub-abbot or vice-abbot—and it seems as if no one but the bishop could have abbatial rights at Durham. But when the letters were read, the prior protested; and, not content with appealing to Rome, he went also to Court, and is said to have obtained a confirmation of his rights from the king. But the bishop would not give in, and proceeded to take very rough measures. He closed the postern that led to the mill, to cut off the supply of food, destroyed a new fish-pond, broke down the ovens in Elvet, and diverted the aqueduct, which the monks had made for their own use, into his castle. He proceeded to excommunicate the prior, and forbade the brethren to have any intercourse with him. When the prior attempted to celebrate mass on the Feast of St. Cuthbert, he was interrupted, the officers of the bishop, some of whom were priests, seized the altar linen, the monks laid hold of it also, and a most unseemly struggle ensued. "Worse doings never

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before were in a church, except at Canterbury when the archbishop was slain." It was even feared that the bishop would throw down the altar in the cathedral. At length, by the mediation of friends, the dispute was settled. The historian gives his narration in the words of the gospel, and closes with: "there was a great calm." The bishop may have been very masterful and rough—they were rough times—but it seems difficult, even from their own narrative, to avoid the suspicion that the monks were disposed to encroach, and to assume a position of entire independence to which they were not really entitled.

Philip supported King John in his resistance to the pope, and was excommunicated. Under this censure he died in 1802, and was buried in unconsecrated ground. He is said to have obtained from Richard I. the privilege of setting up a mint, and coining money at Durham.

A vacancy of nearly ten years followed. The quarrel between King John and Pope Innocent III. was now at its height. A year after Philip's death the monks were required by the pope to proceed to an election. They knew not what to do—if they offended the king, he was sure to take summary vengeance—if they offended the pope, they rendered themselves liable to his wrath. At length they ventured to elect Richard, Dean of Salisbury, but kept the election secret. In 1213, on the Eve of the Ascension, John made himself the pope's vassal. By and by the Legate visited Durham. He approved highly of the man whom the monks had elected, but insisted that the king's pleasure must be obeyed. The king and the

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pope were now as one. The king was in favour of Gray, Bishop of Norwich, the prelate who had been disappointed of the primacy when the pope appointed Stephen Langton. On the 20th of February, 1214, the chapter elected Gray. The election was confirmed by the pope, but Gray was already dead. They next elected Morgan, Provost of Beverley, an illegitimate brother of King John. But his illegitimacy was a bar. His mother was the wife of a knight whose name was Ralf Bloet, and the pope offered to confirm the election if he would call himself Bloet; but Morgan was too proud of his paternity to consent. At length, later in 1217, Gualo, the Papal Legate, conferred the bishopric on RICHARD DE MARISCO, who was the chancellor of King John, and was said to resemble him in his character. Like his predecessor, he contested the alleged privileges of the convent, and demanded to see their charters. The prior refused to exhibit them. Upon this a deadly feud arose between the bishop and the chapter. The bishop swore that the Church of Durham should never have peace as long as he lived—that if a monk was found beyond his cloister he should lose his head; and when his servants had scourged a monk, and the poor man complained, the bishop declared it was a pity they did not kill him. The monks accused him at Rome of these and many other acts equally inconsistent with his office. A tedious litigation ensued, in which enormous sums were spent, and, on a journey to London in prosecution of his suit, the bishop died suddenly at Peterborough in the year 1226.

The see was vacant two years and four months.

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The king, Henry III. (he was but sixteen years of age), wished the chapter to elect Luke, his chaplain, but they declined, and proceeded to elect William Stitchill (or Scotus), Archdeacon of Worcester. The king was displeased, but the bishop elect took his journey to Rome. The king also sent messengers, and the election was annulled. At last, with the king's consent, they elected RICHARD POOR,[1] the same man whom they had formerly chosen when Dean of Salisbury. He was a pious and learned man, and in the meantime he had risen to be bishop, first of Chichester, and then of Salisbury. While Bishop of Salisbury he removed the see from Old Sarum, and began a new cathedral, the same stately church which now exists. He also erected a nunnery at Tarrant, in Dorsetshire, which he gave to the queen, and it was his wish to be buried there. At Durham he brought the contest between the bishop and the convent to an end by a solemn agreement, afterwards quoted from its first word, *le Convenit.* He had enough to do during his episcopate to pay off the heavy debt left by his predecessor. The account left us of his end is interesting : "When his death drew near, seeing that the hour was come that he should depart out of the world, he called the people together, and in a solemn discourse told them that his decease was at hand. The next day, though his disease had increased, he preached another sermon to the congregation, bidding all farewell, and asking pardon if he had offended any. The third day he gathered his family together with all

[1] Ricardus dictus Pauper.

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his chief acquaintance, and divided among them what he thought was reasonable, to every one according to his merit, and having with full deliberation settled all his affairs, and bidden all his friends farewell, he said compline, and when he came to the words, 'I will lay me down in peace and take my rest,' he slept in the Lord, April 15, 1237. He was buried at Tarrant, as he had wished."

Contemporary with Bishop Poor was Thomas de Melsamby, Prior of the Convent. At this time the eastern end of the cathedral, which was of an apsidal form, began to assume a most dangerous appearance, doubtless from the giving way of the foundations. The bishop and the prior planned the reconstruction of that part of the church. The apse was removed, and the magnificent eastern transept, called The Nine Altars, was erected in its place, one of the most beautiful examples of early English architecture now existing. When it was finished, the church was completed as it now remains, no structural alteration of the interior having since taken place.

After the death of Bishop Poor the convent elected their prior, Thomas de Melsamby, but the king objected, and three years' debate before the Archbishop of York and the holy see could not overcome his repugnance. Melsamby was forced at last to give way, and the king sent messengers to the convent to protest against the election of certain persons, on one of whom it was supposed likely that the choice would fall—the Dean of Lincoln, the Vicar of Auckland, and Simon, of London. Upon this the monks elected Nicholas de Farnham, the king's physician, and

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the king acquiesced. He was consecrated on Trinity Sunday by Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, and enthroned on the Feast of St. Cuthbert, Sept. 4. Farnham was a man of very high character, and had previously been elected Bishop of Coventry, but had declined from conscientious motives. He refused Durham also at first, and was the more earnest in his refusal because acceptance would expose his refusal of Coventry to misconstruction. But Grosseteste, the illustrious Bishop of Lincoln, remonstrated with him, adjuring him not to oppose what seemed to be the will of God, and he consented to receive consecration. He, no doubt, found his position in the palatinate an unquiet one, and little in accordance with the aspirations of a man of piety. When a war with Scotland appeared to be imminent, he was discharged from obeying the king's summons to Parliament, that he might be at hand to act in defence of the Bishoprick. He resigned the see early in 1248, reserving to himself some manors for his support. It is far from pleasing to find that (according to some writers at least) his successor tried to disturb this arrangement. His resignation took place early in 1248.

King Henry III. now wished to promote his half-brother, Athelmar de Valence, to the see of Durham, but the convent declined on account of his youth and want of learning. On the 21st April, 1249, they chose Walter de Kirkham, Dean of York, and he was consecrated by Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, on Sunday, December 5. There is not much to attract notice in his history, but there is one transaction which

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curiously illustrates the roughness of the times in the reign of Henry III. The servants of John Baliol had forcibly entered a church, and for this they were excommunicated by the Bishop. The Baliols retaliated by laying an ambush for the Bishop as he was passing through a wood. The prelate himself was very roughly handled, and four of his servants were carried off and put in prison until Baliol's servants should be released. Complaint was made to the king that the Bishop's palatine authority had been outraged, and a writ was issued commanding the release of the Bishop's servants.

In the time of this Bishop, Bertram de Middleton, the prior who succeeded Thomas de Melsamby, retired from his office on account of his advanced age—he had been forty years a monk and fourteen years prior. The manner of his resignation shows the jealous feeling of the monks towards the Bishop. He had obtained a bull from Rome to the Bishop directing him to see that a sufficient provision was made out of the funds of the priorate for the retiring prior. But this bull, Bertram told the convent, he did not wish to use, lest the bishop, in making the necessary inquiries, should get to know more about the affairs of the convent than was desirable. The brethren agreed to make a retiring provision for him, and most certainly it was a very ample one, both in money and supplies from the monastery. Among the latter were seven flagons of beer daily for him and his two companions, with six servants, and a cask of wine yearly. Bertram had been a frugal man, and left eleven thousand marks in the treasury at the disposal of his successor. He

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was a man of great piety, and had much increased the resources of the house. With his own hand he had written out twelve Psalters, with many prayers, for the use of the singers in church, and he procured for the church—Postills on various books of Scripture, as the Psalter, the Four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles, Job, the Sapiential Books, the Twelve Prophets, the Canonical Epistles, and a double one on the Apocalypse. Bishop Walter de Kirkham died in 1260.

On September 30th ROBERT DE STITCHILL, a monk of Durham and Prior of Finchale, was elected bishop. In his early days Robert had been somewhat giddy, and one Sunday during his novitiate, when, for some indiscretion, he had been ordered to sit on a stool in the middle of the choir, he was so overcome with the disgrace, that he caught the stool with his foot and kicked it out of the choir among the people outside. He had made up his mind to give up the monastic profession, when, passing at night by a cross on the north side of the choir, he heard a voice calling upon him to return. This cured him of his levity, and he applied himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures. In a short time he came to be very much esteemed for his attainments and regularity of life ; so much so that, being the illegitimate son of a priest, and therefore incapable of the episcopal office, a dispensation was procured for him without his own knowledge.

But though the new Bishop was one of themselves, it was not long before the jealousy of the monks showed itself. On Christmas Eve, in his first year, he lodged in the abbey, to be near the church ; but in the morning the prior took care to obtain letters

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from the Bishop that this was not to be drawn into a precedent to the prejudice of the church. Stitchill is said to have rendered important aid to the king in his contest with the barons. Part of the forfeited estates of Peter de Montfort lay within the Palatinate, and were claimed by the Bishop as belonging to him in right of his franchise. The claim was allowed, and the forfeited lands were appropriated by him to the foundation of an hospital at Greatham.

The feeling of jealousy between the bishop and the convent was not confined to the incident just mentioned—in 1266 complaint was made that the allowance made to Prior Bertram was too large, and had been obtained by undue means on his part. The case was brought before a general chapter at York, and the allowance was reduced to 200 marks annually. But his successor, Hugh de Darlington, now wished to resign, and thereon ensued a long and tedious dispute with the Bishop. The monks stood upon their alleged immunities; the Bishop complained that he was by no means treated with the respect due to his office. He contended that the prior should be subject to the same rules as in other cathedrals of monastic foundation; they maintained that the Prior of Durham had abbatial rights. The dispute delayed the prior's resignation for some time, and when at last it took place, another dispute arose about the custody of the house during the vacancy. At length the differences were terminated by the appointment of a new prior.

The bishop attended a Council at Lyons, and on his return died in France, 4th August, 1274. He

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was buried in a Benedictine Monastery in France, but his heart was brought to Durham and buried in the Chapter House.

On September 24th, ROBERT DE INSULA (*i.e.*, of Holy Island), Prior of Finchale, was elected bishop. During the vacancy the Archbishop of York held a visitation of the chapter, a proceeding which passed off quietly, but in the sequel was the occasion of a long series of disgraceful disputes. The episcopate of Robert de Insula was, on the whole, a peaceful one. He was on friendly terms with the convent, having been himself a member of their body. He was of humble origin,[1] and, as his name implies, a native of Holy Island.

In 1280 a dispute arose between the Archbishop of York and the convent about the presentation to one of their churches in Yorkshire. The primate threatened to hold a visitation; the monks refused to admit him. A long and very bitter quarrel ensued, with appeals to Rome, and a disgracefully free use of excommunications and interdicts. The bishop took part with the convent, but died in 1283, while the dispute was going on.

During the vacancy the archbishop resolved to

[1] After his elevation he provided for his mother in a way more suitable to his rank than her own tastes. On visiting her on one occasion, and asking her how she did, she answered, "Very badly." "Why, sweet mother? Do you want for anything, servant, or handmaid, or any needful expense?" "No," she said, "I have enough of everything; but when I say to one fellow, Go, he runs, or to another, Come, he gets down on his knees, and all goes on so smoothly that I cannot ease my mind by getting angry."

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carry out his purpose of visiting the convent, and went to Durham; but by this time the minds of both parties were too much exasperated for things to pass off quietly. When he arrived, he was not permitted to enter the cathedral, and, retiring to the church of St. Nicholas in the Market-place, he there preached a sermon, and was about to excommunicate the prior and monks, when he was set upon by some of the young men of the city and so terrified that he was glad to escape by the sands to Kepier Hospital. His horse's ear was cut off, and if help had not arrived he would have been killed. The Vicar of St. Oswalds, who had taken part with the archbishop, was deposed by the official of the prior and chapter, and another appointed in his place. Another tedious and disgraceful litigation ensued, the steps of which it would be neither edifying nor interesting to trace.

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CHAPTER VIII.

SCOTTISH WARS—BEK TO BURY.

It was the wish of King Edward that Antony Bek, Archdeacon of Durham, should be appointed bishop, and the chapter were glad to comply with the king's wish, well knowing that no one elected by them would be accepted by the archbishop unless they had the king with them. Bek, in all respects a most remarkable man, presented a complete contrast to the two bishops who preceded him. He was of noble birth, being the son of Walter, Baron of Eresby, in Lincolnshire, and, besides being Archdeacon of Durham, held large preferment in the province of Canterbury. He was consecrated at York, at Christmas, in the presence of the king and a great concourse of the nobility. Immediately after the consecration the Archbishop required him, on his obedience, to excommunicate the prior and monks. "Yesterday," he answered, "I was consecrated as their bishop, and shall I excommunicate them to-day? Nothing will induce me to do so on account of any obedience."

It was two years before he was enthroned at Durham, and then arose another dispute. The prior claimed the right to instal the Bishop in virtue of his office, but the official of York disputed his claim. To avoid contention the Bishop passed by both, and had the office performed by his own brother, the Bishop of

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St. David's. Antony Bek was a most magnificent prelate, very able, very accomplished, and of boundless ambition. No one ever kept up the almost regal dignity of the Palatinate with more state or splendour. He was very wealthy, for to the munificent revenues of the Bishoprick he added a very large private fortune, so that, though his expenditure was very profuse, he was never in difficulties, and died possessed of vast wealth. He seemed to be much more at home in the court or the camp than in the charge of his flock, and he was a potent aid to the king in war as well as in the council chamber. He went to the war in Scotland with twenty-six standard bearers, and his usual following was a hundred and forty knights. Yet he affected not to care for his retinue, thinking nothing of having earls and barons bowing the knee to him, and, while he was seated, keeping knights standing like lackeys in his presence. He cared nothing for expense in displaying his grandeur. On one occasion in London, when no one else would or could buy them, he gave forty shillings for as many fresh herrings; and on another, hearing that a dealer had spoken of a piece of cloth he had as too dear even for the Bishop of Durham, he bought it, and had it cut up into horse cloths in the presence of the astonished merchant. His activity was unbounded; he was constantly on the move, going from one manor to another. Horses and hawks were his delight. Impatient of rest, he never took more than one sleep during the night, and would say that he was not a man who turned from one side to another in bed. He was a man of the strictest purity, would

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never look in the face of a woman, and at the translation of St. William of York was the only one of the assembled prelates whose conscience would permit him to touch the bier.

Though the bishop refused to excommunicate the prior and monks at the bidding of the archbishop, he did not long remain at peace with them. When the prior, Richard Claxton, was thinking of nothing less than giving up his office, the Bishop assumed that he was tired of his duties and wished to resign. The poor man had no choice but to do so. Then arose a dispute as to the custody of the convent during the vacancy; the bishop insisted on putting in his own officers, instead of leaving the charge to the sub-prior. The convent was in consternation, and, as it would seem, in sheer perplexity invited Hugh of Darlington, a prior who had retired long before, again to become their head. He consented to do so for a time; but in the end became so tenacious of office—he seems to have been almost in his dotage—as to offer the bishop money to keep him in against the will of the monks. The reason was that he greatly disliked the sub-prior, Richard de Hotoun, who was likely to be elected in his room. In the end Hugh retired and Richard was elected. He will be heard of again, but much took place in the meantime.

When Antony came to the see, the troubles of Scotland were beginning. It would be out of place here to say more on this point than is necessary to illustrate the bishop's character. We first find him employed by King Edward I. to negotiate a marriage

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between the heiress of Scotland and Edward's son. Had this marriage been carried out, there was a very fair prospect for both countries; the harassing warfare in which, for centuries, Scotland and the northern counties of England not only suffered fearfully, but were very much demoralized, might have been averted. But it was not the will of God that the two kingdoms should be united at that time. The young queen died in September, 1290, and this opened up a new career of ambition to Edward. It is said that the Bishop of Durham was one of those by whose advice Edward was influenced, when he decided in favour of Baliol's claim, which certainly was the best according to our modern ideas. But this weak prince was very soon goaded into resistance, which, of course, Edward called rebellion, and at once punished by invasion. He was joined by the Bishop of Durham at the head of 1,000 foot and 500 horse, with the sacred banners of St. Cuthbert and St. John of Beverley borne before him. Baliol was soon subdued, and the Bishop was deputed by Edward to receive his submission in the castle of Brechin. In the Bishop's presence, deprived of his crown and stripped of his royal robes, with a white rod in his hand, Baliol was forced to perform a degrading feudal penance. But ere long the Scots rose under Wallace, and again the Bishop was found with Edward in Scotland; he laid siege to the castle of Dirleton, and being repulsed with loss, sent to the king to ask what he ought to do. "Go back and tell Antony," was the reply, "that when he is acting as a bishop he is a man of peace, but now he is a soldier and must forget his

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calling." By-and-by, they come to a battle with Wallace at Falkirk—the bishop was in the thick of the melée, but held back his troops from what he deemed a rash onset. "To thy mass, bishop," cried Sir Ralph Basset, a rough soldier, "and teach not such as how we are to behave in the face of an enemy."

During these miserable Scottish wars, Northumberland was continually harassed by inroads from Scotland, in retaliation for the devastations caused by the English in that country. Hexham, about this time, was twice plundered, and a strange story is told of the second of these occasions, in which Wallace was the leader. Three of the canons had returned to their half-ruined abbey—the beautiful church which now exists had just been finished—but again the Scottish foe was upon them, demanding to know where their treasures were hid. The poor canons replied that they had just been deprived of everything, and they who had taken all away knew best where to find what they had taken. At this juncture Wallace appeared, reproved his men, spoke kindly to the canons, and requested one of them to say mass. The priest complied, and Wallace assisted with great reverence and devotion. At the elevation he retired to lay aside his armour. In his absence the soldiers rushed upon the priest, carried off the chalice, the linen, and the missal itself. On Wallace's return, when he saw what had taken place, he was highly incensed with his men, and ordered the culprits to be sought out and put to death. Then he desired the canons to keep by him and they would be in safety; "My people," he added, "are full of mischief, and I

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cannot keep them in order." The Scottish host went on ravaging the neighbourhood for two days with fire and sword, but the canons were safe, and when the Scottish leader departed, he left with them letters of safe conduct and protection.

In the year 1300, at the instance of some of the senior monks who were dissatified with Prior Hotoun's administration, the Bishop proposed to hold a visitation of the convent. The prior declined to receive him unless he came unattended. Upon this, the Bishop excommunicated, suspended, and finally deposed the prior. The convent was divided—some held with the Bishop, some with the prior—while others, unwilling to be involved in the quarrel, stood neutral. The Bishop's servants began to annoy the prior and his servants in every way, and, but for the interference of some of the monks, would have put him in prison. The king interfered, and effected an outward reconciliation for the time:—The prior was to retain his office; the Bishop was to visit with three or four clerics, and the king declared that he would take part against whichever of them again broke the peace. And he kept his word. About this time, the men of the Bishoprick also had a complaint against the Bishop. He had required them to serve under him in the Scottish wars, and had imprisoned some who had returned home without leave. They pleaded that they were Haliwercfolc, bound only to serve as the guardians of the body of St. Cuthbert within the Tyne and the Tees, and not liable to be called upon, either by the bishop or the king, to serve elsewhere. The barons of the palatinate,

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especially Lord Neville of Raby and Brancepeth, supported the complainants, and brought the case before Parliament. This led the Barons also to take a favourable view of the Prior's side in his contest with the Bishop. But, nothing daunted, the Bishop called the monks together, and required them to elect a new prior. On their refusal, he appointed Henry de Luceby, Prior of Holy Island, to be Prior of Durham. Then ensued a strange scene of violence. The Bishop brought his men from Weardale and Tynedale, to expel the old Prior and bring in the new. They besieged the Prior and the monks of his party in the abbey; would not suffer any provisions to be taken in; broke down the aqueduct, and the gates of the priory and cloister, assaulted a monk who went to fetch water from the well in the cloister-yard, poured out his water, and broke his pitcher. For three days the Prior and forty-six monks were shut up in the church with nothing among them but six loaves and sixteen herrings. Nevertheless they were more diligent than ever in celebrating the divine offices. On the third day a Tynedale man was sent to pull the prior out of his stall; but he was so awed by his venerable appearance that he dared not lay a hand on him. A monk of the Bishop's party was found less scrupulous—Prior Richard was seized and imprisoned, and Luceby installed. The new Prior is said to have acted his part well, insomuch that they said that if he had come to his office in a legitimate way, he ought to have been reckoned a very excellent head of the house.

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It was not long before Prior Hotoun escaped from prison, and he lost no time in carrying his complaint to the king, who was holding a Parliament at Lincoln. Another cause of offence now emerged between the king and the Bishop. The king asked the Bishop whether he stood with him against the Earl Marshal and the Earl of Hereford. It was the time when these noblemen were contending against Edward's arbitrary and despotic exactions. The Bishop replied that these noblemen were acting for the profit and honour of the realm and the sovereign, and therefore he held with them, and not with the king against them. The king hated the Bishop for ever after this. On this occasion Anthony had with him his usual following of a hundred and forty knights.

The Prior now set off for Rome with commendatory letters from the king, and obtained a favourable decision from the Pope. The envoys of the bishop wished to make it appear that the Prior had voluntarily resigned. His holiness—it was Boniface VIII.—replied that no one who knew what it was to be Prior of Durham would ever resign his office of his own accord. Hotoun now returned to Durham and was received with joy. Luceby and his friends, after meanly attempting to carry off some of the silver plate, were forced to withdraw. The Bishop had been summoned to answer for himself at Rome, but had not appeared in person. He was now summoned again under a threat of deprivation. Upon this he betook himself to Rome with such a retinue and such magnifi-

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cence as to raise wonder everywhere.[1] There was no danger of such a man losing a cause at the *Curia*. The Prior's complaint was dismissed as frivolous, and the Bishop was treated with all honour and respect by Boniface and his cardinals.

The Prior's complaint obtained more attention from the king during Bek's absence at Rome. Edward seized the temporalities of the see and appointed a chancellor and justiciary of his own to hear all the Prior's grievances. The inquisition was made before men chosen from Northumberland; the men of the Bishopric being open to suspicion as likely to have some partiality either for the Bishop or for the Prior. The Prior was successful, and the Bishop was cast in very heavy damages. On the death of Boniface VIII. the Prior was again accused by the Bishop before his successor Benedict. But before long Benedict also died, and the Bishop lost all the expenses incurred in the prosecution of the new suit. Clement V., the

[1] Riding through the streets of Rome he created a great sensation. A stranger asked, "Who is this?" and a citizen replied, "An enemy of money." One of the cardinals greatly admired his horses. He sent him two that he might choose one of them as a present. His eminence kept both. The bishop remarked, with an oath, "He has not failed to keep the best." He thought nothing of giving the benediction when a cardinal was present, and was bold enough to play with a bird before the Pope himself. In one place he came to, a quarrel arose between his servants and the town's-people, which rose so high that some of the authorities rushed into his chamber with swords and clubs as if he were a thief, shouting, "Yield thee, yield!" Bek replied, with an oath, "You have failed to tell me to whom I am to yield, certainly to none of you." On this occasion he would have been slain but for timely help.

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first of the Avignon Pontiffs, succeeded. In his first year he made Antony Patriarch of Jerusalem, and again suspended the Prior. Again, encouraged by the king, the Prior betook himself to the papal court. Here the goodly and venerable presence, which had awed the Tynedale man in the Abbey, had its due effect on Clement and his Cardinals,—perhaps a payment of a thousand marks had still more influence: anyhow, for this price the prior once more got a decision in his favour. But the Prior died before he left Avignon, and all his goods, money, and jewels were confiscated to the pope's chamber. The monks who were at Avignon with the prior were now desired to elect some one on whom the pope might confer the vacant office. It was in fact offered to one of them, but he rejected the proposal with indignation, asking if they wished men to say that he had poisoned his prior that he might step into his office. In the meantime both the king and the bishop wrote in favour of William de Tanfield, Prior of Wetherall, who was consequently appointed, or rather the office was sold to him, for he had to pay 3,000 marks to the pope and 1,000 to the cardinals.

The king was very angry with the Bishop for having rejected his mediation in the case of the Prior as well as for other causes, and took from him Barnard Castle, forfeited by Baliol, and Hartlepool, forfeited by Bruce; giving Barnard Castle to the Earl of Warwick, and Hartlepool to Robert de Clifford. But the grants were made "saving the rights of the Church of Durham, and they were confirmed by the chapter." The historian bewails all the harm these

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dissensions did to the church,—the loss of valuable lives in exile, bitterness, mutual distrust, and relaxation of discipline everywhere, every one doing just as he wished. Besides this the chapter was involved in very great expenses at the very time they were suffering great losses from the inroads of the Scots. The Bishop, in February, 1308, visited the convent, and suspended the old Prior's friends for ten years, but after his death the Archbishop cancelled the suspension.

On the 3rd March, 1310, Antony Bek closed his career. He had the sovereignty of the Isle of Man conferred on him by Edward II., so that when he died he was King, Patriarch, Bishop, and Palatine. Besides the very ample revenues of his see, he had a large private fortune. It was alleged that Alnwick Castle, having been conveyed to him by William, Lord de Vesci, in trust for his illegitimate son, the bishop sold it on his own behoof to Lord Percy, to whose family it has belonged ever since. He was supposed to have been irritated by some disrespectful thing the bastard had said of him. His public works were numerous and splendid. He built a magnificent chapel and hall at Auckland, which he turned from a manor house into a castle. He appropriated the Rectory of Morpeth for the support of the chaplains, but after his death, Ralf, Baron of Greystock, succeeded in annulling the grant. He founded a collegiate church at Chester-le-Street for a Dean and seven prebendaries, and another at Lanchester. His castle at Somerton, near Lincoln, and his manor house at Eltham, in Kent, were beautiful specimens

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of architecture. The former he presented to the king, and the latter to the queen. The ruins of Eltham still attest its original beauty. Here he died, after a pontificate of twenty-eight years, during the last five of which he had been Patriarch of Jerusalem. He was buried in the Cathedral at Durham, being the first to whom that honour was conceded. As, out of reverence to St. Cuthbert, no corpse had ever been allowed to enter the church before, his body was not brought in by a door, but an opening was made in the wall for the purpose. Notwithstanding his profuse expenditure, he died possessed of immense wealth in land, money, and jewels. He was a man of unbounded pride and ambition, impatient of contradiction, inveterate and implacable in his resentments; but the chief points of his character have been already sufficiently indicated by what has been said of the events of his life.

Immediately after the death of Bishop Bek, the Prior and convent seized the jurisdiction and appointed officers to exercise it. This roused the Archbishop, who claimed the custody of the see during a vacancy, and he proceeded to excommunicate the Prior and some of the monks, as well as the officers whom they had appointed. The Prior and monks were now at a loss with regard to the election of a Bishop, for they were well aware that the Archbishop would never accept any one elected by persons under excommunication. To avoid the difficulty it was agreed to delegate the formal choice of a Bishop to those of their number who had not been excommunicated. In the meantime interest was made in the

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king's name for a foreigner, a kinsman of the king, Antoline de Pysana, and Piers Gaveston, the king's unworthy favourite, is said to have offered heavy bribes to the monks if they would elect Antoline. The chapter, apprehensive of falling under the favourite's displeasure, endeavoured to excuse themselves to the king :—Antoline, they said, was unknown to them, and was, as they had been informed, under the canonical age. The king replied that he was worse than that, for he was a renegade Augustinian monk—a proof, says the historian, that kings sometimes make requests for things which they have not much at heart. All this passed in a very short time : for, a fortnight after Bishop Bek's death the chapter elected one of their own number, RICHARD DE KELLAW. He was accepted by the king, and consecrated, the archbishop having recalled the excommunication before the confirmation of the new bishop.

Bishop Kellaw lived in great harmony with the convent, having always three or four of the monks with him. He undid all that Antony had done to their prejudice, and conferred many benefits on them. But the king very soon took a dislike to him, chiefly because he could not conscientiously take part with him against the opponents of his favourite, Piers Gaveston. There was also a quarrel about a retainer of the king, characterized by the chroniclers as a robber, who was slain by some of the bishop's servants. The king tried to induce the pontiff to remove Bishop Kellaw from Durham. But, when Edward was on his way to Bannockburn, the bishop and the king were reconciled. The bishop made

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Edward a gift of 1,000 marks and a horse of great value. The latter Edward gave to the Earl of Gloucester, who was slain while riding on it at Bannockburn. The king promised to restore to the see Barnard Castle and Hartlepool, a promise which he was unable to fulfil.

Bishop Kellaw was a man of learning and of high character, eloquent, and of dignified manners. He was most conscientious in the discharge of his duty. Rank was of no avail to shelter an offender, for he excommunicated Lord Neville, of Raby, one of the most powerful barons of the Bishoprick, for refusing to do penance for a disgraceful crime. A set of banditti, called shavalds, about this time infested the Bishoprick; these he put down, hanging some and driving away the rest. Throughout his time the North suffered most severely from the inroads of the Scots. In his second year the city of Durham was burned, but the castle and the abbey were fortunately too strong for the enemy, and escaped. The men of the Bishoprick on this occasion made a separate truce, and bought off the Scots with 1,000 marks. In 1314 the independence of Scotland was secured, by the memorable battle of Bannockburn. The dissensions between Edward II. and his barons prevented any really effectual measures being taken for the defence of the country. In another incursion of the Scots, Beaurepair, the lovely retirement of the prior, at a little distance from Durham, was plundered, and the prior himself, who was surprised at mass, chased to the very gates of Durham. These incursions, and a succession of bad seasons, brought on a terrible famine

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—a quarter of wheat was sold for forty shillings—and the tales that are told of the state of the people are almost too horrible for belief. In the midst of these calamities, 9th October, 1316, the good bishop died at Middleham, after an episcopate, all too short, of five years.[1]

There was now great competition for the wealthy and powerful see of Durham, and of course a wide field was opened for intrigue. The king, the Earl of Lancaster, and the Earl of Hereford, had each his candidate, while Queen Isabella was very earnest on behalf of her kinsman, LEWIS DE BELLOMONTE, or DE BEAUMONT. Notwithstanding all this, the chapter elected Henry de Stamford, Prior of Finchale, whose chief recommendation was his age and his excellent character. But at the urgent request of the queen, who is said to have gone down on her bare knees, the king disallowed the election, and applied to the pope to bestow the Bishoprick on Beaumont. Stamford went to Rome to plead his own cause, but found he was too late. The kings of England and France had prevailed, and Lewis, who was akin to both, had been made Bishop of Durham. But so large a sum was exacted from him by the papal court that he was hardly able to pay it in fourteen years, out of the revenues of his rich see. Lewis was a weak, vain man,

[1] The Register of Bishop Kellaw is one of the very few Episcopal Registers of Durham that are now extant. From several entries in this Register it appears that it was not uncommon in those days for parochial clergymen to obtain licenses of non-residence for a certain time, that they might study in the schools.

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very obstinate and masterful. He was so ignorant of Latin, that at his consecration, though for many days previously he had been learning his lesson, he could not read his profession of obedience. When, by dint of prompting, he had with difficulty come to the word "Metropoliticæ" he came to a stand, and finished by saying in French, *Seyt pur dite*,—"Let it be understood as said." Bystanders were aghast at such a man being Bishop of Durham. Afterwards, at an ordination, when he came to the words, "in ænigmate," and could not pronounce them, he burst out, *Par Seynt Lewis, il ne fu pas curtays, qui cest parole icy escrit*,—"By St. Lewis, he wanted courtesy who wrote that word here."

A strange mishap befel him at his first introduction to the Bishoprick. At the time he was travelling to the North two cardinals were on their way to the King of Scots to endeavour to persuade him to make peace. Lewis travelled with them, hoping to have the eclat of being consecrated by the cardinals, and enthroned at the same time. They were accompanied by Henry de Beaumont, the Bishop's brother, and a great array of ecclesiastics. When they came to Rushyford, Gilbert de Middleton set upon them with an armed array, stripped the cardinals of their purple and of their papers, and left them to find their way to Scotland as they best could. The Bishop and his brother were carried off to Mitford Castle, near Morpeth, and held to ransom. It has been thought they acted in concert with the Scottish king, who had reason to believe that the cardinals were charged with no friendly or respectful message to him.

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The capture of the Bishop was doubtless their own private enterprise, and it throws a strange light on the disorderly state of the country and the weakness of the Government, when such a thing was possible. It cost the convent a very large sum to ransom the bishop, but before long Middleton was surprised in Mitford Castle, of which he was only the governor and not the owner, carried to London, and hanged.

Notwithstanding his obligations to the convent, the Bishop treated the monks with great harshness and disdain. In vain they tried to conciliate him with gifts. He would say to them, "Do nothing for me, as I do nothing for you. Pray for my death, for while I live I will shew you no favour." He encroached on their rights, and oppressed them by his exactions. Nor were they at peace among themselves. When the bishop and the convent were at variance, some of the monks were sure to take his part, and hence arose dissensions among them. The prior, Geoffrey Burdon, wearied out with this state of things, resigned. He is said to have discharged the duties of his office well, and among other things it is noticed that he was very strict in the admission of novices, not heeding the solicitations even of the great; a remark which shows that admission into this great and wealthy monastery had become an object which even great people thought desirable for their friends.

In the first year of Edward III. the bishop brought before Parliament the claim of his see to the forfeitures for treason within the palatinate, and the award, after a long and patient investigation was given in favour of

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the prelate; but in the end it led to little or nothing, probably because the Beauchamps and Cliffords were too powerful to be disturbed. The former continued to hold Barnard Castle absolutely, but though the Cliffords kept possession of Hartness, they professed to hold it of the bishop, and not of the crown.

The Scottish wars continued during the greater part of Bishop Beaumont's episcopate. In 1327, the Scots invaded the northern counties, spreading fire and desolation everywhere, and a very large and well-appointed English army was sent against them accompanied by the young king, Edward III. The two armies met in Weardale, but the English were completely baffled by the tactics of the Scottish leaders. The result was a treaty in which Bruce's title, and the independence of Scotland were completely secured. Part of the agreement provided for the restoration of ecclesiastical property, but it appears that a small possession on the Scottish side, near Norham, was detained from the Bishop of Durham. He protested, and his protest was a link, though a minute one, in the chain of events which led his brother, Henry Beaumont, and some other barons, into intrigues which resulted in the setting-up of Edward, the son of John Baliol, as king of Scotland, in place of the infant son of Robert, and in the crushing defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill. The Scots may well have been tempted to regret that the capture of Henry Beaumont by Gilbert Middleton in the beginning of his brother's episcopate had been followed by no consequences more serious than a temporary detention at Mitford Castle.

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Lewis had a dispute with the Archbishop of York about the visitation of certain churches in Yorkshire belonging to the convent of Durham. To prevent the Archbishop from visiting them he brought men from the Bishoprick, Northumberland and Tynedale, who were quite prepared to kill the primate. But he contrived to evade them;—then, as soon as they had withdrawn, he returned. Thus, by keeping out of their way, though never losing sight of his object, he succeeded in baffling the Bishop, who was put to very great expenses for maintaining them in the field. The whole affords a curious illustration of Beaumont's character and the roughness of the times. The Bishop obtained a bull from Rome empowering him to appoint as Prior of Durham any member of the house whom he chose, and another assigning to him a fourth part of the revenue of the prior while the Scottish war lasted, but as his Council knew that these bulls had been procured on false pretences, they prevailed on him not to make use of them,—a circumstance which seems to indicate that the Bishop was not all-powerful without his Council.

Bishop Beaumont died in 1335, and was honoured with a magnificent funeral at Durham. A great marble slab, which he had himself provided for the purpose, was laid over his grave, in front of the high altar, where it still remains, though despoiled of its magnificent brasses. He was plainly one of whom the Church of Durham has no reason to be proud, but his character has been already sufficiently indicated, and is illustrated by the events of his life. His countenance is said to have been handsome, but he was lame in

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both his feet. He "was pure in his life, but wholly laic in his manners."

Robert de Graystanes, Sub-Prior of Durham, the historian of the Church, who has been our guide since the time of Bishop Philip de Pictavia, was now elected by the chapter. He was a man of high character, whose excellencies were admitted even by those who were opposed to his election. The Archbishop confirmed the election, and went so far as to consecrate him, and he was actually enthroned; but when he sued for the restitution of the temporalities, King Edward III. refused to recognise him, having already solicited and obtained from the pope the appointment of his own tutor, RICHARD DE BURY. Graystanes was forced to give way, and in his own account of the matter there is a very curious blending of resignation and disappointment.

The new prelate was a complete contrast to his predecessor,—very learned, kind to the poor, and on friendly terms with the men of the Bishoprick, many of whose sons were educated in his palace and helped forward in their career. He was the son of Sir Richard D'Angerville, Knight, and was born at Bury St. Edmunds, from which place, as was not uncommon with ecclesiastics, he took his surname of de Bury. His father died when he was young, but his education was cared for by an uncle. After a distinguished career at Oxford, he was chosen to be tutor to the young Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III. He accompanied that prince and Queen Isabella, his mother, when they withdrew into France, and having supplied them with money,

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which had been collected in Guienne for the king, he incurred the wrath of the De Spensers, and was pursued so hotly by them, that he was forced to hide himself for a week in the belfry of a church at Paris. When his royal pupil came to the throne, which he did at a very early age, preferment, both ecclesiastical and civil, was rapidly heaped upon de Bury. During the next five years he was sent twice as ambassador to Pope John XXII. at Avignon, by whom he was received with great distinction. At Paris, on his return from his second embassy, he heard that the Bishop of Durham had died, and that King Edward had sent letters to the pope, requesting that he might be appointed to the vacancy. He expressed great regret at the news, and declined, when it was proposed to him, to take any steps to promote his advancement. On his arrival in England he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, all the attendant expenses being defrayed by the king. In the summer of next year he was enthroned, and made a great feast on the occasion, at which the king and the queen, the queen's mother, the King of Scotland, with a great number of prelates and nobles, were present. Soon after, he was made Chancellor of England, and continued to be employed in various embassies during the next nine years. One finds it difficult to reconcile this recital of his public employments with the accounts we have of his devotion to learning, and to the duties of his episcopal office, but both seem to be true. He was one of the foremost pioneers in the revival of learning, insatiable in reading and in collecting books. He maintained a correspondence with learned men,

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among the rest with Petrarch, and entertained in his family many eminent scholars who afterwards rose to eminence, among whom were Thomas Bradwardine, soon after Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Fitzralf, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, with many more. Every day at table, unless the arrival of persons of importance prevented it, reading went on, followed by discussion. He is said to have had more books at his different houses than all the other bishops of England, and he kept constantly employed a host of collectors, transcribers, illuminators, and bookbinders. That the treasures he had collected might not be lost, he left a large part of them to the library of Durham college, Oxford, and he wrote a book, which is still extant, called Philobiblion, in which, amongst other things, he relates how he became possessed of his collections, and lays down rules for the preservation and use of books. Some passages are very curious and interesting. Speaking of the manner in which he collected books, he tells us that many opportunities which he eagerly seized, were afforded by his foreign employments; that when people got to know how eagerly he sought after books, they were forward in coming to offer them, either in gift or for sale; that the stores of monasteries were opened to him, and poor monks, whom he always befriended, took pains to help; France, Germany, and Italy, were all laid under contribution; whoever brought a book was always welcome. His rules as to taking care of books are amusing, but we pass on to his eulogy on them. Books are most patient and kind teachers,—"these are the masters who instruct without birch or

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rods, without scolding or anger, needing neither bread nor money. When you go to them they are never asleep, they do not hide themselves, they never grumble, and if you make a mistake they never laugh at your ignorance." It is said that in each of his different manors the floor of his bedroom was so encumbered with books that one could hardly move or find a place to stand without treading on a book.

Bishop de Bury was very kind to the poor, being very systematic in his almsgiving, and he also conferred many rich ornaments on the Church of Durham. He died after a long illness at Bishop Auckland, in 1345, and was buried in the cathedral, but no monument appears to have been raised to his memory.

During his time John Fossour succeeded to the priorate, who did a great deal for the adornment of the cathedral, many of the great windows being the result of his labours.

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CHAPTER IX.

SCOTTISH WARS.

FOR LO, THE KINGS OF THE EARTH ARE GATHERED AND GONE BY TOGETHER;
THEY MARVELLED TO SEE SUCH THINGS;
THEY WERE ASTONISHED, AND SUDDENLY CAST DOWN;
FEAR CAME UPON THEM AND SORROW.

THE next bishop was THOMAS DE HATFIELD, keeper of the Privy Seal. Like de Bury he was more indebted to the king and the holy see than to the chapter for his preferment. The pope was Clement VI., one of the worst of the Avignon Pontiffs, and was trembling at the time for his hold over England, when the king applied for his sanction to the appointment of Hatfield. Some of the cardinals objected that Hatfield was too much of a layman, but Clement replied that if the King of England had applied for an ass, he would have been ready to gratify him. Though possessed of Church preferment, Hatfield had served in the French wars, and it may be that the king did not think him the less suited for the Palatinate of Durham in these troublous times. The beginning of his episcopate was signalized by a great victory over the Scots at Neville's Cross, in the immediate neighbourhood of Durham.

Among the Barons of the Palatinate there were none

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more powerful than the Nevilles of Raby and Brancepeth, and none whose history is so closely connected with that of the Church of Durham. Their ancestor, Gilbert de Neville, was one of the Norman followers of the Conqueror. His grandson Geoffrey, by his marriage with the heiress of the Bulmers, became Lord of Brancepeth. He died, leaving an only daughter, and she became the wife of Robert Fitzmeldred, Lord of Raby, who thereupon assumed the name of Neville. Fitzmeldred was a lineal descendant of Uchtred, Earl of Northumberland, whom we have seen assisting the Bishop Aldhun in the erection of the first cathedral at Durham. Raby and Staindropshire were part of the possessions of the convent given to the Church by King Canute, and in 1131, after the death of Ralf Flambard, the convent demised them to Dolfin, the great grandson of Uchtred, and father of Robert Fitzmeldred, to be held by a yearly payment of four pounds and the gift of a stag on the Feast of the Translation of St. Cuthbert, the 4th of September. Ranulf, the third Lord Neville, whom we have seen encouraging the men of the Bishoprick in their resistance to Bishop Bek, and afterwards excommunicated by Bishop Kellaw, had a ridiculous dispute with the Prior of Durham, in reference to the offering of the stag. It seems to have been customary, when the stag was brought to Durham, for Lord Neville to dine with the prior, and for his servants also to be provided with refreshments; but Ranulf not only claimed as a right that he and whomsoever he thought fit to bring with him should feast at the prior's expense, but also that the prior's

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servants should be set aside for the time and that the Lord of Raby with his friends should be waited on by his own servants. The prior resisted this demand as unreasonable, and likely to be oppressive, for the trains of the nobility in those days were very numerous. He alleged that Neville never dined with him but by invitation, and that the refreshment offered to the servants was also a matter of courtesy. The prior was willing to exercise hospitality, but would not yield to a claim of right. Ranulf cared not for the entertainment, but insisted on what he called his right. Finally, the prior refused to accept the stag on the terms imposed by Neville. As had been customary, the stag was brought into the church with great ceremony and winding of horns, but the offering was rejected in accordance with the prior's orders, and the baron's servants were offended. From words they came to blows. Neville's servants began to beat the monks who were in attendance at the altar—but were not allowed to have it all their own way, for the monks, seizing the great wax tapers which were at hand, belaboured the baron's servants till they were forced to retreat. They would not, however, condescend to take back the stag, which, in their view of the case, had been so discourteously refused.

When Ranulf Neville died he was succeeded by his son Ralf, a man of a very different temper, who, though at first disposed to continue the dispute, yielded eventually to the proofs and arguments adduced, and gave up the point. Ralf was contemporary with Bishop Hatfield, and we now return to the course of the history.

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In the year 1346 Edward III. was in France, and David, king of Scotland, the foolish son of a wise father, resolved to take advantage of his absence to invade England. The more prudent of his counsellors would have dissuaded him, but the foolish and headstrong youth listened rather to those who assured him that "the country was bare of fighting men, and that none but cowardly clerks and mean mechanics stood between him and a march to London." The event proved how much they were mistaken. Although Edward was in France, Ralf Neville, with his son John, Henry Percy, and the border barons, with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham, mustered their forces for the defence of the north. David advanced to Hexham, and for fourteen days ravaged the neighbouring parts of the Bishoprick of Durham. A monkish historian tells us that he was warned by St. Cuthbert in a dream to spare the saint's territory; but the warning was unheeded, and the young king approached the very gates of Durham. Near Sunderland Bridge he was met by the English lords, and a desperate battle was fought at the Red Hills near Durham, which ended in the total defeat of the Scots. Fifteen thousand were slain. The king himself, the Bishop of St. Andrews, another bishop, and many of the Scottish nobility were taken prisoners. The victory was ascribed by the monks of Durham to the presence of the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert, part of which consisted of the linen napkin with which St. Cuthbert was believed to have covered the chalice when he said mass. John Fossour, the prior, had been com-

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manded in a dream the night before to carry it out into the field. The prior obeyed, and with a company of monks repaired to a place called the Maiden's Bower, near the field of battle, and knelt in prayer for deliverance from their assailants.

After the victory, Ralf Neville and his son John, who had also been present in the battle, went to the cathedral to return thanks. The sacred banner of St. Cuthbert, the banner of Lord Neville, and the banner of the Scottish king were hung up on St. Cuthbert's shrine as tokens of thanksgiving. The Black Rood of Scotland, the object of St. Margaret the Queen's reverence, which gives the name to the abbey and palace of Holyrood at Edinburgh, had been carried with the army on this occasion, and fell into the hands of the victors. It was a crucifix with St. Mary and St. John made of silver, and "as it were, smoked all over," and was now "set up most exactlie in the pillar next to St. Cuthbert's shrine in the south alley of the abbey." A hymn of thanksgiving was appointed to be sung every year on the 17th of October, the anniversary of the battle, on the top of the great tower of the church, from which, doubtless, the inmates of the abbey who remained at home had watched the field with keen and thrilling interest, knowing that the fate of St. Cuthbert's city and church itself was trembling in the balance. It seemed as if "the adversary and the enemy" were about to enter "into the gates of Jerusalem," but the calamity had been averted. The banners and the Black Rood remained in the church until the Reformation. The hymn is still chanted year by year on the

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top of the great tower, but the day has been changed to the 29th of May. A beautiful cross of stone was erected by Lord Neville near the place of conflict, a small part of which still remains, and retains the name of NEVILLE'S CROSS.

Ralf de Neville died in 1367, and it was probably in consequence of the services which he had rendered to the church and city of Durham, as well as to the kingdom at large, by his bravery at Neville's Cross, that permission was given for his burial within the church, an honour which had never before been accorded to a layman. In return for this favour a costly vestment was presented to the church. The funeral was a most magnificent one; the body was brought into the churchyard in a chariot drawn by seven horses, and carried on the shoulders of knights into the church, where the office of the dead was performed by the abbot of St. Mary's at York, the bishop being absent and the prior in ill health. Eight horses, four for war and four for peace, were presented as an offering, with costly cloths of blue and gold; and Alice, the deceased baron's widow, presented a large sum for the repairs of the church, with various rich vestments for the celebration of mass on the day of his anniversary.

John, Lord Neville, was hardly less distinguished than his father, and did much for the adornment of the church of Durham. In 1373 he contributed largely to the erection of the beautiful screen which still bears his name behind the high altar. It cost 800 marks, of which he contributed 600, or £400. It was formerly filled with statuary, and painted with

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rich colours, when it must have had a very magnificent appearance. Even now, though denuded of statuary, and all of an uniform white colour, it is very graceful. It was made in London, of stone said to have been brought from France. At the same time he presented a new bier for the coffin of St. Cuthbert in the shrine, made also in London of marble and alabaster. It cost £200. John de Neville died in 1388, and was buried, like his father, in the cathedral. The tombs of the two barons and their wives still remain, though in a sadly mutilated condition. They were defaced by Scottish prisoners in the time of the Great Rebellion, when the cathedral was turned into a prison by Cromwell, and 3,000 Scots were confined there after the battle of Dunbar. A considerable portion—it included three pillars—of the south aisle of the nave of the cathedral was partitioned off as the Neville porch or chapel, having an altar at its east end, where mass was said daily for their souls. They had also a church in the South Bailey, no doubt for the use of their tenants and retainers in the city. Its architecture, being of early character, proves its great antiquity.

Bishop Hatfield lived for thirty-five years after the battle of Neville's Cross, and maintained the dignity of the palatinate by his vigorous administration, while he was distinguished for his hospitality, and for his kindness to the poor. He was also very liberal to Durham College at Oxford, which had been founded by Prior Hotoun, and the convent in 1290, had been fostered by Bishop Bury, and finally completed by Bishop Hatfield. Being partly a foundation for

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monks, it fell at the dissolution of monasteries in the time of Henry VIII. The site and buildings were purchased by Sir Thomas Pope, and the college was founded anew under the name of Trinity College. Bishop Hatfield built a house for the residence of the bishops of Durham when in London, and Durham House in the Strand continued to be their abode until the time of the Great Rebellion. He also repaired and enlarged the castle of Durham. In the cathedral he erected the magnificent episcopal throne, the work of which resembles the Neville screen, and prepared a tomb for himself beneath it. After a long episcopate of thirty-six years, Bishop Hatfield died after a tedious illness, at his manor of Alford, near London, 8th May, 1381, and was buried at Durham in the tomb just mentioned, where his effigy may still be seen. He is said to have been a man of commanding presence, and venerable in his aspect.

In 1372 the convent had applied to Pope Gregory XI., through the king, for leave to appropriate the church of Hemingborough in Yorkshire. His holiness refused, and his epistle on the subject shows the state of the monastery at that time. "The king's letter asked for the impropriation, *propter necessitates eis incumbentes.* The pope replied that he was informed the religious body consisted of 150 persons, with four dependent abbeys where priors had been instituted; besides which, that they held, dependent on the monastery, thirteen parish churches, while they had the right of collation to many others; that, by reason of their opulence, they were guilty of great

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enormities; that when they travelled they were each attended by three or four horsemen, and made an appearance inconsistent with religious humility; and that in their expenses, as well in provision for their table, as in apparel and other ordinary matters, they were guilty of great excess."[1] Ten years after we find them applying to Pope Urban VI., and obtaining for the prior the privilege of wearing a mitre, staff, ring, sandals, and other pontifical insignia. The reason assigned was that their house had an income of 5,000 marks sterling and more, and that the heads of other houses of less importance had this privilege, to the scandal of their church.

The chapter had great difficulty in coming to a decision in the election of a successor. They considered "that some of their own number were sufficiently qualified, but feared to elect one of themselves." At length, on 30th May, 1381, the choice fell on JOHN DE FORDHAM, a canon of York, and secretary to King Richard II. He was consecrated in 1382, and before long was made treasurer to the king. Being suspected of giving bad advice to the king, he became obnoxious to the party opposed to the court, and in 1390 was compelled to exchange Durham for the inferior bishopric of Ely. There he remained as bishop for upwards of thirty-five years, and died in extreme old age in 1425.

WALTER SKIRLAW, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was chosen to fill the place vacated by Fordham's translation. He was, according to tradition, of humble origin, and had been educated at Durham College,

[1] Hutchinson "Hist. Durh.," vol. ii. p. 92.

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Oxford. He proved to be a very munificent prelate. In those days the building of bridges was enjoined on wealthy churchmen as a work of humanity, and we read of three built by Bishop Skirlaw —one over the Tees at Yarm, another over the Wear at Shincliffe, and a third at Auckland over the Gannless. At Howden he built the tower of the church to serve as a place of refuge for the inhabitants in time of floods, and at the same place he erected a beautiful chapter-house. Before his elevation to the Episcopate he had contributed liberally to the erection of the Great Tower of York Minster, where his arms are still to be seen. At Durham he began the construction of the cloisters, and left a large sum for the completion of the work, and the convent was also largely helped by him in the building of the dormitory. The foundation of three scholarships at University College, Oxford, prove the interest he took in the promotion of learning. After an episcopate of seventeen years, during which he always stood high in the esteem of his sovereign, Bishop Skirlaw died in 1406 and was buried on the north side of the choir in the cathedral, where his marble tomb with his effigy in brass long stood surrounded by an iron railing, inside of which was an altar where mass was said for the repose of his soul. The railing was removed to make room for a pew for ladies, and all trace of the tomb has disappeared.

Thomas Langley, Dean of York, Chancellor of England, and five years afterwards a Cardinal, succeeded, being an attached adherent of the House of Lancaster. He filled the see in the time of three

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kings, six years and a half in the time of Henry IV., the whole of the reign of Henry V., and fifteeen years under Henry VI. In the Galilee, which he repaired, besides founding a chantry, he erected, in virtue of a papal dispensation, a font for the baptism of the children of excommunicated persons. Two schools on the Palace Green were founded by him, one for instruction in grammar the other for plain song. The public libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, the library at Durham College, Oxford, at St. Mary's, Leicester, and the College of Manchester, were all remembered in his will, having valuable books bequeathed to them.

Contemporary with Cardinal Langley was John Wessington, who became Prior of Durham in 1416, resigned in 1446, and died not long after. He was a man of great ability, and was in many ways of great service to the church and cathedral. There is a long list extant of his writings, almost entirely on the history and the immunities of the church, and his works on the cathedral were very extensive and costly, amounting in all to nearly £8,000, a very large sum in that age. The account of the provision made for him by the chapter on his resignation shows clearly how great the dignity and state of the Lord Prior of Durham had become. This instrument first recites the great service he had rendered to the convent, and goes on to assign him the apartment called Coldingham, in the monastery of Durham, where he and his attendants were to be provided by the bursar with all things necessary in food, drink, and clothing—"as befits the degree of each." The attendants were five in number—a monk

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as his chaplain, a gentleman (armiger), a clerk (clericus), a valet, and a page (garcio). Certain lands and the profits of certain churches are assigned to him, besides the provision made for him and his attendants within the convent, and if, for health's sake, he should wish to go elsewhere, he was to have the use of the best apartment, and also of the apartment called Douglas Tower, at Finchale, with all needful provision, having the option of returning to Durham at his discretion.

Wessington was succeeded by William de Ebchester, and ten years after we find a similar provision made on his retirement.

Cardinal Langley died in 1437 and shortly after, at the request of the chapter, the pope translated ROBERT NEVILLE, son of Ralf, first Earl of Westmoreland, by his second wife Joan, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Catherine Swynford. Although Ralf, Lord Neville, son of the John, Lord Neville formerly mentioned, had been advanced to an earldom by King Richard II., he nevertheless took part in the deposition of the king, and in the advancement of his wife's half brother, Henry of Lancaster, to the throne. He founded a college at Staindrop, very near Raby Castle, for a warden, six chaplains, six clerks, six squires, six gentlemen, and six poor men. This seems to have been the only institution of the kind founded by a layman in the bishopric, the other collegiate churches having been all founded by bishops. Lord Westmoreland had a very large family—by his first wife, two sons and seven daughters, and by the Lady Joan, his second wife, eight sons and five daughters. The eldest son by the Lady Joan was Richard, Earl of

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Salisbury. The youngest daughter, Cicely, "the Rose of Raby," was married to Richard, Duke of York, and became the mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. The Earl of Salisbury had four sons, the eldest of whom was Richard, Earl of Warwick, "the Last of the Barons," often called the kingmaker; the youngest George, Archbishop of York. Robert, Bishop of Durham, was the fifth son of the Earl of Westmoreland by his second wife. He was therefore the uncle of the Earl of Warwick, and also of Edward IV. and Richard III., but he did not live to witness the revolution which placed his nephew Edward on the throne of England.

Bishop Neville had a peaceful episcopate of nineteen years. He did not oppress his vassals, but the immense revenues of the see appear to have been spent to a great extent in the county from which they were derived. Little is known of his private life, but there is evidence that he kept up the palatine court in its full splendour, and the offices of his household and the Bishoprick were filled by the gentry of the Palatinate, many of them his own kindred. He built the exchequer at the gates of Durham Castle, now part of the University Library.

In autumn, 1448, the gentle and pious king, Henry VI., then about twenty-seven years of age, paid a visit to the shrine of St. Cuthbert at Durham, and was for some days the guest of the bishop. He arrived on the 26th September and remained till the end of the month. On the Sunday, and on the Feast of St. Michael, he personally assisted at first vespers, in the procession, at mass, and at second vespers. On his

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return southwards, the good king wrote a letter expressing the gratification he had derived from his visit. There were three things which pleased him. 1. The "noble manner of divine service, the sumptuous and glorious churches, and the multitude of ministers in the province of York and the diocese of Durham." 2. The way in which "the Lord had radicate in the people his faith"—"as catholike people as ever we came among, and all good and holy." 3. The hearty reverence and worship shown to himself as their king "as good and better than ever we had in our life." "Wherefore, we dare well say, it may be verified in them the holy saying of the Prince of the Apostles, St. Peter, when he sayeth *Deum timete. Regem honorificate.*" "Wryten in our city of Lincoln the morrow of St. Luke the Evangelist, 1448."

Bishop Neville died in 1457. His own desire was to be buried in the Galilee, near the shrine of Bede; but his executors directed his burial beside his ancestors in the Neville Porch, in the south aisle of the nave.

On the death of Bishop Neville, King Henry wished to have his physician, John Arundel, appointed to the vacancy, but Queen Margaret prevailed on the Pope to give it to LAURENCE BOOTH, her chaplain, and a member of a family which was zealous in the Lancastrian interest. He was Head of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, where he had been educated, a canon of York and Lichfield, Archdeacon of Richmond, and Dean of St. Paul's. He continued master of Pembroke Hall till his death. He was consecrated at Sherburn in Elmet, 25th September, 1457. The contest between

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York and Lancaster was now fast coming to an issue. At first the advantage was on King Henry's side, and the bishop laid claim to the possessions of the Earl of Warwick within the Bishoprick as forfeitures for treason. But the fortune of war soon turned against the king. The battle of Towton sealed his fate and placed Edward IV. on the throne. The bishop's sympathies had certainly been with King Henry, yet his conduct must have been prudent, for he not only escaped forfeiture himself, but had the forfeitures within the Palatinate adjudged to him by Edward's first parliament. But by-and-by the scene changed. Edward seized the temporalities of the see, and the bishop remained for some months under the king's displeasure. After some time the temporalities were restored, and on Warwick's death and final forfeiture in 1471 his right to the forfeiture was fully recognised. But he did not get possession of Barnard Castle, for Richard, Duke of Gloucester, claimed it as heir to Warwick, having married his younger daughter. In 1473 Bishop Booth was made Chancellor of England, and in 1476, on the death of Archbishop George Nevilel, was translated to York, the first of the bishops of Durham who was raised to the Archiepiscopal See.

In virtue of a papal bull, the king, in 1477, conferred the see on William Dudley, Dean of Windsor, a man of noble birth. There is nothing particular to be noticed in his episcopate. He died in London in 1483. The See of Durham was next conferred on John Sherwood, said to have been a very learned man. He had been much employed in embassies abroad by Edward IV., and when in Italy had availed himself

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of the opportunity to collect many Greek books, which he brought with him to England. These may have been part of the spoils of Constantinople, the capture of which by the Turks had dispersed a vast number of Greek manuscripts. Notwithstanding his obligations to Edward IV., the bishop seems to have had no difficulty in transferring his allegiance to the usurper Richard, who, at his coronation, was supported by the Bishop of Durham on one side, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells on the other. For some reason, which is not mentioned, Bishop Sherwood did not receive restitution of the temporalities until a very short time before the close of Richard's career in 1485. It was doubtless on account of the part he took in Richard's consecration that he never enjoyed the confidence of Henry VII. We know not for what reason he was at Rome, but he died there in 1494, and was buried in the church of the English College. When the news of his death arrived in England, all his possessions were seized by the king. There is nothing of any moment recorded of him as Bishop of Durham.

After a vacancy of eleven months, RICHARD FOX was translated from Bath and Wells to Durham in 1494. He had studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, and also at Paris, and had been of great service to Henry, Earl of Richmond, when he was planning his expedition into England to dethrone Richard III. In 1487 Fox was made Bishop of Exeter, and was translated to Bath and Wells in 1491. He continued to enjoy the confidence of King Henry, and was much employed by him in the

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affairs of Scotland, both in war and peace. When some trouble was likely to arise on account of some young men from Scotland who had been unduly interfered with by the garrison of Norham, Bishop Fox, by his wisdom and forbearance, not only composed the dispute, but made such an impression on the fiery temper of James IV. that he was able to negotiate the marriage between that king and Margaret, daughter of King Henry VII., an alliance which ultimately led to the union of the kingdoms. There is little related of him in his proper episcopal character. He made alterations at Durham Castle, some of them not for the better, for he curtailed the dimensions of the great hall, which remains at the south end at this day as he left it. He had the honour of entertaining the Princess Margaret at Durham, on her way to Scotland. Wolsey, in the beginning of his career, was under great obligations to Bishop Fox, but, before his early patron's death, he gave him reason to regret his kindness. In 1501 Bishop Fox was translated to Winchester, where he died in 1528.

On Bishop Fox's translation the bishopric was conferred on WILLIAM SEVER or SINEWS, Bishop of Carlisle, who is said to have been the son of a sieve maker at Shincliffe, near Durham. He had been Warden of Merton College at Oxford, and Chancellor of the University, Provost of Eton, and Abbot of St. Mary's at York. In 1502 he was translated to Durham, where he presided only two years and a-half, and there is nothing of moment recorded of him. He died in 1505.

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On his death the see was conferred on CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIGGE, Dean of York, a native of Hilton, near Appleby, in Westmoreland, and educated at Queen's College, Oxford. A year after his consecration to Durham, he was transferred to York. In 1511, while employed as ambassador at the Court of Rome from Henry VIII., he received a cardinal's hat, and died at Rome, being poisoned, it is said, by a servant whom he had struck in a fit of passion.

On 23rd April, 1509, THOMAS RUTHALL, Dean of Salisbury, was nominated to the See of Durham. During his time the battle of Flodden Field was fought near Branxton, in Northumberland; but nothing of interest is recorded of him in connection with the diocese. He was immensely wealthy, and his riches proved his ruin. He had received command from the king to draw up an account of the lands and revenues of the Crown in different parts of England. This he did, but, unfortunately, in another book precisely similar he had drawn up an account of his own possessions. When the king sent for the book he had desired him to compile, the bishop by mistake sent the other. The blunder was discovered by Wolsey, who treacherously pointed it out to the king, telling his majesty that if he wanted money he now knew where to get it. Henry is said to have made no use of the bishop's inadvertence. But the matter sank into the prelate's own mind, and the mortification he felt at his unintended disclosure is believed to have hastened his death, which took place in 1522.

On Ruthall's death the charge of the temporalities

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was committed to the famous Cardinal, THOMAS WOLSEY, who for six years continued to hold the see in conjunction with York. During this time he never visited the diocese. On the death of Bishop Fox he exchanged Durham for Winchester, 1528.

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CHAPTER X.

THE REFORMATION.

THE next bishop was CUTHBERT TUNSTALL, translated from London by a papal bull, the last required for such a purpose. He was descended from an ancient line of warriors, and Sir Richard Tunstall, of Thurland Tunstall in Lancashire, was his uncle. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and at King's Hall, soon after absorbed in the great foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge. Thence he proceeded to the University of Padua, where he graduated as Doctor of Laws. In 1508, while yet only a subdeacon, he became Rector of Stanhope, a preferment which he appears to have held for twelve years. In 1511 he was ordained priest, and became Chancellor of Canterbury. Various other preferments were bestowed on him, and in 1516 he was sent with Sir Thomas More on an embassy to the Emperor Charles V. It was his lot on this occasion to live in the same house with Erasmus, with whom he contracted a close intimacy, and the strong expressions which occur in the correspondence of Erasmus prove that he valued his English friend very highly, both as a man and a scholar.

In 1522 he became Bishop of London, and eight years later, on St. Cuthbert's Day, 20th March, 1530,

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was translated to Durham on the resignation of Wolsey.

Tunstall was one of the most remarkable of all the bishops of Durham, and he lived in a very remarkable period. It was his lot to see that momentous change, the Reformation, pass through all its stages—the rejection of the papal authority in the time of Henry VIII.—the headlong changes and disgraceful spoliation of the church in the time of Edward VI.—the check in the time of Queen Mary—the settlement, which on the whole still exists, brought about in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

There were, as is well known, two immediate causes which apparently combined to bring about the change in religion: 1. The preaching of Luther on the continent, which, of course, exercised a great influence in England. 2. The quarrel of Henry VIII. with the Pontiff on the subject of his divorce. But the truth is neither of these causes, nor both combined, could have sufficed to bring about such a result, unless the minds of men had been prepared for it. This preparation had been going on for a very long time. The misconduct of that most wretched of monarchs, King John, had given the Pope a great hold upon England, and she had long writhed under the extortions of the papal court. By the terms of King John's submission the realm was bound as a vassal kingdom in a sum of one thousand marks yearly; but this payment was very irregularly made, and at length entirely refused. The Pope claimed the first fruits and tenths of all benefices, that is, the profits of one year at entrance and a tenth of the income afterwards.

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By the system of provisions he assumed the right of bestowing bishoprics and dignities on his favourites, who were often foreigners, ignorant of English, and in many cases never set foot in the country. By these different means vast sums were every year drained from the kingdom. Again, every ecclesiastical cause was liable to be carried to the papal courts by appeal, and these courts were most venal and corrupt. The reader will remember the case of Bishop Antony Bek and Prior Hotoun. So early as the middle of the thirteenth century these abuses had called forth the indignant protest of the famous Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who positively refused to institute foreigners nominated by the pope in his diocese. In the last quarter of the fourteenth century Wiclif appeared, just at the time when the seventy years' sojourn of the popes at Avignon was coming to an end. The papal court at Avignon had been distinguished by profligacy and greed. The popes, moreover, were little better than the vassals of the King of France, the enemy of England. After the "captivity" at Avignon followed the great schism, which naturally tended materially to weaken the influence and prestige of the Papacy. At home the great wealth of the bishops and monastic orders had led to pride and general carelessness, not seldom, it is to be feared, to gross immorality. The bishops, as we have seen by many examples, were too often not bishops at all in any proper sense of the word, but rather statesmen or warriors. Wiclif's fearless exposure of abuses on the one hand and his evangelical teaching on the other, stirred the heart of England. But, simultaneously with his preaching,

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there were civil commotions excited by the oppressive pride of the nobility, and it is sometimes difficult to disentangle the two movements. Nor is it easy to decide on what principle even the great nobles, such as John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, supported Wiclif. It is needless to say that the mightiest engine wielded by the reformer was his translation of the Bible into English. Perhaps in those days comparatively few could read, and, before the invention of printing, books were very costly; but still the Word of God was accessible, and this could not but tend to open people's eyes. We have little reason to believe that the teaching of Wiclif had much influence in the North. Sir William Neville, uncle of the first Earl of Westmoreland, is said to have been a leader among the Lollards, but this general fact is nearly all that is known of him.

Fifteen years after the death of Wiclif, Richard II. (whose gentle queen is supposed to have favoured the reformer's teaching) was deposed, and the crown was seized by Henry, Duke of Lancaster. He was much indebted to the clergy for his advancement, and he scrupled not to gratify them by kindling the flames of persecution. Thus the spectacle was afforded to the nation of a degenerate and corrupted hierarchy, often ignorant and immoral, seeking to maintain and strengthen its position by cruelty and torture. History tells us how retribution came on a dynasty created by rebellion, and cemented by blood. The French wars and the Wars of the Roses arrested, for a time, persecution on account of religious opinions by giving men something else to think of, but it began again in

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the time of Henry VII. We have no account of any persecution in the North. It is to be feared the people were very ignorant, while on the other hand the church was popular—it may be, in some measure, because the clergy, who had such extensive possessions in the Bishoprick, were good and indulgent landlords.

More than a century and a half had passed away since the time of Wiclif, when Luther appeared early in the sixteenth century. In the meantime, none of the abuses in the Church had been rectified, and it is well known that it was the reckless and barefaced preaching of indulgences, when Leo X. wanted money for the building of St. Peter's, that first roused the German reformer. As to the worldliness of the clergy it would be hard to find a more flagrant example than Wolsey, holding the sees, first of Durham, and then of Winchester, with the Archbishopric of York. It might seem as if he wished to show that bishops were not needed at all. In other respects, a vast change had taken place since Wiclif's time. The minds of men were much more awake—learning was rapidly increasing, and the invention of printing had made a complete revolution with regard to the spread of knowledge of all kinds. Like Wiclif, Luther gave the people the Bible in their own tongue. His translation of the Bible appeared in 1522, the fruit of his confinement in the castle of Wartburg. The same boon was very speedily conferred on the people of England. In 1526, four years after Tunstall became Bishop of London, appeared the New Testament in English, translated by William Tyndall, a native of Gloucestershire, though his name may

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probably indicate a northern descent. He was a man well qualified for his undertaking. Wiclif's version had been made from the Latin Vulgate, but Luther's and Tyndall's were made from the original Greek. The publication of the New Testament in the vernacular created great alarm among the clergy. Like Archbishop Arundel, who, at the close of the fourteenth century, denounced Wiclif, and persecuted his followers, they professed that it was not so much the translation of the Scriptures that they deprecated—though that, too, they believed to be dangerous—as the circumstance that what, if done at all, should be done by authority, had been undertaken by private and unauthorised persons.

The story of Bishop Tunstall and Tyndall's New Testament is well known. Being a man of learning and discretion, the bishop was much employed in the King's service. After his advancement to the see of London, he was made keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1525 he was sent to Spain with Sir Richard Wingfield, the ambassador to the Emperor Charles V.; in 1527 he accompanied Wolsey in his magnificent embassy into France; in 1529 he was one of the representatives of the King of England at the Treaty of Cambray. It was on this last occasion that he visited Antwerp, where Tyndall's New Testament was printed. He spared no expense in buying up as many as he could, not intended for immediate destruction, but reserved for a solemn holocaust on his return to London. The only effect, as is well known, was that the translator got rid of what he himself had come to consider an imperfect edition, and was enabled to go

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on with an improved revision. When it was afterwards asked how he could possibly afford to engage in such a costly undertaking, the answer was, that the funds had been supplied by the Bishop of London.

When Tunstall was translated to Durham in March, 1530, things were coming to a crisis with regard to the king's divorce. Tunstall had written in defence of the queen's marriage, and Henry, fearing so learned an adversary, had contrived that he should not be heard before Cardinal Campeggio. It was not long after this that the King, finding that he could not get the pope to gratify him, resolved to do without him. Wolsey had been indicted in a *præmunire* for acting as legate in England, although he had previously obtained the king's consent, and now an information was laid in the Court of King's Bench against the whole body of the clergy, because they had acquiesced in Wolsey's acts. Though they offered a large subsidy, the king refused to release them until they had owned him as the supreme Head of the Church in his dominions. They were forced to submit, though they added the words, "*as far as the law of Christ will allow.*" At first the Bishop of Durham protested against this title when it came before the Convocation of York, but he very soon withdrew his opposition, and even preached in favour of it in his own cathedral. The next step the king took was to transfer the payment of first fruits and tenths from the pope to himself.

In 1533 the divorce was declared by the Ecclesiastical Court in England, and the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn confirmed. Thus a complete breach was made with the papal court. The pope was no

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longer allowed to have any control over the appointment of bishops. But still the king entertained no views in favour of any change in doctrine; on the contrary, he was determined to uphold the existing state of things in every respect, except as regarded the authority of the pope, and, as he was well aware that the monastic clergy would stand greatly in his way, the next step was to humble them. In 1535 he was empowered by Parliament to visit the monasteries, and to inquire into and correct abuses. This ended in the suppression of all religious houses whose yearly income did not exceed £200. Of course this did not affect the great Abbey of Durham itself, but all the others within the diocese fell. They were not numerous, nor were their possessions in comparison with the Convent of Durham, of great value. In the Bishoprick itself there was no independent monastic foundation. Finchale, Jarrow, and Wearmouth were dependencies of Durham —so also was Lindisfarne, a portion of the Bishoprick, though the whole county of Northumberland lay between. Tynemouth had for centuries been a cell of St. Alban's. In Northumberland Hexham and Brinkburn were in the hands of the Augustinians. Newminster was a Cistercian, and Blanchland a Præmonstratensian foundation. There were also Alnwick and Hulne, besides a small nunnery at Lambley, near Alston. Hexham did not fall without a struggle. When the commissioners appeared, they met with a determined resistance, headed by the master of Ovingham, a dependent cell lower down the Tyne. But all was in vain, and the last prior, so says tradition, was hanged at the gate of the priory. Blanch-

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land, from its very secluded situation, at first escaped notice, but the poor canons were so indiscreet as to begin to ring their bells for joy. The sound betrayed them, and brought back the spoiler. Durham, like a mother bereft of all her children, stood alone for the present.

But these proceedings were very far from meeting with the approval of all the king's subjects, and great discontent prevailed, especially in the north. They saw the communities which they had been accustomed to revere broken up, the poor who used to be relieved neglected, and the inmates of the monasteries sent out into the world with a very scanty provision, or none at all. A rebellion in the northern counties ensued. We know not to what extent the Diocese of Durham was implicated, but the names of Neville and Lumley among the leaders indicate that the men of the Bishoprick sympathised with the movement. They called it "*The Pilgrimage of Grace.*" Their banner displayed the five wounds of our Lord with a chalice and paten as the emblems of their cause. The rising was soon put down, and some of the leaders forfeited their lives. Immediately after this the king deprived the Palatinate of some of its most important franchises. The bishop no longer had the power of pardoning treasons, and other capital offences, nor of appointing justices of the peace; all writs were henceforth to run in the name of the king; and indictments for offences were to be drawn as *against the peace of the king*, not as before, *the peace of the bishop.* There were several other provisions, but these are the chief. Thus a power, all but sovereign, the origin

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of which was so remote as to be quite uncertain was reduced to little more than a name. It was reserved to the present century to see that also taken away.

Cardinal Pole, who was near of kin to the king, felt aggrieved at Henry's proceedings, and did not hesitate to express his thoughts in a letter to the king. The Bishop of Durham was deputed to answer him. He performed his task with great ability and learning, but, it is needless to say, without effect, as far, at least, as the cardinal was concerned. On the other hand, some of the Protestant princes of Germany had addressed the king, urging him to further changes; and again the task of replying to them was assigned to Tunstall. Here also he made the best of his arguments in defence of the ancient doctrines, now called the "Old Learning," in distinction to the reformed doctrines, which were denominated the "New Learning."

An Act had been passed some years before, empowering the bishops, with the consent of the crown, to appoint suffragans to assist them in the discharge of their duties. The Bishops of Durham had always been in the habit of using the help of other bishops, but these had generally been the occupants of the smaller sees in Scotland, Ireland, or France. Bishop Tunstall now availed himself of the powers conveyed by the Act, and appointed Thomas Spark, one of the Monks of Durham, to be Suffragan Bishop of Berwick, the first and the only one who ever held the office. Bishop Spark lived till 1572, but no doubt his episcopal office ended with Tunstall's deprivation, twelve years before that date, in 1540.

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The Abbey of Durham had hitherto been spared, but now the king procured another Act of Parliament, by which he was empowered to suppress all religious houses whatever. A considerable number of abbots and priors, amongst others the Prior of Durham, had seats in the House of Lords, and eighteen of these were present when the Act was passed; but they do not appear to have offered any resistance. The surrender of the Abbey of Durham took place 31st December, 1540. We have a particular account of the proceedings of the Commissioners at Durham—the spoliation of St. Cuthbert's shrine, and the indignities offered to the body of the Saint, so long the object of veneration. It is said the visitors were much astonished at the condition in which the body was found. After it had remained for some time in the vestry, it was reverently buried in the church. The other shrines and the altars were plundered; but with regard to endowments, the church of Durham fared better than most. The Abbey was refounded as a Cathedral church, with a Dean and twelve Prebendaries. The Prior, Hugh Whitehead, became the first Dean, and the prebendaries were named from among the senior monks. The possessions of the church were allowed to remain in a great measure entire. One very great grievance attending the dissolution of the monasteries was the mode in which the appropriate tithes and other endowments of parish churches were dealt with. When the monasteries were granted to laymen all these tithes went with them, only a small stipend being reserved for the vicar or perpetual curate. It was in reality no better,

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as far as the parishes were concerned, in such cases as that of the new chapter. The tithes were still diverted from their proper purpose to swell the incomes of the clergy of the cathedral, and only during the present century have the incomes of the benefices in the gift of the Dean and Chapter been augmented so as to be anything like sufficient.

Although Henry VIII. was opposed to all changes in doctrine and only partially to changes in worship, yet he consented to the reading of the Bible in English. It was ordered to be set up in all churches, and portions of it were to be read in time of Divine Service. There were many editions of the English Bible published during this reign, and two of these purport to have been revised by Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and Heath, Bishop of Rochester. On the other hand, the persecuting statute of the Six Articles had been passed, and several persons had to expiate their so-called errors at the stake. In truth, there is no accounting for the capricious inconsistencies of King Henry with respect to religion. Towards the close of his reign he obtained an act for the confiscation of chantries and free chapels, founded for saying masses for the repose of the souls of the founders, yet we find him leaving funds for this very purpose in his own case. The vast funds accruing from the suppression of monasteries were wasted in extravagance, or squandered on his courtiers. Very little went to the relief of public burdens. There was a scheme propounded for the erection of more episcopal sees, thus promising after eight centuries something towards the realisation of the scheme recommended eight cen-

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turies before by Bede,[1] but in the end only six were founded.

Henry died 28th January, 1546–7, and was succeeded by his only son, Edward VI., who was only ten years of age. It is unnecessary here to detail the changes which took place in this reign, some, perhaps, necessary and beneficial, but many only too plainly prompted by avarice and ambition on the part of the guardians of the realm during the king's minority. The reformed doctrines made great progress. An English Prayer-book, compiled chiefly out of the old Service-books, was published in 1549, and the Articles of Religion were drawn up nearly as they now stand. But before the new Prayer-book had been in use for three years, it was altered at the suggestion of foreigners; although the Act by which it was authorised declared it to have been compiled by the aid of the Holy Ghost, and the Act which authorised the Second Book owned that the objections to the First Book arose rather by the curiosity of the ministers and mistakers than of any other worthy cause. At the same time, the spoliation of churches and of church property was carried to a very great extent. The pretext for the first was, of course, abhorrence of idols, but we do not find that the good kings of Judah made a profit of the abolition of idolatrous worship. *They* destroyed whatever was so polluted; the ministers of King Edward, like Achan at Jericho, appropriated them. Chalices were turned into drinking cups; church hangings served for the decoration of private houses.

[1] See page 81.

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The suppression of chantries and free chapels, which had only been planned in Henry's time, was now carried into effect, and the six collegiate churches of the Bishoprick, Auckland, Darlington, Chester-le-Street, Lanchester, Norton, and Staindrop, were dissolved. It is remarkable that most of these, as well as the monastic foundations of Jarrow and Tynemouth, have since become great centres of population; but all the ancient endowments of these houses, including the parochial tithes, were secularised, and the parishes left to be served by miserably-endowed perpetual curates, while the tithes went into the pockets of laymen.

At the accession of King Edward, Bishop Tunstall was a member of the Privy Council, but before long he was dismissed from the Council Board. He obeyed the laws when they were passed, though he did all he could to oppose innovations when they were under discussion. King Henry had despoiled the see of many of its franchises, and had assigned to Anne Boleyn £1,000 a year out of its revenues. This probably reverted to the bishop after her fall, but the honours and the wealth of the see excited the envy of the court. It was the old story of Naboth's vineyard. In 1550 a person of the name of Ninian Menvill had obtained possession of a letter of the Bishop's relative to an intended rising in the North, and upon this it was proposed to found a charge of misprision of treason. But as the letter had disappeared, the charge could not be proceeded with, and the bishop was only ordered to keep to his house. At last the letter was found in a casket belonging to the

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Duke of Somerset, who had been beheaded. The bishop was sent for, and charged before the Council with being the writer of the letter. He could not deny it to be his, but was quite prepared to give a satisfactory explanation. Nevertheless he was committed to the Tower, and a Bill was introduced, at the instance of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, to deprive him. It passed the Lords; but the Commons declined to proceed with it, unless they had Tunstall and his accuser face to face before them. Still the bishop was not permitted to escape. A commission composed of judges, doctors, and lawyers was appointed to enquire into the case, with power to deprive him if found guilty. Judgment of deprivation was pronounced, and he was sent back to the Tower, where he remained during the rest of the king's reign. A Bill was next brought into Parliament for dissolving the Bishoprick, and erecting two new sees, one at Durham, with an income of 2,000 marks, and one at Newcastle, with an income of 1,000. There was to be a cathedral church at Newcastle, with a Dean and Chapter, but the Dean and Chapter of Durham were to suffer no loss. The preamble of the Act set forth in piteous terms the vast extent of the diocese, and the wildness and barbarity of the people proceeding from ignorance, which the king was anxious to amend by providing for the preaching of the Word. The Bishoprick was at once dissolved, formed into a county palatine, and annexed to the Crown; but nothing was done towards the erection of the new sees. It was only too obvious that this was a mere pretence.

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A very sad picture of the state of the church and nation in the time of Edward VI. is drawn by a Presbyter of the Diocese of Durham. It was then customary, when a clerk was presented to a living by the Crown, to summon him to preach before the court, that it might be seen that his doctrine was agreeable to the established order of things. In the year 1552, Bernard Gilpin, who will be noticed more fully hereafter, was presented by the Crown to the living of Norton, the mother church of Stockton-on-Tees, and was accordingly called upon to preach before the court at Greenwich. It seems as if, after all, this was a mere matter of form, for neither the king nor the court were present, but this did not hinder Mr. Gilpin from speaking to the king as if he were present. The text was "Know ye not that I must go about my Father's business." The sermon is faithful even to severity, yet, nevertheless, breathes throughout the spirit of Christian love, and it really requires some self-denial to refrain from giving large extracts, so much does it abound in pointed and graphic illustrations, but it is impossible to afford more than a very brief and meagre abstract of the chief points on which the preacher enlarged. He called upon the king to go about the Father's business, and rectify the manifold abuses which prevailed in the church and nation.

Avarice was the great master sin.

Hence arose dispensations for pluralities and non-residence, "transported hither from Rome," but still prevailing, in spite of professions of purity of doctrine.

From these dispensations came the farming of benefices by gentlemen and laymen, the profit of

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which they found so sweet that preachers could not have them.

Patrons put in incompetent persons, taking a bill to let them have the greatest part of the profits. Patrons "see that none do their duty—they think it as good to put in asses as men," and the bishops play into their hands. "The bishops were never so liberal in making of lewd (unlearned) priests and they (the patrons) are as liberal in making lewd vicars."

The consequence is that the people are very ignorant and superstitious. "I pass over much infidelity, idolatry, sorcery, charming, witchcrafts, conjuring, trusting in figures, with other such trumpery, which lurk in corners, and began of late to come abroad, only for lack of preaching. Come to the minstration of the sacraments set forth now by common authority after the first institution"—Baptism is despised, and the Holy Communion thought nothing of, "because they see not the shining pomp and pleasing variety (as they thought it) of painted cloths, candlesticks, images, altars, lamps, and tapers," they say, "As good go into a barn"—and all this because they are not better instructed.

What wonder if the people rebel when there is no one to teach them their duty to the prince.

Again, because "these cormorants devour these livings appointed for the gospel," learning decays. Men will not send their children to the Schools. "Look upon the two wells of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge, they are almost dried up."

Ministers do not think themselves obliged to do any pastoral work the first year after presentation

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because they get no pay, the king taking the first fruits.

He comes next to the grievous oppression of the poor by men of wealth and power. The poor are turned out of their holdings—men "are so far from mercy that their hearts will serve them to destroy whole towns; they would wish all the people destroyed, to have all the fields brought to a sheep pasture," and poor men have no redress—they cannot get access to the rich and great without coming to London, and heavily bribing their servants; or they must go to law, and thus lose all—"the greedy locusts the lawyers . . . . laugh with the money which maketh others to weep."

"And with all this there was much hypocrisy—great professions of zeal for the purity of the gospel"—"I cannot liken them better than to the Jews that said to Christ, 'Hail King of the Jews.'"

He takes notice of great extravagance in apparel and costly buildings on which were expended the money wrung by oppression from the poor.

All these abuses he commends to the notice of the king. He must rectify them, if he would go about the Father's business, and it was his duty to see that all those over whom he was set did the Father's business. When the preacher spoke to the people it was his business then to tell them their duty to the prince and to all who were set over them by him, but in this place he was bound to tell the prince and great men their duty to the people.

The reign of Edward VI. lasted scarcely six years and a-half; he died 6th July, 1553. It was perhaps

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fortunate for the church of England that his reign came to an end when it did. It was not the will of God that the reformation should be established by those whom He had chosen as the instruments to clear the way, and His servants were now called upon to pass through literally a fiery trial before the church was fairly settled in her new position. His ways are inscrutable, but yet, when we look back we may see that, at the time when it came, a check was needed. Had the ministers of Edward been permitted to carry on the work as they had begun, there seemed every likelihood: 1. That the nation would be committed to Calvinism. 2. That everything seemly in ritual would be taken away. 3. That episcopacy would have been abolished. 4. That no church property would have been left. It is quite certain that the accession of Mary saved the Bishoprick of Durham. Tunstall was immediately released from the Tower, and restored to his see, acts were passed restoring the Bishoprick with all its rights, at least so much of them as had been left by Henry VIII., and the queen granted to the bishop and his successors the patronage of the prebendal stalls in the cathedral, which had before been vested in the crown. The bishop was now advanced in years, and appears to have taken very little part in public affairs. He resided chiefly in his diocese, and, being naturally averse to persecution, seems to have sheltered those who were accused of what was called heresy. In the whole province of York there was only one sufferer, and this was at Chester. One reason, doubtless, was, that in the north by far the greater part of the people were still attached

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to the ancient faith. It was during Queen Mary's reign that Bishop Tunstall made his relative Bernard Gilpin, whose courageous sermon in the time of Edward VI. has just been noticed, first, Archdeacon of Durham and Rector of Easington, and afterwards Rector of Houghton-le-Spring.

Queen Mary died 17th November, 1558, and was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth. Mary was at least a devout woman according to her light, and she proved her sincerity by the sacrifices which she made. She could not prevail on parliament to restore the property of which the church had been despoiled in her father's and her brother's time, but she gave up all that was vested in the crown, lands, tithes, and appropriations. She anticipated what was done by Queen Anne a century and a half later by giving up the first fruits and tenths, for the augmentation of poor livings. She also refounded several religious houses. There is not much ground for believing that Elizabeth cared much for religion, but with much personal vanity, which she may have derived from her mother, she inherited her father's self will and love of power, and she was parsimonious if not avaricious. She lost no time in abolishing the papal jurisdiction, in replacing the Latin services by the Book of Common Prayer, in dissolving the religious houses which her sister had refounded, and in resuming the churchlands, tithes, first fruits, and tenths which Mary had given up. The next step was to exact from churchmen an oath recognising her supremacy in ecclesiastical causes. This was refused by all the bishops but one, and amongst the rest by the bishop of Durham. He was

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a man held in universal esteem, and the last notice we have of him in connection with public affairs is his acting as a commissioner for concluding a treaty of peace with Scotland, in pursuance of the treaty of Cateau Cambresis. This was done in the church of the Blessed Virgin at Upsetlington, on the Scottish bank of the Tweed, and at the Church of Norham, on the English side, on the 31st May, 1559. On the 2nd of July the bishop was deprived. From his known moderation it was hoped that he would comply with the new order of things, but, being now a very old man, he chose rather to lose his bishopric than come under fresh engagements. He was committed to the friendly custody of Dr. Matthew Parker, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he resided at Lambeth on terms of mutual friendship and esteem until his death, which took place 18th November in the same year.

After the deprivation of Bishop Tunstall the see remained vacant for a year and a-half. On the 26th December, 1560, the Dean and Chapter elected James Pilkington, who was consecrated on the 2nd March following. He was a member of a respectable family in Lancashire, and was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which society he became master in 1558. He had taken refuge at Geneva in Queen Mary's time. Mary had done what she could to restore to the church what her predecessors had taken from it; Elizabeth's aim seemed to be to find out in what way it could be further despoiled. The new bishops were forced to resign large portions of the landed possessions of their sees, and to accept in return parsonages impropriate and tenths

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now vested in the Crown. It was to no purpose that the prelates remonstrated, the work of spoliation went on; the spoils as before were lavished on the courtiers, and the crown was none the richer. Lands and rents were taken from the See of Durham to the amount of £1,000. They were afterwards restored, but the bishop had to pay the same amount annually in money.

In 1563 William Whittingham, another Genevan exile, who had married the sister of Calvin, was made Dean of Durham. Both the bishop and the dean had imbibed Calvinistic principles as to doctrine, church polity, and ritual, and when the Puritan controversy began, as it did early in Elizabeth's time, they both appeared on the puritanical side arguing against the habits imposed on the clergy. The dean was much fiercer than the bishop, who, while he held his own opinions, was quite willing to comply for the sake of peace. During his sixteen years' occupancy of the Deanery of Durham, Whittingham did all he could to remove every trace of the ancient faith: he broke up the marbles which covered the graves of the ancient priors, cast out their ashes and turned their coffins into troughs for domestic uses. He waged especial war with the memory of St. Cuthbert, ruthlessly destroying every memorial of the saint on which he could lay his hands. He had not only had a share in the Genevan revision of the English Bible, but had also been a coadjutor of Sternhold and Hopkins in their version of the Psalms, and his dreary rhymes, if rhymes they could be called—they

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certainly were not metre—were sung in the cathedral. Nor did the iconoclasm cease with his death, for when his widow removed to a house in the Bailey, she took with her coffins and holy water stoups to be used for domestic purposes, and paved her yard with what had been monumental slabs. Whittingham had no holy orders but those of Geneva, that is, a call from the congregation to minister to them, and during the vacancy which ensued on Bishop Pilkington's death, Dr. Sandys, Archbishop of York, proposed to hold a visitation of the cathedral with the intention of enquiring into the dean's orders, but he and the chapter fell back upon the ancient claims of immunity from Archiepiscopal visitation, and successfully opposed the interference of the primate.

The most remarkable event in Bishop Pilkington's Episcopate was "The Rising of the North" in 1569, by which it was clearly proved, alike in its rise and progress and in its tragical consequences, that the ancient faith had still a very strong hold on the men of the Bishoprick, and indeed of a great part of the north of England. The details must be sought in the ordinary histories; here it is enough to say that the insurgents began by taking possession of the City of Durham and the cathedral, where they tore the Book of Common Prayer and the English Bible, threw down the Communion Table, restored the old Altar and celebrated mass. It is clear that they had with them the sympathy of the men of the city and the neighbourhood, or they must have met with more strenuous opposition. The bishop and, most

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likely, the dignitaries of the cathedral had fled.[1] They pursued the same course at Staindrop, Darlington, Richmond, and Ripon. This insurrection caused the death of one of the great nobles of the north, and ruined the family of another. Percy, Earl of Northumberland, took refuge in Scotland, but was betrayed to Queen Elizabeth, and beheaded at York. His brother, who had not been concerned in the rebellion, inherited his estates, and his family still exists, to prove in our day that the noble house of Percy can distinguish itself in ways far more excellent than their ancestors in the olden time.[2] Charles Neville, sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland, escaped to the continent, where he died at a very advanced age, but all his possessions were forfeited to the crown. The bishop, in right of the Palatinate, claimed the forfeitures: the claim was not denied, but set aside "for this time." There were many other confiscations and vast numbers of Roman Catholics were executed; at Durham alone sixty-six, and the Earl of Sussex boasted that there was not a village between Newcastle and Wetherby where some had not been hanged.

[1] "One prebendary, George Cliff, was present at Mass on St. Andrew's Day, but excused himself afterwards by saying he sat still in his stall, and did not look at the elevation. Mr. Brimley, "master of the quiristers," played the organ, as he afterwards alleged, by compulsion. The Curate of St. Giles, however, owned that when the sacring bell rang he looked up to Mr. Brimley in the organ loft, and smiled at him. There was a very great crowd."—Ornsby's "Sketches of Durham," pp. 79, 97.

[2] It is well known in the Diocese how much has been done for church extension by the house of Percy.

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Elizabeth had been little inclined to add to the bishop's wealth by permitting him to have the forfeitures for high treason, but he took very good care of it himself. It is said that he was very penurious, and that at his death the edifices belonging to the see were left in such ruinous condition that his successor had to sue his widow for dilapidations to a very large amount. He portioned two of his daughters with £10,000 each, and, when the queen heard of it, she took £1,000 a year from the see. His two brothers, John and Leonard, the latter of whom succeeded him as Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, were prebendaries in the cathedral, and had several benefices in the diocese. Bishop Pilkington died in January, 1675. In his time, on pretence of removing objects of superstition, the churches were much despoiled and defaced.

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CHAPTER XI.

BERNARD GILPIN.

By the interest of Lord Burleigh, Richard Barnes, Bishop of Carlisle, was translated to Durham, April, 1577. It is not pleasant to hear that "he was preferred to Durham in order to be a watch on the messengers from Scotland to the unfortunate Queen Mary."[1] Bishop Barnes alienated very large portions of the possessions of the see to Queen Elizabeth, amongst others, the Lordship of Gateshead, the coal mines under which afterwards turned out to be of immense value. He does not appear to have been by any means on good terms with the people of the Bishoprick or the clergy of the cathedral, which he describes as an *Augie* (Augean) Stable, or with his Metropolitan, Grindal, Archbishop of York. He speaks much more favourably of the people of Northumberland. His brother John was his chancellor, and exercised his office, without restraint from the bishop, in a most tyrannical manner. The chancellor cherished a most especial enmity against Bernard Gilpin, the rector of Houghton-le-Spring. This most admirable man, who would have been a distinguished ornament to any

[1] Strype, apud Hutchinson, "History of Durham," vol. i., p. 460.

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church in any age, died during Bishop Barnes' episcopate, and it will be a pleasant relief to turn for a while from such prelates to notice the career of a humble presbyter.

BERNARD GILPIN was born in 1517. He was the son of Edwin Gilpin, of Kentmire Hall, in Westmoreland, where the family had been settled since the time of King John. From early youth he is said to have been of a thoughtful turn. He was sent to a public school, and thence, at sixteen, to Queen's College, Oxford, at a time when Erasmus was delighting and startling the world with his profound learning, his keen wit, and his fearless exposure of abuses. Erasmus was not much in favour at Oxford, but Gilpin was not to be restrained from deciding for himself, and soon found that the foreigner was better qualified to supply the wants of an enquiring mind than those who depreciated him. Gilpin diligently read the Holy Scriptures in their original Greek and Hebrew, and was an ardent student in all branches of theology. His learning and his amiable disposition attracted notice, and procured him friends, so that when Cardinal Wolsey began his great foundation of Cardinal College, afterwards Christ Church, Gilpin was one of the first who was invited to join it.

Henry VIII. had only favoured the Reformation so far as consisted with his own self-will and covetousness, but after his death greater liberty was allowed in controverting the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and Peter Martyr, a foreign reformer, was appointed Professor of Divinity at Oxford. This was a great

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annoyance to the numerous adherents of the *Old Learning*, and so great was their opinion of the skill and learning of Mr. Gilpin, that they urged him to take their part in a public discussion with the Professor. As he had already been somewhat shaken in his belief of some of the opinions heretofore prevalent, it was with great reluctance that he consented, and when pressed with Scripture by his opponent, he felt obliged to own that he could not maintain his ground, an instance of candour which gained him the goodwill of the Professor. He now set himself to enquire earnestly into the grounds of his belief, and also into the history of the disputed doctrines. Some of these, the number of the sacraments, transubstantiation, and the denial of the cup to the laity, he found to be comparatively modern; and the load of Church rites and ceremonies, many of them trifling, seemed to him inconsistent with primitive simplicity. Still his humility led him to suspect his own doubts, and he could only look to God to make his way plain to him. About this time the Council of Trent was opened, and at the fourth session the Traditions of the Church were declared to be of co-ordinate authority with Holy Scripture. There could be very little hope of reformation after this. "The opportunity" he says, "is lost." So arrogant a proceeding seemed to Mr. Gilpin to go far towards setting the mark of Antichrist on the Roman Church. When he consulted Bishop Tunstall, who was his uncle, the bishop told him that he thought "Innocent III. was much overseen when he made transubstantiation an article of faith." Others who favoured the old learning were

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for explaining transubstantiation in a favourable sense, and advocated communion in both kinds; and it is a remarkable instance of the fluctuation of opinion in those days that Thomas Harding, who, being afterwards reconciled to Rome, repudiated his English orders, became a Jesuit, and the strenuous opponent of Bishop Jewell, was occupied at that time in exposing the ignorance of the friars and bishops assembled at Trent.

Mr. Gilpin remained at Oxford till he was thirty-five years of age, when he was appointed vicar of Norton. The sermon which he preached at Court on this occasion has already been noticed. Severe as it was, it was very well taken, for whatever the practice of men in power might be, plain speaking was the fashion of the day. He won the good will of Sir Francis Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford; of Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, and of that bold, bad man, Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. He himself never applied to any patron, and while he sometimes solicited Lord Burleigh for his friends, it was observed that he never made any application to Leicester, though given to understand that it would be agreeable if he would do so. Through Cecil he obtained a general licence for preaching, a distinction then bestowed with great caution, and only on men of high character and great ability.

On leaving London, he betook himself to his cure, where he was a complete example of what he preached to others. It is plain from his sermon at Court that he saw clearly enough the errors of popery, yet his mind was not yet fully made up as to the

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reformed doctrines. No doubt, also, he found his flock very ignorant, and attached to the old doctrines and practices, and in preaching, afraid lest he should mislead rather than instruct, he confined himself chiefly to the inculcation of moral duties. But ere long his mind became very uneasy, from a feeling that he had taken upon him to teach others, when his own mind was by no means fully established. In his perplexity he had recourse to Bishop Tunstall, who was then under restraint. The bishop advised him to commit the charge of his parish to some one in whom he could confide, and travel for a time on the Continent—his living would be of some help towards the expense, and the bishop kindly offered to supply the rest; moreover, when he came to Paris, he could be of some service to his lordship, in superintending the printing of a work on Transubstantiation, which the bishop had written during his confinement. Mr. Gilpin highly approved of the bishop's advice, except in regard to retaining his living while absent from his parish. The bishop urged that he might have a dispensation; but a dispensation, he replied, would not restrain the tempter from corrupting his flock during his absence. The bishop told him he was too scrupulous, and that if he went on in this way he would die a beggar; but all in vain, he insisted on resigning Norton.

Having seen a proper successor appointed, he left England. He went first to Mechlin, where his brother, at that time a zealous papist, resided; next, to Louvain, the seat of an University. Here he became acquainted with many eminent men, and

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applied himself diligently to study. While he was at Louvain, tidings came of the death of King Edward, the accession of Mary, and the consequent check to the Reformation—though it was in some degree satisfactory to hear of Bishop Tunstall's release from prison. Very shortly he was sent for by his brother at Mechlin, who had an important communication to make to him. This was the offer of a good living from the bishop, but he would not listen to the proposal, not considering himself as yet fit to undertake a cure of souls. He wrote to the bishop, gratefully, yet firmly, declining his offer, and giving his reasons. The bishop was not offended by this letter, the piety of which disarmed all resentment. During Gilpin's residence in Flanders, he was much affected by the sight of many of his countrymen coming abroad to take refuge from the persecution then raging in England. They were very kindly received, but, as is well known, did not always agree among themselves, and their intercourse with Continental Protestants produced effects afterwards very disastrous to the peace of the Church at home.

After some further stay at Louvain, during which he made many excursions to Antwerp, Ghent, and other places, Gilpin proceeded to Paris, where he committed the bishop's book to the press. He was afterwards accused of having falsified this treatise, with which the more zealous papists were by no means satisfied; but he was able to produce letters from the bishop, thanking him for the fidelity with which he had executed his commission. What he saw and heard at Paris completed his aversion to popery, and

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confirmed his views as to the necessity of a reformation.

At length, after three years' residence abroad, he returned to England, although he was aware that the persecution was still raging. Very soon after this, the bishop conferred on him the archdeaconry of Durham, to which the rectory of Easington had always been annexed. In this situation his energetic protest against pluralities, against the indolence and viciousness of the clergy soon procured him enemies. Some said that those who made complaints of this kind very soon became heretics, while others were offended because he preached repentance and salvation through Jesus Christ rather than the ceremonies of the Church. At last a formal complaint of unsound doctrine was made against him to the bishop. His lordship very adroitly contrived to get the management of the case into his own hands, and had very little difficulty in acquitting him. But before long, the anxieties of the office proved too much for him, and he asked permission to resign either the archdeaconry or the living; and when the bishop would not consent to part them, he resigned both.

Shortly after, the bishop gave him the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, and about the same time offered him a stall in the cathedral, telling him that he need have no scruples about the latter, as there was no cure of souls attached to it. Nevertheless he declined the stall, saying that by his lordship's goodness he had already more wealth than, he feared, he could give a good account of.

On Elizabeth's accession, several bishops were

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deprived because they refused the Oath of Supremacy, and the see of Carlisle was offered to Gilpin ; but he could not be persuaded to accept it, alleging that he had many acquaintances in that diocese, who he knew were not discharging their duty as they ought, and he would certainly, if he did his, speedily be at variance with them. In like manner, the provostship of Queen's College, Oxford, was offered to him, and also declined.

The parish of Houghton-le-Spring was very extensive—it is now divided into eight—and the people were sunk in ignorance and superstition. It is said —but, considering how near it is to Durham, it is hardly credible—that, by the neglect of the proper officials, the change of worship brought in by King Edward was unknown there at the time of his death. The parsonage-house was in a ruinous condition ; but in time it was improved and enlarged, until it "seemed like a bishop's palace," while within it was "like a monastery, if a man consider a monastery such as were in the time of St. Augustine." His hospitality and liberality were unbounded, and he did everything in his power to conciliate the good will of his flock. His instructions were not confined to the pulpit, but he gave counsel to his people in private, and encouraged them to come to him with their doubts and difficulties. He did all he could to prevent lawsuits, for though he did not know much of law, he had a sense of justice which enabled him to see and to point out what was right. "He condescended to the weak, bore with the passionate, complied with the scrupulous, became all things to all men," that he

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"might by all means save some." He had a particular skill in consoling the afflicted, and could always say what was right to them in the best way.

But the ignorance which he saw prevailing around him was a subject of great concern to him, and feeling that his great hope must be with the rising generation, he could not rest until he had founded, and, with the help of Mr. Heath of Kepier, endowed, a grammar-school, which still exists at Houghton under the name of Kepier School. This was a work of time, but meanwhile he entertained scholars in his house—seldom less than twenty-four at a time—and procured masters for them from Oxford. He was thus the means of rearing several persons who became famous for their learning, and were called to fill prominent positions. Among them were George Carleton, who became bishop of Chichester, and wrote Gilpin's life; and Hugh Broughton, a very eminent Hebrew scholar, and afterwards a prebendary of Durham. Broughton, however, proved very ungrateful to his benefactor, and did all that he could to injure him. In the midst of these good works came the Rising in 1569. Gilpin foresaw what was impending, and retreated for a time to Oxford, but when the insurgents occupied Durham, they came out to Houghton, distant about six miles from the city, and made great havoc among the rector's goods. The newly-gathered harvest and the young cattle, provided to supply his exuberant hospitality, were seized; they were base enough to destroy what they could not take away; and foremost among the marauders, sad to say, was one whom Gilpin had saved from the

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gallows. When the insurrection was over, he exerted himself in endeavouring to mitigate the severity of justice, well knowing that many simple people had been led away with the multitude through sheer ignorance.

Such a man, so accomplished and benevolent, was sure to be regarded with great respect by all who knew him. It was natural that the two opposite religious parties who then divided England should each be desirous to have him with them, and his moderation excited the hopes both of the Puritans and the Papists. But both were disappointed. It is possible that he may have seen imperfections in the Reformed Church, but he was thankful for the change from popery on the one hand, while, on the other, he did not think the objects for which the Puritans contended were of such a nature as to make it desirable to unsettle the established order of things.

His sympathies were not confined to his own parish. He saw with great regret the ignorance, superstition, and lawlessness, that prevailed elsewhere, and he availed himself of his general license as a preacher to make regular excursions into the most benighted parts of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland. Tynedale and Redesdale, two very wild districts in the west of Northumberland, were the most common sphere of his labours. These districts were on the border between England and Scotland, and had been for centuries the scene of tumultuous and predatory warfare. The people were immersed in the deepest ignorance, and their manners were rude and barbarous in the last degree. Deadly feuds

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were very common amongst them, and they were much addicted to thieving. It was in truth a country which few would choose of their free will to visit at all, but, moved with the love of God and of souls, Mr. Gilpin hesitated not to enter it. He chose the depth of winter for his visits, because, about Christmas, there were many holydays, and it was easier to gather the people together. On one occasion he was benighted, and forced to spend the night amongst the snow. He gave his horses in charge to his servant, directing him to keep himself and them in motion, while he himself ran about to keep the heat in his body. He not only preached to the people, and laboured to compose their differences, but he was very liberal in his almsgiving, and very soon so conciliated their esteem and reverence that they regarded him as a prophet who had come among them.

Once his horses were stolen, and the robber was rejoicing in his prize, when it came to his knowledge that they were Mr. Gilpin's. In great terror he instantly restored the horses, and craved Mr. Gilpin's forgiveness and blessing, candidly confessing that his conscience did not trouble him much about the theft, but that, when he came to know to whom they belonged, he was afraid of going down quick into hell. For the most part parties that were at feud with each other avoided coming to church at the same time, but on one occasion at Rothbury it happened that two such parties were at church together. They were in different parts of the edifice, but ere long each became aware of the presence of the other. Fierce looks were nterchanged, then it seemed as if they were moving

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towards each other, and a weapon was heard to clash. Mr. Gilpin came down from the pulpit, and standing in the midst, expostulated with them; he failed to effect a reconciliation, but obtained a promise that they would abstain from hostilities at least in that sacred place. After returning to the pulpit, he proceeded to enlarge earnestly on the great sin of indulging such passions.

On another occasion, having arrived at a certain church some time before the hour for divine service, he observed a glove hanging up within the church. On inquiry, he was told that it was meant as a challenge to any one who should dare to take it down. He desired the sexton to reach it to him, but the man positively refused, upon which he took it down himself, and put it in his bosom. During the sermon he took it out and held it up, and told them he had taken it down himself, proceeding to rebuke such unchristian conduct, and endeavouring to make them ashamed of it. It soon came to pass that any one who was in terror of his enemies kept close in attendance on Mr. Gilpin, believing his presence to be the best protection.

It is strange that such a man should have enemies, yet even he did not escape. Hugh Broughton had been taken up when he was a very poor lad, educated at Houghton, and sent to Cambridge by Mr. Gilpin. He was a man of great ability, and very learned, particularly in Hebrew and Rabbinical literature, but very inconstant. As Mr. Gilpin advanced in life, Broughton is thought to have had his eye upon Houghton, and he did all that he could to prejudice

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the mind of Bishop Barnes against the rector. He had another enemy in John Barnes, the bishop's brother and chancellor, and rector of Haughton-le-Skerne, a most unworthy man, immoral and covetous, and both oppressive and profligate in the administration of his office. Between this man and Mr. Gilpin there was a long-continued opposition; Mr. Gilpin doing all he could to counteract the chancellor's nefarious designs, and the chancellor pursuing Mr. Gilpin with undisguised enmity. These two men contrived to enflame the mind of the bishop against Mr. Gilpin, and while things were in this state his lordship called upon him to preach at a visitation. As he was just then on the point of setting out for Redesdale and Tynedale, he sent a respectful message, begging to be excused. No answer being returned, he took silence for consent, and proceeded on his journey, but on his return found himself suspended. Shortly after, he was summoned to a visitation at Chester-le-Street, where, without any previous notice, he was required to preach. It was in vain that he pleaded want of preparation, and that he was under suspension. The bishop rejected the former plea, and said that he then and there revoked the suspension. Mr. Gilpin was still reluctant, till he was commanded on his canonical obedience immediately to proceed. Seeing no help for it, he complied, and, though he saw persons taking notes, he was no less bold in his faithfulness than he had been many years before at court. He set before the bishop the abuses and iniquities which were perpetrated in his name in the diocese, warned him that he was responsible for all and could now no longer

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plead ignorance. After the sermon his friends came about him in great consternation, thinking that he had ruined himself, but he only said, "Be not afraid, the Lord God overruleth us all; so that the truth may be propagated, and God glorified, God's will be done concerning me." After dinner he went to take leave of the bishop, but his lordship insisted on accompanying him to his house, and when they were alone seized his hand, saying, "Father Gilpin, I own you are fitter to be Bishop of Durham than I am to be parson of Houghton; I ask forgiveness for errors past; I know you have hatched some chickens that now seek to pick out your eyes; but as long as I live Bishop of Durham, be secure, no man shall injure you."

His letters on such subjects display the utmost Christian meekness, and there are others on controversial matters, showing the same loving spirit combined with deep learning. He was also most skilful in comforting those who were in distress, not only by personal intercourse, but by his letters.

Once, Lord Burleigh, in his return from Scotland, paid him an unexpected visit, and was so impressed with Mr. Gilpin's way of life and munificent hospitality, that he declared, that though he had previously heard much about the rector of Houghton, the half had not been told him. When he got to Rainton Hill, about a mile and a half from Houghton, he turned and cast behind him a longing, lingering look, exclaiming, "Who can blame that man for refusing a bishopric? What doth he want, that a bishopric could more enrich him

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withal? Besides that, he is free from the greater weight of cares." Those who attempt to sketch his life can enter into Lord Burleigh's feelings; it is a life to linger over, and it must be matter for regret when it is needful to hasten over it, as must be done here.

His health was much impaired in the latter part of his life, and was completely destroyed by an accident which he had met with in the Market-place at Durham, where an ox ran against him, and bruised him so that his life was for some time despaired of. But he lingered for a while, and at length, having bid farewell to his scholars and servants, and some other friends, he gave himself up to prayer, and breathed his last 4th March, 1583, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

In person he was tall and slender. He was indifferent to dress, and was very temperate in his diet. His natural abilities were very good, and his learning very considerable. His temper was naturally warm, but he had it under complete control. Severe only to himself, he was humble, candid, and indulgent to others. He displayed great skill in the management of his affairs, and it has been seen how he employed the ample means which Providence had placed at his disposal. In short, he appears to have been as much of a pattern, as a man, a divine, and a pastor, as as may be expected to be met with in this imperfect state. His mantle seems to have descended to a considerable extent on his successors, for it has been remarked that few parishes have been more favoured with a succession of excellent pastors than Houghton-le-Spring.

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There is little to be added to the history of Bishop Barnes' episcopate. He died in 1587, and the see continued vacant for nearly three years, during which, notwithstanding all that had been alienated to the Crown by Bishop Barnes, the Earl of Leicester proposed to the queen to take £1,200 in land from the see, and give it back in impropriations and tenths of equal value, thus perpetuating the alienation of parochial revenues, and the impoverishment of the parish clergy. But it is not said whether this was done.

In June, 1589, Matthew Hutton, Dean of York, was elected Bishop of Durham. He was a man of high character, and distinguished for his learning, especially in theology. In 1595 he was translated to York, where he died in 1605.

Immediately after Bishop Hutton's translation, Tobias Matthew was made bishop, who held the see eleven years, from 1595 to 1606, when he was translated to York. While Bishop of Durham he was one of a commission for redressing grievances on the Borders, and it is to the honour of that body that the first article proposed provided that addresses should be presented to the sovereign of each kingdom to repair churches and settle ministers on the border for the reformation of the inhabitants. In 1603 it fell to the lot of Bishop Matthew to meet King James at Berwick when he was on his way to take possession of the English throne, and to preach a congratulatory sermon before him. The bishop was a great preacher, —in an account he kept of his sermons, it appeared that while Dean of Durham he preached 721 sermons,

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while bishop 550, and while Archbishop of York, up to Trinity Sunday, 1623, 721,—in all, 1992. He died in 1628. He was famous for his wit, which, however, he endeavoured to keep within the bounds of episcopal gravity, and was wont to say that he "could as well not be, as not be merry"; yet he owns that his mirth was apt to become a snare to him.

On the translation of Bishop Matthew, WILLIAM JAMES, Dean of Durham, succeeded September, 1606. He held the see eleven years, during which nothing very remarkable occurred. He died in 1617.

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CHAPTER XII.

THE GREAT REBELLION.

RICHARD NEILE, Bishop of Lincoln, was now translated to Durham. He is remarkable as having been the only one of the English bishops who held six sees in succession. In 1608 he became Bishop of Rochester, in 1610 Bishop of Lichfield, in 1613 Bishop of Lincoln, in 1617 Bishop of Durham, in 1627 Bishop of Winchester, and in 1631 Archbishop of York. There is little doubt he owed his preferments, in a great degree, to his being an accomplished courtier. But he was also something better than a mere courtier—he delighted in helping forward men of ability and learning. Among these was John Buckeridge, Bishop successively of Rochester and Ely, who enjoyed the friendship of the great Bishop Andrewes, and preached his funeral sermon. William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, received his first preferment from Dr. Neile while Bishop of Rochester, having been introduced to his notice by Dr. Buckeridge. John Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, became chaplain to Bishop Neile upon the death of his first patron, Bishop Overall. Another was Augustin Lindsell, afterwards Bishop successively of Peterborough and Hereford. Cosin and Lindsell were both preferred in the Cathedral and

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Diocese of Durham when Dr. Neile became bishop. For these learned men apartments were reserved in Durham House, at London, so that it came to be known by the name of Durham College. The bishop expended large sums on the buildings belonging to the sees of Lincoln and Durham.

On Neile's translation to Winchester in 1627, George Mounteigne, Bishop of London, was translated to Durham, but almost immediately afterwards to York. During the short vacancy which followed, a great ritualistic disturbance took place at Durham. Before Bishop Neile's time puritanism had reigned triumphant in the cathedral, and the internal arrangements and the mode in which divine service was celebrated were very deficient in reverence or even decorum. All over England the puritan party had become very powerful, and their zeal very bitter—every one who did not go all lengths with them in doctrine, was stigmatised as an Arminian, while every approach to order or decency in worship was assailed as popery. But the time had now come when energetic efforts were to be made to restore the beauty of holiness in the worship of God. Cosin and Lindsell had, as we have just seen, been appointed prebendaries by Bishop Neile, and there were others, appointed by his predecessors Matthew and James, who were not averse to improvement. But the chapter was not unanimous, and there was one "ancient prebendary" who was very much aggrieved at the changes which had taken place, and thought it his duty to lift up his testimony against them. Peter Smart was a man of considerable attainments, and had been master of the

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Grammar School at Durham. In 1609 he had been appointed prebendary of the sixth stall, which he afterwards exchanged for the fourth; he was also Rector of Boldon, though it was alleged that for several years he had preached very rarely either in the cathedral or Boldon. But on the 27th July, 1628, he preached in the cathedral from the text, *I hate them that hold of superstitious vanities*, Psalm xxxi. 7. In this sermon he inveighed against the "innovations" in very coarse terms, accusing his brethren of a design to introduce popery, and indulging in many personal remarks, some of them very scurrilous, which would be easily understood at the time, though not now intelligible, without a somewhat minute knowledge of the times and the men. Bishop Neile, who is unfavourably contrasted with Bishop James, and Lindsell and Cosin, seem to be the chief objects of his attacks. In one respect the sermon is very valuable, as it gives an idea of what the state of the cathedral had been, and of the changes which had been made; and those who are accustomed to the present order of things, not to say in the cathedral, but in the humblest parish church, would perhaps find it hard to believe what had been usual during the early period of the Reformation. All chanting had been discouraged, the congregation did not stand at the Nicene Creed, which was not sung, but read—metrical psalms from Sternhold and Hopkins, including Dean Whittingham's ditties, were sung before and after sermon—the holy table stood in the middle of the choir, and it may be safely concluded, without any fence to protect it from profane or irreverent use. The Communion Office

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appears to have been used every day, but when there was no celebration, it was read from one of the stalls. There was a plain service at six in the morning for scholars, servants, and workpeople, as there is still at St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey, and was, till a comparatively late period, at Durham. The font stood within the choir. What is almost incredible, the vestments appear to have been taken out of the church and used by the young people of the town in their sports. Everything was ruinous, filthy, and slovenly. But of late the holy table had been removed to the place where it now stands, at the east end of the choir, protected by rails, and covered with a costly pall, richly embroidered, the gift of Bishop Neile. The church was thoroughly repaired and decorated anew. The font was removed to the west end of the nave, though it did not finally rest there without several changes. All the Communion service was said at the altar, as the new school preferred to call the holy table. The Nicene Creed was sung, and the congregation required to stand both during its recital and that of the Gloria Patri. A new organ had been set up, and cornets and other instruments were also used: copes were worn at the Communion office, whether there was a celebration or not, and there were lights on the holy table. These were the things, with frequent acts of adoration, or if we may believe him, prostration, which roused Mr. Smart's ire, and some of his arguments are very curious in the present day. It was illegal to sing the Nicene Creed, or to stand up at its recital, because it was not so ordered in the Book, and he maintains that those who did so were

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liable to punishment. He was clearly of opinion that "omission is prohibition," and the doing of anything not expressly prescribed, penal. On the other hand, he did not object to copes, for they were ordered in the Canon; but it must be "a decent cope," not "a stately cope, a sumptuous cope, a cope embroydered with idols, of silver, gold, and pearls, a mock cope, a scornfull cope, vsed a long time at Mass and May-games, as some of ours were." He tells his hearers: "Duck no more to our Altar, when you come in and goe out; I assure you it is an Idol, a damnable Idol as it is used . . . Beleeve not these Balaams which lay stumbling-blocks in your way, to make you fall into spirituall fornication, telling you, when you bow to the Altar, you worship God, not the Altar, for so answer all popish and heathenish idolaters." What immediately follows is hardly fit to be transcribed. In reply to the allegation that there was an altar in the king's chapel, his argument is very curious: "What have we to doe with the imitation of the court? May we be so saucy as to imitate the king in all things? Is it not treason? Is it not rebellion so to doe? What bold presumption is this in a priest or prelate to take upon him to be like the king without his leave, and not to suffer his majesty to have something extraordinary, above the vulgar sort in magnificence and state?"

Immediately after preaching this sermon, the dean, Richard Hunt, and Prebendaries Marmaduke Blakiston, Cosin, and James, met in the deanery, as a court of High Commission, and summoned Mr. Smart before them. He delivered up his sermon to be

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copied, but, refusing to retract anything, he was suspended *ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, and his prebendal stall sequestered. He lost no time in retaliating, by presenting his prosecutors at the assizes for unlawful practices—placing the Communion table the wrong way, standing up at and singing the Nicene Creed, using too many wax-lights and tapers, besides that one of the prebendaries, Mr. Burgoyne, had an altar in his church at Wearmouth. The judge rejected the indictment; but the next year, Mr. Smart, hoping for better fortune with Judge Yelverton, who blessed God that he was a puritan, renewed his presentment. This judge declared that he thought the sermon a very good one, yet even he felt himself compelled to reject the indictment, and to censure Mr. Smart for the temper he displayed. It is worthy of remark that it was then competent for the civil judge to try such causes at the assizes.

About the same time Mr. Smart published "A Short Treatise of Altars," in which he indulged in a great deal of very scurrilous invective. In the meantime he was summoned before the Court of High Commission at London, where his case was heard, but referred to the same Court at York. Here, in 1630, he was fined £400 and ordered to recant. On his refusal to do so he was degraded from holy orders, deprived of all his preferments, and imprisoned for non-payment of costs. Previous to his sentence he delivered a set of Articles to the Court against the Dean and five of the Prebendaries, Cosin, Burgoyne, M. Blakiston, Lindsell, and James, for unlawful practices, full of repetitions and coarse railing, of which no notice appears to have been taken. The

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history of this case seems to suggest very mixed reflections; it is impossible to defend Mr. Smart's intemperate, coarse, and sometimes very foolish invectives, but his punishment seems altogether disproportionate to the offence. Yet, it was the way of those times. Changes, perhaps many of them desirable, were enforced in the most harsh and violent manner; heavy punishments such as large fines, degradation, and excommunication inflicted, and those who inflicted them were often not very exemplary in other respects. Dr. White, Bishop successively of Carlisle, Norwich, and Ely, who must have known well what he was saying, and was by no means inclined to Puritanism, writes to Archbishop Laud.

"*The* remedy of the former evils must be by these things which follow :—

1. *A true* and plaine discovery of the falsitie and deceitfulnesse of Presbyterian principles: *And* the Reader shall finde some passages in this ensuing Treatise, very usefull and materiall for that purpose.

2. *Divines* must become studious, of *pious and venerable antiquitie: And* in their judgment, and their doctrine, they must not vary from the same, unlesse evident and convincing reasons shall enforce them.

3. *And* there is one thing more of great moment to perswade people to live in conformity and unity of the Church: *To wit,* the holy and religious conversation of conformable men. *When* people shall observe *conformable Ministers,* diligent and industrious in serving GOD, and promoting the salvation of *Christian* soules, committed to their charge: *When* they behold in them, peaceable, sober, and vertuous conversation: *And* that they are no lesse diligent in sowing the seed of grace, than Heretikes and Schismatikes are, in sowing tares: *This* will prevaile very much to perswade them to honour the present Church, and the discipline thereof.

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Now, on the contrary, no one thing hath beene a greater scandall, and occasion of withdrawing many from conformity, *Then* the prophane negligence of some conforming Ministers: Then *their* loosenesse of life: *Their* avarice and ambition, in heaping together Benefices and promotions: *And* then a grosse neglect in discharging their duty, *either* in their owne persons, or by entertaining and rewarding able and sufficient Curates."[1]

Cosin and the other prebendaries libelled by Smart were great pluralists, and it is far from agreeable to see the eagerness of Dr. Thomas Carr, who was appointed to Smart's stall, to obtain possession. Yet, even in those days, more gentle and judicious methods sometimes met with success, for we find that when Bishop Pierce, in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, was at pains to explain why the Holy Table should be removed from the middle of the church, and enclosed with rails, he attained his purpose in most cases without much difficulty.[2]

At Christmas, 1628, JOHN HOWSON was translated from Oxford to Durham. By his energetic opposition to Popery on the one hand, and Calvinism on the other, he had attracted the notice of King James, who made him Bishop of Oxford, and when Archbishop Abbot was suspended, he was one of the five bishops appointed to take charge of the affairs of the primacy. He was only Bishop of Durham for two years, during which nothing worthy of remark occurred. He favoured Mr. Smart, or rather discountenanced the violent proceedings against him,

[1] From the Introductory Epistle to Archbishop Laud in "A Treatise of the Sabbath Day," by Dr. Fr. White, Bishop of Ely.

[2] Collier, vol. ii. p. 761.

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censuring the chapter for what they had "done against an ancient prebendary for indiscreetly reproving them in indiscreet and unauthorised innovations." He required by his episcopal authority some modification of their ritual, and particularly in singing the Nicene Creed, which the Communion Book at that time only required to be said. Bishop Howson died in February, 1631.

In June, the same year, THOMAS MORTON, Bishop of Lichfield, was translated to Durham; one of the best of our prelates, a man of great learning, and distinguished for humility and benevolence. When he was a parish priest at Long Marston, near York, that city was visited by the plague, and those of the lowest class who were infected were turned out of the city. Booths were erected for them on Hobmoor; and Mr. Morton, in whom pity for the sufferers overcame personal fear, assiduously visited them for the purpose of instructing and comforting them, and of relieving their wants. He allowed no one to go with him, but conveyed provisions to them himself, having a private door made in his study, which was in a remote part of the house, lest the infection should come into his family. He was made Bishop of Chester in 1616, and translated to Lichfield in 1618. It appears, from the part which he took against Montague[1] when he was called in question by the puritan party, that he was inclined to Calvinism; but it is also plain that he did not go the lengths of some others of that way

[1] Author of "Appello Cæsarem;" for writing which he was censured by the Parliament. He was nevertheless made Bishop of Chichester, and afterwards translated to Norwich.

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in their opposition to ritual, since, arguing against transubstantiation, he pleads that, when Roman Catholics do reverence to the altar, they worship the Sacrament, whereas in the English Church reverence is made to the Holy Table, whether the Sacrament be there or not. While he was Bishop of Lichfield he did all he could to suppress Sunday sports, by which so much scandal had been caused.

Bishop Morton's conduct, in the administration of his diocese, and the manner in which he employed its ample revenues, were such as might have been expected from his antecedents. He used great forbearance in his exercise of the extensive rights of the Palatinate, particularly in the case of wrecks, wardships, and forfeitures for suicide; he was systematic and most liberal in his almsgiving, and maintained many poor scholars at the universities; he did what lay in his power for the augmentation of poor livings, especially in his own parish of Auckland; he was most conscientious in the administration of his church patronage, appointing none to benefices but those with whom he was well acquainted, or of whose fitness he was well assured. It need hardly be added that he took good care of the buildings belonging to his see.

In his journey into Scotland in 1633, King Charles passed some days with the bishop, and so princely was his lordship's hospitality, that one day's entertainment cost £1,500. The king arrived at Durham with a great retinue at five o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday, 1st June, from Auckland, where he had been entertained at the castle the night before,

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and went straight to the cathedral. At the north door, where a carpet had been laid down and cushions of purple velvet provided, he knelt, and said the Lord's Prayer. He then entered the church under a silken canopy held over him by eight prebendaries in surplices, and, sitting in a chair near the font, listened to a brief address of welcome, and prayers for his prosperous journey and safe return, from the dean, vested in his choral habit. He then proceeded under the canopy to the choir, where a seat had been prepared for him to the east of the bishop's throne, the choir in the meanwhile chanting the Te Deum accompanied by the organ and other musical instruments. Short prayers were said, the whole having been arranged by Dr. Laud, Bishop of London and dean of the king's chapel. After service the king visited the site of St. Cuthbert's tomb, and in the choir the dean and prebendaries presented him with a rich cope, which he gave to the Bishop of London to be used in the royal chapel. He next visited the tomb of the venerable Bede, in the Galilee, and, after receiving from the Chapter a petition for the confirmation of the rights of the church, proceeded with his retinue to the castle, every part of which he inspected, and bestowed great commendation on the manner in which it had been repaired and beautified by Bishop Neile. Next day (Sunday) he attended morning prayers in the cathedral, where the Bishop of London ruled[1] the choir, and the

[1] Superintended the service. It does not seem to mean that he said prayers. It is an ancient technical term in the old Service Books. The account is given in Latin by Bishop Cosin.

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Bishop of Durham preached on the text of the fig tree, St. Mark xi. 13. The king then repaired through the cloisters to the deanery, where he was sumptuously entertained by the bishop. He did not appear at evensong, but staid with the bishop in the castle, and assisted at prayers there. In the cathedral the Bishop of London again ruled the choir, sitting in the bishop's stall. Next day the Chapter received a letter from the king taking notice of some things which he had observed, "which," said his majesty, "wee cannot but thincke most unfitting for that place, and altogether unbeseeminge the magnificence of soe goodly a fabricke." There were tenements in the churchyard, to one of which he had been informed was annexed a lease of the churchyard, "a thinge not to be indured." He had also noticed that there had been for this occasion a removal of seats in the choir, and these, he was informed, were for the mayor and corporation and "weomen of quality." He commanded the removal of the houses and forbade the seats to be replaced, accommodation to be provided elsewhere for the mayor and the wives of the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, and movable seats for "weomen of quality" when they attended church. It is not difficult to see the hand of Laud in this letter, and the Chapter were probably by no means displeased to have the king's authority for such "innovations."

King Charles was again entertained by Bishop Morton six years after, in 1639, but under much less happy auspices. The troubles had now begun which ended in his dethronement and murder, for he was

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on his way to meet his Scottish subjects arrayed in arms against his government. For the present he came to terms with the insurgents, but the following year saw them once more in arms. On the 20th August, 1640, they crossed the Tweed, and eight days after appeared on the north bank of the Tyne at Newburn. Here they defeated Lord Conway, the English leader, and crossed into the Bishoprick of Durham. At first they behaved with studied moderation, and professed their intention to pay for everything they wanted, but, finding the two counties of Northumberland and Durham at their mercy, they became less scrupulous, exacted a sum of £850 a day for their maintenance, seized the tithes and rents of the clergy, and supplied themselves with coals and forage at their discretion. Such proceedings brought great distress upon the inhabitants of these two counties. The town of Newcastle and the city of Durham were nearly deserted, and almost a complete stop put to the working of coal, a necessary for which the greater part of England depended upon this district. In these circumstances the bishop thought it proper to retire into Yorkshire. Walter Balcanquhal, the dean, and the rest of the clergy also fled. Before long the bishop proceeded to London to attend Parliament, where, in common with his brethren, he was rudely assaulted by the mob. On one occasion, his chaplain and biographer tells us there "were some who cried, 'Pull him out of his coach;' others, 'Nay, he is a good man;' others, 'But for all that he is a bishop.' And I have often heard him say he believed he should not have escaped alive, if a leading man

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among that rabble had not cried out, 'Let him go and hang himself;' which he was wont to compare with the words of the 'Angel' uttered by 'Balaam's Ass,' though the rudeness of the expression argued more of the *Ass* than the *Angel*." In consequence of these and such-like violent proceedings, by which the bishops were prevented from attending on Parliament, twelve of their number, headed by the Archbishop of York, protested against any transaction of business in Parliament, while they were hindered from attending in their place. For this they were charged by the House of Commons with high treason, and committed to the Tower, only the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and the Bishop of Durham, on account of their advanced age, were allowed to remain in charge of the gentleman usher. But there was little favour in this, as their charges were much greater.

The Long Parliament was now sitting, and Mr. Peter Smart deemed that he had an opportunity for obtaining redress. He made his complaint to the House of Commons, and the chief object of it seems to have been Dr. Cosin. The Commons were only too happy to take such a case in hand, and sent up to the House of Lords twenty-one articles of accusation, the most of which referred to innovations, real or alleged, in the ritual of Durham Cathedral. To these Dr. Cosin replied so satisfactorily that, after a hearing of five days, he was dismissed, and never called upon to appear again. It is even said that Mr. Smart's own counsel told him he was ashamed of him, and declined any longer to act for him. Still he was restored to his prebend by the Parlia-

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ment, and the Dean and Chapter were required to present him to the Vicarage of Aycliffe. The latter he declined, and it seems doubtful whether he ever derived much benefit from the former.

In 1646 Episcopacy was abolished, and the bishops' estates ordered to be sold. Their usual means of maintenance were thus taken away; but Bishop Morton's high character appears to have won him more favour than was extended to the most of them, for an annual income of £800 was assigned to him, though of this he refused to avail himself as long as he had any other means of support. It appears, also, that he was permitted to retain his London residence, Durham House, in the Strand, until 1648; but just before the murder of King Charles he was turned out by the soldiers, who converted it into a garrison. It is a proof of the esteem in which he was held in his own country, that Sir Henry Vane the elder, who had come into the place of the Nevilles at Raby and Barnard Castle, and is well known in history as a bitter foe of the Church, came to him when the bishops' lands were to be sold and urged him to take measures to secure something out of the wreck. It was probably at the instance of Sir Henry that an allowance of £1000 was made to the bishop, who employed that sum in paying his debts and purchasing an annuity of £200 for the rest of his life, charged on the estate of Sir George Saville, whose son took care that it was paid even more than punctually. While still resident at Durham House the bishop baptized a daughter of the Earl of Rutland according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer, for which he was called in question by the Parliament.

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For this, and for keeping possession of his seal, he was dragged from his house and committed to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms. He was kept in restraint for six months, and then permitted to return to Durham House. When driven thence, he resided for some time with the Earl of Rutland at Exeter House, in the Strand; but, being unwilling to live at the charge of others, he removed into the country and took up his abode, first with Captain Thomas Saunders in Hertfordshire, and afterwards with Mr. Thomas Robinson in Bedfordshire. On one occasion, in a journey to London, he fell into company with Sir Christopher Yelverton, who had taken part with the Parliament. The bishop knew him, though he did not know the bishop. On Sir Christopher asking him who he was, he answered, "I am that old man the Bishop of Durham in spite of all your votes." "Where was he going?" "To London, to live there a little while, and then to die." After some further conversation, Sir Christopher invited him to accompany him to his house at Easton Mauduit, in Northamptonshire. Here he acted as tutor to Sir Christopher's son, afterwards Sir Henry Yelverton, who ever regarded the good bishop with the affection of a child. After living nearly to the end of the Great Rebellion, just when the troubles of the nation were coming to an end, 22nd September, 1659, he died at Easton Mauduit, in the 95th year of his age, the forty-fourth of his episcopate, and the twenty-eighth of his translation to Durham. The bishop was never married. He was a man of great learning and piety, of very studious and somewhat ascetic habits, and wrote many books, chiefly of a

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controversial character, in support of the Church against both Rome and the Puritans.

After the deprivation of Bishop Morton in 1646, the Church of Durham lay in desolation for fourteen years. In pursuance of the ordinance of Parliament already mentioned, the possessions of the see were sold at various times in the years 1647–1651. The amount of the sales came to £68,121. 15s. 9d. The Castle of Durham was purchased by Thomas Andrews, Lord Mayor of London; Auckland and the Manors of Wolsingham and Easingwold by Sir Arthur Hesilrigg, who pulled down the castle and chapel at Auckland, and proceeded to erect a magnificent mansion, intending it for his principal residence.

But the most interesting transaction in the time of the usurpation was the erection of a College at Durham. In 1650 the gentry of the county addressed the Lord Protector, setting forth the disadvantages arising from the great distance of the north from Oxford and Cambridge, and praying that the houses of the Dean and Prebendaries, which were going to decay, might be converted into a College for the instruction of youth. Cromwell's answer came from Edinburgh: he highly approved of the suggestion, which he recommended to Parliament in a letter to the Speaker,—"Truly it seems to me a matter of great concernment and importance, as that which (by the blessing of God) may much conduce to the promotion of learning and piety in these poore, rude, and ignorant parts, there being also many concurring advantages to this place, as pleasantness and aptness of situation, healthfull aire,

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and plenty of provisions, which seeme to favour and plead for theire desires therein."

A few months after Cromwell wrote this letter, came one of his "crowning mercies" in the victory which he won over the Scots at Dunbar, where he took about 9,000 prisoners. All that were wounded, so as to be disabled in his opinion for future service, he released, these were about 5,100, the rest were conducted to Durham. They suffered much, and many died on the road; but 3,000 were shut up in the cathedral, which was turned into a prison. Sufferings and sickness soon terribly thinned their numbers. It was winter time, and before they were set at liberty they had miserably defaced the interior of the church, made fires of the woodwork of the choir, and mutilated the Neville monuments, reducing them to the condition in which they are to be seen at this day. Some of the prisoners were sent to the salt works at Shields, "and," says Sir Arthur Hesilrigg, under whose charge they were, "I have taken out twelve weavers to begin a trade of linen cloth like unto the Scotch cloth." It appears that even then Scotland was famous for the linen manufacture, and the shrewd baronet failed not to avail himself of the skill of his captives.

It was not till 1657 that "Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging," issued his letters patent for the erection of the new College. It is a remarkable document, showing no small skill on the part of its author. It consists of twenty-three heads.

The College is to be erected within the scite of the

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College houses, Cathedral church, and Castle, in *our* city of Durham (i, ii). It is to consist of a provost or master, two preachers or senior fellows, twelve other fellows, of whom four were to be professors, four tutors, and four schoolmasters; also twenty-four scholars, twelve exhibitioners in the College, and eighteen scholars in the free school (iii). These shall be a corporation "by the name of the Master or Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College in Durham, of the foundation of Oliver, Lord Protector, &c." (iv). The first provost and fellows are named (v). The College[1] and Cathedral, and all their appurtenances, are made over to the new foundation (vi). Certain pecuniary endowments out of the revenues of the see are assigned and specified (vii, viii, ix). All books, manuscripts, mathematical instruments, and other instruments, belonging to the bishop or dean and chapter are given to the college (x). They are empowered to hold property not to exceed the yearly value of £6,000, to grant leases, to sue and be sued in like manner as any other collegiate corporation, and to have a common seal (xi, xii, xiii). They are to be for ever governed by rules made by certain visitors, who are all named. 1st. A body whose powers are to last only for two years; Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of the Parliament, and one of the Commissioners of *our* Treasury; Major-General Lambert, Commander-in-Chief in the five northern counties; Walter Strickland, one of our counsel; six

[1] The quadrangle containing the prebendal houses is so named at Durham.

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Noblemen connected with the north; the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General; fifty-three Esquires and Gentlemen, chiefly in the northern counties; twelve Members of the Corporations of London, Durham, Newcastle, Carlisle, and Berwick; and fifteen Ministers; in all ninety-one. 2nd. Twelve Constant Visitors, viz., eight Gentlemen of the city or county of Durham, the Mayor of Durham, and three Ministers; ten of these were in the former list. The office of these last was to be perpetual, and they were empowered to fill up vacancies in their number arising from death and other causes; if they neglected to do so, it was to be done by the Provost and Fellows (xiv, xv). The powers of the Visitors are defined—to make rules and to exercise discipline, nine of the whole body to be a quorum, of whom five must be constant visitors (xvi, xvii). In case of dispute reference was to be made to the Court of Chancery (xviii). The Provost and Fellows to make rules for the government of the College (xix). Power is given to set up a printing press to print Bibles, and to license books, no other privileged printers to interfere with them (xx). They are exempted from serving in civil or parochial offices and from taxes; their horses may not be taken to ride post (xxi–xxiii).

It was in many respects an admirable scheme. Not the least of its merits consisted in giving an interest to the nobility and gentry in carrying it out. Its one great fault was that it dealt with property which did not belong to those who undertook to deal with it. The new College soon excited the jealousy of the ancient Universities, which protested against its conferring

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degrees. The death of the Protector prevented the full completion of the scheme, and application was made to his son and successor, Richard, for power to carry it out. But, as is well known, his power lasted only a very short time, and the Restoration, by giving back property to its lawful owners, put an end to its existence.

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CHAPTER XIII.

THE RESTORATION.

WHEN THE LORD TURNED AGAIN THE CAPTIVITY OF ZION,
THEN WERE WE LIKE UNTO THEM THAT DREAM;
THEN WAS OUR MOUTH FILLED WITH LAUGHTER,
AND OUR TONGUE WITH JOY.

THE 29th day of May, 1660, was a memorable day in the Church of England. The long night of confusion and usurpation was ended, the King restored to his throne, and the Church to her rights. Some time elapsed before an appointment was made to the See of Durham, yet as Bishop Morton died only eight months before the Restoration, the vacancy was not really after all so long as it often was in ordinary times. In November, 1660, JOHN COSIN, Dean of Peterborough, was elected as Bishop of Durham. He was a native of Norwich, born in 1596.[1] When he was thirteen years of age his father died and left him a considerable property which he gave up to his mother reserving £20 a-year for his expenses at Cambridge. At the age of fourteen he went up to Caius College as a scholar. His career was distinguished and he became a fellow of his college. In 1616, when he

[1] In this chapter great use has been made of Canon Ornsby's most valuable editions of the Correspondenee of Bishop Cosin and that of Dean Granville—Surtees Society.

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was twenty years of age, he had the offer of the situation of librarian from two distinguished prelates, Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Overall, Bishop of Lichfield. He chose to live with the latter, for whom he ever afterwards cherished a very high esteem. He lost his excellent patron in 1619, but was soon taken into the family of Dr. Neile, Bishop of Durham, by whom, in 1624, he was made a prebendary of the cathedral. Shortly after he married a daughter of Marmaduke Blakiston, Prebendary of Durham and Archdeacon of the East Riding. The latter dignity Mr. Blakiston immediately resigned in favour of his son-in-law. The same year Cosin became Rector of Elwick and the next of Brancepeth, both near Durham. At Durham House, in London, he had frequent opportunities of meeting Dr. Laud White, Bishop of Carlisle, and Richard Montague, and he seems to have joined heart and soul in the zeal for the doctrine and discipline of the Church, by which these eminent men were so highly distinguished. But he soon became obnoxious to the puritan party. His first troubles arose from the publication by him in the year 1627 of a Book of Private Devotions. It had been observed that the queen's French ladies were in possession of such manuals, and there seemed to be some danger of their English compeers acquiring a love for them. Cosin's book was intended to prevent this, and was grounded on some manuals of the time of Queen Elizabeth. It is difficult now to understand the clamour which arose on the appearance of "Dr. Cosin's cozening devotions," as they were called in derision and spite by Mr. Prynne. There are few now

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who would not think it a very harmless book, even if not in all respects according to their taste; and, if it is not so fervent as the devotions of Andrewes or Laud, we must remember that it was intended for a general manual and is not of so personal a character as these.

The next year happened the affair of Mr. Smart at Durham, and the proceedings which followed the preaching of his famous sermon produced from him a flood of personalities, in which Mr. Cosin was vehemently assailed. (Mr. Smart had found a passage of St. Gregory which seemed to lay down that none above the grade of sub-deacon should sing in choir.) "And is it not a base imploiment for you, John Cosin, having 2 fatt benefices, an archdeaconrie, being Bachelour of Divinitie, and more then a subdeacon, even a full priest, to leave all your charges of soules at 6 or 7, and sitt all day long eyther at home with a tobacco pipe in your mouth, or in the quire chanting among singers."

In 1634 he was elected Master of Peterhouse, and in 1640 appointed Dean of Peterborough. He certainly had his full share of preferment; but he had not now long to enjoy it. Mr. Smart complained against him to the House of Commons, and twenty-one articles of impeachment were presented, to all of which Cosin was able to give satisfactory answers. He was also accused of perverting a young student at Cambridge to popery, but he proved that this was the very reverse of the truth. Nevertheless he was sequestered from all his preferments and extruded from his mastership. He now retired beyond the sea and lived for seventeen years

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in France in great poverty.[1] Many inducements were held out to him to join the Church of Rome, and particularly that of a competent maintenance, but he maintained his steadfastness throughout all, and employed his enforced leisure in the composition of two learned works against the opinions of Rome—one in English, "A Scholastical History of the Canon of Holy Scripture"—the other in Latin, "Historia Transubstantiationis Papalis," in which he maintains the catholic doctrine as received by the Church of England on the Canon of Scripture, and the doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. Meanwhile he lived on terms of friendship and mutual esteem with the ministers of the French Reformed Church.

When the Restoration came, he was restored to his preferments, and was the first to read the common prayer in his cathedral at Peterborough. It was intended that he should be made Dean of Durham, but in the end he was named as bishop. Public business, the nature of which will presently appear, detained him in the south for some months, and it was not till August, 1661, that he made his public entry into the bishopric. He says of his reception, "The confluence and alacritie, both of the gentrie, clergie, and other people was very great, and at my first entrance through the river of Tease, there was scarce any water to be seen for the multitude of horse

[1] His eldest daughter had a pension from Cromwell, for the maintenance of herself and her sisters—perhaps more than was to be expected from the usurper, though it cannot have been agreeable to the lady; but necessity has no law.

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and men that filled it, when the sword that killed the dragon[1] was delivered to me with all the formality of trumpets and gunshots and acclamations that might be made." The Dean of Durham, Dr. Fuller, died in 1659 and of nine prebendaries who survived, Dr. Cosin was made bishop, and Dr. John Barwick, who had been chaplain to Bishop Morton, and wrote his life, was appointed dean. The remaining seven prebendaries resumed their stalls and other preferments, but a heavy task lay before them all. The episcopal houses were ruined or much dilapidated, the cathedral a wreck, indebted to its massive solidity for its preservation from utter ruin. In the interior of the church everything had to be renewed, and the prebendal houses had to be rebuilt or repaired at very great cost.

But before Bishop Cosin engaged in the work which lay before him at Durham, his attention was claimed by a matter of great national importance. During the late confusions the Book of Common Prayer had been proscribed, and its use, even in private, had been made penal. It had already been restored to use, but it was now thought necessary that it should be revised. The Puritans were clamorous for very sweeping alterations, amounting indeed to an entire change in its

[1] The tenure by which the family of Conyers held the Manor of Sockburn required the lord or his deputy to present the bishop on his first entry into the bishoprick "with the faulchion wherewith the Champion Conyers slew the worm, dragon, or fiery flying serpent, which destroyed man, woman, and child." The tenure is very ancient, being noticed by Sir John Conyers in 1396.—Ornsby. Cosin, vol ii. p. 21.

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structure. To this the heads of the Church refused to consent; but after the conferences at the Savoy had come to an end this important work was taken up by Convocation, and a committee was appointed to revise the services, of which Bishop Cosin was an important member. If he might have had his way the Communion Service would have been brought back to a much nearer accordance with the First Book of King Edward VI. There are still extant copies of the Prayer Book as it was in use before the Great Rebellion, containing in the margin the alterations proposed by Bishop Cosin. Perhaps the most important of these occur in the Prayer of Consecration. Here the Invocation of the Word and Holy Spirit found in all ancient liturgies except that of Rome was restored, the Memorial and Prayer of Oblation, which had been mutilated, and its latter portion inserted after the distribution of the Sacrament, was also restored, with the Lord's Prayer, to its former position. It is very remarkable that the revision of the Prayer Book made by the American Church, after the separation of the colonies from the mother country, corresponds very nearly with Bishop Cosin's revision, a circumstance which effectually clears the latter from any ignorant charge of approximation to popery. The other bishops, however, did not think it prudent to adopt his suggestions. Perhaps it is not too much to say that their caution or timidity in this respect adds some emphasis to their deliberate and careful retention of the *Ornaments Rubric.* This was the last revision of the Prayer Book, when it was finally brought into the form in which we now have it.

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Immediately after his public reception into the see, Bishop Cosin applied himself to his diocesan work. He was a diligent preacher, not only in the cathedral but also in parish churches, and he immediately held confirmations in Durham and Newcastle which were very numerously attended, partly, no doubt, in consequence of the long disuse of the rite. In the same month he held an ordination in the cathedral, and in October, synods of the clergy in Durham and Newcastle. His plan was to preach among them and put them in some order, "if by any fayre means" he could. "I made them my assessors," he says afterwards, "treating them so that I hope (and they assured me all as much) they are well pleased with their bishop; even Mr. Durant[1] himself, whom only I intreated to forbear preaching till he made it appear that he was an ecclesiastical person, as he is not, having neither epicopall or presbyteriall ordination." This seems to imply that the bishop would have been content, for the present at least, if Mr. Durant had been in "presbyteriall" orders. At Newcastle, on the Sunday before the synod, he preached to three or four thousand people.

The bishop's next care was to hold a visitation both of the diocese and of the cathedral. As might be expected, much disorder prevailed in the diocese. In Northumberland, popish recusants abounded, mass was said openly, and warning given that people might attend. Many of the churches had no ministers, or only such as were zealous nonconformists. The

[1] A nonconformist preacher in Newcastle.

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fabrics of many churches were altogether ruinous; in many there were "neyther bibles, books of common prayer, surplisses, fonts, communion tables, nor anything that is necessary for the service of God." It is unlikely that things were very much better in many of the churches of the Bishoprick; but the accounts given of the cathedral, even some years after, are such as would astonish most persons in the present day—the church a thoroughfare for people carrying burdens; the boys playing rudely in the cloisters on Sunday, and in the church itself on week days; some of the petty canons 'sitting on their desks, with their backs towards the choir.'" In 1665 the bishop has to complain that there were only five petty canons, whereas the statutes required twelve; and of these it was reported that "some reade not so distinctly, but have been admonished to read privately the lessons aforehand, according to Elizabeth's injunctions." He takes notice that the Dean and Chapter were very slack in carrying on the repairs of the church, and adds: "they answer, that there is no irregularity in habits, but they say nothing of coming to the church in night-gowns and grey stockings, nor of wearing long rapiers, great skirted jumpes, and short daggers." And again, "It is none of their priviledges to come to the quire in their furre and nightgownes, or to sit with their hats on at the reading of the first and second lessons." The truth is Bishop Cosin had few men like-minded with himself in the chapter. It has been seen that seven of the prebendaries returned to their stalls after the great Rebellion; the other five were appointed by the king while the see was still

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vacant. Most of them had very little zeal for order, while one, Dr. Thomas Wood,[1] whose principles and sympathies were thoroughly puritan, though he had not the honesty to withdraw with his more conscientious brethren after the Act of Uniformity, was utterly opposed to it. It is to be feared there were many examples of the sort of persons whom Dr. South denounces so vehemently as "being nothing else but ambition, avarice, and hypocrisy, serving all the real interests of schism and faction in the Church's livery," to be found in the Church after the Restoration. Only thrice during his episcopate had Bishop Cosin the disposal of a stall. The first was filled by his chaplain, William Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; the second by his son-in-law, Denys Granville; the third by John Durell, all of whom will be noticed afterwards. When such was the state of things in the cathedral, it is easy to conjecture how it was in the parish churches; but by strictness combined with kindliness, with the aid of two zealous archdeacons, Isaac Basire in Northumberland, and Denys Granville in Durham, the bishop gradually effected a great improvement, so that after his death Archdeacon Granville could report to his successor that things were more orderly than in most dioceses, though still far short of what they ought to be.

In 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed, and it became the bishop's duty, both as diocesan and lord-

[1] He was afterwards Dean of Lichfield, retaining his stall at Durham. He was a thorn in the side of good Bishop Hacket, who used to wish he could be called into residence at Durham. Yet, on Bishop Hacket's death, he became Bishop of Lichfield.

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lieutenant of the Palatinate, to give effect to its provisions. There were many nonconforming ministers, not only in the large towns, such as Newcastle, but also in country districts, and from time to time there were alarms of rebellion, which sometimes turned out to have very slight foundation; but the risings against the law which took place in the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland had no parallel in England; partly, no doubt, from the quieter and more passive disposition of the people, and partly also because the laws were more temperately enforced than they were in Scotland, during the unhappy period which followed the Restoration.

Bishop Cosin expended very large sums in the repairs of his two castles at Durham and Auckland. The latter, as has been already mentioned, had been in great part pulled down by Sir Arthur Hesilrigg, who erected a large mansion with the materials; but the bishop refused to use this house, as the stones of the stately chapel erected by Bishop Bek had been used in its construction. It was pulled down and the chapel rebuilt. The present state of the interior would seem to indicate that the arcades which divide the nave from the aisles had once been for some time exposed to the weather, so that probably it was only the exterior walls which needed to be rebuilt. The restored chapel was consecrated on St. Peter's day, 1665, and named after the Saint of the day. The repairs of the two castles cost £17,000, £6,000 of which were expended on the chapels, besides £1,000 more on the plate and furniture. At Durham he built a new library adjoining the exchequer at the

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castle gates, at a cost of £500, which he furnished with books of the value of £2,000. He also expended very large sums in the foundation of hospitals at Durham and Auckland, of scholarships at Caius College and Peterhouse at Cambridge, and in other charitable works, amounting in all, including what is mentioned above, to upwards of £34,500 during the first seven years of his episcopate.

During his last years Bishop Cosin incurred great unpopularity by his opposition to the desire of the people of the Palatinate to be represented in Parliament. Hitherto no knights or burgesses had been summoned to the national council from the Bishoprick. Though situated between the counties of York and Northumberland, both of which were represented, it seems to have been regarded as a separate principality, though subject to the crown of England, just as the Isle of Man is to this day. During the usurpation of Cromwell, this privilege had been conceded, but it fell with the other arrangements of that time at the Restoration. It is likely that the temporary enjoyment of the same rights which were possessed by the neighbouring counties had caused the distinction between them and others to be more felt; but the bishop would by no means consent to it, and he was able to prevent the change from taking place during his lifetime. It did take place after his death; in the meantime it was a cause of dissension between him and his people.

The bishop was not altogether happy in his family, which consisted of one son and four daughters. His son at an early period, joined the Church of Rome,

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and took orders in it. This annoyed his father so much that he altogether disowned him, though he afterwards relented so far as to make him a yearly allowance of £50. In his will he leaves him a legacy of £100, and by a subsequent codicil increased his annuity to £100. He speaks of him both in the will and the codicil as his "lost sonne," who had "dealt very undutifully with mee his indulgent father, and twice forsaken his mother, the Church of England . . . to my great griefe and trouble, haveing not come to mee for further advice, but wholly avoided mee during these four yeares together." His youngest daughter became the wife of Denys Granville, nephew of the Earl of Bath, and descended from a noble family in France. The career of this remarkable man requires some notice. He was early dedicated to the ministry, at a time when there seemed little chance of preferment, and appears to have taken a very devoted and pious view of his intended function and its obligations. Soon after the Restoration he was ordained, and about the same time married Anne Cosin. Preferment came immediately. In 1662 (æt. 26) he was made a Prebendary of Durham, Archdeacon of Durham, and Rector of Easington, a living always held with the archdeaconry. Two years after, he became Rector of Elwick, which, in 1667 (æt. 30), he exchanged for Sedgefield, being also a chaplain in ordinary to the king. He was entirely like-minded with Bishop Cosin in a desire to have all the laws of the Church most strictly obeyed, and this, no doubt, weighed much with the bishop in bestowing upon him such rapid preferment. But unfortunately he

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was so imprudent and even reckless in his expenditure that, notwithstanding his ample preferments, which might well have sufficed for three men, he speedily became involved in pecuniary difficulties. He was frequently, and for very long periods, absent from his cures, though he appears to have taken great pains to have them well served in his absence. His married life was not happy. Mrs. Granville seems to have been subject to aberrations of mind, arising, in the opinion of physicians, from the state of her bodily health. Misunderstandings soon arose between him and the bishop, which there is good reason for believing were much aggravated by the unkindness of Mrs. Granville's eldest sister, Lady Gerard, and her husband, Sir Gilbert. There are many painful traces of this misunderstanding in the bishop's private correspondence. The archdeacon's brother, the Earl of Bath, and the Duke of Albemarle endeavoured to propitiate the bishop. Even the king, at Granville's request, interposed, but apparently without much effect. After the bishop's death the confusion in the archdeacon's affairs came to a crisis. He was arrested in the cloisters, as he was coming from public prayers, in the presence of many of the chief gentry of the county. In vain he pleaded his immunity as a king's chaplain ; he was carried off to prison. But the court took up the matter ; he was released, and the sheriff and others concerned were punished. This occurrence seems to have opened his eyes, and in after life we find him expressing great remorse for his folly, and making many resolutions of amendment. Eventually in 1684

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he became Dean of Durham, in spite of much opposition, retaining the archdeaconry and his livings; but five years after came the invasion by the Prince of Orange, and the flight of King James. The dean was unbending in his loyalty, and thoroughly impressed with the obligation of passive obedience. He gave up all his preferment, and followed the deposed king into exile. He lived in France in great poverty, neglected by the court of St. Germains on account of his religion, but taking comfort from the thought that he was living among the ancient memorials of his family. Queen Mary of Modena, bigoted as she was, had always befriended him, and given him pecuniary help, when she had but little for herself, and now took care that he should be interred in consecrated ground. With all his defects his private papers show him to have been a man of great piety. His directions and counsels to his curates at Easington and Sedgefield manifest great anxiety for the spiritual good of the flock committed to his charge; while the rules for the government of his household supply a very beautiful pattern for the regulation of a clergyman's family, reminding the reader strongly of such examples as Nicholas Ferrar and George Herbert.

Bishop Cosin was long afflicted with a painful disease, but at last, after years of suffering, which ought never to be forgot when there appear displays of temper, the end came. He died in London, 15th January, 1671–2, and was embalmed and carried in solemn state to Durham, where the cortège arrived on Saturday, 27th April. The body lay in state in the cathedral till the following Monday, when it was

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carried to Auckland, and deposited, according to his own wish, in the stately chapel which he had re-edified and adorned. His funeral sermon was preached by Archdeacon Basire.

Little need be said about Bishop Cosin's character as the reader will have been enabled to form his own estimate. The Book of Common Prayer, which the Church has possessed and used for 220 years, is his best memorial, seeing he was one of the foremost among those godly and learned men by whom it was brought into the form in which we now have it. Many will be of opinion that it would have been nearer perfection still, if his counsels could have prevailed. He was a man of great learning, as confessed by his his opponents, and of unbending integrity, a most attached and affectionate son of his mother church, firmly adhering to her amid obloquy, poverty, and temptation. Some may think that his intimacy, while in France, with the ministers of the reformed church there, was inconsistent with his attitude, after he became bishop, towards the nonconformists at home. But it was not really so. In France he but followed the line marked out by such men as Andrewes and Overall, and afterwards by Bramhall, in regarding the foreign communities as churches, defective indeed, but defective more from the force of circumstances than by their own fault; while those at home were wilfully disowning a church conformed to the primitive model, and rejecting the form of sound words in which she worshipped God, and the decent ceremonies with which her worship was accompanied. If he was zealous for the observance of rubrics and canons it

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was because "although the keeping or omitting of a Ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God;"[1]—because a firm adherence to the rubric is the best safeguard both to the minister and his flock, to the minister by supplying a warrant for what he does, a standard to which he may appeal, and to the flock by assuring them that their pastor is not following fancies of his own so as to go beyond or fall short of the rules which he has solemnly vowed to observe.[2]

There are some of Bishop Cosin's contemporaries who ought to be noticed.

ISAAC BASIRE was a native of Jersey, but the place of his education is unknown. Bishop Morton, when at Lichfield, ordained him both deacon and priest, and when he came to Durham collated him to the Rectory of Egglescliffe, and a stall in the cathedral. In 1644 he became Archdeacon of Northumberland, and Rector of Stanhope. When the rebellion broke out, he was deprived of all his

[1] "Of Ceremonies," in the Preface to the Prayer Book.

[2] The use of the surplice in the pulpit is a peculiarity of this Diocese, and the custom is traced back to Bishop Cosin by an Archdeacon of the last century, who is mentioned with high praise in Bishop Butler's Charge (Archdeacon Sharp, "On the Rubrics," p. 206. He speaks of the usage (A.D. 1746) as prevalent in this Diocese alone). When everywhere else the surplice in the pulpit was regarded as a badge of party, here, on the contrary, it was the gown. It is only within the last few years that some zealous clergymen have introduced the gown in churches where it was never seen or heard of before.

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preferments, and withdrew to Oxford to share the fortunes of his Prince; but being ere long obliged to fly from England, he travelled through Apulia, Naples, Sicily, and the Morea, endeavouring to propagate the doctrines of the Church of England among the Greeks and Saracens. During his travels, he made a collection of the Confessions of Faith of the different sorts of Christians among whom he travelled. He passed through many hardships, particularly on a journey from Aleppo to Constantinople, which he made without a servant or a companion who could speak any European language — his only fellow travellers being Turks, whom he conciliated by the medical skill which he had acquired at Padua. At the restoration, he recovered all his preferments, and, as Archdeacon, was a fellow labourer with Bishop Cosin in restoring the church. He wrote the Bishop's life, and published it as an Appendix to the Sermon which he had preached at his funeral. He died in 1676, aged 69.

Daniel Brevint, another native of Jersey, after studying at Saumur, in France, came to England, and obtained a fellowship at Jesus College, Oxford. Becoming obnoxious on account of his loyal principles, and having refused to take the Covenant, he was obliged to return to France, where he lived in the family of Marshal Turenne. When thirty-six years of age, he was ordained in Sir Richard Browne's chapel at Paris, by Dr. Thomas Sydserf, bishop of Galloway, being presented by Dr. Cosin, who preached the ordination sermon. At the restoration, he was, at Cosin's instance, preferred by the king to the tenth

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stall at Durham, and the rectory of Brancepeth, both of which were vacant in consequence of Cosin's nomination to the episcopate. Brevint was the author of several works against popery, but the best known as well as much the best of his writings is *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice* dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Carteret, as embodying his instructions to her friends, the daughters of Marshal Turenne. This treatise was so highly esteemed by John and Charles Wesley, that they printed an abridgment of it as a Preparation for the Altar, but those who now assume the name of Wesleyans have long since rejected its use. In 1681 Brevint was made Dean of Lincoln, retaining both the stall at Durham and the Rectory of Brancepeth till his death in 1695.

JOHN DURELL was another native of Jersey educated at Merton College, Oxford. He also was obliged to take refuge in France and was ordained by Bishop Sydserf at the same time as Brevint. Bishop Cosin gave him a stall at Durham. He was also a Canon of Windsor, and Rector of Witney in Oxfordshire. He died in 1683, aged 58.

WILLIAM SANCROFT became Bishop Cosin's Chaplain at the Restoration, and exchanged a canonry at Windsor for a stall at Durham. He acted not only as Bishop Cosin's secretary, but as secretary to the Committee of Convocation for the revision of the Prayer Book. The copy in the Bodleian Library of the alterations proposed by Bishop Cosin was entirely written out by him, and the copy at Durham contains

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several alterations in his hand-writing.[1] He was also Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, which he resigned soon after being made Dean of St. Paul's in 1664. He became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1677. For resisting King James's unconstitutional demands he was sent to the Tower, with six other prelates; but refusing to take the oath to King William was deprived. His later history belongs to the Diocese of Canterbury.

GEORGE DAVENPORT, another of Bishop Cosin's chaplains, succeeded Sancroft at Houghton-le-Spring, but like a worthy successor of Bernard Gilpin, and very unlike most of the eminent clergy of his own time, he refused to accept any additional preferment, saying that he "had more preferment and a better worldly estate than he could show good husbandry, and he feared to die with any of the Church's goods in his hands." Besides rebuilding his rectory, to which he added a chapel, he built and endowed one half of the almshouse at Houghton. He died in 1677, much lamented by his flock, and his name was long held in affectionate remembrance in the parish. He was the Keeper of Bishop Cosin's library at Durham, which is indebted to him for many very valuable manuscripts.

After the death of Bishop Cosin the see remained vacant for nearly three years, and it is said that during this period the revenues were given to the king's natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. At

[1] One of these is remarkable : at the end of the first rubric after the Nicene Creed, the words "by the King" are interlined in his hand-writing. He was afterwards sent to the Tower for protesting against a Proclamation "enjoined by the King."

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length the Bishop of Oxford, NATHANIEL CREWE, son of Lord Crewe of Stene, was translated to Durham. The appointment had been offered to Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, but he declined it, because he "did not like the conditions." It is not said what these were, but it soon appeared that the new bishop was prepared to go all lengths with the court. He celebrated the marriage of the Duke of York with Mary of Modena, and baptized their infant daughter. When that prince came to the throne as James II., as an avowed Roman Catholic, the bishop scrupled at nothing. The court of High Commission had been abolished in the reign of Charles I., but it was now revived, and the Bishop of Durham made a member of it, an appointment of which he was said to have been very proud. Compton, Bishop of London, had displeased the king by refusing to suspend Dr. Sharp, a London clergyman, for preaching against conversion to Rome. He was brought before the Commission and suspended, and the administration of the diocese of London, was committed to the bishops of *Durham*, Rochester, and Peterborough. Dr. Samuel Johnson was found to be the author of a paper which had been circulated in the camp on Hounslow Heath, warning the soldiers against attending mass, which was said in Lord Dumbarton's tent. For this he was brought before the king's bench, and sentenced to be whipped from Tyburn to Newgate, and to pay a fine of five hundred marks. Intercession was made for him, but the king insisted on the punishment being carried out. To save the credit of the Church it was

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thought proper first to degrade him from the priesthood, and this was done in the chapter-house of St. Paul's by the bishops of *Durham*, Rochester, and Peterborough. Such was Bishop Crewe's line at a time when the Archbishop of Canterbury and six of his suffragans were sent to the Tower for remonstrating with the king against the order for reading a declaration of indulgence in the churches in time of divine service. If, as is well known, these prelates were almost adored by the people for their firmness, it may easily be imagined in what estimation the Bishop of Durham was held. When the revolution came, he was excepted in the amnesty in favour of some of the supporters of King James, and he fled in terror. At the earnest instance of one of his servants he returned, made the most abject submission just before it would have been too late, and retained his see; but it is said that among other things he was obliged to let the government have a potential voice in the nomination of the prebendaries of the cathedral.

By the death of his elder brothers, he became Baron Crewe of Stene in 1691. His episcopate was a very lengthened one, nearly forty-seven years, during which occurred a series of very remarkable events—the accession of James II., the Revolution of 1689, the Union with Scotland, the accession of the House of Hanover, and the Rising of 1715 in favour of the Stuarts. At the Revolution, as has been already mentioned, Denys Granville, Dean and Archdeacon of Durham, a very different man from his diocesan, refused to take the oaths to King William, preferring

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to go into exile with his Sovereign to retaining his ample preferments at the expense of his conscience. Mr. Cock, the Vicar of St. Oswald's, also refused the oaths, and was deprived. He was a learned man, and left a valuable library in the vicarage for the use of his successors. Thomas Rudd, Vicar of Norton, was deprived for the same reasons; but there were few, if any, other Nonjurors in the diocese.

The rash, ill-planned, or rather unplanned, and miserably-conducted insurrection of 1715, as far as England was concerned, was almost entirely confined to noblemen and gentlemen of Northumberland.[1] Several of these were implicated, but none were condemned except Mr. Forster, who had been the leader, and the Earl of Derwentwater. The former was rescued from prison by the ingenuity and resolution of a devoted sister; but Lord Derwentwater was executed, declaring at his death that, though he died a Roman Catholic, yet if his lawful Sovereign had been of another religion it would have made no difference with him.[2] His fate excited great commiseration, for he was much beloved on account of his amiable character, his unstinted benevolence, and his other virtues. He was buried by stealth at Dilston; and in 1805, ninety years after, his tomb was opened and his body found entire, a fact worthy of consideration by those who are disposed to ridicule

[1] "The handful of Northumberland foxhunters," as Sir Walter Scott contemptuously calls them.—Lord Mahon, chap. v.

[2] It is unfair to the Earl's memory that this declaration is generally omitted by historians, even Lord Mahon.

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the idea of the incorruption of St. Cuthbert. It required some very questionable management to effect the forfeiture of his estates, in which he had only a life interest; and, to satisfy public opinion, they were given to Greenwich Hospital, for the benefit of aged and disabled seamen. The advowson of the very extensive parish of Simonburn, the rectory of which, in 1811, was said to be worth £5,000 a year, belonged to the earl, and went with the rest of his property to Greenwich Hospital. In the year just named it was divided, and five new rectories were founded. Some hideous churches and some very inconvenient houses were built at an enormous expense, but, if the living was really worth what is stated, there must have been some grievous malversation, for the united incomes of Simonburn and the new rectories do not nearly amount to that sum. These livings, with that of Alston, are set apart for retired navy chaplains.

Mr. Forster's estates at Bamburgh and Blanchland were also forfeited, and were bought by the bishop, Lord Crewe,[1] who bequeathed them for charitable purposes. By his will the estates, which at that time were valued at £1,314 a year, were vested in five trustees, and the rents were to be expended in the augmentation of poor benefices, in pensions to almspeople at Durham and Bishop-Auckland, for the maintenance of schools in various places, relief of widows, orphans, and children on his estates in the south; fellowships, scholarships, and exhibitions at Lincoln College, Oxford, of which he had once been

[1] Lady Crewe was a relative of Mr. Forster.

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rector; and for putting out apprentices in the city of Durham. These charities were well nursed and increased by Dr. John Sharp, Prebendary of Durham and Archdeacon of Northumberland, who afterwards became one of the trustees. A surgery or dispensary was established at Bamburgh Castle, means provided for aiding shipwrecked crews and ships in distress, a watch kept at the castle, and a patrol established along the beach within the boundaries of the estate, a range of eight miles. Churches and excellent schools were founded and endowed at Blanchland and Shotley, the ancient church at Bamburgh further endowed, and schools established there also. Dr. Sharp also founded a library at Bamburgh, to which he gave a large portion of the books which had belonged to his father, Dr. Thomas Sharp, who had been also a prebendary of Durham, and his grandfather, who had been Archbishop of York. The castle was also put in thorough repair, and the ancient palace of St. Oswald now stands as a monument of Lord Crewe's munificence, shedding blessings all around.[1] By an arrangement of the Charity Trust Commissioners it is to be turned into an Hospital for scrofulous diseases when the funds set apart for the purpose shall amount to £10,000.

The close of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries were marked by a considerable revival of religion in the Church. By means of

[1] It is worthy of remark that all but one of the ancient castles on the East coast, Dunottar, Tantallon, Berwick, Warkworth, Dunstanborough, Tynemouth, are in ruins,—Bamburgh, which sheltered the infant church of Northumbria, alone remains entire.

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the numerous religious societies established in London and in various parts of the country the daily prayers were restored in many places, vice was discouraged, and a marked increase of religious zeal became visible. Perhaps such influences did not extensively prevail in the far north, but there are not wanting cheering indications of spiritual life in the diocese of Durham in the later years of Lord Crewe's episcopate. Divine service was held twice daily in the parish church of St. Nicholas, and the church of All Saints' at Newcastle, and several times during the week at St. John's and St. Andrew's. The daily prayers were kept up at St. Nicholas till a comparatively recent period. In 1703 the leadminers at Allenheads, one of the remotest and loftiest spots in the diocese, with the aid of their landlord and employer, Sir William Blackett, erected a chapel and engaged a clergyman, whose duty it was to read prayers every morning before they went to their work. His stipend was provided by every man devoting half a day's work every month for the purpose. A similar step was taken under the same master by the ironworkers at Winlaton, in the parish of Ryton, in the County Palatine. Thirty years after there appears a similar movement in the remote west of the county, at Harwood, distant ten miles from the parish church of Middleton in Teesdale; there the workmen were too few in number and too poor to maintain a priest, but a chapel was built in which their schoolmaster read prayers and a sermon every Sunday. Two important seaports which had sprung up in the outskirts of rural parishes had churches built, and were constituted into independent parishes.

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In 1711 the great town of Stockton-on-Tees was thus severed from the parish of Norton, and in 1719 Sunderland in the same way became independent of Bishop-Wearmouth. In both these instances the bishop was the patron, and also a large proprietor. No doubt, if one knew of them, there were other instances of progress and Christian zeal which the example of benefactions like those of Lord Crewe clearly tended to foster.

In September, 1721, Lord Crewe died, and Dr. William Talbot was soon after translated from Salisbury to Durham. Bishop Talbot incurred great unpopularity by attempting to procure an Act enabling bishops and all other holders of spiritual preferment to grant leases of mines under their lands. As it was thought that this affected the rights of copyholders and leaseholders, it was vehemently opposed, and altered so much in the House of Commons that it was dropped altogether. He also suggested to the dean and chapter that there was room for an increase of the fines payable on renewal of leases, and this added to the unpopularity he had already incurred.

But there are more agreeable things to be told of Bishop Talbot. During the nine years that he held the see he had the opportunity of making appointments to many of the best livings in his gift, and to no less than half of the stalls in the cathedral, in several instances these were remarkably well bestowed. Of eight sons Charles, the eldest, became Lord Chancellor; Edward, the second, was in holy orders. At Oxford he had made the acquaintance of Joseph

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Butler, and learned to entertain a high esteem for him. Butler introduced to him Thomas Secker, a friend of his, who had been his fellow student at a Dissenting Academy. Another friend of Mr. Talbot's, and also of Secker's, was Martin Benson, an amiable, pious, and accomplished man. Mr. Talbot died at the early age of twenty-nine, and at his death recommended his three friends to his father's notice. The bishop gave Butler the rectory of Haughton-le-Skerne, which he soon after exchanged for Stanhope. On the death of the excellent and accomplished Sir George Wheler, he gave the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring to Mr. Secker, and Sir George Wheler's stall in the cathedral to Mr. Benson. Mr. Secker was afterwards transferred to the rectory of Ryton, and appointed to a stall in the cathedral, and became successively Bishop of Bristol and Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Benson was afterwards Bishop of Gloucester.

On Bishop Talbot's death, October, 1730, Dr. Edward Chandler, Bishop of Lichfield, was translated to Durham. He had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was a contemporary and friend of Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man. Bishop Chandler held the see for twenty years, and died in London, July, 1750.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE WESLEYS.

It is to be feared that the Church had now sunk far into the state of apathy which characterised the eighteenth century. This may have been coming on for a considerable time, notwithstanding the earnestness of many good men at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, but there is little doubt it was much accelerated after the accession of the house of Hanover, under the administration of Sir Robert Walpole. The system of pluralities and consequent non-residence had the effect of dividing the clergy into two distinct classes, far separated from each other. There were, in fact, two kinds of pluralists—(1) the cathedral dignitaries and the incumbents of the rich benefices, particularly the rectories in the gift of the Bishop—a cultivated class, but mostly above rough parochial work. (2) It was nothing uncommon to heap two or three poor livings on one man to make out a decent livelihood. At the head of this class were the minor canons of the cathedral, to each of whom were assigned one or more of the poor vicarages of which the tithes were held by the prebendaries. Often a rich incumbent took care to have his curate provided with a small living elsewhere, that he might have something to

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fall back upon when his rector died. It is clear that such a system, which lasted till far on in the present century, must in a great degree have paralysed parochial work and so created much spiritual destitution. It seemed time that some remedy should be applied.

It was in Bishop Chandler's time that the brothers, JOHN and CHARLES WESLEY, began to visit the diocese. The success which Mr. John Wesley had met with among the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol, excited in him a desire to visit the great coal-field of the north. Accordingly on Friday, May 28, 1742, he arrived at Newcastle. His first impressions were far from favourable. "We came to Newcastle about six, and after a short refreshment walked into the town. I was surprised; so much drunkenness, cursing, and swearing (even from the mouths of little children), do I never remember to have seen or heard before in so small a compass of time. Surely this place is ripe for Him who came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."

On Sunday morning, at seven, he walked down to Sandgate with a companion and began to sing the hundredth psalm. A crowd soon gathered and he preached on *He was wounded for our transgressions.* When he had finished the people continued staring, and he gave notice that he would preach there again at five in the evening. A vast crowd assembled, and he preached from *I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely.* The people were now ready "to tread him under foot out of pure love and kindness," and intreated him to stay with them a few days, but he had another engagement, and was unable to gratify

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them. Some told him that "they were members of a religious society, which had subsisted for many years, and had always gone on in a prudent, regular manner, and had been well spoken of by all men." They spoke of their library, of their meetings on Sunday, when their steward read a sermon to them; but there must have been some self-complacency in their way of speaking, for he remarks, "How many of the publicans and harlots will go into the kingdom of heaven before these?"

From this time Newcastle was very frequently visited by the two brothers, one after the other, and they often stayed for some weeks. On his second visit, Mr. John Wesley obtained ground on which to build a house for preaching, and though there was some delay, he had the satisfaction of laying the foundation stone before he left. He also began to itinerate in the neighbourhood.[1] He mourns over the deadness of the country people, but mentions one John Brown, who "was waked out of sleep by the voice which raiseth the dead." In a day or two, however, John came riding into Newcastle driving all before him, and shouting that God had made him a king and would put all his enemies under his feet. Mr. Wesley wisely sent him home, and enjoined him to pray for humility, lest Satan should get an advantage of him. It is probably the same John Brown whose name occurs subsequently as a most useful person. Mr. Wesley now formed a Society, to which he expounded the Acts of the Apostles and the

[1] At one place he notes in his journal, "I found I had got into the very Kingswood of the North."

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Epistle to the Romans. The weather was very severe—it was the depth of winter; and a preacher, named Meyrick, whom he had with him, became very ill. He was given up by the physicians, but Mr. Wesley prayed over him: he began from that moment to mend and was speedily well. "I wait to hear," says Mr. Wesley, "who will either disprove this fact or account for it." The truth is, his Journal records as many miracles (though he never uses the word) as the history of St. Cuthbert. Who will say that either he or the biographers of the saint are entirely wrong?

There soon appeared those physical manifestations which raised so much prejudice against these devoted preachers, and it is very curious to observe the very different way in which these were regarded by the two brothers. John says, "These symptoms I can no more impute to any natural cause than to the Spirit of God. I can make no doubt but it was Satan tearing them as they were coming to Christ." Charles directed the patients to be carried to a distant part of the room, or to the outside, where they usually soon recovered. Thus he stopped the fits, and takes notice that the better sort of people came more freely when they were put an end to. Mr. Charles mentions a woman who told him that she had received a great measure of the love of God in her heart and thought it forgiveness. "I thought so too," he adds, "especially as it was in immediate answer to our prayer. Upon my warning her against pride, she very innocently told me she was never proud in all her life. Now what madness to tell this soul, so utterly ignorant of

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herself, that she is justified! She may be so, for what I know, but for me positively to determine it would be the way, I think, to stop the work in its beginning."

At an early stage of the movement Mr. John Wesley records an enquiry which he made into the causes why some had left the Society. Out of nearly nine hundred, there were seventy-six, and the causes are worth noting. Fourteen (chiefly dissenters) because their ministers would not give them the Sacrament; nine because their husbands or wives were unwilling they should stay in it; twelve because their parents were not willing; five because their masters or mistresses would not let them come; seven persuaded by acquaintances; five because people said such bad things of the Society; nine because they would not be laughed at; three because they would lose the poors' allowance; three because they could not spare time; two because it was too far off; one because he was afraid of falling into fits; one because people were so rude in the streets; two because Thomas Naisbit was in the Society; one because he would not turn his back on his baptism; one because we were mere Church of England men; one because it was time enough to serve God yet. Besides these, he found it right to expel sixty-four. The reasons assigned are likewise instructive: two for cursing and swearing; two for habitual Sabbath-breaking; seventeen for drunkenness; two for retailing spirituous liquors; three for quarrelling and brawling; one for beating his wife; three for habitual wilful lying; four for railing and evil speaking; one for

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idleness and laziness; twenty-nine for lightness and carelessness.

In their preaching the brothers were very careful never to interfere with the hours of Divine Service. They attended church themselves, and omitted no opportunity of receiving the Holy Communion, and they required the same of all the members of the Societies. They frequently remark on the good sermons they had heard at church; and at his second visit, John, after preaching at five o'clock in the morning, "a thing never heard of before in these parts," went to All Saints', where he found more communicants than he had seen anywhere but at Bristol or London. There are very few traces to be found of opposition from the clergy. On one occasion Charles had to encounter disorderly mobs both at North and South Shields, in both cases it was understood with the countenance of the clergy. At Whickham the clergyman, grateful for the good effects produced on his parishioners by Charles's preaching, sought his acquaintance. After some pleasant interviews with him and another clergyman he found a change, "He had been with the bishop (Chandler), who forbade his conversing with me. I marvel the prohibition did not come sooner." It was otherwise with the dissenters. Three ministers at Newcastle refused the communion to those of their people who attended John's preaching. Mr. Wesley could hardly believe it at first, but found it was true. One said they were all papists, while another went further, for, after he had confessed "Many texts in the Bible are for them," he added, "but you ought

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not to mind these texts, for the papists have put them in."

Nor were they exposed in the north to any of that brutal usage from the mob which they met with in some other parts of England. On one of Mr. John Wesley's visits to Newcastle he found that a bill had been issued announcing a play, to be followed by a farce called, "Trick upon Trick, or Methodism displayed." The performance was in the Moot Hall, and there was a great crowd, some hundreds of whom had to be accommodated with seats erected on the stage. In the middle of the first act of the play these seats gave way. As soon as quiet was restored the play went on, but in the second act the shilling seats gave way: again they proceeded, but presently the stage sank six inches. The actors fled but soon returned: at the end of the third act the six-penny seats gave way. The company were in great terror, but no one was hurt. The manager came on the stage to tell them that for all that had happened the farce should go on: as he was speaking, the stage sank another six inches, and he was forced to retreat. "Which," adds Mr. Wesley, "is most surprising, that these players acted this farce the next week or that some hundreds of people came to see it?" On another occasion a man came up to him in Pilgrim Street, cursed and swore at him, and pushed him once or twice. Mr. Wesley was equal to the occasion, for finding that this man had been in the way of annoying members of the Society, he wrote the following note: "Robert Young, I expect to see you between this and Friday, and to hear from you that you are sensible of

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your fault; otherwise, in pity to your soul, I shall be obliged to inform the magistrates of your assaulting me yesterday in the street. I am your real friend, John Wesley." "Within two or three hours Robert Young came, and promised quite a different behaviour. So did this gentle reproof, if not save a soul from death, yet prevent a multitude of sins." Mr. Charles Wesley takes notice of a Mr. Watson, one of the town sergeants at Newcastle. He had been a very great swearer, but "God had touched his heart," and those who were formerly his friends were set against him. The Mayor asked him publicly, "What! do you go to hear them too?" "Yes," he answered, "at every proper opportunity, and I wish you would go to hear them too." Another member of the corporation lost his temper and cursed "that fellow Watson, we can neither make him drink nor swear."

It was a favourite charge against the Wesleys that they were ill-affected to the reigning family, and in league with the Jacobites. Nothing could be more untrue. They constantly, in their exhortations, inculcated loyalty to King George, and were unceasing in their prayers on his behalf. In 1745, Mr. John Wesley arrived at Newcastle, the very day that the news came that Prince Charles Stuart was in possession of Edinburgh, and he found the inhabitants in a state of the utmost consternation. The mayor, Mr. Matthew Ridley,[1] distinguished himself on this trying occasion by his zeal, courage, and presence of mind, in having the town put in a posture of defence. He

[1] Ancestor of Sir Matthew White Ridley.

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called a meeting of the inhabitants, to concert measures for this purpose; and the next day Mr. Wesley addressed a letter to him, full of the most ardent expressions of loyalty, assigning, as his only reason for not attending the meeting, that he was a stranger, and had no further interest in the town than the room in which he preached, concluding with a few very earnest words on the wickedness which abounded in the place. In a day or two, on a Saturday, came the news of Hope's defeat at Preston Pans, which, of course, added much to the terror of the people. The following day, and the Sunday after, Mr. Wesley takes notice of the excellent sermons which he heard from Mr. Ellison, at St. Andrew's Church. He now left Newcastle for a fortnight. On his return, he found all things calm and quiet, but he was much concerned at "the senseless, shameless wickedness, and ignorant profaneness of the soldiers, who were encamped on the Town Moor. He addressed a second letter to the mayor, in which he asked permission to preach to the soldiers, and next day he received a message from Mr. Ridley, that "he would communicate his proposal to the general, and return his answer as soon as possible." What the answer was is not mentioned, but it appears that Mr. Wesley preached in or near the camp, producing little effect at first, but perceiving more hopeful symptoms afterwards. The German soldiers stood around, looking so disconsolate, that, though he had long discontinued their language, he attempted to speak to them. "Immediately," he says, "they gathered up close together, and drank in every word."

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An interesting account is given by Mr. Charles Wesley of a visit which he paid to Hexham at the invitation of a dissenting minister. The curate refused the use of the church, so he preached in the market-place. This gave offence to two magistrates, one of whom was Sir Edward Blackett, who desired him to quit the town. He wished to wait on Sir Edward, and explain, but was refused an interview. The only place he could get was a cock-pit. He hesitated at first to use it, but "found," he says, "that the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof." The other magistrate's son tried to raise a disturbance, but could get no one to second him. On a subsequent visit, he found the butlers of the two justices fighting cocks in his preaching-place, and he was forced to go to the market-place again.

The devotion of the two brothers was marvellous. We find Charles, at more than one place, wading through the snow, which was up to his middle, and arriving so exhausted that it was some time before he could do anything. They did not confine their labours to the neighbourhood of Newcastle, but penetrated into the mountainous districts of the west, commonly called the Dales. The lead-mining district of the north lies in the far west, and may be roughly said to embrace the four parishes of Stanhope and Middleton-in-Teesdale in Durham, Allendale in Nothumberland, and Alston in Cumberland, all lying together. Stanhope was the wealthiest rectory in the gift of the bishop, yet frequently held with a stall in the cathedral. There was a poor chapelry about eight miles up in Weardale. The whole parish held

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of the bishop, who derived an important part of his income from the lead mines, and hence, in part, came the fierce vassals whom Bishop Bek summoned to extrude Prior Hotoun, and Bishop Beaumont to harass the Archbishop of York. Middleton was also a rectory, but a poor one, and had never had a resident incumbent since the Reformation. It runs parallel with Stanhope, but is less densely populated. Allendale and Alston had both belonged to Hexham Abbey, which had the great tithes; these, of course, were secularised at the Reformation, and the vicarages were very poor. The people of these dales are a noble set of men, shrewd and intelligent, kindly in their manners, many of them tall and handsome in their persons. They are most of them farmers as well as miners, and many of them in later times have left their dales, and pushed their fortunes with success in other parts of the country. Mr. Wesley never penetrated into the higher parts of Teesdale, and it is only within a recent period that his followers have obtained a footing in that district. But, next to Newcastle, his favourite sphere of labour seems to have been Weardale. The people there had been first awakened by preachers from Allendale, and Mr. Wesley seems to have taken great delight in his visits to them; but even there the work had its reverses. In 1761 he says, "I came just in time to prevent them all turning dissenters, which they were on the point of doing, being quite disgusted at the curate, whose life was no better than his doctrine." In 1772 he gives a full account of the work among "this blessed people," and speaks of being much struck with their personal

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beauty, particularly the children; but three years afterwards he found a grievous decay, into the causes of which he enquired; they are well worthy of notice. "1. None of the preachers who succeeded the first was capable of being a nursing father to young believers. 2. Jane Salkeld (a schoolmistress who had been a great instrument in the work), having married, was debarred from meeting the young ones, and, having no one to care for them, they fell heaps upon heaps. 3. Most of the liveliest in the society were the single men and women, and several of these in a little time contracted an inordinate affection for each other, whereby they so grieved the Holy Spirit of God, that He in a great measure, departed from them. 4. Men arose among themselves who undervalued the work of God, and called the great work of sanctification a delusion. By this they grieved some, and angered others, so that both the one and the other were much weakened. 5. Hence, the love of many waxing cold, the preachers were discouraged, and jealousies, heart-burnings, and evil surmisings were multiplied more and more. There is now a little revival. God grant it may increase!"

His notices of Durham are characteristic. Here is one of them:—"1757, Sept. 4. I took my leave of Newcastle, and about noon preached at Durham in a pleasant meadow near the river side. The congregation was large and wild enough; yet in a short time they were deeply attentive. Only three or four gentlemen put me in mind of the honest man at London, who was so gay and unconcerned while Dr. Sherlock was preaching concerning the Day of Judgment;

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one asked, 'Do you not hear what the doctor says?' He answered, 'Yes; but I am not of his parish.' Towards the close I was constrained to mention the gross ignorance in the rich and powerful people throughout the nation. On this they drew near, and showed as serious attention as if they had been poor colliers." In 1788, "even in this polite and elegant city we now need a larger chapel."

Among the places recorded as visited there is one remarkable exception, viz., Houghton-le-Spring. There are many visits mentioned to Biddick and Rainton, both in that parish. It was at Rainton that Lord Burleigh stopped and cast back an almost envious glance on the rectory he had just left; and one would have thought that Bernard Gilpin was a man with whom Mr. Wesley would have most cordially sympathised; yet there is no notice whatever either of Houghton-le-Spring or its apostolic rector, in his Journals.

Mr. Wesley constantly, until his death, protested most earnestly against separation from the church, or the setting up of an independent ministry among his followers. There can be no question of his sincerity, but it cannot be doubted that the line of conduct which he followed was such as eventually led to what he so much deprecated. His followers at this day are very numerous in the diocese, especially in the Dales, where there is often a keen rivalry between those who continue to call themselves by his name, and those who have assumed the title of Primitive Methodists.

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CHAPTER XV.

BUTLER TO THE PRESENT DAY.

THE successor of Bishop Chandler was JOSEPH BUTLER, Bishop of Bristol, September, 1750. This illustrious prelate was born at Wantage, in 1692. His father, a wealthy draper in that town, and a dissenter, intended him for the nonconformist ministry, and he was accordingly sent to an academy at Gloucester with that view. Here he made great progress in the study of theology, and in the year 1713 entered into a correspondence with Dr. Samuel Clarke on some passages in a work of his on "The Evidences of Religion." The talent and modesty displayed in this correspondence gave Dr. Clarke a very high opinion of Mr. Butler. Becoming dissatisfied with dissent, he obtained, though with some difficulty, permission from his father to become a member of Oriel College, Oxford, where, as the reader has seen, he made the acquaintance of Mr. Edward Talbot. It is not known when or by whom he was ordained, but at the early age of twenty-six, through the influence of Mr. Talbot and Dr. Clarke he was appointed Preacher at the Rolls, where he delivered the famous "Fifteen Sermons." The next year he was made rector of Haughton-le-Skerne, but the parsonage was in a ruinous condition, and he was not the man to cope

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with the difficulties which lay before him, and in 1733, through the intervention of his friend, Mr. Secker, then chaplain to Bishop Talbot, he was removed to Stanhope, then one of the largest benefices in England, where a house had just been built by Dr. Hartwell. It was at Stanhope, without doubt, that he wrote his great work, "The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature," and the parishioners can point with pride to the autograph of one of England's greatest men in their parish books, settling, with the churchwardens and the four-and-twenty, the details of a highway rate, or rewarding a clown for killing a foumart or a fox. Tradition says that he moved about on a black horse, and according to one account he was a very rapid rider, while, according to another, his horse often stopped to graze by the wayside at will. It is easy to see that both may be true. Meantime, his friends, and particularly Mr. Secker, regretted his retirement, which they deemed unsuitable to one naturally of a somewhat melancholy temperament. Secker, now a court chaplain, mentioned him to Queen Caroline, and her majesty inquired if he were not dead. Though assured that he was not, she put the same question to the Archbishop of York, to which his grace replied, "No, madam, but he is buried." Secker prevailed on Lord Chancellor Talbot to make him one of his chaplains, and thus he was once more brought into the world. The chancellor gave him a stall in Rochester Cathedral, and the queen made him her clerk of the closet. Soon after, he presented to her majesty "The Analogy." In 1738 he was

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consecrated as Bishop of Bristol, a see much less wealthy than the Rectory of Stanhope; but two years after, he was made Dean of St. Paul's, and resigned Stanhope. In 1746, he was made clerk of the closet to George II., and, in 1750, Bishop of Durham. His time here was very short, less than two years, and little is recorded of his episcopate save that he held a visitation, and delivered a charge to his clergy. It is impossible here to give even a brief abstract of this charge, and it is the less to be regretted because, being now printed with the rest of his works, it must be in the hands of the greater part of those who are most concerned with it. The view it gives of the pastoral office, and the practical counsels by which that view is applied, prove that the bishop was not only, what all men own him to have been, a consummate metaphysician, but one who was thoroughly acquainted with what belongs to the cure of souls, and render it as valuable at the present day as it was at the time when it was delivered. The opening paragraph gives such a vivid and such a sad picture of the times, that it is worth transcribing :—

"It is impossible for me, my brethren, upon our first meeting of this kind, to forbear lamenting with you the general decay of religion in this nation ; which is now observed by every one, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. The influence of it is more and more wearing out of the minds of men, even of those who do not pretend to enter into speculations on the subject ; but the number of those who do, and who profess themselves unbelievers, increases, and with their numbers their zeal. Zeal—it is natural to ask—for what? Why, truly, *for* nothing, but *against* everything that is good and sacred amongst us.'

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It is strange to be told that this charge did not escape animadversion—the bishop had shown the importance of keeping religion before men's minds by attention to the outward forms of it, upon the principle almost self-evident, but often neglected if not forgotten, that "the form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself, but the thing itself cannot be preserved amongst mankind without the form." And he was now assailed as if he recommended the form rather than the substance, and even leaned to popish error, an aspersion easily refuted by a candid examination of the charge itself. Fifteen years after his death, the attack was renewed, and it was even alleged that he had been reconciled to Rome before his death. Dr. Secker, by that time Archbishop of Canterbury, interposed, though anonymously, to vindicate the memory of his departed friend. One fact brought forward was, that Dr. Butler, when Bishop of Bristol, had set up a small cross in the chapel of the palace, and it is strange, in the present day, to find the archbishop allowing that this was to be regretted as an unwise step.

Not long after his visitation the bishop's health began to fail. He went to Bristol for the benefit of the waters, but, obtaining little relief, he removed to Bath, where he died, 19th June, 1752, aged sixty. His old friend, Dr. Benson, then Bishop of Gloucester, was very frequently with him, and kept Dr. Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, fully informed of all that was passing. There is something very touching in such manifestations of the friendship of these illustrious men. Bishop Benson injured his own health by his

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attention to his dying friend. The fatigues of a visitation following immediately increased the mischief, and he very soon followed Bishop Butler to the grave. Bishop Butler was a man of the most unworldly and unselfish character. There are many traditional instances of this, and amongst others, his saying that he should feel ashamed of himself if he left £10,000 behind him. He lies buried in Bristol Cathedral, but there is no memorial at Durham of one of the greatest of her bishops.

In November, 1752, DR. RICHARD TREVOR, Bishop of St. David's, was translated to Durham. He presided over the diocese for nineteen years and died of a painful disease, June, 1771, aged 64. Among the prebendaries appointed by him were Dr. William Warburton and Dr. Robert Lowth. To the former is commonly ascribed the disuse of copes at the Holy Communion in the cathedral. He laid his aside, it is said, in a fit of impatience,—the rest followed his example, and they have never since been resumed, though they are still preserved in a glass closet in the cathedral library. They were laid aside therefore, not upon any show of principle, but merely from the impatience of a fretful man, because in an age of coldness and deadness they gave trouble, and it may be also they were likely to be a source of expense to a chapter which thought more of its dividends than of the honour of God's house or God's worship. Dr. Warburton became Bishop of Gloucester, but continued to hold his stall. Dr. Lowth is well known for his learned and elegant "Lectures on Hebrew Poetry," and his "Translation of Isaiah." He was

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not only an accomplished scholar, but an excellent man. He retained his stall as well as the Rectory of Sedgefield while he was successively Bishop of St. David's and Oxford, but resigned both on his translation to London.

Bishop Butler had commenced large repairs and alterations, both at Durham and Auckland Castles, and Bishop Trevor carried out what his predecessor had begun.

On Bishop Trevor's death, in 1771, DR. JOHN EGERTON, was translated from Lichfield to Durham. Some idea of the principle on which appointments were then made may be gathered from the following extract from Bishop Newton's Autobiography :—

"Mr. Grenville said that he considered bishoprics as of two kinds—bishoprics of business for men of ability and learning, and bishoprics of ease for men of family and fashion. Of the former sort he reckoned Canterbury and York and London, and Ely on account of its connection with Cambridge; of the latter sort *Durham* and Winchester, and Salisbury and Worcester. He mentioned the Bishops *Egerton* and Lyttleton as likely to succeed to some of the latter sort."

Bishop Egerton made two of his sons prebendaries in the cathedral, one of whom some years before his death, in 1829, became Earl of Bridgewater. Bishop Egerton died January, 1787.

DR. THOMAS THURLOW, Bishop of Lincoln, succeeded. He was brother of Lord Chancellor Thurlow. He died in London in May, 1791.

The next bishop was the Honourable SHUTE BARRINGTON, son of the first and brother of the second Lord Barrington, and Bishop of Salisbury, having

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been previously Bishop of Llandaff. Tall and handsome in his person, with an engaging countenance and most courteous manners, he was a real prince of the church.[1] His episcopate lasted thirty-five years. He died on Lady Day, 1826. His charities were truly magnificent, especially in the founding and support of schools, and in the augmentation of poor livings, and he left very large sums for these purposes at his death. During his long episcopate he had to make no less than twenty appointments to stalls in the cathedral, and the list of his preferments contains the names of several very eminent men—Dr. Bathurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Dr. Jenkinson, afterwards Dean of Durham and Bishop of St. Davids; Dr. Gaisford, afterwards Dean of Christchurch; Dr. Thorp, the first Warden of the University of Durham; Thomas Gisborne; Dr. Gray, afterwards Bishop of Bristol; Dr. Philpotts, afterwards Bishop of Exeter; William Nicholas Darnell, who had been tutor to John Keble at Oxford; Dr. John Bird Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; William Stephen Gilly, and George Townsend. In Bishop Barrington's time the Dean and Chapter began the much-needed work of augmenting the benefices in their gift, it may be, partly incited by the bishop's example. Before they finally resigned the control of their estates, all their livings had been increased to £300 a year, and many to much more.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the

[1] An interesting account of the first meeting of Sir Walter Scott and Bishop Barrington, in 1812, will be found in Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter, chap. xxv.

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cathedral suffered much. Some external repairs had become absolutely necessary, chiefly caused by the perishable nature of the stone of which it had been built. Repairs were begun about 1775, but were not judiciously executed—the surface of the north front and of the western towers, where deeply indented, were pared down to a level, so that the mouldings, string courses, and other ornamental parts were much interfered with. In Bishop Barrington's time Mr. James Wyatt, who had been permitted to do much mischief at Salisbury, was called in, and he continued the paring process over the eastern front of the Chapel of the Nine Altars—until niches, canopies, and carved figures all disappeared. If he might have had all his own way, the result would have been most disastrous, for he proposed to destroy the Galilee, in order to make a carriage road to the great-western entrance and onwards into the college—to extend the choir over the Chapel of the Nine Altars to the extreme east, to the utter ruin of that beautiful chapel—to remove the Neville Screen and the screen over Bishop Hatfield's tomb, and to place an incongruous spire on the great central tower. Happily he was checked in his career, though the lead had been actually removed from the roof of the Galilee before Dean Cornwallis interfered. In 1799 the chapter-house, which was quite unique in its kind, was destroyed, and with it all the memorials of the bishops and priors who had been buried there. In 1802 the same fate befel the vestry, which stood against the south wall of the choir. Such were the freaks of architects and church *restorers* in those days.

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DR. WILLIAM VAN MILDERT, Bishop of Llandaff, was translated to Durham in 1826. During his episcopate which lasted only ten years, many most important changes took place. In 1833 the Ecclesiastical Commission was appointed for the purpose of rendering the property of the Church more available in promoting the purposes for which it was intended. The Commissioners thought it right to recommend the reduction of the income of the bishop to a fixed yearly payment of £8,000, and that of the dean to £2,000. The canonries were to be reduced in number from twelve to six, each with a fixed yearly income of £1,000. The Palatinate was to be annexed to the crown on the next avoidance of the see. But before these changes took effect, the Bishop and Dean and Chapter obtained powers to found a University at Durham for the training of divinity students and conferring degrees in other faculties. It was endowed out of the revenues of the cathedral, and the Bishop gave up the Castle of Durham for the use of the one College of which the new foundation at first consisted. It is, perhaps, the only fortress-college in existence where a flag is hoisted in term-time to show that the Warden, Masters, and Scholars are at home, and busily engaged in their avocations. The first Warden was Dr. Charles Thorp, Archdeacon and Canon of Durham, but it was provided that after his death or resignation the office of Warden should be annexed to the deanery, and £1,000 a year for that reason added to the Dean's income. The university now consists of two houses, University College, and Bishop Hatfield's Hall. There has been a long succession of most

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eminent professors and tutors,[1] some of whom occupy or have occupied very prominent situations, and there can be no doubt that the purpose of the foundation has been attained, though not at first to the extent which was expected. The bishop assisted most liberally in founding the library, which has since been increased by the addition of other collections, particularly by that of the late Dr. Routh, the eminently learned President of Magdalen College, Oxford. The library is accommodated partly in the same building as Bishop Cosin's, which also serves as the convocation house, and partly in the adjoining building, erected for the exchequer of the Palatinate by Bishop Neville. With the library of the Dean and Chapter, Bishop Cosin's, and the University library, few places are better supplied with the means of study and research, out of London and the two ancient Universities.

The first Professor of Divinity was the Rev. Hugh

[1] Among these are Canon Thomas of Canterbury, the Suffragan Bishop of Dover, Canon Melville of Worcester, Dr. Peile, and Dr. Pears, both formerly head-masters of Repton School; Dr. Hornby, head-master of Eton, and Dr. W. G. Henderson, master of Leeds Grammar School.

Among the graduates of Durham, besides all the gentlemen mentioned on page 126, are the Bishop of Columbia, the Bishop of Grafton and Armidale, the Provost of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, the Provost of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Spirit, Cumbrae, the late learned and amiable Canon Humble of Perth Cathedral, the Rev. J. H. Blunt, well known as the editor of many most valuable works, and the Rev. Joseph Waite, Vicar of Norham, sometime master of University College, and one of the contributors to the Speaker's Commentary.

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James Rose, but his time was very short, and his successor was the Rev. Henry Jenkyns, who came to Durham as Professor of Greek. None who had the privilege of attending the lectures of Dr. Jenkyns will ever forget them. He taught his scholars to take nothing for granted, but to make sure of everything from good authority. They had not only the opportunity of acquiring much knowledge, set before them in the clearest manner, but were inflamed by the desire of acquiring more. The text book for early ecclesiastical history was Eusebius, in the original Greek, construed daily by the students; for liturgies, Cardinal Bona, whom the Professor held in high and deserved esteem for his candour and exactness. Every student had to write a sermon every week, an excellent training for those who were soon to be called upon to provide perhaps more than one weekly.[1] Before so much attention began to be paid to Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, many graduates of these Universities came to Durham to read under Dr. Jenkyns.[2]

[1] Dr. Jenkyns's students were much attached to him; some of them still look back on the time passed under him as the happiest time of their life. His pithy sayings were noted and remembered, and his very gestures observed. A passage in Eusebius was applied to the Professor. St. Irenæus, writing to the heretic Florinus, says:—"I can speak of the place where the blessed Polycarp sat, as he delivered his lectures, and his going out, and his coming in, and the character of his life, and the appearance of his person, and the discourses which he made to the multitude," Euseb. Eccl. Hist., v. 20. The last, of course, were his sermons in the cathedral.

[2] Among these were the Dean of Lichfield, late Prolocutor of

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At the first the arrangements made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners pressed very hard on the diocese of Durham. Its own necessities were very great and daily increasing, yet it was mercilessly plundered for the benefit of the rest of England. In time, however, this injustice was in a great measure remedied by an Act of Parliament which recognised local claims—that is, in places where the Church had property from which large revenues were accruing to the Commissioners, the needs of the population in such districts should be first attended to. By this means provision was made for the erection of churches, the endowment of clergy, and the payment of curates in places where large populations had arisen in consequence of the very rapid development of the mineral resources of the country.

Bishop Van Mildert died 21st February, 1836. A few days after, the last Palatine was carried to his tomb in the Chapel of the Nine Altars, near St. Cuthbert's Shrine. It was a dark dismal day, as if the very elements felt that there was a glory departing.

> The herald breaks the wand, while he proclaims
> The sainted Palatine's puissant names ;
> Yon kingless throne is now for ever bare.
>
> . . . . .
>
> There is a glory less upon the earth.

But were it so, the Church was now awaking more

the Southern Convocation, the late Alexander Watson, of Cheltenham ; William Rogers, of Bishopsgate ; the late Edward Stuart, of Munster Square ; and the Suffragan Bishop of Bedford, remarkable when a student for the excellence of his sermons.

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and more to her high mission, slowly recovering from her long lethargy. Societies were founded for church building, as well as for the education of the poor and labouring classes—and there was need, for from the development of the mineral resources just mentioned, as well as from the manufactures on the Tyne, the Wear, and the Tees, masses of population were speedily rising in quiet villages and on bleak moorlands, and it was yet to be a long time before the vast arrears of work could be overtaken. But a beginning was made.

The vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Van Mildert was filled by the translation of DR. EDWARD MALTBY from Chichester. As the narrative approaches times comparatively recent, it is clear that more and more reserve must be used in discussing events. There are persons yet alive who were more or less concerned in them, and the relations of many more. Bishop Maltby held the see for twenty years, and he proved himself not only an able administrator, but a most benevolent man. Even now, from time to time, instances come to light of the kindly help which he extended to those whose circumstances required it, but were never known at the time save to those who were the recipients of his bounty. He took a most kindly interest in the infant University, and, himself a very accomplished scholar, did much to encourage the study of Greek literature, particularly in connection with the study of the Holy Scriptures. Advanced age and increasing infirmity led him to resign the see in 1856.

On Bishop Maltby's resignation the energetic and most deservedly beloved DR. CHARLES THOMAS

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LONGLEY, first Bishop of Ripon, was translated to Durham. Little occurs for remark during his episcopate, save that the work of Church extension made progress. In 1860 he was translated to York, and two years after to Canterbury.

The next bishop was the Honourable HENRY MONTAGUE VILLIERS, a most amiable and genial man, and an excellent preacher, who was translated from Carlisle. His time at Durham was very short, for he died, after great suffering, the following year.

DR. CHARLES BARING, Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, was now translated to Durham. It is obviously quite impossible to make any comments on an episcopate which has closed so recently. When the din of present controversies shall have ceased, men will be in a better position to judge of the events of these times. They have not yet become history. But there is much in which all must be in complete agreement. No one will question the bishop's deep and unaffected piety, his most genuine kindness of heart, his exuberant hospitality, his unwearied diligence, and his aptitude for business. His charities were unbounded, and never did a man more exactly observe the rule, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." Most of his clergy can tell of numerous instances of his kindness, each one within the sphere of his own observation; and when the wide extent of the diocese is taken into account, it is not easy to realize what the aggregate amount of his good deeds must have been. In addition to Confirmations at the ordinary centres, he was always ready to grant an extra Confirmation on Sunday—when none but the young

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people of that particular parish were admitted—in the most remote and secluded parts of the diocese, where perhaps there was only a small number of candidates. Arriving on Saturday, without chaplain or servant, he would share the curate's homely fare till Monday, and never was there a more genial or more agreeable guest. It recalled the times of St. Cuthbert, though happily no place was left where it was needful to erect a booth on the hillside for the bishop's lodging.[1] Though latterly he kept no secretary, letters were always answered by return of post, and the reply, brief and to the point, was sure to prove how kindly an interest he took in everything which concerned his clergy. Such a man could not fail to win, not only the respect, but the affectionate regard of all with whom he had to do. A painful disease compelled him, in the autumn of 1878, to resign the see, and he died not long after. During these seventeen years a very large number of churches were built, and new parishes erected; and in every case the work was most liberally aided by the bishop.

These annals cannot be closed without mentioning one who was a most distinguished ornament of the Church of Durham—JOHN BACCHUS DYKES, Mus. Doc., a name in its own way of world-wide fame. For thirteen years (1849-1862) he was Precentor of the cathedral, and for thirteen more vicar of St. Oswald's, in the city of Durham. He was well read both as a scholar and a divine; but his great distinction was his exquisite skill in music. Some beautiful anthems and services would be sufficient proof of this, but he

[1] See p. 56.

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was of most eminent service to the Church by the great number of hymn-tunes which he composed. These, indeed, have made his name almost a household word, not only in the Church of England but also among the dissenting communities, both in this country and America. His talents were always at the service of any one who asked for his help, and he never could be induced to accept of any remuneration for his labours. A recent notice in a local paper tells of a rough and miscellaneous congregation on ship-board, at the Antipodes, presided over by a dissenting minister, being moved to tears by the sweet, plaintive tones of "Eternal Father, strong to save"[1] set to his music. With all this he was a man of deep and earnest piety, and a most devoted parish priest, ever ready at the call of distress, and very much beloved by all classes in that extensive parish. In 1875, overwork and anxiety of mind broke down his health, which was never robust; and at the end of January, 1876, the gentle and loving spirit sank to rest at St. Leonard's-on-the-Sea. His body was brought to Durham, and on a dull grey winter morning, after a celebration of the Holy Communion, laid in his own churchyard. It was very unfortunate that Bishop Baring and Dr. Dykes were not of one mind on some points which both thought important, but those who knew and loved them both, cannot but feel persuaded that throughout all they honoured and esteemed each other. They now see everything in the light of the Eternal Verity, and all differences are at an end.

[1] Church Hymns S.P.C.K. 321; H.A.M., 370.

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On the Feast of St. Luke, 1876, the cathedral was re-opened after repairs and adornments, carried out under the direction of Sir Gilbert Scott. No one who was present on that occasion will soon forget it. The choir numbered more than a hundred, and four hundred clergy, chiefly of the diocese, were present, who filled, as they filed into the church, all the four sides of the cloisters. The scene at evensong was particularly striking, for then there were large numbers of the working classes in attendance, including many rough colliers from the neighbourhood. It was a time to feel what the position of the Church is in England, and the opportunities which lie before her. Every priest who was there must have felt that he was indeed a citizen of no mean city, and must have gone back to his parish, strengthened and encouraged in his work.

Scarcely less striking was the scene at the enthronement of the new Bishop, DR. JOSEPH BARBER LIGHTFOOT, in May, 1879. Notwithstanding most unpropitious weather, the vast church was crowded in every corner, and there was a very large concourse of clergy assembled to welcome their spiritual father. No episcopate ever began under happier auspices, for rarely has such an appointment been hailed with such unanimous approval. The new bishop came pledged to carry out without delay the division of the diocese. One step is at last to be taken in the direction of Bede's counsel to Egbert, Bishop of York, eleven hundred and fifty years ago, or rather, things are to be restored to the state in which they were in Bede's time; for, after a thousand years, the suppressed see

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of Hexham is to be restored at Newcastle. It is, indeed, a most necessary change, yet it will be a sad day for the clergy of Northumberland, when they have to bid farewell to Durham, so long the city of their solemnities," and are finally separated from a place of such surpassing beauty, and so rich in glorious memories. But though one tie be severed, many of them will be thankful to remember that another, and that the older one, remains; that she—herself so fitting an earthly emblem of the city which hath foundations—is their mother,—

Who nurtured them for CHRIST in youth.

who taught them to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness, to reverence antiquity, to distrust novelty, to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered; they will recall the bright days, perhaps long gone by, when they said their morning prayers beside St. Cuthbert's shrine, and knelt, it is to be hoped, in believing, and loving penitence to receive the Holy Eucharist at her altar.

IF I FORGET THEE, O JERUSALEM,
LET MY RIGHT HAND FORGET HER CUNNING;
IF I DO NOT REMEMBER THEE,
LET MY TONGUE CLEAVE TO THE ROOF OF MY MOUTH
YEA, IF I PREFER NOT JERUSALEM IN MY MIRTH.

FOR MY BRETHREN AND COMPANIONS' SAKES
I WILL WISH THEE PROSPERITY;
YEA, BECAUSE OF THE HOUSE OF THE LORD OUR GOD
I WILL SEEK THY GOOD.

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SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS

OF LINDISFARNE, HEXHAM, CHESTER-LE-STREET, AND DURHAM.

LINDISFARNE.

		Accession.			Accession.
1	Aidan	635	11	Higbald	780
2	Finan	652	12	Egbert	803
3	Colman	661	13	Heathured	821
4	Tuda	664	14	Ecgred	830
5	Eata	678	15	Eanbert	845
6	Cuthbert	685	16	Eardulf	854
7	Eadbert	688		Fled from Lindisfarne	875
8	Eadfrid	698		Settled at Chester-le-Street	882
9	Ethelwold	724			
10	Cynewulf	740			

HEXHAM.

		Accession.			Accession.
1	Tunbert	681	7	Alchmund	767
2	Eata	685	8	Tilbert	781
3	John (of Beverley)	688	9	Ethelbert	789
4	Wilfrid	706	10	Eadred	797
5	Acca	710	11	Eanbert	800
6	Frethbert	734	12	Tidferth	814

The Bishoprick ceased to exist about 820.

CHESTER-LE-STREET.

		Accession.			Accession.
	Eardulf	882	21	Sexhelm	947
17	Cutheard	900	22	Aldred	947
18	Tilred	915	23	Elfsig	968
19	Wilgred	928	24	Aldhun	990
20	Uchtred	944		Removed to Durham	995

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Durham.

	Accession.
Aldhun removed to Durham	995
(Vacancy 3 years.)	
25 Eadmund	1021
26 Eadred	1041
27 Egelric	1042
28 Egelwin	1056
29 Walcher	1071
30 William de St. Carilef	1080
(Vacancy upwards of 3 years.)	
31 Ralf Flambard ...	1099
(Vacancy nearly 5 years.)	
32 Galfrid Rufus ...	1133
(Vacancy, usurpation of Cumin, 3 years.)	
33 William de St. Barbara	1143
34 Hugh Pudsey ...	1153
(Vacancy more than 1 year.)	
35 Philip de Pictavia ...	1197
(Vacancy 9 years)	
36 Richard de Marisco...	1217
(Vacancy 2 years)	
37 Richard Poor ...	1228
(Vacancy 3 years)	
38 Nicholas de Farnham	1241
39 Walter de Kirkham .	1249
40 Robert de Stitchill...	1260
41 Robert de Insula ...	1274
42 Antony Bek... ...	1283
43 Richard de Kellaw...	1311
44 Lewis de Beaumont..	1318
45 Richard de Bury ...	1333
46 Thomas de Hatfield .	1345
47 John Fordham ...	1382
48 Walter Skirlaw ...	1388
49 Thomas Langley, Cardinal	1406
50 Robert Neville ...	1438
51 Laurence Booth ...	1457
52 William Dudley ...	1476
(Vacancy nearly 2 years)	
53 John Sherwood ...	1485
54 Richard Fox ...	1494
55 William Sever ...	1502
(Vacancy nearly 2 years)	
56 Christopher Bainbrigge	1507
(Vacancy nearly 1 year)	
57 Thomas Ruthall ...	1509
58 Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal	1523
59 Cuthbert Tunstall ...	1530
60 James Pilkington ...	1561
61 Richard Barnes ...	1577
(Vacancy nearly 2 years)	
62 Matthew Hutton ...	1589
63 Tobias Matthew ...	1595
64 William James ...	1606
65 Richard Neile ...	1617
66 George Mountaigne..	1628
67 John Howson ...	1628
68 Thomas Morton ...	1632
69 John Cosin	1660
(Vacancy upwards of 2 years)	
70 Nathaniel, Lord Crewe	1674
71 William Talbot ...	1722
72 Edward Chandler ...	1730
73 Joseph Butler ...	1750
74 Richard Trevor ...	1752
75 John Egerton ...	1771
76 Thomas Thurlow ...	1787
77 Shute Barrington ...	1791
78 William Van Mildert	1826
79 Edward Maltby ...	1836
80 Charles Thomas Longley...	1856
81 Henry Montague Villiers	1860
82 Charles Baring ...	1861
83 JOSEPH BARBER LIGHTFOOT ...	1879

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PRIORS OF DURHAM.

Name	Installation.
Aldwin	1083
Turgot	1087
Algar	1109
Roger	1137
Laurentius	1149
Absalom...	1154
Thomas	1158
Germanus	1163
Bertram	1189
William of Durham ...	1209
Ralf de Kerneth ...	1214
Thomas de Melsambi ...	1233
Bertram de Middleton ...	1244
Hugh de Darlington ...	1258
Richard de Claxton ...	1272
Hugh de Darlington, 2°	1285
Richard de Hotoun ...	1289
Henry de Luceby intruded ...	1300-1302
William de Tanfield ...	1307
Geoffrey de Burdon ...	1313
William de Couton ...	1322
John Fossour	1341
Robert Berrington de Walworth	1374
John de Hemingburgh..	1391
John de Wessington ...	1416
William de Ebchester ...	1446
Joon Burnbie	1456
Richard Bell	1464
Robert de Ebchester ...	1478
John de Auckland ...	1481
Thomas Castell... ...	1495
Hugh Whitehead ...	1524
Abbey surrendered, Dec. 31	1540

DEANS OF DURHAM.

Name	Installation.
Hugh Whitehead ...	1541
Robert Horne	1551
Thomas Watson ...	1553
Thomas Robertson ...	1557
Robert Horne, 2° ...	1559
Ralf Skinner	1561
William Whittingham ...	1563
Thomas Wilson ...	1580
Tobias Matthew . .	1583
William James	1596
Adam Newton	1606
Richard Hunt	1620
Walter Balcanquhal ...	1639
William Fuller	1646
John Barwick	1660
John Sudbury	1661
Denys Granville ...	1684
Thomas Comber ...	1691
John Montague... ...	1700
Henry Bland	1728
Hon. Spencer Cowper...	1746
Thomas Dampier ...	1774
William Digby	1777
John Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough ...	1788
James, Earl Cornwallis, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry ...	1794
Charles Henry Hall ...	1824
John Banks Jenkinson, Bishop of St. David's	1827
George Waddington ...	1840
WILLIAM CHARLES LAKE	1869

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